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Of Things and Sexuality: a study about gayscapes

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Tese de Doutorado apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Administração, da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, como parte dos requisitos para a obtenção do título de Doutor em Administração.

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Porto Alegre

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Of Things and Sexuality: a study about gayscapes

Essa Tese foi julgada adequada para alcançar um dos requisitos para a obtenção do título de Doutor em Administração e aprovada em sua forma final pelo Orientador e pela Banca Examinadora.

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RESUMO

Como as práticas baseadas nos lugares de Mercado podem ser analisadas sob uma ontologia diferente? Esse trabalho é baseado na discussão de alguns prismas teóricos fundamentais na epistemologia de estudos de comportamento de consumo. Estudos envolvendo consumo geralmente focam-se no consumidor como indivíduo final, monolítico – portador de agência e voz. Portanto, esse trabalho busca compreender o descolamento aparente entre os humanos e os não-humanos (*coisas*). Para tanto, utilizei-me do conceito de coisa, advinda do campo da Antropologia, para estudos de comportamento de consumo. Escolhi, como tema, a sexualidade – visto que é um tema com pouca expressividade no campo de comportamento de consumo. Início meu argumento com três pilares teóricos: o conceito de *coisa*; o conceito de performatividade para gênero e sexualidade; e o conceito de interseccionalidade. Depois, apresento o método utilizado para unir os três pilares na análise empírica *in loco*. Por fim, ofereço uma discussão sobre a convergência da fundamentação teórica e o método. Meus achados iluminam como atores humanos envolvidos em uma malha de relações, que dividem práticas com outros atores, engajam-se em oclusão de consumo: a necessidade de esconder uma prática de consumo dentro de uma malha próxima de relações. Também iluminam como a cooptação de locais de mercado de forma institucional – adicionando lugares focados em diversidade – não preclui a exclusão. Observei a continuação das práticas exclusionárias dentro de ambientes de mercado considerados abertos à diversidade, ou exclusão interseccional. Ambos achados foram resultado da abordagem ontológica delimitada previamente, que resultou no conceito de gayscape – um conceito puramente qualitativo que contém a malha de interrelação dos atores (humanos e não-humanos) do campo de consumo gay.

Palavras-chaves: consumo; sexualidade; coisa; antropologia; interseccionalidade.

ABSTRACT

How do the marketplace-based practices can be analyzed with a different ontology? This work is based on the discussion of some theoretical approaches fundamentally attached to consumption behavior studies. These studies are usually focused on the consumer as a finished, monolithic individual – bearer of agency and voice. Therefore, this work tries to comprehend the apparent detachment between humans and non-humans. To achieve this I use the concept of *thing*, from the anthropology field to study consumption behavior. My chosen theme is sexuality – seen it is regarded as an understudied in consumption behavior studies. I start my argument based on three theoretical pillars: the concept of thing; the concept of performativity connected to gender and sexuality; and the concept of intersectionality. Following this, I present the method that was used to unite these three pillars for data collection. Lastly, I offer a discussion about the convergence of the literature review and the method. My findings illuminate how human actors are involved in a mesh of relationships – sharing practices with other actors – engage in what I call Consumption Occlusion: the need to hide a consumption practice within a tightly woven mesh of relationships. I also illuminate how institutional marketplace cooptation – for example, adding diverse marketplaces – does not preclude exclusion. I observed the continuation of exclusionary practices within marketplaces regarded as *open to diversity*, or intersectional exclusion. Both findings are the results of a previously delimited ontological approach, resulting in the concept of gayscape – a purely qualitative concept that brings forth the relationship mesh among actors (humans and non-humans) of the gay consumption field.

Keywords: consumption; sexuality; thing; anthropology; intersectionality.

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“The things you own end up owning you.” (Chuck Palahniuk)

1 INTRODUCTION

It was a warm day in mid-September 2015 and I had just arrived in Montreal, Canada. I didn't have permanent lodging, so I went to the Montreal Downtown district and found a hostel at Bishop Street. After putting my luggage away, I asked the reception desk worker where could I find gay places in Montreal. After looking up and flinching his eyes, he said "you should head to the Gay Village, on Saint Catherine Street. It's a 30-minute walk, but you'll know it when you reach it."

And so, after walking past the Hudson's Bay Company (established 1670, as I'd learn a few days later) and the Place des Arts quarter – with its wide streets and tall buildings – I looked north to a small park in front of some (straight) strip clubs. To the south, I could see a Chinatown entrance gate – so ubiquitous in most large cities – and, continuing northeast on Saint Catherine street, at an intersection with Saint Hubert street, I noticed a large bank front window bearing the rainbow colors and the phrase "ouvert à la diversité" (open to diversity).

Maybe it wasn't a completely random happening, but I ended up living on Saint Hubert Street during my entire Montreal Ph.D. phase. That bank ad had a profound impact on me as I was walking toward Beaudry metro station. At first, it seemed illogical – how could that street have such a clear cut signal that opened itself to diversity? I was diversity, and I wasn't there, so how could I only exist there? I recalled Butler's (2010) concept of

performativity – maybe that sign was saying that from that street on, I would be free to perform differently. Then again, I wasn't consciously performing anything as I read that sign. That simple sign, however, was saying something – it was openly saying that a space was performing diversity. From Saint Hubert street and forward, diversity was welcomed (did that mean that from Saint Hubert street back where I came from it was not?) Maybe living on Saint Hubert mirrored this perception: I was living in this clean-cut border, and I could navigate in and out of this diversity openness as much as I wanted. In retrospect I know it wasn't so simple, obviously, but as I crossed that very visible, symbolic, liberating and even somewhat offensive border for the first time I immediately pulled my field log out of my satchel and kept it in my hands until I reached what seemed to be the opposite border, Dorion Street. I figured it was the opposite border because there were no more rainbow flags, and the scenery was turning gray and abandoned. I scribbled something in a random field log page that afternoon, and it was something that resembled this (Figure 1):



Figure 1. Field log street scribbling, September 2015.

I'm fully aware that for any reader this is a very simplistic doodle. It's unimaginative, plain, boring, flat, disappointing and meaningless. It also represents an important part of my entire dissertation, as I would discover later. These simple lines, even though they might carry very little meaning could also be handed, scribbled in a napkin, to a lost tourist in a coffee

shop as an answer to the question “Where is the gay village?” It has just as much colloquial meaning as one might want to convey when in a rush, or when his or her knowledge is limited (or s/he is trying not to convey just as much as s/he knows).

The reason this doodle might be plain and boring is because it’s unpopulated. It has little context (but a lot of boundaries), and doesn’t bring out any relationships to the fore. However, my dissertation is all about place, materiality, and sexuality. And I knew right from that afternoon that I’d have (just) a year to fill these three lines with as many materials, discourses, theoretical insight and grounded arguments as I could. I would also need to look back at my Porto Alegre’s drawings, to do the same thing.

That night, back at the hostel, I ruffled through my luggage and found an old map I had drawn during my field work in Porto Alegre, and even though I did not want to do a *comparison between fields*, the feeling was inevitable: as I looked back into my Porto Alegre scribbles, maps and notes, I immediately noticed a very different drawing in the first pages of my old field log. Those drawings did not resemble this (Figure 2); they resembled something different, much more diffuse, and filled with empty grounds. I had to scribble again in order to re-focus my understanding of just how empty these lines can be:



Figure 2. Field log street scribbling, updated Porto Alegre Streets, September 2015.

My work was never confined to Figures 1 and 2, but they were good starting points. They had a certain geographical centering and focus that would help me to begin my argument, if properly and theoretically grounded. This re-drawing of Porto Alegre's lines also helped me to bring my perception back into the present. I could not ignore my previous drawings, since they grounded my previous field work in a different context – but the new scribbles were a nice way to check my progress. It was my first day in a new context so – as any reader might expect – checking my progress made me feel depressed. I had a lot of work to do. This negative feeling did not last much though, since I was starting to hear new voices, and new stories at a new context. And these stories would converge with hundreds of other voices that want to talk about what they desire, about how they practice this desire, and how they perceive freedoms and oppressions.

I couldn't sleep that night. I had just arrived to live for a year in a foreign country, and my mind was boiling with all different contexts and ideas coming from a simple walk in the street. First, by drawing these very contained spaces (Figure 1 and Figure 2), I was delimiting my analysis in a way that would harm me more than help. I had to consider, first, how these places were relating to other places. Second, after looking at place-to-place relationships, I had to populate them with specific units (materials, discourses, structures, actors, things, agencies, performances). And finally, after populating them, I needed to look with more detail to this very population and find their relationships in turn.

How can, however, a place have a *relationship* with another place? Contexts are also sets of relationships, and if we take process philosophy into account – contexts and life itself are composed of lines, or bundles of lines (Ingold, 2011). There are lines of life, lines of writing, lines of luck and misfortune, and so on. This work seeks out these lines, what connects these contexts, and these gay marketplaces. It seeks ways in which they can be drawn and redrawn, and how the very scribbling of these streets in my field log converges

with hundreds of other voices in a sexuality and materiality context. I start this search by listening for voices. One of my methods (as developed in section 3) is interviewing – listening to a voice. But some of these voices are not being heard (Ingold, 2012). Such voices are those spoken by beings that have no direct capacity to speak – *things*.

Things have agency (Ingold, 2012), and they also talk about freedoms and oppressions as they relate to human beings. For example, as I met some of my informants, Gustavo¹ stood out: he spoke about his way of dressing, and how the homophobic structure related to his way to dress and behave. He used to carry a glitter bottle to all the parties he went, so I asked him about it. One can notice that Gustavo's glitter bottle has something to say. The glitter over his eyebrows, too. And also his fishnet gloves, his long blond hair, and his jeans – now ripped, after a taxi driver had pushed him to the ground, on his knees, after calling him a *faggot*. Ripped jeans talk a lot. They talk about youth culture, they talk about the punk movement, they talk about voluntary simplicity, about Rock n' Roll, about poverty, about material detachment, about grunge, Nirvana, consumption culture, Pop, wearing and tearing, time (of use, or existence), activism, commodities, capitalism, slave labor, luxury – and also about oppression and aggression at a street, at a city, at the south of Brazil. So, I clarify at this point that what *things* speak (as well as humans) is always contextual.

To hear (so many!) things, it is necessary to engage and relate to them, to understand their stories, follow their ways, and find them where they are. And the beginning of this relationship discovery journey passes, necessarily, through questions and possibilities of paths. Cuts and ruptures are always necessary when a field is being studied or researched. The specific research interest that guides this work comes from a long history of happiness and sadness that affect our lives. The field chosen to speak about *things* was the one of sexuality

and gender. The reasoning behind this choice was the perception that this field directly affects my life. Stories and accounts of daily oppressions lived by close people, and the way we are organized around these subjects demand more reports, more voice, more work.

The way we analyze fights or subjections to oppression (Butler, 2010) has a history of focus on human actors. The choice for this analytical prism is quite obvious, given that contemporary freedom and oppression academic concern has dignity, happiness, life and human rights as its ultimate goal. This fact, however, never precluded these same dimensions of fight and subjection analyses on other actors. The study of human rights and freedom overflowing to non-humans gains strength in social sciences. For instance: Sordi (2011, 2012) reports on the Anthropological discursive field, and the apparent disconnection of *non-human* rights. This apparent disconnection must be forgotten: towards an integration of studies that take into consideration a wide range of relationships we have to any other non-human actors. We defend animals from cruelty, undignified treatment, and suffering – animal (*human*) rights.

Ingold (2012) goes beyond, and presents the argument that every non-human actor (in his case, *thing*) needs an integrated analysis. This would be the first step towards the end of a long and historical separation between society and nature (Descola, 2011) that reigns our way of seeing reality, our ontology. This apparent separation between society and nature served structuralist anthropologists (Descola, 2011) as an argumentative stream to explain some society's functional and functioning systems. Even though this is pertinent, such separation does not bring wider sets of analysis to the fore (Descola, 2011) – or: other possibilities. Our beginning argument, therefore, is that *things* are the old *possessions* and *objects* (Belk, 1988; Ahuvia, 2005), which reigns our study field (Marketing and consumption culture). Analogous

¹ No names during the textual elements of this Dissertation refer to any real names, unless explicitly said so. All names were changed due to ethical concerns and – still necessary in studies involving desire and sexuality, in our

to how objects and possessions submit to our wills and orders – as slaves – *things* talk back, argue, and contradict.

I shall discuss, throughout this work, as such analysis shift – from the relationships between humans and *objects* to humans and *things* – can provide new analyses to our study field. I shall also talk about difference and its social markers in relationships between humans and *things*. Also, I shall address sexuality and gender expressions, focused in these new *things* analyses.

1.1 OF PEOPLE AND THINGS

Treating *things* as goods and commodities is recent in human history (Kopytoff, 1986). The separation of person as an agent and *thing* as a subject to this agent is recent and can be made explicit based in the fact that, in many moments – including today – humans transit(ed) from *person* status to *commodity* status. To such *human* phenomenon the umbrella term *slavery* is used. The transit between several statuses (commodity, thing, good, agent, actor, submissive, oppressor ...) is not exclusively human. A wedding ring is a good, but also a *gift*, and can achieve *singular* status (family heirloom) – and a wedding ring has a lot to say, including the sexuality field.

This continuous transit is not impertinent, nor avoidable. Quite the opposite: this is taken as one of these study's frameworks. Without the analogous people and *things* transit, it would become impossible to analyze relationship processes between these same people and *things*. Given this statement, can interpretation of *things* through a human being be considered biased in this study? Only if we consider the above cited separation as an *a priori* premise

(Descola, 2011). This notion of human-thing relationship will, therefore, have to be rethought in an *inseparable human-thing mesh* (Ingold, 2012) – this way, a researcher interpreting human agency is in a *researcher-thing mesh*, and things being interpreted are in this same, inseparable, mesh.

This work uses the concept of *place* as part of this mesh and as principle and problem: this means that the mere concept of *place* is seen as a *thing*, with voice. The place in question is limited (and created as a Bourdieusian sociological object) by data and materials collection (I develop these details in Section 1.5 – Fieldwork structuring). If the human-thing mesh comprises this relationship mesh, the place-thing becomes only one more possible relationship to the desired delimitation (e.g. a bar, an NGO office, a specific street – never, however, ignoring relationships with *other* humans and things).

A *place's* theoretical and empirical displacement, however, also begets a *status-transition* problem between humans and things – meaning that the transitions must be looked over carefully. In these meshes, such transition is not generic, nor universal. For instance: transitions between oppressor and oppressed – master and slave – do not respect universal patterns. Some populations (of people, for example) are *transacted* into submission and others are not. There is no symmetry. Minorities were (and are!) enslaved, and up to this day they suffer within regimes of oppression (Spivak, 2010), while other humans do not suffer within the same regimes (although they can suffer within other regimes). To respect such intersections, contextualization in humans – and things – difference regimes shall be an integral part of this work, to avoid a universalization of oppression and freedom regimes as analyzed in these pages.

These same intersections present, throughout this dissertation (in Crenshaw's (1989) concept of *intersectionality*) the interaction between people and their social positioning.

Intersectionality is a power matrix in which differences operate in their own differences (for instance: the difference of oppression between a white gay man and a black gay man).

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

With this new analytical prism, it's necessary to specify what exactly my research problem is. The exactitude of a research problem can be problematic, as any cut or sociological object (or *the problem*) is artificial and incomplete. I will try, therefore, to make a contextual problem more explicit.

Homosexuality in Brazil – as an historical and contemporary category – obviously does not have a beginning. However, reports on homosexual acts begin with the arrival of Portuguese colonists (Trevisan, 2007). Officially, as the country became independent, the homosexual practice stopped being illegal. However, the culture of virility, of the macho man (which overflows, also, to the gay context) stands ambushing desire practices with an angry, wrathful watch (Perlongher, 1986). Gustavo's story in my Introduction section shows that even today, in any context, acts of oppression and prejudice continue to happen.

This oppression and prejudice do not operate in a generic nor univocal form. Crenshaw (1989) brings social markers to the fore, and how these markers shift oppression relations in a matrix: blackness, whiteness, richness, poverty, youth, old age, feminine, masculine; and all other continuous dots that cut through these dualist examples profoundly alter oppression relations. Gustavo, cited in the introductory paragraph, specifically cites his *blond, long hair*, which sets out something in difference. Gustavo's oppression is not repeated or analogous in other subjects, actors, or *things*. Social difference markers, therefore, must be respected, analyzed, contextualized, and discussed in my proposed problem.

My first concern, therefore, is to understand this oppression and freedom intersection that homosexuality carries within. However, my proposition is to displace the unit of analysis to the relationships between things and humans (Ingold, 2012) in the search for new understandings, and new analytical possibilities. To clarify what I mean, Perlongher (1986, p. 45, my translation) reports on his experience in the São Paulo's male prostitution scene.

“The approach between some and others, in that which initially appears as a big confusion, is not generally direct: it establishes itself from a displacement game, winks, stares, allusions, little gestures almost imperceptible to a stranger, through which subtle signs of danger, richness, power, libido, and intelligence are exchanged. We do not cite these baroque preambles more but to talk about an aspect: in a locus of diffuse, blurred contours, an entire succession of demands and offers are articulated.”

This excerpt shows that an articulation is structured in itself in sexual fields – in Perlongher's (1986) case, male prostitution. The research problem presented here, however, points toward other possible articulations: observations of these same displacement games between humans with another unit of analysis – the relationship of humans and things. Perlongher's (1986) *sexual field* is close to, therefore, my definition of place-thing that shall serve as a field to be explored. Places are actors considered gay in a specific location. The consideration of whether a place is or not *gay* depends on a knowledge based in sociogeographical space, on informant conversations, and place-thing observation.

To the economist, goods simply *are* (Kopytoff, 1986) – or: things exist, are produced, and circulate in economic systems, exchanged for other things (usually money). In a cultural perspective, however, things need to pass through a cognitive process: things are not only *produced*, but are culturally demarcated in order to make sense. From my perspective, both prisms (economic and cultural) – although pertinent – do not pass through the analytical look I offer (or, better: pass through only indirectly). Things are considered *things* (Ingold, 2012) –

actors bearing agency and voice. As the problematic is displaced to *things*, therefore, an *ontology of things* is created.

This problem displacement to *things* and their relationships, specifically in the consumption behavior field, answers to a necessity pointed out by Ingold (2012) and Bajde (2013): the reduction and subjection of non-humans to humans. Specifically commenting about the Consumption Behavior studies field, Bajde (2013) warns of a certain reductionism that the area suffers when it divides finalized human actors – exclusively bearing agency. Bajde’s (2013) warning, therefore, incites researchers to seek an end of social and natural division, of society and materials – and to analyze the “sociomateriality” (Bajde, 2013, p. 236) of things in consumption environments and consumption behaviors.

The problem I present here, therefore, is double-edged: it refers to the oppression and liberation of a complex minority (in my case, homossexualities and their intersections) in consumption fields; as well as *things* (Ingold, 2012) that circulate these consumption environments – more specifically, *places*. With this problem in mind, the research question that guides my exploration is: how do *things and humans*, as they intersectionally create their relationships, enable and change marketplace-based practices?

1.3 MAIN OBJECTIVE

- Comprehend what human-thing relationships within consumption contexts say about homossexualities in marketplaces.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- Analyze the spatial configuration of actors in relation to homossexualities and consumption practices;
- Follow actors and their stories inside marketplaces classified as gay;

1.4 STUDY JUSTIFICATION

It's common, in the scientific field's pragmatism, to justify academic studies – especially in applied social sciences. I will try to justify this dissertation in two ways: personal and academic.

Every study – perhaps every expressive action – is born out of personal interest. It would not be different with a dissertation or any other scientific work. Consumption's working nature as something generic and ubiquitous (including non-human consumption actions) brings to the fore a series of personal curiosities ever since my bachelor's. Consumption has always existed, and shall always exist. The ways it operates in different eras, societies, species and realities has always focused my works involving this phenomenon.

When submitted to critical review, consumption - such as any other phenomena – generates questions and problems. One of these questions relate to how categories are oppressed and liberated. An oppressed category, for decades, is Western contemporary homosexuality. Thousands were killed – and are killed – for a desire behavior that effectively *exists*. It's origin or motive is questioned for being genetic, biological, social, behavioral, or even mystic – but no answer to these questions changes the fact that such a category exists and operates in several different societies as ages go by (with several different names and behavioral variations). Even with the immutable fact that such category exists, some oppressions and freedoms are noticed within different groups and environments.

So, the biggest unsettling feeling that connects these two interests – consumption and homosexuality – is the fact that consumption can oppress and set free (Peñaloza e Price, 1993). As a domination or oppressive structure, consumption's connection to markets and possessions can oppress the gay population when it communicates where and how they can circulate in environments and contexts. As a liberation structure, this same connection between consumption and markets (and possessions) allows entry for (some) gay men in circles and routes in which desire and expression are contextually *allowed*. However, this consumption context can still be exclusive for people who do not participate in specific intersectionalities – high economic power, and some social markers – for instance: *whiteness*, *youth*.

Such complexity demands more contextualization and problematizing in studies involving consumption. The *things* that circulate in these contexts are intrinsically connected to such initiatives of oppression and liberation, since restrictions or freedoms can be applied to them as well. This contextual problem allows me to show explicitly what is happening in environments intertwined with consumption and homosexuality. How to fight for freedom and diminish (structural?) oppression possibilities: this is one of the biggest personal concerns that move this dissertation.

Scholarly, however, such concerns fall back to a wider understanding of how oppression and freedom operate contextually (e.g.: Spivak, 2010). Such concerns apparently find more backing in fields such as Political Science (Mansbridge 1999); Education and Pedagogy (Solórzano and Yosso 2002); Organizational Studies (Acker 2006); Social Science (Yuval-Davis 2006); and Psychology (Cole 2009), but fields as pragmatic as Management and Marketing can be intertwined with such questioning. What, however, seems an important addition to this discussion – maybe more Marketing-centered – is how we can displace the usual (maybe even expected) anthropocentric analysis inherent to this field. With this

displacement, we may achieve new insights, new problematizing prisms in our field. Without constant problematizing offered in (and by) the academic field, the possibility of falling into reductions and partial explanations rises in any area – of knowledge or practice.

Therefore, I justify this work as a way to problematize, widen, and discuss how market systems, consumption, Marketing and its contexts influence and are influenced by phenomena connected to homosexuality – displacing my analysis to *things* (Ingold, 2012). Such displacement offers a new analytical prism, which can potentially make the field more problematic. It can also bring new understandings through a distinct focus (Bajde, 2013).

1.5 FIELDWORK STRUCTURING

Since this dissertation establishes itself under consumption behavior, the field shall operate in what can be widely classified as marketplaces. The definition of marketplace, in in this work, is a mesh of actors, both human and non-human (Ingold 1993). Positioning subjects within these meshes of relationships, therefore, allows me to better conceptualize frictional subject positions. Also, this positioning allows me to understand differences *within* categories (instead of difference *from* categories) (Puar, 2012). I clarify that not all consumption happens in the marketplace, and that marketplace means a specific mesh in all their possibilities: in my case, marketplace is the place where economic exchanges happen in Western societies. I do not want to delimit, pre-emptively, where such exchanges happen, nor that such exchanges are exclusively *monetary* in nature. A birthday celebration, for instance, is usually paired with exchanges, some of them *economic*, in what is classified under the phenomenon called *gift-giving system* (Mauss, 2013). However, I point out that the apparently voluntary characteristic of a gift – in Western societies, but also elsewhere – is not confirmed when we notice a series

of mandatory details in such a phenomenon (*idem*, 2013). For instance, removing the price tag, the value-indicating numeral of something, is a mandatory procedure in most Western gifts (i.e. excluding store-bought gift certificates or cards, or even giving cash as a gift). Reciprocity is also a marked phenomenon in most gift exchanging procedures (*idem*, 2013). And a *thing* that moves through distinct circuits – and changes its status constantly throughout this movement (Kopytoff, 1986) – expresses what I plan to find during this work.

Through this field delimitation (artificial, as any delimitation), I plan to specify that this research is carried out through a markedly (but not exclusively!) marketplace. I consider such place (or *places*) embedded in *-scapes*. *Things* that circulate in these *-scapes* are opposed to the concept of *object* in my displacement (I treat this in more detail in the first section of Chapter 2). An important note is that space is considered by most geographers and anthropologists as segments on a surface (Ingold 2000) – adding meaning to it, turns it into a place. Place is the term we use throughout this paper, therefore, to mean a material actor that actively takes part in the wider concept of a gayscape. All of these actors actively relate and create or sever ties in places – since spaces are a monolithic, passive context that precedes place (Casey 1996), the term space will not be used in this work. Fieldwork, therefore, will consist of following, interacting, and interpreting such *things* in *gayscapes* (I treat the concept of gayscapes in depth in two sections: 2.4 Materiality and Consumption, and Chapter 3 Method).

To avoid a preliminary limitation, I shall not delimit the specific field where this work shall take place. However, given the *homosexuality in consumption fields* focus taken in this work, I depart from the assumption that the first *things* to be sought after and followed are those I classify as markedly gay places. These are comprised of parties, clubs, parades, saunas, associations, NGOs, bars, as well as other gay places that appear during fieldwork. From these, the fieldwork can be deepened, altered, or followed according to necessity – for

example: to follow the relationship of a *thing* found inside a *place* in its transit to another *place*.

For practical reasons, the geographic settings of such a fieldwork were Porto Alegre, in Brazil (the city where I currently live) and Montreal, in Canada (where I spent a year in a doctorate-sandwich program). Participants are not limited to these cities. It is also possible to expand such geographical limits for comparative reasons, by following *things* in their transit. Figure 1 is used as an attempt to visualize the field and agents acting in this field showing potential for analysis, and their relationships.

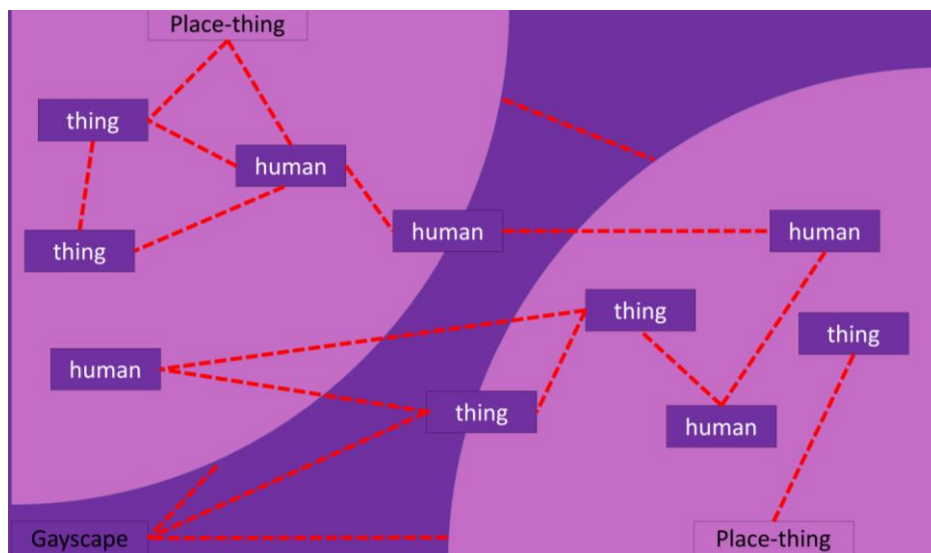


Figure 3. Fieldwork structuring diagram.

Red dotted lines indicate relationships and interactions between field agents that are within marketplaces. Some of them have a more economic nature, some less. Within place-things, where data collection starts, humans, non-humans, things and other categories are found. I stress, however, that relationships are not constrained to the same places or even

environments (and following such things, in this case, provides insights about agents' transit – which potentially helps this work argument stream).

Figure 1 exposes that the unit of analysis are the relationships between actors in a field. This relationship can happen between things, between humans and things, or between humans. Relationships between humans and humans do not compose the main focus in this work, but are not discarded during fieldwork, since they can bring deeper understanding of the transit of things to the fore. Also, relationships between field actors obviously can escape from what was conventionally considered marketplaces, and can be an integral part of all environments. Consumption is a theme connected to a social science – and as a theme of such a science, it cannot be dissociated from its context. Although fieldwork happens, therefore, in this artificial cut, other – wider – environment interactions cannot be forcedly ignored.

To find places, initial fieldwork was necessary. Geographical spaces, in this work, are neither exclusive nor limited. The only limitation in this spatial exploration is of my own physical displacement. To discover where are the places concerning this study, informal conversations with human participants were necessary. Place-thing discovery procedures are specified in Chapter 3 (Method).

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

This work's theoretical foundation was developed with the objective of contextualize two intrinsic aspects to this study. First, I expose how displacing the focus of this study to *things* (Ingold, 2012) alters the generally accepted notion of *possessions and objects* analysis in Marketing. Following this, I develop an argument on how social differences might problematize the proposed displacement – how difference contextually operates in my analysis.

This chapter was written with the intention of using such theoretical foundations as argumentative sources, rather than encyclopedic tomes. Certainly, each of the categories to be discussed in this study carry, within, an infinity of studies – however, the central argument to ground this work demands the careful (but not biased) choice of studies that precede what shall be analyzed.

In my argumentative stream, I intend to begin this theoretical exposure with a categorical definition of *possession, object* and *thing*. After this, I develop the argument of differences in social relations (that, from now on, include *things*), to clarify the theoretical

foundations that sustain this work. Finally, I highlight the transit of things (respecting different contexts) in my field.

2.1 POSSESSIONS AND OBJECTS

Consumption behavior studies, in Marketing, usually make use of objects and possessions concepts and their relationship with identity expression (or “expression of the self”) in individuals through a foundational work by Belk (1988). According to the author, the concept of the self as expanding through the use of objects “is not new” (Belk, 1988, p. 139) – to defend this statement, the author cites an excerpt from 1890. Belk’s (1988) argument starts based on the premise that our possessions construct our identity expression, ourselves, our self². Ahuvia (2005) warns that the words “self”, “sense of self” and “identity” are synonyms for Belk (1988): all of them refer to as a person subjectively perceives who she or he *is*. There is no way to apply a *thing* (object) in a *self* that uniformly functions in all individuals or cultures, precisely because of the subjective factor of perception.

It is important, however, to comprehend Belk’s (1988) argument’s complexity to avoid a fetishization of some (or one) objects’ characteristics into a unique and totalizing explanation. Belk constructs a careful argument that only a set of objects (but also people, places, and groups) can start to explain the self. To avoid a totalizing explanation, the author (1988) hierarchizes interrelationships between people and objects. As control we exert over objects goes up, so does the alliance between this object and a self goes up. Therefore, Belk formalizes the relationship between the extension of the self and objects as: (1) my mind, my free-will; (2) my body and my consciousness; (3) **my possessions** (my emphasis); (4) my

friends; (5) strangers, the physical universe. One of Belk's critical points, in his argument, is that *possessions* are closer allies to a sense of self because they lack free-will – this puts friends, for instance, in a lower level (than possessions) of alliance to a self.

Ahuvia (2005) developed and expanded Belk's (1988) work by criticizing the separation between a core self and an extended self. Ahuvia's (2005) criticism is that Belk considered a core self, consisting of internal and psychological processes (a consistent mental structure in the Western world). This core was not fixed, and to extend it and complement it, it was necessary to ally and affiliate oneself to groups, objects, friends, environments and possessions.

The problem to Ahuvia (2005, p. 180) is that the extended self metaphor could fall back to a romantic *true, authentic* self. Ahuvia's presented solution was that an object (in the author's case, *a loved object*) does not only express a self, but also transforms the self in a new, desired form (for instance, one of Ahuvia's interviewees bought clothes that tried to express her self, but always based in a question: "would my modern, creative friend use this, too?" – expressing an intrinsic doubt regarding her personal tastes).

Both authors' arguments, although pertinent, consider the same premise: objects and people are in opposite, different poles or positions. Objects do not have free-will. Consumers have free-will. Objects are used to express something. Consumers use objects to express something. Physical spaces and environments serve the consumer to express him or herself. Consumers attend a place to express something... At all times, consumers become monolithic entities (Butler, 2010), with agency and decisions (and to Ahuvia [2005], *love bearers*). All the rest is, therefore, subordinated to this universal and totalizing category. Consumers are cut out from the rest of the universe, and only *relate* to it. There's a cut, a

² I feel important to add that, according to Belk (1988), the notion of a "self" is intrinsically masculine and

division – a separation. Any material, left to its own, gets out of control. “Pots break, bodies disintegrate” (Ingold, 2012, p. 36). Humans’ interactions with things, therefore, are not superior or inferior to any other relationship within our theoretical framework. Things forge relationships with humans, and humans relate with these things, to avoid disintegration (for both parts).

To develop an argument based in Descola (2011), the separation between nature and culture (or society) was, in part, the core argument that allowed Levi-Strauss’ work. This division is what used to confer ethnology with “[...] certain autonomy within the human sciences” (Descola, 2009, p. 103). The positive contrast between nature and culture was at the same time an analytical tool and a philosophical scene. According to Descola (2011), Levi-Strauss insisted in demonstrating that there was nothing automatic or predictable in the way a social formation select this or that aspect of its natural habitat/environment to attribute particular meaning. For instance: many neighboring cultures identify, in a same animal or plant, inherent characteristics that are completely different – and more: they can attribute an identical symbolic function to species that belong to completely different genii – even kingdoms. In Western capitalistic consumption contexts, the same attribution of symbolic function can act differently in several groups: Borgerson et al. (2006) found differing attributes to the same visual artifacts in advertising and communication material.

Based in this symmetry between a mental determinism and an environmental determinism (in other words: society and nature), Descola (2011) argues that Lévi-Strauss relegated the latter a subaltern role in his works. In Belk’s argument (1988), it’s also perceptible that such a hierarchization of the external environment (nature) also has a subordinated role in the expression of a self. To both authors, apparently, the physical environment has a secondary role, that of supplying the mythical thinking with the materials

on which it draws. “[U]ndoubtedly a useful function, but [one that] does not reflect to its full extent the possibilities of interaction between a given society and its geographical environment” (Descola, 2009, p. 106). Descola (2011) notices, therefore, a focused interest, by materialists, in the impact of ecological factors on all those aspects of social life that are not assigned to (regarded as) subaltern symbolic activity.

2.1.1 Subaltern Objects, Nonagentic Possessions?

Things speak (Ingold, 2012). However, to paraphrase Spivak’s (2010) title: can the subaltern *object* speak? Before I answer, the concept of subaltern must be addressed. To Spivak (2010), the sciences of the Center (Western, Eurocentric), have a long standing violent project throughout its epistemic history: to create colonial subjects as *Others*. With this project in mind, we again point out to Belk’s (1988) statement that the notion of Self is masculine, white and Western. Spivak (2010) reaffirms such definition, and includes the notion of *Other* created by this epistemic Western project in the same problematic (in other words: the colonial *Other* is **also** a Western, masculine and white concept).

This statement generates a systemic problem: as we include ourselves in this epistemic project, speaking about *Self* and *Other* concepts puts them in the same epistemological premises. To accept such a limitation does not, however, gets the researcher free from this epistemic violence. If we intend to talk about the *subaltern object*, therefore, we will always talk about this object with the premises of this violent project that Spivak (2010) criticizes.

And can this *subaltern* speak? According to Spivak’s (2010) conclusion, if we refer to a black and poor woman, her condition in a Western context is involved in three ways in the problem of *speaking as a subaltern*. If we displace this same subject to a post-colonial

environment, however, the condition of being black and poor loses much of its persuasion meaning.

I speak, therefore, from which context? From a geographical point of view, I speak from a post-colonial, periphery countries' context (Spivak, 2010). From the point of view of my field – conventionally treated as consumption contexts, I speak from the Western, white, male context (hooks³, 1992). My objective does not try to analyze consumption under a post-colonial prism, but the recognition that my context is problematic in this discussion is – above necessary – convergent with my field analysis. It is convergent because the analysis takes into consideration how agents in a field *perform* (Butler, 2010) their systemic differences.

In the same way Spivak (2010) concludes that subalterns cannot speak, I conclude – therefore – that subaltern objects cannot speak. They cannot speak because the mere search to learn to speak points to a placement of such subjects that speak in a violent epistemic project: intellectual *Whitening*. To speak, one needs to learn to speak, and this learning process points to a mandatory understanding of speech projects (to Spivak [2010], the feminist project).

There is also another fundamental problem in my field interpretation: the enslaved possessions. To Kopytoff (1986), there is a fluidity between possible status of things (but also of people). Such fluidity is found in Western society as well as any other. One of the fundamental characteristics of status transitions is found in a dyad *common-singular*. Both extremes of this dyad are considered ideal types by Kopytoff (1986), since there is no thing or human purely singular, nor thing or human purely common. What happens, however, is a fluid transition between common and singular statuses of things and humans.

³ bell hooks requests that her name, be it in citations or in references, should be kept in lower cases – for this reason, I shall keep her name this way, even though this is not the academic practice.

A transaction between common possessions (e.g. commodities) is treated as discreet, since the primary and immediate objective of such transitions is to obtain a counterpart of the same value. The objective of such transactions (of common possessions) is not, for example, to pay homage in exchange of more prestige, or that of initiating another transaction – such as the exchanges preceding and initiating the ritual of a wedding. To explain the status of slave, therefore, Kopytoff (1986) uses the term of human commodification, that can be then exchanged for a counterpart of equal value (monetary, other commodities, other slaves), to a later *decommodification*. A slave has a biography: he or she will not, necessarily, keep a slave status for the rest of their lives. After a transaction, slaves could become warriors, workers, counselors, and lovers, among other unique statuses.

What regulates these status changes of things and humans, to Kopytoff (1986), are “Spheres of Exchange”. Each society has different spheres. For example, the Tiv people, in Nigeria, have three: (a) subsistence items sphere – potatoes, spices, chickens; (b) prestige items sphere – mainly cattle, slaves, ritual spaces; and (c) rights-in-people sphere – rights over wives, children, wards; all of them interdependent and connected. The upward status changes (with the subsistence items sphere as origin) are considered satisfactory and appropriate. Downward status changes (with the rights-in-people sphere as origin) are considered shameful and only acceptable in times of extreme duress. The Tiv conversion system is not analogous to Western culture, and not even a Western culture system would maintain itself analogous among countries considered Western. What Kopytoff (1986) argues, however, is that Western culture also has exchange spheres, and that items, possessions and people circulating these spheres are also exchanged within and among them.

One of the central arguments is that there are processes with *things* (Ingold, 2012) that move from common to singular; and from singular to common (Kopytoff, 1986). A stamp might be common, but its passage to a stamp collection, for instance, makes it singular. The

growing commoditization that marks late stage capitalism, however, is not a characteristic of capitalistic systems, but the exchange technology that was historically associated to it. The expansion of this exchange system works in two ways: (a) from the point of view of a single possession, making it exchangeable for more possessions; and (b) from the point of view of the system as a whole, making more and more different possessions exchangeable.

Possessions *singularization* (Kopytoff, 1986) also happens in a ubiquitous way. To the author, common goods are singularized when, for instance, they are sacralised – for instance: jewels that could be exchanged as common, but might end up in the ritualistic paraphernalia of the Crown Jewels, and – therefore – sacralised. Beyond just varying from statuses such as more common and more singular, goods can also achieve a status of terminal commoditization, in which the common possession cannot be exchanged anymore for other common possessions. For example, the medicine prescribed for a specific illness (that can only be possessed by a specific person, and which exchange is regulated by law) cannot be exchanged for other common possessions.

What is ubiquitous in this process, therefore, is the possessions' enslavement (of people or things). For enslaved *things* (Ingold, 2012), their status will not be maintained through time, but their passages among several different statuses might say a lot about their biography. It also speaks about the relationship mesh in which the *thing* was involved to be exchanged as common and, later, singular (or the opposite way)

To hear what the subaltern object and the enslaved possession speak, I will mandatorily accept the Western epistemic project (Spivak, 2010). If I want to hear things, however, I need to understand more about these subalternizations of things in relation and interactions with *other* things and humans.

2.1.2 Things

This supposed subalternization of the medium in its interactions with humans (animals, things, environments) is useful, but – converging with Descola (2011) – does not fully reflect all possible interaction sets. When we affirm that someone uses or possesses a T-shirt and that, therefore, this individual expresses something, we might omit a series of more complex and rich interactions.

If the consumer depends on the social significance of products to shape her image (Solomon, 1983), and speaks about herself through the personalized goods she consumes (McCracken, 1986), what can be said of things themselves and what they say?

*“Sitting alone in my study as I write, it may seem obvious that I am surrounded by objects of all sorts, from the chair and desk that support my body and my work, to the pad on which I write, the pen in my hand and the spectacles balanced on my nose. Imagine for a moment that every object in the room were magically to vanish, to leave only the bare floor, walls and ceiling. Short of standing or pacing the floorboards, I could do nothing. A room devoid of objects, we might reasonably conclude, is virtually uninhabitable. In order to make it ready for any activity, it has to be furnished. [...] **The object** stands before us as a fait accompli, presenting its congealed, outer surfaces to our inspection. It is defined by its very ‘overagainstness’ in relation to the setting in which it is placed [...]. **The thing**, by contrast, is a ‘going on’, or better, a place where several goings on become entwined. To observe a thing is not to be locked out but to be invited in to the gathering.” (Ingold, 2010, p. 3-4, our emphasis)*

Ingold (2012) extends an argument about *things* that are formed and grow with little to no human interaction (trees, rivers, rocks) to things that are deliberately created and recreated by humans. There is no subordination or hierarchization between that which was or not created by a human. The example given by the author (2012) is that of a house. There is no real house (as a finished and completed product) – for a house to exist, a laborious maintenance and interaction work is needed. A house is a complex machine that breaks down every day. “Indeed not unlike the tree, the real house is a gathering of lives, and to inhabit it is

to join in the gathering, or in Heidegger's terms, to participate with the thing in its thinging." (Ingold, 2010, p.5).

To occupy a world full of objects means to observe the worldly contents as if they were finalized – in their final form. Moving away from this perspective, we arrive at the point in which things depart from their current subaltern status to humans and become participants of a meeting, of a continuous movement process, and acquire life.

"It is through their immersion in these circulations, then, that things are brought to life. You can demonstrate this by means of a simple experiment, which I have carried out with my students at the University of Aberdeen. Using a square of paper, matchstick bamboo, ribbon, tape, glue and twine, it is easy to make a kite. We did this indoors, working on tables. It seemed, to all intents and purposes, that we were assembling an object. But when we carried our creations to a field outside, everything changed. They suddenly leaped into action, twirling, spinning, nose-diving, and – just occasionally – flying. So what had happened? Had some animating force magically jumped into the kites, causing them to act most often in ways we did not intend? Of course not. It was rather that the kites themselves were now immersed in the currents of the wind. The kite that had lain lifeless on the table indoors had become a kite-in-the-air. It was no longer an object, if indeed it ever was, but a thing." (Ingold, 2010, p. 7).

To think in a kite without wind is to think of it as an object. To think in a kite-in-the-air is to think of it with agency and life. It can only act and be in the wind. Much in the same way, a possession without its interaction with a human being is an object. A *possession* interacting with the environment, ethnicities, sexualities, clothing, music, lighting, prices, hours ... is to think of it as a thing. As we displace this thinking to things (as kites-in-the-air), our engagement with the world (in sciences and in general) becomes a constant and active connecting exercise. An exercise to transform and displace things, instead of exercising a pre-existing order of naturally deriving substances (from others), or united by a hidden force or structure (Bajde, 2013).

Latour (2005)⁴ advises that following events (be them people, things, or relationships between both) is not intrinsically connected with the (imagined) scientist – the activity depends on non-humans (such as instruments). This notion of thing-instrument infused in the action of following stories and voices from both humans and things leads to one conclusion: if there are no *a priori* actors, outside of their heterogeneous relationships, there cannot be a finished consumer as a stable, durable construct – at least not outside its standardized relationships with people, *things*, and meanings that construct subjectivities, things, devices, spaces, and times (Bajde, 2013). Bajde’s (2013) proposed perspective change – before materiality, process, and institution – represents an ontological turn that may contribute to some solutions in some consumer behavior discussions (Askergaard and Scott, 2013).

From this section, therefore, we can present a few risks deriving from subordinating things to humans and, with the risks, some questions that may guide research that seeks to deepen this analysis and bringing things back to life:

- When relegating the object to submission (by humans), and its subordinated use, an important intersection of class, income, ethnicity, sexuality is ignored. Objects speak and relate to human beings, but what they say depends on a complex interaction that escapes simple possession. In the same way humans relate to other humans in several dimensions, including several social markers, things also relate to humans and other things in several dimensions. Can, therefore, possessions explain or extend the self? How can the intersections of income, class, ethnicity, (...), and things explain or extend selves? How do things express identity or agency within these intersections? And, mainly for this works specific interest:

⁴ Latour (2005) was criticized by Ingold (2010) for using the idea of a “network” (Actor-**Network** Theory), even though Ingold recognizes that Latour’s original term comes from the French verb “to sew” (Acteur- *Réseau*). For Ingold (2010), “network” brings a “connected dots” analogy to the fore – something that may result in an explanation without the environmental interactions in which things are *always* involved.

how does the relationship between these intersections, humans, and things assemble discourses and agencies in sexualities?

- When treating *things* as *objects or possessions*, some inter-relations might be missed or omitted: Belk (1988) reports a bicycle theft by bringing victim/perpetrator relations to the fore, restricted to human-human relationships. To the victim, it hurt to know that somebody was selling her bike. In this case, Belk (1988) reports on losing a part of self that was invested in a bicycle, but one may ask: how does the bicycle theft affect the relation in all of its levels? How the theft victim feel regarding the bicycle itself (a *thing* that can have a name, stories, and emotional connection with a human being⁵)? Instead of having an object stolen, how does the victim feel regarding the abrupt rupture of an affective or personal relationship with the stolen *thing*?

- Another *things subordination to humans* risk is that of reifying individuality and connect it excessively to material possession, as if possessions were greatly responsible in communicating the individuality of research subjects. With a displaced analysis focus – to equal and personal relationship between *things* and humans – it is possible to notice *things agencies* (Ingold, 2010). How things also *use human subjects* in the making of *something to be said*. A hermeneutical version of cultural construction means that any theory that questions a phenomenon first must establish what such phenomenon will be. Therefore, theory participates in the creation of what it will find (Butler, 2010). In other words, the risk of reifying self-expression in possessions is in forgetting that many behaviors might be created by the mere *questioning* of such phenomenon. What perspective allows a researcher to approach identity construction without reifying it or specifying it as an *a priori* given? Is a no-

⁵ See Dalpian, Paulo. “Um Carro A Menos: A Contra-hegemonia e a Resistência ao Consumo”. Dissertação de Mestrado. UFRGS, 2013.

subordination approach capable of offering an identity analytical framework in people-and-things relationships (Ingold, 2012)?

- The last risk to be discussed here is that of silencing objects. Butler (2010) connects performativity⁶/agency to discourse and – therefore – silencing a discourse is, by extension, silencing agency. Belk (1988) cites deceased people's clothing as an example of association between self and possession, but the risk I propose to avoid is that of silencing the clothes themselves. When possessions become taboo, Belk (1988) is referring to human-human relationships (for example, the expectation of *sati* – suicide practiced by women as widowed wives-property of Hindu men [Spivak, 2010]). Even though the previous analysis is pertinent, it also ignores an important voice of subordinated actors – be it *things* or (to expose what I mean) wives-property. How to hear what *things* say? Is it possible to be a voice-bearer for things that have no capacity to speak?

Related to this last risk, feminist theory and, specially, black feminist theory, brought the concept of Intersectionality to the fore. This concept helps the analysis of how positions, locations, ethnicities, classes, genders... are important for a careful analysis of a social phenomenon. This concept allows that any given voice to a subject to be carefully placed in an intersecting union of categories and social difference markers (Collins, 2000).

2.2 INTERSECTIONALITY

The concept of Intersectionality refers to the interactive relationship between a person and hers or his social positioning, always situated in relation to other positionings in a power

⁶ Performativity (Butler, 2010) implies a subject's construction in actions – or: subjects are not dependant on a previous structure of social and behavioral categories. They are created at the moment of their actions, discourses, speeches.

matrix web. Intersectionality analysis is concerned with understanding how difference operates in difference, and seeks a deconstruction of *a priori* concepts. This perspective is widely used in Black feminism works and its source is the understanding that *feminism*, how popularly known, is very centered in *white feminism* – middle class, not concerned with very distinct preoccupations of Black women's feminism (Crenshaw, 1989).

On this approach, social markers such as race, gender, sexual orientation, class and nationality or ethnicity are seen as interacting in several (sometimes convergent) spheres. In an intersectional perspective, a self comprehension depends on the understanding of how these characteristics are inter-related amongst themselves – and also with social systems and structures (Collins, 2000). This approach can be used, therefore, to escape from some of the risks of an individualistic and reified analysis of the self.

Although consumption researchers' methods and research designs have generally been concerned with capturing the dynamic processes of complex social phenomena, they have also rarely used an intersectional approach (Crockett et al., 2011). Recently, Choo and Ferree (2010) have identified three approaches that emphasize intersectional perspectives:

- 1) **Inclusion centered approaches:** emphasizing the importance of including perspectives (voices) of marginalized people, especially (but not exclusively) Black women.
- 2) **Process centered approaches:** involving a dimension that escaped the simple addition of marginalized *voices* to analyze the results of interactions between actors and their placements in power networks.
- 3) **System centered approaches:** focusing in conceptualizing social systems in their dynamism and complexity.

All approaches involve dynamics between actors in individual, group, and institutional level.

Beyond providing a more focused analysis in all spheres that mark social differences, performativity can be an important factor in intersectional readings. Performativity can help to alleviate or lower the risk of an analysis focused in predetermined and delimited sets about what, precisely, are categories such as sexuality, market, or consumption (Butler, 2010). On this perspective, social difference cannot be seen, simply, as something predetermined. To my analysis, social difference is *performed* – in other words, difference will be experienced while operating *in loco*, through speech, discourse, or action: without the need for finding a previously existent structure to analyze such difference.

What does it mean to say that intersectionality is *performed*? To begin my argument, I must clarify that performance in a Butlerian inspiration prescinds a finished category. Performances mean avoiding to use a finished category while constructing reality (for instance, sexuality) – analogous to reading a *script*. Performance creates, in its own process, said reality. It's in the speeches, actions, gesture's moment that the individual creates itself (Butler, 2010).

However, there's a conceptual caution to be taken in this argument to avoid mistakes in reading performances, specifically when analyzing minorities consumption practices. A stream of critical studies of consumer management techniques converges with a Foucaultian sense of governability. This critique is understood here as a power different from disciplinary impositive power, operating from bottom-top perspectives, via consumer empowerment – cultivating consumers themselves as resources to be explored in value creation processes (Zwick et al., 2008; Cova et al., 2011; Beckett, 2012; Zwick; Ozalp, 2012). What I mean to expose here is that a shallow analysis of these processes puts a high degree of empowerment

in the gay public (which results in terms such as gay market, pink money, or stereotypes of the gay intersection as being a more affluent public) that can be just as violent as exclusion: such a public is valued only when it presents itself as a value creation resource. The remaining subjectivities that do not matter to the value creation process continue to suffer the usual sexuality-bound stigma. For example, Misocsky et al. (2012) present the increasing value of the white, rich gay stereotype – and how the public that did not carry those social markers was marginalized (and even criminalized) in a consumption space that, at least initially, claimed to be a gay empowerment place.

This conceptual care is needed to avoid analysis focused in pre-existing categories in consumption studies. To analyze a relationship between a human and a thing as if both the human and the thing had pre-existing definitions would be akin to resorting to this shallow relationship analysis. For example: the same T-shirt says completely different things in its relationship with two different humans. The same human says completely different things in his or her relationship with two different T-shirts. Although these examples may seem obvious, any self-expression analysis may become harmful when operating in a specific place, by a specific human, with specific objects. A more specific argument for this can be found, for example, in Belk's (1988) self-expression analysis, as he artificially cuts a (previous) human category which is universal in relationship with its objects. Belk's (1988) study informants weren't contextualized in their performed social positions. There's no mention of class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality – but some evidences point to the specific need of this conceptual care I argued at the beginning of this paragraph.

Belk (1988) cites 11 university students, all female; some young Americans (presumably male) who love automobiles (presumably a high-earning class); and post-retirement age people. Belk's (1988) objective was not the same as ours, but the lack of some

data helps our argument – that intersectional analysis could bring more localized, contextualized knowledge.

Ahuvia (2005) however, contextualizes his two research participants and contrasts their social positions and differences. Pam, who grew up in poverty, and emigrated from the Philippines and was living in a mixed and Mexican neighborhood related (or *loved*) to objects to extend her self according to some identity projects. Cindy, a Marketing executive who was born in America, from German and Danish ascendancy, grew up in a Nebraska ranch, but living in a fashionable neighborhood in Chicago's North Side also related (or *loved*) to objects to express her self and solve a binary identity conflict – between her rural roots and her current affluent urban status. In Ahuvia's (2005) case, there is a conceptual listing for social differences – but analyses do not cross these categories. There's no interrelation in the way Pam and Cindy relate to objects. Both interviews are individually analyzed to help the argument that self expression can help solve identity conflicts. In addition, Ahuvia (2005) continues to subordinate loved objects as possessions without life or agency (Ingold, 2012) – which, although outside of Ahuvia's proposed scope, helps to conceptualize our argument.

Therefore, connecting someone's agency to performativity (Butler, 2010) precludes the idea of identity conflict in itself – a presupposed, monolithic category. The process of identity performance in a human-thing relation does not require an *a priori* category operating in the background of every single action. The action, in itself, *builds* (performs) this identity – and this can be moving, mutable, discontinuous and contextual.

2.3 GENDER, SEXUALITY, AND CONSUMPTION BEHAVIOR

Before I begin an argument about studies involving gender and sexuality in consumption behavior, it's important to remember the previous delimitation of the terms *gender* and *sexuality*. In this study, both terms are considered to be socially constructed discourses and categories. Butler (2006) already exposed sex as a discursively built construct, instead of something neutral, natural and pre-discursive. Gender as a category would, therefore, derive from this natural sex, binary and fixed – predefined by a technical discursive field. If this supposition is carried to my field, several intersectional voices might be silenced⁷. After all, what would be gay as a category? What are the sex and the gender of this category? I don't intend to deconstruct gender to reconstruct it at a later time: the objective is to let gender speak for itself in the study field. Much in the same way that Butler (2006) sets the *woman* category free to be used by all women that wish to use it, one can set the gay category free to be used by anyone who might want to use this category. Given the focus of this study in human-thing relationships, and especially in places, there are some categories that might escape an artificial gay delimitation, but still present relationships and affections outside of the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 2006). In order to set the gay category free, it will be displaced from an identity trait, and placed in the field as an actor - gayness (I will develop this concept further in Subsection 2.3.2).

While studies focusing on gay people can be traced back to as early as the 19th century, most of the early studies were in the medical and psychological fields (Leznoff, 1954). Studies on sociological and behavioral perspectives of gay men begin to appear around the middle of the 20th century – a good example being Leznoff (1954), discussing the social

⁷ Palan (2001) makes this *biological sex* discourse instability clear – *not intentionally* - by using the term *intersex* – newborns with “both” (assuming this binary category) sexes. The mere technical and clinical need that

risks and practices of Easton's (a pseudonym for a large Canadian city) gay residents. Even though the concept of gay spaces appears in the author's discussion, they are not the focus of his analysis. Slowly – and mainly during the 1970's and 1980's - sociology and geography fields started to bring the concepts of gay space, ghetto, and places to academic discourse (Podmore, 2006). Commercial space and marketplaces studies also begin to flourish in the geography field during the 1990's (Podmore, 2006). Marketing researchers' interest in gay marketplaces also started to rise during the end of the 1990's and throughout the 2000's – being considered neglected in the Marketing field prior to that time (Kates, 2000). The *Journal of Homosexuality*, for example, launched a special issue in 1996 called *Gays, Lesbians, and Consumer Behavior*.

Hearn and Hein (2015) reviewed academic knowledge in gender, sexuality, and consumption, and criticized a research stream that assumes structural differences among genders. According to the authors (2015, p. 1630) this body of knowledge's “[...] persistence and high academic rankings highlights that marketing scholars continue to be particularly interested in understanding fundamental differences between men and women and perhaps tacitly assume that these differences define gender”. They call for more carefully specification when applying terms in Marketing Research: whether the terms used are referring to identities, practices, institutional patterns, structure, or psychodynamics. In the same way, Bettany et al. (2010) argue that a political imperative, post-structuralist approach is paving way to new ways of deconstructing gender-based discourses. Therefore, by assuming a practice and material approach to Gender and Sexuality in marketplaces, we propose another consideration: the ontological concern of how actor dynamics are being analyzed (Descola, 2009).

demands a final “boy or girl” decision or verdict (usually from a doctor) clarifies how much of a discursive category “sex” is.

Beyond gender structural differences, most of these early Marketing, gender and sexuality studies have several premises regarding consumption, identity, and structures: some of Kates' works (1999, 2000, 2002) refer to gay communities or subcultures, and focus on these collective consumption phenomena as *community construction practices*. Other works (Penaloza, 1996; DeLozier and Rodrigue, 1996) try to understand how Marketing structures interrelate with gay men and lesbian women. Hughes (2002) focuses on place (tourism) gay advertising and the construction of a travel destination for gay men, as well as the possible destruction of gay spaces (mainly by acceptable-normative behavior imposition) for locals. More recently, Marketing and consumption studies involving gender and sexuality still adhere to this structural, binary (gender-as-variable) and constructionist approach – although from the year 2000 and forward, Marketing and consumption behavior studies on gender and sexuality have been increasingly incorporating Queer and Feminist Theories (Bettany et al., 2010). These works, however, continue to refer to social, institutional and community structures and how they intermingle with sexuality - for example: a naturalistic and culturalistic analysis is present in one of the seminal works about sexuality in Consumption Studies by Kates (2002). This structural approach serves as an argumentative stream to explain some of the consumption practices shared within a social institution (gay subcultures). Kates' (2002) work relies on this separation between external backdrops and actors and, by doing so, a definitive limit appears in devices such as *boundary maintenance* of this subculture (Kates, 2002, p. 384). This approach is not, as previously stated, wrong or outdated – it serves the author and his critique of previous subcultures of consumption studies.

However, a critique of the use of subcultural constructs must be clarified, since Thomas et al. (2011, p. 271) point to “a lack of meaningful definitions and distinctions that hinders our understanding of contemporary consumption collectives”. Be it a Brand Community, a Subculture of Consumption, or Consumer Tribe, the main argument is that

“theoretical and definitional linkages between those groups remain unknown” (Thomas et al., 2011, p. 271). Other authors study gender or sexuality with this stark opposition between human actors (culture) and nature: or objects (Kates, 2002; Valtonen and Narvanen, 2015), spaces (Kates, 2002), and social structures, such as singleness (Lai et al., 2015), and gay marriage media portrayal (Borgerson et al., 2006).

Valtonen and Narvanen (2015) article, however, presents a more relational approach, by focusing in object-person relationships. While it relies on a separation between humans and objects – therefore reiterating human agencies – it does approximate both structures in a more integrative analysis. For example, the object bed is categorized as an “[...] active ingredient in the process of ‘doing’ gender” (Valtonen and Narvanen, 2015, p. 1588). While the study relies on specific gendered structures, it also opens new paths for the question of why consumption researchers prioritize the materializing of ‘objects’ rather than the ‘person’. Our question, instead, is focused on this structural separation (between ‘object’ and ‘person’) that we propose to be only a perspective among others (Descola, 2009).

Recently, Bettany (2007) criticized CCT’s ontological assumptions in meaning being ‘ascribed’ to objects by subjects, and practices being engaged by subjects ‘using’ objects. By shifting this focus, Bettany (2007) exposes Latour’s ‘Material Relationality’ and a Haraway’s ‘material-semiotics’ – ontologies that bring materials back into consumer research. Our proposal, therefore, is convergent with Bettany’s (2007) ontological critique.

Findings based in gender and sexuality, on studies involving consumption behavior, were considered rare for a long time. This perceived rarity made possible for statements such as *abandoning gender identities in consumption behavior studies* to appear in Marketing journals (Palan, 2001). Since even the binary gender distinction (male/female) was under

attack, consumption behavior studies involving gender met several operational difficulties (Firat, 1993).

In Western societies, consumption behavior studies tend to use pre-established gender categories. For example, the male gender has been cited as having traits of “independence, assertivity, reason, rationality, competitiveness, and focus in individual goals” (Palan, 2001, p. 3). The female gender, on the other hand, carries other supposed behavioral patterns, such as “understanding, caring, nurturance, responsibility, considerateness, sensitivity, intuition, passion, and focus on communal goals” (Palan, 2001, p. 3). This binary and pre-established gender pattern, in studies involving consumption, continues to be accepted. I can only propose, therefore, to abandon these pre-established categories in a study involving people and thing relationships in marketplaces regarding their sexuality.

Limitations derived from the use of the above mentioned binary and pre-established model are known (Stern et al., 1987; Palan, 2001). Most of these limitations are bound to operational matters (for instance, the quantitative scales being used), theoretical-operational matters (for instance, gender identity and its measurements may vary in different contexts), and even the conceptualization of a salient category (for instance, gender identity) when actually another category may be more salient (for instance, gender roles) for a specific study (Palan, 2001). Although some discussions are pertinent, it is important to bring out other problems concerning these same limitations, mainly in some assumptions: before improving a gender and consumption behavior measurement data collection instrument, it is important to question the predefined theoretical and epistemological assumptions (e.g. intersectionality; the binary assumption of gender and sexual roles; relationships with things; etc.) In other words, letting gender and sexuality speak for themselves in the field (Butler, 2006) may bring up place-things that will need to be subsequently followed, understood, and with which a researcher may engage in practices and conversations.

Even something as simple as signaling in an advertisement (for example, a man and a woman; two men; two women kissing – or even just standing side by side) can spark a discussion on gender roles within Marketing (Puntoni et al., 2011). The term *gay window advertisement* is used since the 90's meaning *subtle signaling* in advertisement – discreetly and subtly hinting gay man and lesbian woman culture. The (subtle) content in this communication strategy is not perceived by straight people because of the liberty of interpretation in an advertisement piece. Explicit gay advertisement, however, use elements and references that are not ambiguous (e.g. pink triangles, rainbows) to reach their targeted audience (Borgerson et al., 2006; Hunt and Zacharias, 2008). Puntoni et al. (2011) found different reactions within male gay and straight public and both positive and negative reaction were inversely correlated within both publics: gay men had positive reactions toward gay traits ads, and negative reactions toward straight traits ads; straight men had the same reactions, inverted. In a similar way, gay (implicitly gay) visual advertisement that were critically analyzed by Borgerson et al. (2006) were not considered to be gay by several research respondents. For many Borgerson et al. (2006) respondents, what was visually salient in implicitly gay advertisements was family, but in direct bloodline-kinship degrees (brothers, and mother and daughter; instead of gay couples). If things speak (Ingold, 2011), they certainly provoke different reactions in different people.

Another contextual factor provided by the place-thing and what it says can be experimented in the feeling of safety expressed by gay people that live and work in what Kates (2002) specifically calls the *gay ghetto*, or neighborhoods that historically welcome a gay public. Bars, restaurants, supermarkets, and dance clubs that agglomerate in urban spaces more or less defined. However, as it would be the case with any context, Kates (2002) found signs of daily aggressions and oppressions with the gay public in the same neighborhoods – physical and verbal aggressions that would start when a norm was broken during interactions

in a space (who to talk to, how to dress, *the place one can relate with*). The context, therefore, frames what *things* say, and also the possible set of relations. The valuing and signaling game found in Perlongher (1986) was also found in Kates (2002) when some research participants suffered with ostracism for *not understanding fashion* or *not fitting the beauty standards*. It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that certain value and signal games in any context change – not only among individuals, but also between distinct intersectionalities (e.g. social markers, or being white or black).

2.3.1 Gender, Sexuality, and places – the context

The matter of gender and sexuality in marketplaces (places) – and consumption behaviors – must, as previously stated, always be contextualized. With this intention, some arguments pertaining to these categories must be presented in specific contexts. I do not intend to achieve a historical take or an encyclopedic recount of these themes and categories literature, but to bring an argument about how gender, sexuality and place-things have been analyzed in marketing contexts.

Possessions, in consumption and sexuality studies, are commonly analyzed under specific male homosexual identities – just as, for instance, territorial practices and sexuality (Podmore, 2006). Trying to understand how possessions and discourses about possessions help gay men to understand the stigma of homosexual identity, Pereira (2009) uses an interpretive approach, pertinent and contextual, as the framework for analysis. Citing a certain amount of taboo in homosexuality studies in business academic fields (and, as a consequence, in the marketing field), the author can argue that the subject is gaining legitimacy and visibility in those areas.

Unlike Butler (2010), Pereira (2009) uses a fixed concept of identity. The gay category in Pereira's work is based on the Kinsey's report – a sexual behavior scale composed by 7 items (varying from exclusively heterosexual to exclusively homosexual – including asexual behavior). This reveals that Pereira's (2009) analysis has a fixed, pre-established category which is not, in itself, a problem – it only indicates that intersectional concepts (Crenshaw, 1989) and performativity constructs (Butler, 2010) will not be taken into the analysis. This pre-established identity concept allows the author (Pereira, 2009), however, to analyze historical lines that are not easily accessible using a less stable and fixed categorical representation. For instance, Pereira (2009) can connect Brazilian homosexuality to urbanization – which allowed the homosexual behavior construct to emerge in safe physical spaces.

With the emergence of this homosexual behavior, the LGBT movement and the resistance space is born. The movement is responsible, in Pereira's (2009) reading, for the political and social advances in acceptance and affirmation of homosexual identity. Also, “parallel to the activist gay movement reconfiguration in Brazil, during the 80's, the **gay market** also emerges” (Pereira, 2009, p. 36, our emphasis, our translation). At this point, therefore, gay spaces begin to materialize. In accordance to my objectives, gay space (gay market) is problematic because a place-thing materialization conforms to a structural rigidity of that which is and is not gay. Place-things, just as humans, can alter its sexuality (or sexual behaviors), what it says, and what it shows in its relationship with humans and other things. Place-things suffer in its gay stigma, but also reconstructs itself when it changes (for example: the music, the patronage, decoration, etc.)

If Pereira's (2009) stigmas are applied to the gay materiality, places as things also are affected by this same stigma – and this generates a paradox in solving/fighting this stigma. This paradox will lead to, in Pereira's (2009) discussion subsection, a *two worlds divided* Rio.

Since the places are impregnated with this gay stigma, Pereira's informants discursively construct these places as a sinful, marginal, contaminating place. The Week dance club is cited in Pereira's (2009) work as a sacred place. An intersectional analysis brings to the fore some different dimensions: Lê Boy dance club – cited as marginal, is presented by Pereira (2009) as a Michê⁸ attended place, which indicates that the patronage at Lê Boy is, itself, marginalized (Perlongher, 1986). The Week, in contrast, is frequented by Pereira's (2009) informants – presumably all of them have high incomes, and one of them attends the exclusive, VIP area of the club.

The contrast between Lê Boy and The Week, in Pereira's (2009) work, allows me to bring up intersectional discussion: it's in the difference that places talk. If a dance club is a place-thing – with agency and voice – both clubs speak in distinct manners. They delimit what kind of public can and cannot attend them. The gay stigma is applied differently between Lê Boy and The Week. Certainly there is a whiteness category (hooks, 1992) operating in both clubs. One has an agency that does not represent whiteness, do not have the social markers that put whiteness in a domination position in patrons' social exchanges (Lê Boy). The other has white agency and voice, with high purchasing power patronage, that possibly allows them to express their sexuality in less oppressive convergences (The Week). This does not mean that marginalized publics cannot attend The Week, nor that affluent publics cannot attend Le Boy. This means, however, that what the place-thing says is conditioned **and** conditions the attending public. It's necessary to understand, therefore, how these place-things biographies, histories, and relationships developed and are developed in marketplaces.

⁸ Emic term for “hustlers”, “call boys”, “male prostitutes”.

Another excerpt from Pereira's (2009) work brings a direct quotation from one of his participants that may help clarify the problems that derive from intersectional analysis:

"I thought that if I got out of the closet I'd have to use a skirt and act like those fagots that dye their hair and use high heels. I saw them at the streets and cried, because that was not how I saw myself. (Luis, 44 years old)" (Pereira, 2009, p. 105, our translation)

This excerpt makes it explicit how Luis relates to his things. There's a strong reading about relationships between humans and things imbued in Luis' discourse. At the same time he observes relationships between a specific human and thing intersection, he tries also to understand his own relationship with his things. Pereira's (2009) analysis of Luis' discourse points out to a *gay universe and its mediatic representation*. Luis, therefore, reads a mediatic material about *how gay people are* and does not accept this reading. Although pertinent, Pereira's (2009) analysis does not include a specific problem that I include here when intersectionality and things relationships are taken into account. The media can be a source of identity materiality, but cannot be exclusive nor totalizing – if this was the case, there wouldn't be a contradiction between Luis and another participant that positively appropriated this media representation in Pereira's (2009) work. If gender and sexuality are displaced to a *performance* (Butler, 2010), the action in its context will bring this identity altering process to the fore as time goes by. In other words, if Luis ever had a relationship with things he stigmatized, the moment that this occurred may provide a wider understanding of how sexuality and gender operates in a context. If Luis was not used to attend a gay place-thing (emically referred to, in Pereira's context, as "the scene") and now attends, this practice change can be explained by Luis' changes, as well as place-things changes, and even by changes in relationships between place-things and other humans and other things. It is necessary, therefore, to walk this human-thing meshes, follow their relationships, hear their voices, and understand contextual changes along time and space.

There contextual changes were found, for instance, in Freeman's (2002) analysis of tacit negotiations among several groups in gay public spaces (places). These group divisions were situated specifically in Ipanema beach, in Rio – and are analogous to concepts of class, sexual orientation, age, and race divisions. The author does not agree with what he calls *the myth of a democratic beach*, since the mere spatial demarcation generated systems of classification, stigmatization, and – consequently – space divisions in the beach. Class struggles were apparent when middle-class people avoided going to the beach in certain days and hours considered *violent and shocking* deriving from the popular classes attending the beach at these times. Time and day, therefore, altered what that place said – or the people with which it related.

The consumption of luxury objects in the Brazilian context is also analyzed by Altaf and Troccoli (2011). The authors begin a pertinent discussion about intersectionality within *objects* because differentiation, in their work, is based in object-object relationships (i.e. how one outfit relates to another). And they also use a conceptualization of the *homosexual market*, based in a 2007 research. But this conceptualization brings to the fore a pre-existing category – an identitary material matrix of expression.

This pre-existing category may be found in the very statistical data derived from the researched population: the article cites data from a 2007 Sao Paulo private company study. From this study, the *homosexual public profile* (based in economic classes) for Altaf and Troccoli (2011) is (1) 34% belonging to *Class A* consumers; (2) 50% belonging to *Class B* consumers; and (3) 16% belonging to *Class C* consumers. No specifics beyond monthly income as to what exactly constitutes each *class* are discussed. As previously stated (Palan, 2001), studies involving homosexual identities and consumption can contain several operational or theoretical problems, and even basing consumers' profiles on a questionnaire may bring several limitations to the fore (e.g. *How was the homosexual identity measured?*

Which questions guided the homosexual identity construction? How were the economic classes constructed and measured? Which questions guided a class separation?). Another study cited by Altaf and Troccoli (2011) was conducted in three gay pride parades to analyze the racial profile: the gay Brazilian population would be composed of 57% white; 11% black; and 32% mulatos (sic). This data may prove useful for intersectional studies, but some theoretical problems may emerge (for example: under-reporting in the context; non-attendance of minorities in the context; etc.)

Another problematic construct, which appears in Altaf and Troccoli (2011) but also in Mariano and Lima (1999) is the consumption habits of the homosexual public. It's worth noting that both studies, when dealing with place attendance, exclude certain place categories – namely: saunas, motels, prostitution spots, and cruising areas. This exclusion has no clear justification in the cited studies. Andrade and Da Silva (2009) argued that these places have a negative mediatic representation in thematic magazines (such as gay guides or gay lifestyle magazines) – mainly because these LGBT media outlets feel prejudice from advertisers. This limits advertisements, in these outlets, to LGBT-public-specialized companies that “risk” advertising in LGBT media. Therefore, viewership from gay magazines and other media consider these (e.g. saunas) spaces symbolically negative, “marginalized”, such as Lê Boy dance club in Pereira's (2009) study.

The above presented theoretical and operational problems appear in sentences such as “[...] homosexuals: (1) represent a **relevant contingent** of [Brazil]'s citizens; and (2) part of them – although not exactly quantified – would have **high purchasing power and higher cultural levels** compared to the Brazilian average” (Altaf and Troccoli, 2011, p. 517, our emphasis, our translation). As seen in previous sections, this sentence may represent a part of Brazilian context's gay population but, at the same time, precludes a series of consumption

behaviors – that not being considered relevant *a priori* escape a deeper understanding of humans and things relationships.

Altaf and Troccoli's (2011) interviewees' profiles bring an intersection to the fore, one with a very specific social marker: high income consumers, involved with a consumption market that represents – and regulates – whiteness (even without declaring their sample physical profiles). In this sense, Binnie and Skeggs (2004, p. 57) use “consumption of difference” (but only specific differences) to explain that marketplaces selling cosmopolitan spaces actually position gay men in **desirable qualities**: glamour, hedonism, safety.

In the Brazilian context, for example, and related to the last point, Mizoczky et al. (2012) report how Altaf and Troccoli's (2004) represented profiles have an intrinsically positive difference demarcation for the construction of market and consumption spaces that want to communicate a cosmopolitan, sophisticated visibility. However, as soon as other profiles with different social markers started to attend to the studied space (a leisure center in the downtown area of Porto Alegre), a violent dispute started in order to avoid a change in what that place was saying – as a thing. The place's *profile* (voice) started to change, and talk about a marginalized, *aggressive* young gay consumer. As the place-thing changes through time, so does what it says. Decoration, attendees, cleanliness/dirtiness, clothes, consumption goods, and all that which formulates what a place “is” are constantly changing.

Another gender, sexuality and marketplace research case was offered by Pocahy (2011), which explores gender performance and male homoerotic sexuality with an age intersection. Specifically, Pocahy (2011) looks into the “old fag” archetype and its incursion in specific sociability spaces: saunas and a downtown bar at Porto Alegre. *Oldness* appears as a social marker that produces abjection⁹, excluding the possibility of bodies within the current

⁹ Butler (2000) emphasized “abject bodies” as those that should not exist within specific cultural matrices.

homoerotic cultural matrix. However, taking Ingold's (2012) notion of *thing*, the context opens itself for a possibility defended by Pocahy (2011, p. 74, our translation): "If the outsider's look says: this is abjection, this is despicable; the sauna's space counter-argues, whispering: this is only horniness." This contextual voice possibility is one of the converging points with my study: to be able to hear what the place, the thing, the lights, the music, (...) speak.

Pocahy's (2011) studied environment depends on the relation of steam to vision and touch: steam blurs most forms and allows certain ephemerality in touch, with a situational and fleeting characteristic. The same lack of commitment allowed amidst steam rooms cannot exist the same way, for example, at the sidewalk in front of the sauna. This might be obvious, but there's a specific difference in what the steam room and the sidewalk speak regarding sexuality. Why do they sound so different for the same person walking *towards* the sauna and *inside* the sauna?

If we continue this stream of argument, switching the analysis from structural elderness to elderness-as-performance within the specific context of a thing (sauna) allowed Pocahy (2011) to understand how the aesthetical difference of the place-thing (sauna) is created as elder bodies move. To the author, the abject body produces, in this place and body relationship, another place, in the bosom of modern buildings in which elder bodies dwell. Pocahy (2011) reports the dirty, unkempt, moist, weakly lighted, smelly characteristic of the sauna as a place-thing (Ingold, 2012). Before considering a thing as a given, Pocahy (2011) asks how the relationship between elderness and thing co-construct themselves – asking what elder bodies say, and what the place-thing talks back.

Pocahy's (2011) method also brings to the fore a discussion about how to move within environments to listen to contextual voices – of both people and things. Pocahy (2011) engaged in participant observation taking the place in consideration, approaching reading an *environment* as a *thing* (Ingold, 2012). This contextual reading was seeking a different phenomenon than the one I propose here, but the methodological procedure has convergences and encounters that I will present in the next chapter, Method.

In a general sense, context is the central focus of my work. Displacing this main focus from individual consumer experiences and, instead, listening to place-things embedded in consumption contexts allow finding particular forms of consumer agency. According to Askegaard and Linnet (2011, p. 387):

“The call here is not to give up the study of consumer experience, but for situating acts of consumption, their motivations and consequences in a world that reaches beyond the subjectivity of the agent. What we need to include is a better understanding of the underlying ideological and mythological forces producing these subjectivities. Which forms of power produce particular forms of consumer agency? And what are the consequences for the relations between individual and society in particular contexts.”

2.4 MATERIALITY AND CONSUMPTION

My intention with this subsection is to develop an argument to treat places with a different perspective regarding material practices of gender and sexuality. Following Ingold (1993), I propose landscapes as active entities that represent knowledge born of immediate and material experiences (Ingold, 1993). To the author, landscapes are conceptual tools to understand sociospatial dynamics. Ingold defines landscape as ‘the world as it is known to those who dwell therein, who inhabit its places and journey along the paths connecting them’ (Ingold, 1993, pg. 156). *Gayscape* follows this definition much in a similar way. Beyond

being a pure spatial entity (see Castilhos et al 2016 for a classification of spatial types), the notion of scapes allow me to capture processes of people and things moving, the temporal flow of these movements. Therefore, here I use the term *gayscape* to conceptualize the spatiotemporal network of actors (both human and non-human) that shape, and is shaped by, gay sexuality as it is experienced and explored. These are commercial establishments, public places, streets, individuals, and institutional actors that are spatially and temporally bound. While public places are included in *gayscapes*, they will be analyzed separately for reasons to be discussed in the Method section. In the next sections, we will further map this gay landscape through my empirical experience.

This is offered in contrast to the usual treatment marketplaces receive in consumption studies: that of a separation between human actors and external reality - or “nature” and “culture” (Descola, 2009). This different perspective opposes two common perspectives, in social sciences: (1) a naturalistic view of environments as neutral, external (a backdrop to human activities) and (2) a culturalistic view that every environment is a particular cognitive or symbolic ordering of space (Ingold, 1993). Before I continue, I wish to clarify that I do not mean that these two perspectives are wrong or out-dated: This apparent separation between society and nature served (and still serves) structuralist anthropologists and social scientists (Descola, 2009) as an argumentative stream to explain some societies’ functional and functioning systems. Even though this is pertinent, such separation does not bring wider sets of analysis to the fore (Descola, 2009).

It was noted, however, that naturalistic and culturalistic perspectives have a risk of falling into a “romanticized”, “overly-agentic” treatment of humans (or, in our case, consumers) (Ahuvia, 2005; Descola and Pálsson, 1996). In traditional Anthropology, this view puts an individual as a novice, gradually becoming competent by internalizing a cultural code or a superorganic script (Pálsson, 1994) – an alienated vessel or container that

progressively absorbs information from social environment (“culture”, in contrast to “nature”). This, however, prohibits a fully understanding of the contextual nature of learning processes. The proper focus then, according to Descola and Pálsson (1996), is no longer a “passive autonomous individual”, but the whole person acting in and within a particular context or environment. This particular form of learning is, therefore, situated in communities of practice.

As my focus shifts toward communities of practice, I no longer view “community” as a network of human actors. Instead, “community” must be defined as a practice-bound mesh. In this mesh, actors that might not fall within the traditional “community” treatment (a homophobic bike gang leader and his dealings of liquor or drugs in gay bars, for instance) appear as actors, impacting this mesh of relationships and practices. Thomas et al. (2011, p. 271) point to “a lack of meaningful definitions and distinctions that hinders our understanding of contemporary consumption collectives”. Be it a Brand Community, a Subculture of Consumption, or Consumer Tribe, the main argument is that “theoretical and definitional linkages between those groups remain unknown” (Thomas et al., 2011, p. 271). Therefore, my argument is not included within the framework cited by the authors (*ibid.*, 2011), since the definition of the collective in this study is based in the relationship mesh, and not in finding and setting borders.

More recently, Thomas et al. (2013) argued about differences within communities, and found two emerging points regarding consumption collectives: members of these collectives have a sense of belonging at individual and collective levels; and therefore, communities are viewed as shared social relationships and actions – which in turn, make the collective meaningful to members. While I agree with those points, communities and collectives do not exist in a vacuum: as I shift my focus from a “passive autonomous individual” (Descola and Pálsson, 1996) to a particular environment, I must recognize other actors that are still part of

these collectives, even though they might not share this sense of belonging nor act according to these collectives systems of meanings. For example, the bike gangs that were struggling to seize control of Montreal's Gay Village liquor and drug market were not only affected by that very collective, they were also affecting that collective. They do share, however, a limited set of practices that are related to the Gay Village context. This limited set of practices is bound to the consumption of alcohol and drugs in those bars and clubs by patrons. And their actions impacted that specific group perception of their own collective.

Higgins (1999) defined "Gay Community" as a "call to action" – or a project for groups to engage in, a process that requires constant effort to build and maintain. I agree with this definition, but I also add that any "Gay Community" has "gayness" as performance in it. This means that the category of "gay" within market systems I use will be composed by (a) Higgins' (1999) notion of a project for groups to engage; (b) a gender and sexuality performance; (c) a set of market-bound practices. This will be what I mean by "gayness as an actor" as specified in the previous subsection: a set of conditions for this actor in a mesh of relations. Not all these relations will be engaged positively.

Paulo: But that's interesting to know, I mean, it's how these – how this alcohol and drug... which is so infused with the... community of the night – of nightclubs, and parties...

Brice: Right. [...] And they exploit, as... as I said, there's a mood in the staff, at [Bar] that is very unfriendly to clients. And dismissive of clients – much more dismissive than they are in their other restaurants. Because... The owner who is an outspoken [pauses] prick. You know? Always fighting, always being closed down because he's made too much noise, and he says "the government is trying to kill businesses, blablabla, it's not my fault", it's bullshit. He was closed down because his place was just too noisy. And I could almost hear him say "who gives a fuck what the faggots want?" you know?

This direct impact of outsider actors inside a collective of practices is visible once I shift my focus to a different sociological object (instead of the community itself). My proposal is that shifting the focus, in sexuality and gender studies, to sexuality and gender

performances provide the necessary practice-as-axial point approaching such collectives. This might be achieved with Butler's (2010, 2011) performativity stance.

“That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality. This also suggests that if that reality is fabricated as an interior essence, that very interiority is an effect and function of a decidedly public and social discourse, the public regulation of fantasy through the surface politics of the body, the gender border control that differentiates inner from outer, and so institutes the “integrity” of the subject. (Butler, 2011, p. 185)”

Therefore, if I consider the stance of performativity, a displacement of gayness is necessary: it is always performed, but its integrity depends on the very social fabric in which the researcher is artificially including it. Gayness, in this case, is both a very material performance and also an actor in a researched field. Gayness as an actor in the field allows a researcher to connect performativity (Butler, 2010) to the set of relationships any other actor (a human, a bar) has with it. And it allows distancing the researcher from this structural sexuality phenomenon in favor of a grounded approach to sexuality in marketing studies. In opposition, taking the structural sexuality approach assumes that (1) sexuality is an overarching a-cultural structure that will be transposable to other contexts; and (2) that this very structure can influence consumer decision. My argument (of “gayness” being “another actor”) allows to a more contextualized marketing research and analysis. In other words, this perspective shift moves from a structural and agency focus (Descola and Pálsson, 1996), toward the performativity (Butler, 2011) of certain practices.

Ingold's position (2012b) is that materials are part of human life. At the same time, his criticism is centered in social researches who continue to write “as though their conspecifics¹⁰ inhabited a world of their own, aloof from the materials of life” (Ingold, 2012b, p. 429). This same materiality has contradictory concepts, pointed out by Ingold (2012b): it can mean the amorphous set of matter and objects; the material or physical component of the environment;

the physicality of the material world; as well as the relationship between human and material – that ends up being appropriated by humanity. Ingold (2012b) establishes an important departure line to understand how material culture is read by different academic circles:

*“Students of material culture are interested in people’s relations with things. Ecological anthropologists study how human beings relate to their biotic and abiotic environments. **For the former, persons and things are bound in relational networks; for the latter, human beings and other organisms are bound in webs of life.** Yet practitioners of these two fields are speaking past one another in **largely incommensurate theoretical languages**” (Ingold, 2012b, p. 428, our emphasis).*

What is, therefore, this materiality? To Ingold (2012b) it’s necessary to abandon the properties of materials (things) as *attributes* - properties must be, alternatively, read as histories. This is one of the few convergence points of Ingold’s (2012b) material properties as histories and Kopytoff’s (1986) idea of a biography of things. Both authors are not based in the same episteme, but they both argue that a researcher can look at materials and materiality (in Kopytoff’s episteme, *goods*) and seek a history. Therefore, to understand a material (materiality) one must be able to tell its story, to listen to its *voice*. To listen to this *voice*, Ingold (2012b) suggests that a description – of a thing – be first and foremost, a question, a puzzle. The answer or solution to this question and puzzle is only reached through interaction, observation, and engaging. Therefore, considering a universal and scientific property regarding an “object” is the opposite path I intend to take.

To listen to the voice of things (place-things) I needed to get involved, engage with them, experiment on their relations with me and/or participants, field actors, and follow their stories in their own making. Thompson, Arnould and Giesler (2013) affirm that consumption behavior studies take the individual as their unit of analysis. To my work, however, this unit of analysis is inconvenient, in line with the authors’ arguments. Displacing this unit of analysis to the relationship between humans and things and delving in a new ontological

¹⁰ From biology: “members of the same species”

epistemology opens up new paths to find some “solution[s] [to] some of the issues currently shaping” consumption behavior (Askegaard and Scott, 2013, p. 146).

At the same time, Thompson, Arnould and Giesler (2013) cite a hegemony, in CCT (Consumer Culture Theory)¹¹, of studies dealing with agency over structure, of the *emic* over the *etic*. The discursive system of these studies involving the consumer focuses on personal (individual) experiences and symbols from consumers and their possessions and consumption actions. Mandatorily, my proposition is set apart from these notions – since my unit of analysis is also apart from this discursive system – placed in the relationship between things and humans.

Bajde (2013) argues that it’s necessary to abandon the notion of *consumers consuming objects*. This does not mean that consumers are impossible entities, nor that there’s no consumption act. This means, merely, that an *a priori* division of a world between active subjects and passive objects locks away the possibility of alternative consumption agencies (in theory and in practice). In other words, bodies or things (Ingold, 2012) cannot be considered *finished* in studies involving consumption. In the next chapter I develop, therefore, the method that will be used to enable this analysis of humans and things relationships.

Following Bajde’s (2013) argument, I abandon the notion of consumers consuming objects and shift my perspective to a relationship mesh (Ingold, 2012b), where actors are active participants in establishing and keeping the whole. In this sense, reality is co-constitutive because any thread that is pulled or changed in the mesh changes the whole – but unlike network nodes, does not destabilize it.

2.5 SCENES AND CONSUMPTION

This subsection is the result of some previous reading of my work and how the concept of scenes was offered as a possible theoretical construct to guide my analysis. After the theoretical definition of scenes is given, some possibilities for analysis may rise, but scenes and landscapes are derived from two different epistemologies. The concept of scenes (Woo, Rennie and Poyntz, 2015, p. 288) is the urban social ties as they influence cultural expression:

“[S]cenes are a basic part of the social imaginary of urban life. They are typically understood as loosely bounded social worlds oriented to forms of cultural expression. They provide systems of identification and connection, while simultaneously inviting acts of novelty, invention and innovation”

Scenes’ ephemeral nature is pointed out by Peterson and Bennet (2004) as they comment on the scene endurance – scenes may endure for several years until they give way for the next hip thing. The authors also point out that even though sensitive to immediate geographical and institutional settings, local practices may be oriented to transnational or virtual collectivities.

While a set of practices shared by gay men may be ephemeral or oriented to certain transnational or virtual collectivities, I point out that my epistemology cannot include scenes literature as is, because scenes are based in cultural expression and innovation, not intersectional positionings such as LGBTQI people. This, however, does not preclude this theoretical approach from affecting my empirical understanding of my field.

Scenes literature is focused precisely on the change that urbanscapes go through as collectives are embedded in creation and innovation. The concept is used since the 1990’s

¹¹ After an extensive review of research dealing with consumers that was widely regarded as qualitative, post-positivist and post-modernist, Arnould and Thompson (2005) coined the term *CCT* – analogous to an academic

(although its creation is much older) and owes its wider theoretical adoption to the field of popular music studies (Woo, Rennie and Poyntz, 2015). Straw (2015), however, defines scenes more broadly. The author suggests that scenes:

*“[...] might be seen as **all of the following**: as collectivities marked by some form of proximity; as spaces of assembly engaged in pulling together the varieties of cultural phenomena; as workplaces engaged (explicitly or implicitly) in the transformation of materials; as ethical worlds shaped by the working out and maintenance of behavioral protocols; as spaces of traversal and preservation through which cultural energies and practices pass at particular speeds and as spaces of mediation which regulate the visibility and invisibility of cultural life and the extent of its intelligibility to others” (Straw, 2015, p.477, my emphasis)*

The problem with this definition is that it is broad enough to include other theoretical constructs. And yet, all these definitions are markedly centered on spaces, not places. Therefore, this work does use some of the actor linkages much in the same way as other works that deal with scenes literature, however – as previously stated – space is not the preferred term (as the passive predecessor of place). The notion of space is useful for scenes literature, as the physical proximity is not a necessity to observe social ties – a musical genre, for example, is enough linkage between actors (consumers, producers) to define a scene. In my case, so many intersections must be analyzed that only physical proximity or clustering can contain enough social ties for analysis – even though the notion of gayscapes contains a wider (albeit qualitative) definition.

A good example for this different epistemology may be found in Silver and Clark (2015). The authors use the opposite approach in order to locate human-thing relationships when looking for social linkages: by selecting amenities that are connected to certain behavioral tendencies and using their ZIP code to find personality in neighborhoods (or how they *influence community and urban development*). In my epistemology, the gay Village in Montreal (for example) is not a hub for gay men, nor can influence a community without

being influenced back (it cannot even be regarded as the home of gay men, as straight men or women also expectedly live in that neighborhood): it is just another actor within the mesh of relationships, within the gayscape. In order to describe how this difference will affect analysis, I now develop the Method chapter.

3 METHOD

According to Borgerson (2005) the effects of aspects of materiality, in consumption studies, remain subtheorized or even absent. This can result in simplifications instead of problematizations. The author offers, therefore, a similar criticism to mine: the analysis of consumption that considers unified and autonomous subjects can harm the comprehension of consumer-consumption engagement. To Borgerson (2005) it is imperative – therefore – to treat things’ materialities as a relationship characteristic, and not as the object characteristics themselves. When Borgerson (2005, p. 441) discusses Latour, a phrase encompasses a common ground in this different ontology: “[...] A person in possession of a gun is not subject with object, but a new hybrid, ‘a person/gun entity’. The ‘actant’ here is the hybrid consisting of a number of forces, together forming the cause of any possible effect that could be attributed to the person/gun combination.”

In the previous chapter, I analyzed how the three theoretical pillars (“from objects to things”, “intersectionality” and “gender and sexuality”) relate to my research problem. Now I need to present the technical procedures that were used to (literally, sometimes) walk toward a solution to this problem. A method that allows to verify the *corpus* presented in the previous chapter needs to (1) deal with sexuality being performed in places; and (2) be robust enough to deal with data from varied media (interviews, pictures, advertisement, documents) from different contexts.

Since I'm exploring a field to problematize consumption, my research fits within the broad term of *exploratory research*: in this kind of study, the conception and development of a research helps the researcher to understand, better define the problem, and obtain additional data before developing an approach to a specific situation. Maclaran et al. (2010) observe that a commonly used approach to deal with exploring a problem in consumption contexts is *interpretivist*.

An *interpretivist* approach is usually marked by the tendency to emphasize the emerging characteristics of a research. The research format is usually tweaked and changed as the researcher moves *in and out* of the field. *Context and history* are important, therefore, to understand reality. Theoretical insights happen in the process of how researcher and informants build *their worlds*, and the relationship between events and actions (or *practices*). Since my unit of analysis is the relationship between humans and things, this approach emerges as a path to the field.

I performed what is termed multi-sited ethnography (Marcus 1995; Kjeldgaard, Csaba, and Ger 2006). My data collection happened in two cities: Porto Alegre in Brazil, and Montreal in Canada. The basis for conducting fieldwork in these two sites was based on (1) the opportunity of conducting a one-year doctorate sandwich in Montreal and experimenting a practical displacement (an important experiential step when studying materiality); (2) the possibility of adding a new intersection to the data - national identities; and (3) finding differences in the fields, with the important addition that comparative analysis was not an objective. The two sites also have dissimilar gay landscapes: Montreal has a clearly boundary that delimits the aggregation of gay places, and Porto Alegre has a more dispersed gay landscape.

Beyond that, converging with McCracken (1988), the qualitative search in my work isolates and defines analytical categories *as the work is done*. Since performativity (Butler, 2010) is an integral part of how people express their gender, sexuality and consumption practices, any *a priori* definition of analytical categories is counterproductive in my case, and – instead – analytical categories were formed as shown in Table 1 (subsection 3.2).

3.1 PLACE AND GAYSCAPE DEFINITION

Before I define a gayscape, Ingold (1993, p. 439) brings a set of separate definitions that I also take into account for future definitions:

- Artifacts: objects thought to be made rather than grown;
- Body: a dynamic center of unfolding activity, rather than a sink into which practices are sedimented
- Hylomorphism: the doctrine that making involves the imposition of preconceived form on matter
- Materiality: (a) the “brute materiality” of the physical world; (b) the ways this world is appropriated in human projects
- Materials: matter considered in respect of its occurrence in processes of flow and transformation
- Nonhumans: often used as an alternative for “made objects” or “artifacts”; nonhumans should also include living organisms of all kinds

- Objects: completed forms that stand over and against the perceiver and block further movement
- Things: gatherings of materials in movement, as distinct from objects.

Places, therefore, are things in this work. Places are actors within a mesh of relationship that are formed by several materials in movement (by other human forces or by other thing forces). Gayscape is the linkage of all actors within this mesh with the artificial border of sexuality as the lining to separate it from other approaches. This notion also follows Appadurai's (1990) conceptualization of -scapes as systems of cultural flow wherein agents navigate and constitute their worlds. Other works of culture-oriented consumer research borrow Appadurai's -scape conception. As examples, I can cite Ger and Belk's (1996) consumptionscape, Thompson and Arsel's (2004) brandscape and Kjeldgaard and Askegaard's (2006) youthscape.

A sample of places was qualitatively analyzed. To collect data during this investigation focused on sexuality and places, some steps were needed to *build the theoretical object* that is so-called a *gay place* (Figure 5 summarizes the steps taken during data collection):

- (1) *Gay place* definition: MacLaran et al. (2009) warned that critical Market studies have a masculine bias. Homosexuality is taken, in this study, as the "male homosexual" – *gay men*. This can potentially bring forth a limitation. The authors (MacLaran et al., 2009), however, use the term *glamour* as an escape to the hypermasculinization of critical studies involving consumption. According to them (idem, 2009), the term appeared during Judith Butler's¹² explanation of cultural

¹² "[T]he notion of an original or primary gender identity is often parodied within the cultural practices

practices that parodies gender identities. Included in these practices are *drag*, *cross-dressing*, and the sexual stylizing of *butch/femme* identities. Therefore, even though this study is focused on the generally known category “*gay men*”, the sought practices scape gender identity as commonly sought in market places – this is not a *masculinities and consumption* study, even though *masculinity as a characteristic* crosses the actors in the field. I recognize, therefore, that gay places are intersected with other actors from LGBTQA positions and experiences, but I also delimited my analysis to male homosexuality as theoretical and empirical borders to avoid categorical confusion. An important note is that some of the participants in Table 2 are either transgender women or lesbian women – they are not included in the gay male category, but were included in data collection as a way to avoid *a priori* delimitation-based errors. With this reservation, the classification of a gay place-thing depends on three procedures: (1) collecting data with informants, including those who are not formally interviewed and those who might oppose these classification; (2) observing places that *speak* about *gayness* obtained in the first procedure; (3) a *snowball* similar procedure, that finds new place-things based in observation and informal conversations held within the place-things that filter through the second procedure – following things as they move from one place to another is complementary to this procedure. There is one defining characteristic of all gay place-things contained in a gayscape, however: in these places, the set of rules for performing and expressing one’s (homo) sexuality are engaged with little-to-no fear of repercussions. The schemes for operating inside these places are socially-bound, but also expected. As Perlongher’s (1986,

of drag, cross-dressing, and the sexual stylizing of butch/femme identities [glamour]” Cited in this work as Butler (2006).

p. 45, our translation) *closeness among each other*, established through a game of “displacements, winks, looks, allusions, small and imperceptible gestures” is a set of rules that can operate anywhere. In Perlongher’s case, this set of rules is operating in the streets of São Paulo downtown, among male sex workers and their clients. The accompanying set of rules that express a gay man’s participation in any sexually or identity infused place is dependent on the place, obviously (i.e. physically approaching a random stranger in a sauna; or exchanging flirty looks in a club) – but it is always there. A gay place has, however, a less (but not *nonexistent!*) oppressive and dangerous environment in which these rules can be applied – not unlike Perlongher’s (1986) streets: full of paranoia, full of police officers measuring every move, the dangerous chance of flirting with the wrong person.

- (2) The environment and the form of a place: Ingold (2002) uses the concept of the perception of the environment through walking (seeing, hearing, doing) in a *landscape*. This perception translates in a task pattern (that depends on that *landscape*) that is introduced as *taskscape*. In the same way, I introduce the term *gayscape*, always dependent on the *landscape*. This *gayscape* is, therefore, the set of places that cluster around areas without well delimited geographical limits. It would be the *gay village*, the *street of gay nightclubs*, the *gay street*, and all the places that permeate and are permeated by other places, other inhabitants, other wanderers. This concept is used as not to limit data collection locations – these locations are not limited to a city or a street. Places must be followed in this entangled mesh (Ingold, 2000). I’m limited to two locations (but not *gayscapes!*): Porto Alegre, Brazil (where my research started), and Montreal, Canada (where my work continued). The reasoning behind the choice of these two locations is

convenience. The first is where I reside in Brazil; the latter is where I conducted my outbound Ph.D. sandwich year.

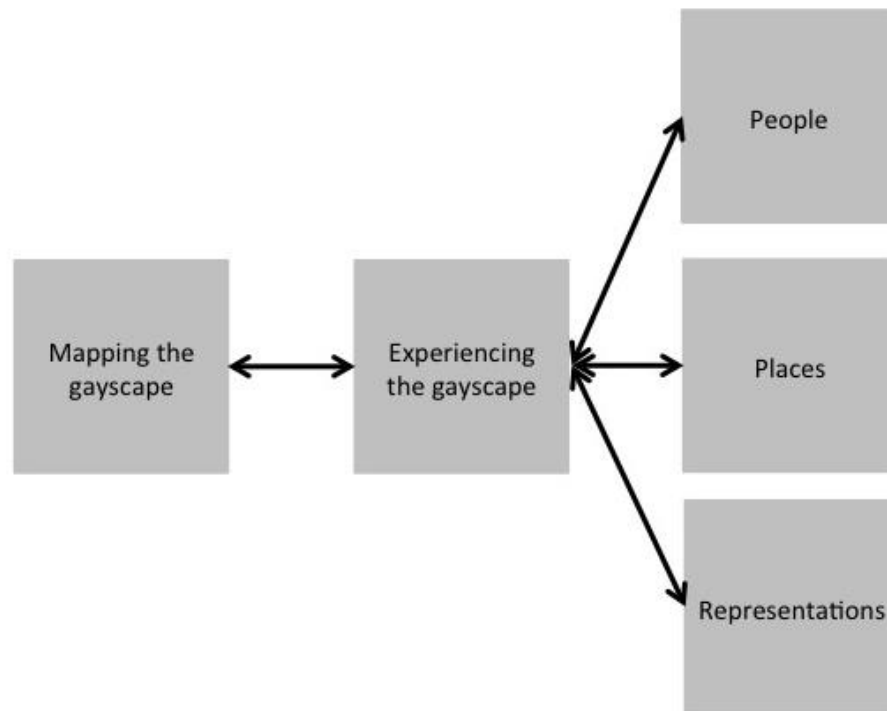


Figure 4. Mapping methodological procedures

- (3) Collecting data: the collected data is composed of several media types and natures. Included in those collected materials are (1) advertisement and communication material about parties or activities held in place-things (example: internet, pamphlets), in order to find relationships among things; (2) human participants interview procedures; (3) photos of participants and place-things (always anonymous and edited and, for ethical reasons, not present in this document); (4) field notes (especially the ones containing personal experiences regarding human-thing relationships); (5) complementary documental research pertaining the biography (Kopytoff, 1986) of place-things.

3.2 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

To observe and analyze relationships between things and humans, a practical delimitation between researcher and things was needed. Ingold (2007) already pointed out that materiality studies lack, precisely, discussions about materials. To understand materials researchers must, first, distance themselves from them. To Ingold (2007) engaging with materials is very important. A researcher must get in touch with what is analyzed. Much in the same way Ingold defends acting on materials (sawing, cutting, and hammering); I defend that field materials must also be engaged in practical ways. If I stand in a mesh of humans and things (Ingold, 2012) then I must accept an immersion in this same mesh. Converging with McCracken (1988), I used the metaphor of investigator-as-instrument. In qualitative research, the collected emergent data resulting from fieldwork demands a set of tools (things) that include the researcher herself. To proceed with the analysis, the data must then be organized in patterns, forms and associations that are not usually obvious – but emerge precisely from the interactions of the researcher-as-instrument and the context.

Consumption studies that involve places is precisely in the combination of landscapes (in our case, gayscapes) and the artifact – in other words: between materials and the human mind (Ingold, 2007), the interaction. Figure 6 presents a graphical schema to explicitate that the researcher and her things are inserted and engaged with the place, to understand relationships that are created and modified within this place.

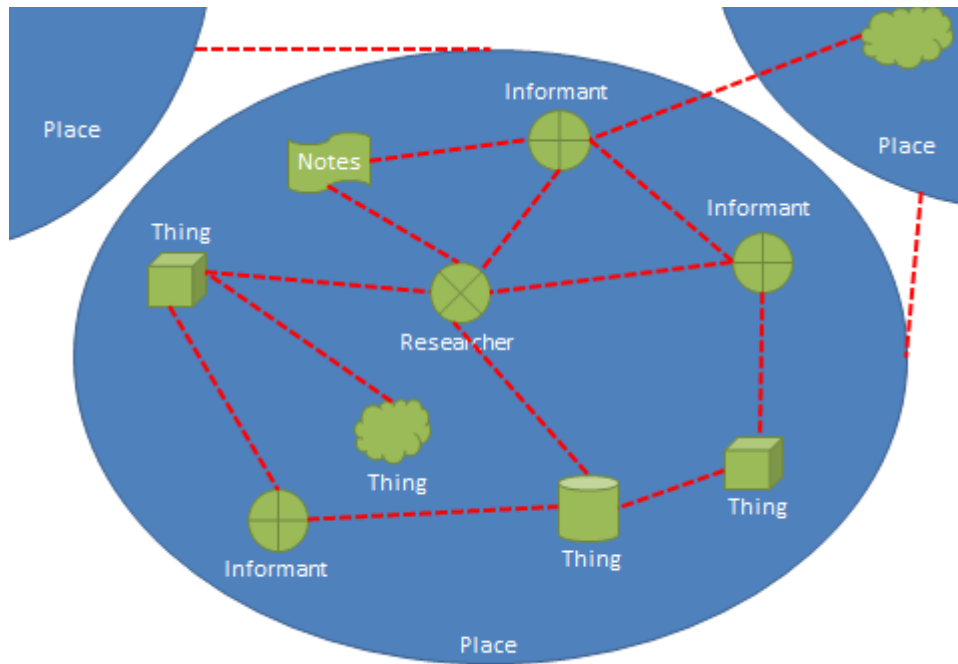


Figure 5. Data collection graphical scheme.

All observation and interaction with places start from the principle that I am within a people and things mesh. My collection procedure is based, therefore, in the interactions (relationships) between people and things in a specific place.

The first interaction in any fieldwork started with places. At this point, data collection work was based in my interaction with the place and everything it speaks with its music, light, deco, and services available. According to Ingold (2007, p. 4) the question to be made during this first interaction is “how can the body-that-I-am engage with that world?”

What, in this mesh, caught my attention and spoke to me? This first interaction tried to understand the inherent aspects to specific places – the ones that make it unique, or different, or similar to others. It is the first step in building a biography of things (Kopytoff, 1986). The complementary collection for information that feeds such a biography started, also, the second step in data collection interactions: talking to informants.

For these structured conversations, I selected the McCracken's (1988) Long Interview technique. This technique consists of four steps, organized in Table 1. Although interviews start with what McCracken terms *grand-tour questions*, my interview procedure took longer than usual in these general and wider questions. The reason for this was because of the nature of what was being questioned (sexuality), to increase rapport time, and to bring forth emerging relationships of interviewees and things.

Table 1 Long interview steps, by Grant McCracken

Step	Observations
(1) Review of analytic categories and interview design	(1) Literature review to understand previous analytic categories. Researchers must avoid preconceptions that may harm field work, but “the benefits of the ‘preconceptions’ that spring from the literature review are, perhaps, much greater than their costs.” (McCracken, 1988, p. 31). This step also guides the construction of the interview questionnaire, establishing the domain that the interview will explore.
(2) Review of cultural categories and interview design	(2) The researcher's familiarity with the field becomes a path for investigation. This step offers the researcher a more detailed and systematic appreciation of his or hers personal experience with the research object. To achieve this, questions about the most intimate object suppositions must emerge (“Why do we use cutlery during our meals?”)
(3) Interview procedure and Discovery of cultural categories	(3) Although McCracken (1988) always refers to humans when he uses the term biography, in this work I use the human as a voice-bearer of things, when constructing their biographies. Therefore, the interview procedure was focused in the biographical construction of things (places). The technical and prompting procedures (tone, gestures, and inquisition) were kept.
(4) Interview analysis and Discovery of analytic categories	(4) To McCracken (1988) this is the most demanding step. <i>Ipsis literis</i> transcripts of each interview must be produced. Analysis then turns back to what the researcher expected (steps 1 and 2) and what emerges as new. It's in this step that the researcher will form patterns and associations between cultural and analytic categories

Source: Made by the author, based in McCracken (1988)

Two experiential (researcher-as-instrument) data collection procedures also took place during the entire research process: field notes and volunteer work. I kept two field logs with

me at all time during field work in Porto Alegre and Montreal. I kept personal notes and experiential recounts in both logs. I also volunteered in two LGBTQI organizations of different natures (one having direct impact in excluded LGBTQI people, and another with a more historical approach, albeit focused in gay men). I logged 30 hours in one organization and 105 hours in the other. Volunteering gave me a wider contact with community issues and the historical movements of gay places and people. I also took field notes while doing volunteer work – mostly focused in personal experiences and thoughts.

3.2.1 Materiality-focused procedure

To engage with materials (Ingold, 2007), the data collection went through a literal phase of collecting materials. This procedure was focused in the material accumulation of things found in the field: advertising materials, community periodicals, media, online artifacts, and other materials that support analysis. For example, the media presence of a place may contain important clues about the thing's biography. The artifact, according to Ingold (2007), emerges from a mental image. When the artisan creates something in a workshop, he or she departs from a mental image and acts on a material to give it the imagined form and function. This path, when walked between mind and material becomes evident when we analyze the diverse set of collected materials along journeys. The advertisement of a place can contain traces and evidences of this path between mind and material – or what was planned to be talked about said place. The total materials collected were 508 artifacts (including screen prints, folders, maps, magazines, leaflets, participants' drawings, pictures and films)

At the same time, Olsen (2003) alerts that the material world needs to be respected. The standard practice in materiality studies is to obliterate the material and go straight to the

metaphysical world. This way, the material serves merely as the starting point to a broader and deeper explanation of materiality. When reporting on physical space, Olsen (2003) resorts to touching a desk or a chair as a remembrance that the space that speaks has, in the end, materials. What mattered in collected materials analysis, therefore, stood between the cold world of materials that only places itself in front of humans, and the world of human functions and delimitations that contrast themselves with these same materials. This means, in other words, that since my objective was to analyze places, the materials that circulate in these places were not collected to be analyzed separately. The search for context and connections between things and places was necessary.

To proceed with the literal collection of materials, these materials had to have a direct link to the place. Collected materials were considered as: leaflets, pictures and videos, advertisement, online media, newspaper or periodical articles, and materials freely available at places. All were used combined with the biography construction (Kopytoff, 1986) of places.

3.2.2 Data Analysis

Data and materials were analyzed together. The resulting *corpus* was analyzed qualitatively. According to Peñaloza and Cayla (2006), a lot of work is still needed when establishing the importance of studying places in consumption research. Writing field notes and taking pictures are common techniques in ethnographic studies, but still suffer a stigma in academic circles because of their subjective nature. This stigma is based on the presupposition, however, that a researcher is not included in the human-thing mesh cited by Ingold (2011). The photographic analysis can be useful, also, to show differences between the

first and last field incursions: what was altered in the researcher's perceptions as time went by (Peñaloza and Cayla, 2006). Combined with critical visual analysis (Schroeder, 2006), graphical materials will be treated with the same analysis technique as any other materials.

Schroeder (2006) says that the beginning of visual analysis needs description. Said description needs an articulation between form, subject, media, color, light, line, and size – fundamental blocks of image. Every graphic material was treated, therefore, within this procedure.

The interview and informal conversation transcriptions material generated by using the Long Interview technique (McCracken, 1986) was treated with the same initial procedure. The description, however, was more based on coding (McCracken, 1986; Spiggle, 1994; Sherry, 2006; Cotte e Kistruck, 2006) – breaking a text, as it is analyzed, in chunks or units of data, for future cross-referencing. The same was done with field notes.

Following Spiggle's (1994, p. 497) report practices, we enumerate the steps and details of data analysis:

- (1) **Volume of text:** in total, 379 pages of single-spaced text were produced from 28 hours, 43 minutes, and 32 seconds of audio (28:43:32). Added to these are 2 personal field logs: small 120-pages notebooks, totalizing 240 pages of field notes. These represent 26 individual and 1 group interviews. These pages were then coded electronically, resulting in 482 codes. From these 482 codes, 44 codes were deleted (and each deleted code was justified). Justification ranged from “no connection to Research Questions” to “No further elaboration – subject could not explain what s/he meant”. Finally, 36 themes were found in a secondary analysis, and grouped in 5 big categories. The next steps are restricted to the analysis procedure of this amount of text, even though – as previously stated – another 508

additional artifacts, two field notebooks, and 43 individually observed places (at least one observation per place, although some were observed more than once) took place during field work.

- (2) **How many times each text was read:** every transcription was initially read two times, with no coding procedure done. This reading and re-reading was not done in order – some of the late transcriptions were read twice in direct succession, while the first transcriptions were read and then re-read with months separating each reading;
- (3) **Whether and how interpretation changed with each subsequent reading:** data interpretation changed. From the first and second reading no coding was done – but as soon as the excerpt coding procedure started, code deletion happened every time I noticed coded data did not directly relate to the research question. In total, 44 codes were deleted, and every single deletion had to be justified.
- (4) **Procedures used to ensure that analysis was systematic and thorough and a general description of how they reduced, fragmented, managed, reconstructed, stored, and retrieved data for analysis, especially in the form of tabulations:** all analytical data was condensed in a single spreadsheet, containing all codes and analysis from interview data. The same column was used throughout the spreadsheet, in order to achieve quick retrieval of the same themes. From the list of themes, I compiled a simple list (by removing duplicates) and clustered them in five big groups: Practices; Intersections; Social Structures; Actors; and Conceptual Constructs. These five groups contained all themes. This was not the first procedure – the first procedure was criticized by another researcher as a too theoretically-bound and rigid reduction.

- (5) **Specific iterations involving what data they collected and what cases they chose for study on the basis of prior analysis:** According to McCracken (1988), the qualitative search in my work isolates and defines analytical categories *as the work is done*. This is an iterative process and cannot be condensed in a step-by-step procedure. Given the added complexity of performativity (Butler, 2010), an *a priori* categorical reduction would be counterproductive.
- (6) **The extent of and procedures for locating negative evidence and how they consequently modified the emerging interpretation:** Two independent researchers were consulted during the analysis procedures for criticism and refining. The two main arguments derived from analysis were then tested in the field and also validated by field notes re-interpreted in light of these findings. The last interview from the data collection process (26th interview) was conducted solely for locating negative evidence, and was based in the search for saturation; this interview lasted for one and a half hour and this duration was not included in the total duration of interviews.

Following these procedures, cross-referencing codes and categories could be done with a spreadsheet software: for example, the theme “intersectional privilege” in an interview transcription could be cross-referenced with the same theme found in field notes, or an advertisement picture in a gay guide.

The analysis process was based, also, in the premise that the researcher already has knowledge about the text being worked upon, as well as proximity (McCracken, 1988) and, therefore, is capable of perceiving commonalities in different interviews and images. Just as the title of a book or film represents the essence of a text, a code represents the essence of data (Saldana, 2009). The coding process, however, is an exploratory – initial – technique.

Coding is not restricted to naming topics or labels, but also connecting data – the process that allows researchers (and their things) to formulate ideas and re-evaluate data that belong to the same topics (Richards and Morse, 2007).

From the initial coding process and categorical reduction, forty six themes emerged. Initially, these themes were connected to the three main theoretical categories (the ontological turn, the intersectional approach, and gender and sexuality) but it resulted in a rigid scheme that referred back to theory and relegated the empirical process to a smaller role. It also reduced explanation to a linking exercise, instead of an experiential process.

From this failed attempt, I returned to the data and deleted all categories that did not match my research questions nor related to my research problem. This new approach resulted in forty six themes that were then grouped and reduced to 36 themes according to their content similarity (for example: grouping and clustering, two separate themes, both referred to how intersectional positions are clustered be it in places or in human relationships within the field). I grouped the themes under five main categories: Practices; Intersections; Social Structures; Actors; and Conceptual Constructs. This emergent categories attempt allowed me to look at the data with a more empirical-driven approach. This approach allowed me to analyze gayscapes within the proposed methodological steps.

3.2.3 Participants' and places profiles

Table 2 summarizes the participants' and observed places profiles. Possible identifying information, such as age, job, and neighborhoods were either changed (with no significance that would alter interpretations), or redacted. In the case of places, some descriptions had to be altered because it is easier to identify gay places in already disclosed

locations (Porto Alegre and Montreal). In order to keep the qualitative nature of my data collection procedure, I focus on individually describing participants and places on their own terms or my places' perceptions. Only 37 places are listed: six places (4 in Montreal and 2 in Porto Alegre) were not included in Table 2 because it would be impossible to anonymize them, given their function within LGBT people (NGO's or health centers, for example) – although they were integrated in the analysis. I sent the places list below separately to four participants (two in each city) and asked them if they could identify any of the places: no place in the list was uniquely identified (although one participant cited two pseudonyms and two real names, but couldn't pinpoint which pseudonym matched each real name).

Table 2 Participants' and places profiles

Name	City	Description
Aaron	Montreal	Aaron is a 35 year old South Asian man. He moved to Montreal from Vietnam when he was 18 years old, and is a Canadian citizen from his mother's side. He's out of the closet but considers himself discreet, and repeatedly states that he doesn't have too many gay friends. He is married to another man. He has a big build, is muscular and notes that this makes him break the gay Asian stereotype. He doesn't have a job, but lives comfortably with his husband.
Ahmed	Montreal	Ahmed is a 30 year old man born and raised in Iran. He moved out of Iran to study in Europe, and considers himself to have had the privilege of never experiencing homophobia in Iran – even though he states to be obviously gay. He is tall and slim, and says his international life experiences made him ignore most of his previous community values: he often drinks and has relationships with other men. He is pursuing a Permanent Residency visa in Canada to continue developing his medical career.
Benjamin	Montreal	Benjamin is a 78 year old man living in the outskirts of Montreal. He moved to Canada when he was 28 years old from another country. He is now retired and hardly goes out. He usually looks for partners in phone applications. He is out of the closet, but considers himself to be from another generation of gay men – meaning that a more classical and conservative performance of masculinity is a given. Even though he considers to be excluded because of his age when attending gay places, he

		usually partners with younger men – twinkies.
Brandon	Montreal	Brandon is a 40 year old Canadian of Asian descent. He lives in Montreal. He does not usually go to the Village, and most of the times he went there was mainly because of friends visiting from other cities. He is fit and although not in the closet with close friends, his sexuality is not usually a subject in public. He is also in a long term relationship with another man and restricts his social activities to restaurants or small pubs with his husband's friends. He enjoys the parks cruising scene, because of the anonymity and the thrill.
Brice	Montreal	Brice is a 70 year old white Canadian man. He was born in a wealthy family and worked in the family business until he publicly came out of the closet, about 30 years ago. He is now retired. He is slim and considers grooming and style to be very important. He also lives with HIV and does not wish such information to become public. His sexuality is constructed as not effeminate. He still works in small business transactions as an additional income source and to keep busy.
Derek	Montreal	Derek is a 35 years old middle eastern man. He is currently studying at a Montreal university. He is from a middle eastern country and is in the closet. He classifies his sexuality as a forbidden topic in public, and did not accept to be interviewed until all anonymity procedures (described in the ethics committee request form) were shown and enforced by me (while some out of the closet participants would consider these same procedures a 'mere formality'). He does not relate to things or people who might indicate his sexuality, and asked me not to have any kind of public contact with him if we met outside the interview context.
Jacques	Montreal	Jacques is a 23 year old French Canadian. He was born just outside of Montreal, and moved into the city as soon as he finished High School. He does not have a stable job, and frequently complains about his income. He is out of the closet and his family not only accepts, but embraces his sexuality. He is slim and considers himself to be very attractive, to the point of feeling like, in his words, a piece of meat when walking through the village. He had his first experience in a gay sauna while I was conducting my research, and his interview mainly focused on this activity and his perceptions of that specific gay sauna.
Kevin	Montreal	Kevin came out of the closet after living a married-with-kids life. He left the closeted life in 2000, when he was around 30 years old. He is a, in his words, plus size Black Canadian man. He grew up on a poor Montreal neighborhood and had to hide his sexuality during most of his youth because all of his close circles were homophobic. After an initial period of family resistance, he loves the fact that nowadays not only his wife came out of the

		closet as well, but his daughter is a proud lesbian woman. He classifies his family life as living in an LGBT family.
Lewis	Montreal	Lewis is a 22 years old French Canadian undergrad. He was born and raised in Montreal, and is selectively out of the closet (his family doesn't know). He is blond, tall and very fit. Given his attractiveness, he considers himself to be privileged in the gay community, but feels that most approaches by other men are predatory in nature, mostly for one night stands. He is financially supported by his family and is provided for anything he asks for. He goes out in the Village, but prefers phone applications for flirting, since he considers himself to be shy.
Lilian	Montreal	Lilian is a 26 year old lesbian woman. She's an undergrad and is involved in the political field and the fight for LGBTQIA rights. She organizes some functions and parties to fund some of the organizations and initiatives that she participates. She is not critical of the Village, although she does see inherent problems in the central role of masculinity in Village places. She advocates for bridging the gaps she sees in the LGBTQIA community as well.
Luke	Montreal	Luke is a 65 year old white Canadian man involved in a gay NGO. He is completely out of the closet and socially active. He visits the Village very often, and has a close relationship to places and people who often are in the Village. Luke doesn't consider himself to be detached from younger people, although he feels like he's a token old man for younger gay guys. He was very involved with the materiality of places from a young age, when he moved to Montreal and worked in – and later owned – gay places.
Pierre	Montreal	Pierre is a 28 year old French Canadian man. He is involved with a big gay party, and is famous within the younger LGBTQIA circle in the city. He moved to Montreal from a very Francophone city in the Quebec province, and has travelled the world after graduating. He loves to party and to entertain people. He recently got involved with a more political crowd and is becoming more aware about prejudice and racism. He considers himself to be privileged, but also an ally to folks who suffer from exclusionary practices within the LGBTQIA community.
Russel	Montreal	Russel is a 70 year old white Canadian who moved to Montreal in the 70's, from another province. He is a retired professor, and got out of the closet relatively early for his context. He was involved with the political movements toward gay liberation starting after the Stonewall riots, in New York. He considers himself a political queen, and has also studied gay people during his academic life. Nowadays he is involved with an NGO. He considers himself detached from younger people because younger people are – in their turn – detached from him. The

		main difference from his generation and the younger generation is, in his words, the fact that they never heard silence (in the sense that homosexuality was met with silence and treated as a taboo subject as he was growing up).
Saul	Montreal	Saul is a 20 year old Black Canadian man. He moved to Montreal from another province to find a job and move out of his home. He comes from a homophobic family and keeps little contact, mostly with his mother. He works in the service industry and considers his wages to be low. He is short and slim, and comments that this puts him ‘at the bottom of the pyramid’ within gay romances. His sexuality is constructed as effeminate, and he surrounds himself with materials that help him maintain such performance – fishnet gloves, wigs, nail polish. He is out and proud, but doesn’t like to socialize with most gay people in popular gay places.
Round table	Montreal	The round table took place in Montreal during winter. 12 people participated, with ages ranging from 19 to 28 years old. Most of the participants were either identified as queer, trans, or non-binary. I was collecting data with another researcher, and he was the one mediating the round table. We shared notes and recordings, and guaranteed complete anonymity for participants. We had a common research interest in understanding how queer or gay space is formed. The round table lasted for 2 hours and was integrated into the coding and analysis process.
Unnamed participant	Montreal	The unnamed participant was the last participant to be interviewed in this work. His interview was not transcribed and, although not analyzed within the grand structure of coding, it was listened through three times searching for different themes that might have been missed in all previous interviews. His interview was treated mainly as a saturation procedure. For this reason, I specifically stressed loaded or biased questions to check for saturation. Since the interview was done as a refutation or negative evidence technique, he was not considered for coding. His interview lasted for about one and a half hour (this duration was not added in the total interview time previously stated).
Carlos	Porto Alegre	Carlos is a 45 year old white Brazilian man. He works as a costume designer for Drag performers. He also performs in Drag from time to time, even though he doesn’t work as a Drag Queen. He is involved with Porto Alegre’s party scene, mainly the gay party scene (he stated that he rarely goes out to straight parties). His discourse is laden with what he admits to be wishful thinking, since he sees no difference between gay or straight people – although he does admit that prejudice is still widespread in Porto Alegre.

Diego	Porto Alegre	Diego is a 26 year old mixed race Brazilian man. He works as a clerk in a clothing store and is an undergrad in fashion studies. He is very focused on his looks, and takes care of both his body as well as the things he uses to express this care. He started going out when he was still a minor, and could get into clubs because of his friendship with party producers. He considers being very knowledgeable about Porto Alegre's party scene, and cited most visited and observed places without being prompted.
Gilles	Porto Alegre	Gilles is a 30 year old black Brazilian man who moved to Porto Alegre about 2 years ago. He works as a public servant and does not go out or participate in the gay night life. He usually looks for partners in phone applications. He only became aware of his race when he arrived in Porto Alegre, since his hometown was in the Brazilian northeast, with a predominantly black population. He says that this awareness helped him to understand racial tensions in the Brazilian context, and – even more – in the gay Brazilian context.
Lucas	Porto Alegre	Lucas is a 28 year old white Brazilian man of Italian descent. He was born and raised in Porto Alegre and works in an office. He is completely out of the closet and considers himself to be effeminate. He also considers himself to be a vain man – he goes to the gym and always takes care of how he dresses. Money is not a primary problem for him, and he likes to set a budget apart for travelling and meeting new gay places in other cities or countries. The subject of drugs was a big part of his interview, and he could develop his own understanding of how his sexuality is also linked to drug use.
Marcia	Porto Alegre	Marcia is a 65 year old <i>travesti</i> of German descent. She moved to Porto Alegre at a very young age and started working as a maid. She understood her gender and sexuality before moving to Porto Alegre, but only began identifying as <i>travesti</i> once she was already living in the city. She was also a sex worker and used to go out – to gay places - in a different context in Porto Alegre: mostly during the Military Dictatorship that lasted from 1964 until 1985. She now works in an NGO and is more involved with politics than parties, but still goes to certain functions and social events.
Otto	Porto Alegre	Otto is a closeted 46 year old white gay man. He avoids all gay places and instead only looks up for partners in phone applications. He is also a business owner, which in his words reinforces the need to keep himself in the closet. He lives alone and never had a long term relationship, which makes him depressed. (Field log June 16, 2015: I have made myself available for unofficial counseling with this participant, since I noticed he was at risk because of his report of depression. I have also provided a list of official counseling resources on site,

		during the interview).
Pedro	Porto Alegre	Pedro is a 30 year old black Brazilian man. He works in the public sector and is good friends with Diego. He started attending gay places from a very young age, and is selectively out of the closet. He never mentioned his sexuality to his family, but believes his mother has a tacit knowledge about his sexuality. He attends gay parties every weekend. His masculinity is constructed as masc, meaning he's discreet and not effeminate.
Rebecca	Porto Alegre	Rebecca is a 50 year old black <i>travesti</i> . From all participants, she was the most involved with institutional politics. She stressed that she was never a sex worker, and is currently married. During the late 80's and early 90's, she worked as a performer, and suffered from the HIV stigma connected to the gay population in Porto Alegre's context. She is not HIV positive, but suffered from the stigma anyway and had trouble finding a job. She began voluntarily spreading condoms and safe sex practices at the end of her performances in gay clubs. Her catch-phrase was <i>não faz a tolinha / use camisinha</i> ("don't be a sucker / use a rubber").
Renato	Porto Alegre	Renato is a 25 year Brazilian white man. He is friends with Gilles, and recently moved to Porto Alegre to start his public sector job. He also used to live in the northeast area of Brazil, and considered himself privileged for never having suffered with prejudice. He considers himself effeminate and said he never had difficulties finding a partner – be it in gay places or phone applications. He tunes his gender performance according to the context: in phone apps he usually performs a masculine and dominant type, while during parties he is, in his words, more natural and effeminate.
Ricardo	Porto Alegre	Ricardo is a 35 year old Brazilian man of Portuguese descent. He was born in the countryside and moved to Porto Alegre to start his PhD. He works as a teacher and says he lives without worrying about money. He is slim and goes to the gym to keep fit. He takes special care of his style and grooming, and constructs his sexuality as a non-subject – he doesn't talk about his sexuality with people he deems not to be in need of such information. He is out of the closet with only very close friends.
Roberto	Porto Alegre	Roberto is a 25 year old Brazilian black man. He was born in a poor neighborhood of Porto Alegre and has recently moved downtown. He works in a clothing store as a clerk. He says he can live relatively comfortable, compared to his childhood - but complains that his salary cannot be considered good. He is able-bodied and likes to take care of his appearance by running and going to the gym. He constructs his gender expression as <i>stiff</i> , meaning he doesn't consider himself to be effeminate. He is selectively out of the closet: all of his close friends and work

		colleagues know of his sexuality, but his family does not.
Place	City	Description/Objective
Apollo Sex Shop	Montreal	Apollo Sex Shop is a gay sex shop. I visited the place four times to observe how customers and staff related, and my main focus was at the entrance. I used to stay on the opposite sidewalk and take notes on customers and their behaviors.
Bar Jock	Montreal	Bar Jock was the main bar I observed while in Montreal. I've both observed it during summer days (mainly the terrace) and winter nights. My main focus was intersectional observation of customers.
Bar Kings	Montreal	I went to Bar Kings twice. This bar was an important venue for queer or non-binary parties. My main focus when attending was to understand some intersectional relations and how community functions were held by a specific NGO (not described in this list).
Bar Muscle	Montreal	I went to Bar Muscle four times, two of them alone. I went to Bar Muscle because it was frequently cited, by participants, as an intersectionally specific place, clustering a stereotypical patronage.
Bistro Ouest	Montreal	Bistro Ouest was visited only once, and during a conversation with an informant. I stayed after the conversation and took some notes, mainly on customer/staff relations.
Champs de Gazon	Montreal	Champs de Gazon is a venue that holds gay parties, but is not considered a gay place in itself. I went to this place twice to observe specific events and mostly to search for gay intersectional relations outside of the Village.
Club Glass	Montreal	I went to Club Glass five times, four of them during the night. This club was cited in two interviews in a very specific way, and I did fieldwork in this club to confirm what was being said by those two interviewees.
Club Garçon	Montreal	I went to Club Garçon only once, accompanied by an informant. I asked the informant if he could take me to his favorite club, and this was his choice. I mainly observed his interactions with other customers.
Elysyum	Montreal	This was another venue for specific LGBTQIA parties (but not a gay place in itself). I went once and worked with the team in two staff positions in a specific party to experience the staff's side in gay place interactions. I worked both in security and customer reception.

Grizzly Bear	Montreal	I went to Grizzly Bear twice: once with an informant and once alone. The first time I went to this bar was alone, and I sat at a bar stool and merely observed general interactions. The second time I went with an informant to conduct a specific intersectional test.
Groove Sex Shop	Montreal	Groove is a gay sex shop. I went in once, at the beginning of my Montreal research stage. It was the first gay place I visited in Montreal, and it became one of the first times I started noticing one of the constructs later analyzed within the interview structure, such as hiding consumption and customer hesitation at the door.
L'Age Strip Club	Montreal	L'Age is a strip club. I visited it three times, once with an informant. The first two times I visited L'Age was alone, and I was observing a gay strip club – a gay place category not present in Porto Alegre's context.
Le Leon	Montreal	I went to Leon four times. Le Leon is a venue that offers gay parties, but is not considered a gay place by any participant. Every time I went to Le Leon, I went with the same informant, and even though this informant wasn't interviewed, I used some unstructured conversations to deepen my field notes.
Parc Thierry	Montreal	Much the same as Millers Park in Porto Alegre, I went to Parc Thierry to observe gay cruising in parks. Due to Montreal's by-laws, however, I could not enter the park area after 11 pm. I stayed outside and observed people going in and out of the park.
Queens Bar	Montreal	This was the second gay place I visited at the beginning of my fieldwork in Montreal. Since the first was a store, I sat down at this bar and observed the change of time between the beginning of the night and late night. I was also observing the customer and staff interaction. I went back during winter to observe seasonal changes.
Resto Fromage	Montreal	Resto Fromage was another restaurant I visited the same day as Bistro Ouest. I only visited this restaurant once, and my observation was focused on differences and similarities between Bistro Ouest and this restaurant.
Sauna Greek	Montreal	I visited Sauna Greek six times. I went to Sauna Greek invited by an informant, and my objective at this place was to observe customer relations, staff interactions, and materiality (light, sound, smell, surfaces, temperature, etc.)
Sauna Saara	Montreal	Sauna Saara was far from Sauna Greek, and I visited it three times to compare and differentiate the places. Patronage was different in both saunas, and I could compare the materiality and staff in both places.

Adonis Club	Porto Alegre	Adonis Club is a northern Porto Alegre club. I've visited it once because of a difference in offerings from other clubs, as said by participants. I mainly observed customer interactions.
Alter Club	Porto Alegre	Although considered some of the first alternative club in the city, Alter Club is not considered a gay place by most participants. It holds, however, a big gay party every week, and I visited it three times (during the gay party nights) to observe customer movement flows mainly outside of the club.
Bar Bismark	Porto Alegre	I only visited this bar once, and quickly. It is considered a dangerous place combined with its surrounding region. Fights in and around this bar are frequent, and I went in early hours to observe alcohol consumption.
Caribbean Bar	Porto Alegre	Caribbean bar has a specific interaction with its surrounding environment. Several participants cited it as an example of a bar integrated with its surroundings. I visited it several times and stayed on the equivalent of a terrace.
E Afterhours	Porto Alegre	I went to E three times. It is an afterhours club, and its relative distance and isolation from other gay places makes it more dangerous for LGBT customers. I went to observe night life migration, and how customers flowed from specific central gay parties to this specific club.
Elza Club	Porto Alegre	Elza club, together with another gay place in this list, no longer exists. Elza closed a month after my fieldwork started – for this reason no structured observation could be done in this place. I did however go to this club before as a customer, and added notes in my field log on memories and its relation with other near gay places.
Florence	Porto Alegre	Florence is a smaller gay pub. Its location was my main focus during observation. I went twice to this club, very early, mostly to understand customer movements. In my second visit, I stayed at the bar from the moment the pub opened until the last customer left. I didn't interact with customers in both visits.
Harbour Bar	Porto Alegre	Harbour, similar to Caribbean, has a specific location and interaction with its surrounding environment. I visited it several times and repeated the same procedures I followed in Caribbean Bar.
Millers Parc	Porto Alegre	Millers Park is located near another gay place in this list. I visited it after my observation of this gay place to observe how people were migrating from the party to the park – mostly to observe the cruising scene. Unlike Montreal's Parc Thierry, Porto Alegre has no specific parks by-laws, which allowed me to

		go inside well after 11pm.
Owl Afterhours	Porto Alegre	Owl is isolated from most gay places and parties in Porto Alegre. I went to Owl three times to check how time influenced customer migration in night life activities. Owl opens at 5am and usually finishes after noon.
Rainbow Club	Porto Alegre	Rainbow Club is located in a rundown area north of the historic district. During interviews, it was established that this club attracts working class customers. I went to Rainbow twice to observe different intersections that I was observing at the clustered gay places in Porto Alegre's República Street.
Redemption Club	Porto Alegre	I went to Redemption Club six times to do observation. This place has very specific rules and security measures not found in other places. I interacted with a few customers informally to understand their views of these different security, bar and access procedures.
Samba Club	Porto Alegre	Samba Club is not a gay place per se, but a venue that used to host a gay party once a month. Since I finished data collection it no longer hosts this party. I visited it once to observe how big publics (it was one of the largest venues in the city) interact. I couldn't get in because it was full, so I instead observed how customers interact in queues and lines.
Sauna Eucalyptus	Porto Alegre	Porto Alegre's gay guide lists 7 saunas, but I only visited Sauna Eucalyptus. Its location and opening hours were useful for attendance observation. It opens relatively early and its entrance faces a high traffic road. I went to this sauna three times, and the first two were restricted to observing the entrance.
Shoes Club	Porto Alegre	I've visited Shoes Club twice. It is one of the three places that still offer Drag performances, but it is considered by most participants a place that has seen better days. I was interested in observing how Drag performances are conducted in Porto Alegre, and also how these places attract other gender performances.
Twin Dance Club	Porto Alegre	Twin is a Cidade Baixa club known to attract a specific intersection: twinkies. I went to this club twice to confirm what participants said and also observe materiality as well as customer-staff interactions.
Wednesday Club	Porto Alegre	Wednesday shifted from being universally considered a gay place, in participants' discourses, to a straight place. I went to Wednesday Club four times during data collection, and could observe the place's changing patronage (from gay to straight).

Source: made by the author

4 FINDINGS

This chapter focuses in presenting my findings in a structure that will follow (1) **Contexts**, in which I present both Montreal's and Porto Alegre's contexts; (2) **Emerging Themes and Categories**, in which I explore and discuss some categories and interactions found in my field; (3) **Consumption Occlusion**, in which I explore some theme relationships within my theoretical and methodological framework; (4) **Intersectional Exclusion**, in which I explore another theme relationship that stood out during data analysis; and finally (5) **Theoretical Implications**, in which I draw possible expansions and managerial implications from the data.

4.1 CONTEXTS

While I do not intend to do a comparative analysis between Porto Alegre and Montreal, both contexts have intrinsic characteristics. This means I will divide my context descriptions in two subsections – one for each context I had the opportunity to do fieldwork. I will start with Montreal's context, and then move to Porto Alegre's context.

4.1.1 Context: Montreal

Paulo: So, the first time you went into the gay village, and you're out of the closet. What changes... I mean, how did you feel when you walked into it?

Brice: Oh, I felt like I was at home. I felt this was... This was me... able to be... me. Because my gay life had been – I had go... I'd never go to gay clubs – I went to gay bath houses. Which was... Which was not a social experience. It's – it was a sexual experience. You're never going in there to make friends. You go to do something quick, get over with it, and get out of there. And all in all that was my case. With not much some, some male sexual contact... and... But... uh, when I – uh... When I was out and not worried about somebody from Trois Riviere seeing me and reporting me back there, when I didn't have that weight of hiding on my shoulders, uhm... I felt like so much at home. That, you know, that I could do things that I wanted to do all my life, but had... just kissing a guy in both cheeks, you know, in the straight world you don't do that. Period. [...] So this was like me... If you will, almost like me coming home. Although I'd never been there before, it felt like home. And I could – I could look at somebody, and... you know, or I could cruise somebody, you know? And, you know, cruising in my life prior to that was in another city where I would dare to go to a club, you know, or in a ... in a bathroom [laughs], which is not a ... not – again... Quick, efficient, but no... emotional attachment to it, you know?

Located in the east side of Montreal's island, northeast from downtown, and west of Saint Helen's Island – the island that sits between Montreal and Longueuil – there stands a 12 block cutout of Sainte Catherine Street (one of the main commercial streets of Montreal) with about 2 more blocks to each side. This space is referred to by Montrealers as the “(Gay) Village” (or “Village Gai”, in French). It was not, as one may deduce, always there. The Village is the result of an agglomeration of gay male establishments that started in the early 80's (Podmore, 2006). Some authors (Higgins, 1999; Guindon, 2001) connect these establishments' abrupt movements and clustering to police harassment in the late 70's. This agglomeration is also connected to patterns of residence and community service networks created by student groups from McGill University (Podmore, 2006). Not all LGBT establishments moved to this enclave, but specifically gay men's establishments. Lesbian

women’s establishments moved westwards from the Village, toward Le Plateau, in the northeast side of Mount Royal (Podmore, 2006; Higgins, 1999). Those two enclaves were adjacent, but during the 90’s the Gay Village grew and consolidated as one of the major queer districts in North America, while lesbian establishments in Le Plateau closed and were not replaced.

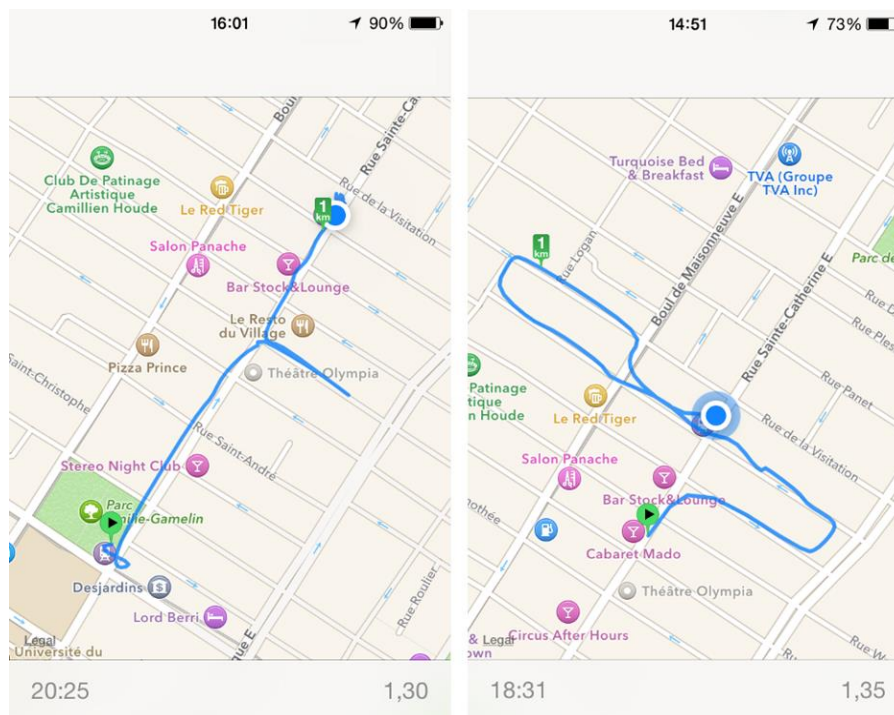


Figure 6. First and second walks through the Gay Village, September 12th and 13th, 2015.

These movement dynamics are connected to the increasingly changing nature of commercial establishments in the Village – from “gay” to “queer” (Podmore, 2006). This changing nature meant the Village started to attract lesbian women and queer people, steering tourists and newer generations away from the more “lesbian places” located in the Plateau. For example, Podmore (2006) cites Sisters bar, which opened in the Village in 1992 and was considered to be a lesbian bar. While it had a “women-only” space in Fridays and Saturdays, the bar also had a back entrance to K.O.X., considered to be the largest “mixed” gay and lesbian bar in the early 1990’s. Slowly, according to Podmore (2006), this expansion of “gay and queer nightlife” produced important gender asymmetries: the expansion of queer and gay

bars in the Village resulted in less expansive lesbian establishments in the same neighborhood.

As I arrived in Montreal, in September 12th, 2015, I immediately went for a walk in what became my primary field and data collection place (see Figure 6). I saw a café near Beaudry station and went inside. On the vestibule, a collection of reading materials was on display, and as I perused through them, I found a magazine called *Fugues*. A young, fit male model was on the cover, and as I went through the pages, I noticed I couldn't get much information from the magazine itself, since it was published in French (a language I don't speak fluently). This actor, however, had listings, ads and specific references to "Le Village" (the Village). I noticed, increasingly, that this actor (the magazine) is a very important voice-bearer for *things* (Ingold, 2010) in the Village and in the city as a whole, since its listings performatively create and communicate which bars are gay, queer, mixed, or lesbian (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008; Podmore, 2006). I took the magazine with me to the university's library, and started to search articles about it in academic databases. This actor enabled me to find an English written article about Montreal's urban development and its connection to Gay places (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008). In this article, the movement of gay establishments towards the Village was crystalized in an image (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008, p. 37).

Even though the ownership and brands are not available in this image (see Figure 7), a marked concentration of gay establishments "moved" from Peel and Stanley streets (Downtown) towards Saint Hubert and Papineau streets (current Village). This movement was connected, as previously stated, because of police repression in Downtown Montreal ("origin") gay bars during the 70's (Podmore, 2006). The new selected "destination", however, is also connected to cheaper rent, other marginalized groups presence, francophone culture (considered to be more acceptant of marginalized subjects), and less opposition from the city's institutions (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008). This relocation was not accepted without

conflict, and several protests took place during the late 70's and early 80's in the Downtown central business district (idem, 2008).

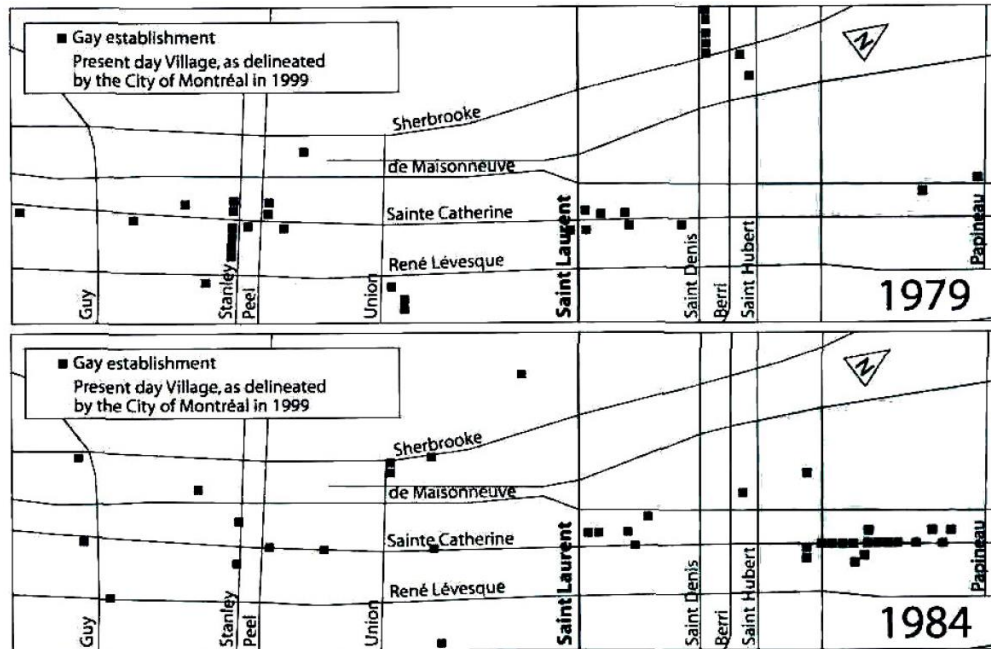


Figure 7. Distribution of Gay Establishments in 1979 and 1984 (source: Hunt and Zacharias, 2008, p. 37)

The current Village is, therefore, a village-in-the-making, and not a finalized thing (Ingold, 2010). It is an actor, in my field, but its relationships with other actors have to be exposed. Even though the Village was a “primary” site for data collection, other gay place-things can be found in the wider city urban environment. A gayspace is, after all, an array of related gay materials, discourses and practices (Ingold, 1993). It is not bound to a single mesh of relationships, and other actors – even though not closely located – also impact this array. Following my method, I had informal conversations with several human actors in the field – ranging from friends to institutional colleagues (e.g. by volunteering in two NGO’s, I had access to other sets of queer and LGBT parties) – and navigated the city to find other gay place-things.

These other gay places were rare and scattered, but they were also part of the larger concept of the gayscape in Montreal. Figure 8 shows the main actors discovered in Montreal's gayscape. There are a few cruising areas that could not be accessed because of Montreal's by-laws that forbid access to parks from around midnight until 6:00 AM (Ville de Montreal, 2010)¹³. The closing hours of parks (and even the cutting down of trees and bushes in several of them) have been connected to the "morality police" and the practice of cruising among gay men – the search of casual sex partners by walking or driving around a specific area (Hinrichs, 2011). According to Hinrichs (2011) and Doyle (1996), parks became the focus of police officers during the 60's and 70's because of gay men cruising during nighttime. Nowadays, it is illegal to be in a park – generally – after midnight. As a temporary immigrant in Montreal, I had to keep my distance from these place-things in order not to be in trouble with the law. I did, however, visit Parc Thierry with an informant and remained in the sidewalk across the street, observing from afar the movement of people in and out of the park during 2016's summer. For this reason, I marked it as a gay place in Figure 8.

The yellow stars, in Figure 8, show individual place-things scattered through the cityscape. I did not conduct field work in all places (the anonymized list hides urban locations in order to ensure this). Notice a remarkable concentration to the east and northeast of Mount Royal (another known cruising park that – due to its location and difficult access – I did not do fieldwork to avoid police trouble). The star concentration in the right side of the figure shows the section of Sainte-Catherine described emically and etically as "Gay Village" or, simply, "Village". Actors in Figure 8 include 15 bars and/or clubs (including after hour clubs), 4 strip-tease bars, 1 church, 7 LGBT organizations (including health and services), 2

¹³ The By-law reads: "Parks are closed between midnight and 6 a.m., except for Parc René-Lévesque, where closing hours are from 11 p.m. to 6 a.m. and Parc des Rapides, where closing hours are from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m., and from 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. in conservation areas, as defined in the Règlement déterminant certaines mesures de sécurité pour l'utilisation par le public du Fleuve Saint-Laurent et des rives dans les limites de la Ville de LaSalle (1488, as amended) of LaSalle borough."

parks, 6 saunas, 2 restaurants, 2 stores, 1 metro station, and 3 venues (holding “gay events”, but not identified by informants as “gay places”). These 43 actors were the primary actors in Montreal’s gayscape.

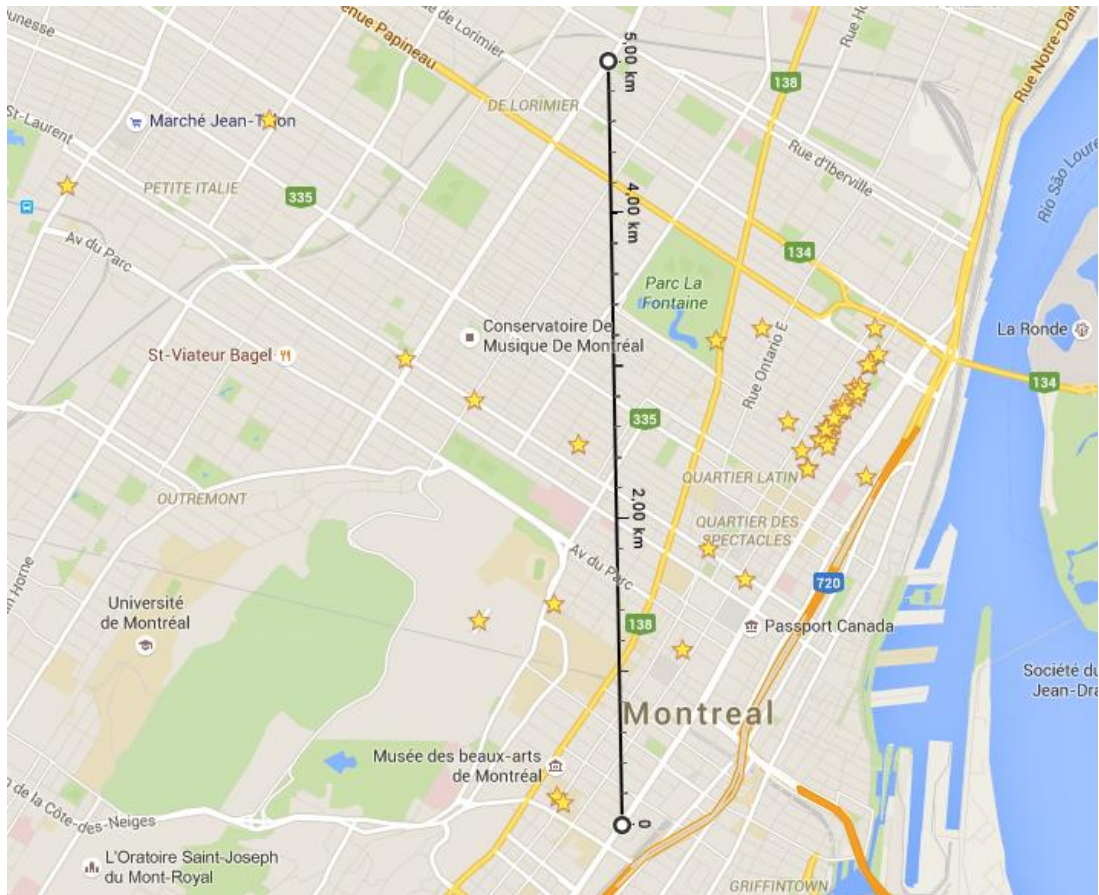


Figure 8. Map containing gay places found in Montreal’s gayscape, as discovered in informant conversations, things’ voices and discovery-oriented fieldwork.

4.1.1.1 Montreal’s marketplaces

The geographical positions of gay place-things are affected by politics and history – as seen in the previous section – but also by market practices. Displacing some of the human actors to “consumers” category, some relationships between humans and things need to be explored in some market-bound characteristics.

The first characteristic of Montreal's gayscape is movement and transportation. Three metro stations are related to the Village – Berri-UQAM, Beaudry, and Papineau (Hinrichs, 2011). Berri-UQAM station is located in the southwest part of the Village, and is the main connecting station for the yellow, orange, and green metro lines – acting as a hub for 3 of the 4 metro lines of Montreal. Beaudry station sits at around the middle of the Village in the green line, and Papineau rests at the northeast end of the Village also in the green line.

Aaron: And on weekends you see a lot of “out-o-towns” who go there, you know? Outside of the city, we call them “450” because that’s their area code [smiles]

Paulo: 450?

Aaron: Four five zero. It’s not Five One Four, because that’s, uh... [Montreal’s telephone code].

Paulo: Ok!

Aaron: So they cross the bridge and go there [Bar] and you see a lot of them. “Bridge and tunnel crowd”, [as] they [would] come from New Jersey or whatever.

Aaron points out that working class, suburban crowds – referred pejoratively as 450 (“four, five, o’s”) – come on weekends to one of the main bar complexes of the Village. Papineau station is also close to Jacques-Cartier Bridge, the bridge that connects Longueuil and eastern towns to Montreal.

These logistic dynamics allowed easy access to the Village – but this does not apply to all gay place-things. Two saunas and three bars stand far from stations. These same places are also not “gay” *per se*. The three bars farthest from stations and the core Village offered “gay events” during fieldwork, but were rarely referred to as “gay” by participants, and were not listed in gay guides. The bars did not offer parking, but both saunas did. This transportation dynamic was also noticed by Humphreys (1970): There was a noticeable difference between bathroom casual sex practice and attendance between “isolated” bathrooms (close to parks and highways) and bathrooms inside other places (such as a mall bathroom). Humphreys (1970) noticed more working class and ethnic, racial and age diversity in isolated bathrooms, as people could easily park in their way to work or home. This different logistics dynamics

also impact sauna clientele in gayscapes: one of the off-center saunas, with parking, had different consumption dynamics than Village-bound saunas.

The second characteristic of Montreal's gayscape, regarding to location and market practices, is how political institutions relate to the Village. Hunt and Zacharias (2008) comment on how an apparent co-optation by local, state, and national government institutions has turned the Village into a tourist destination. This co-optation comes from a sudden shift from government treatment toward gay places – from raiding gay bars in the 70's, to embracing and advertising them national and internationally. This co-optation, however, is not always analyzed positively: this political movement has been met with criticism regarding homonormatization of gay behavior (which affects and is affected by market practices as well).

Homonormatization (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008) is the *watering down* of gay behavior toward a more palatable category to the *straight world* and marketing or governmental institutions. Intersectionally speaking, this refers to very specific social markers that are considered *less shocking* or more *marketable* in consumption environments: young, white, handsome, able, affluent, educated, cultured, male, cisgendered, gay men. This is perceptible in advertisements in *Fugues* magazine (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008), gay guides, government tourist-oriented materials, and most bar or club advertisements.

Saul: I'll tell you: Toronto and Montreal. And... I thought that I'd go to Montreal and it would be better, but it's the same fucking shit. Because people... there's a fucking hierarchy when you go to the village, and I'm near the bottom.

Paulo: Why do you feel you're near the bottom?

Saul: Because you're at the top if you're young and white. That's the top of the gay pyramid. And not that. Like, those are the top o... the top of the pyramid. No... Even if you want, I try to dance with the guys, just to dance... I've never... I know that I'm not... It's unlikely that I'll pick up a guy in the village, but I'll get, like, rejected in the rudest way by these guys. Because their ego is so inflated. And I, I honestly feel like it's a lack of self-confidence. It's a lack of... Self... Efficacy. To be honest. And... Because they feel so oppressed [sarcastic] because

they're white, and male, and they're gay, that... you know? They come in the village, and people who... people who are bl... finally someone is below them, you know? They have to be mean to them. They have a say over these black guys, over these Asian guys. They're more popular, they are more sought after. They have more value in the village, and they walk around like that, and they treating me like that. And I know I've only been at the village like, 3 times, but it's actually... It's been more than that in Toronto. And every time I'm just ... I just hated it. And then I finally, like, really was, felt like an adult coming to Montreal, even though I was just 20, but I really... Y'know? I... Really didn't feel like a kid, and then I noticed that... Fuck the village. Fuck your shitty village. Everywhere, like, honestly? Because in a place like North America, in a white... in a white city, in a white whatever, the village caters to one group of people. The... The... The fight for homo... The fight against homophobia caters to one group of people. The fight for feminism caters to one group of people. But there's that... Other peoples fault or not, or whose fault, but that's just the way it is. Like, I don't see... I don't see representation in the media for any kind of black guy. It's "gay guys". It's cute to see two white guys together, it's so cute [sarcastic]. But you'll never see two... Asians or a Black and an Asian or... anyone but whites. And I go to the village and then yeah... And then I feel and experience just what makes me c... you see in the TV, so I don't go there because fuck you.

Saul has many negative feelings toward the Village because he suffers from racism and also perceives this *homonormatization* (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008) in his material and market practices while *in situ*. This normatization is perceptible even in relationships of actors with specific place-things. In my early fieldwork days, a note in my field log from September 22nd 2015 reads:

"As I opened Beaudry Station's heavy doors facing Sainte-Catherine street, I couldn't help but notice how the Gay Village, similar to Republica Street in Porto Alegre, is somewhat "ghettoized". Among homeless people, moms and dads pushing baby strollers around, and some older ladies, Sainte-Catherine Street open its sidewalks to white and affluent gay men who walk and consume coffee, alcohol or anything else.[...] White and rich gay men are still the predominant people in a clearly demarcated space (at least openly, unlike Porto Alegre). [...] White and muscular men's pictures are plastered everywhere. [and scribbled separately, in the same page: white, young, and rich!]"

This homonormatization derives, according to Hunt and Zacharia (2008), to this very specific market practice – from governmental institutions – of *selling the space*, in the form of tourism initiatives. Most intersections that are not directly related to this “white, gay, male”

combination are *pushed aside* or “upside” off the street level, on the second and third floor of buildings (Ray, 2004). This results, in Ray’s (2004) view, a paradox: “It is a neighborhood in which distinct versions of heterosexuality and poverty intersect with homosexuality, masculinity, femininity, patriarchy, wealth and language to construct a social landscape in which there is both a **celebration of difference** from the mainstream and a simultaneous **erasure of identities**” (Ray, 2004, p. 75, our emphasis).

Two *queer events* recurrently happened outside of the Village, both organized by people connected to one of the organizations I volunteered. Both of them had more visible intersections dwelling in commercial places.

*Lilian: [...] Yeah... Like, there was no one at our last party that came in a wheelchair, for instance, uhm... But, [...] Whether they came or not to... **Make the space open, I think, was the most important thing. Why people with disabilities or, like, disabilities that would’ve required the space to have a ramp, or be accessible, why they didn’t come to the party, I mean... [laughs] There’s a variety of reasons.***

Paulo: [laughs] They might just not... want to... But...

L: It might reflect on our organizing, it might’ve been something that we forgot to do, or like, make it, you know?

P: I don’t think we can really evaluate absence [laughs], but...

*L: No, no. But, I mean, in the people that came, I think... Uhm... It was just, like, a very different event, really, because you know, each one appeals to a different crowd and... You know, especially when it’s a party, like, you could have everything, all the elements can be there, and whether people want to go or not, can be like, completely... based on, like, you know? The music, whether the music appeals to them, if there’s something else happening that night, or like – sometimes it feels like it doesn’t matter what you do, when it comes down to like, what people... are... feeling, or like, whether they want to be in. But, I mean, I think uh... **I think our parties do appeal to a certain demographic of people who don’t – [...] I think it’s just like people who maybe wouldn’t be going to the village, and are looking for alternatives.***

P: Yeah.

*L: I think we’re like, uhm... I think it is, also, uhm... A c... A certain... subculture bubble [laughs] of like, people who are involved in uh... In, you know, certain events or who are... who are organizing things. I mean, like, people you know, you create, like, **a network and it seems to be a lot of the same people that come to our events, just as long as the same people will be joining up at the village every Saturday, you know? It’s like... You create like, a... There’s a market, you know?***

There's a crowd, and... Like, you're creating for... The... Your audience.

Finally, one of the most dramatic changes that happened during fieldwork was the stark contrast between seasonal changes and consumption behavior. I kept fieldwork activity during the winter – almost every Friday and Saturday from November to May (exceptions: 6 Saturdays off). One of the reasons I conducted fieldwork every Friday is that I had to be in the Village in any case for volunteer work in an NGO. Sainte Catherine Street was open for traffic from the end of September until the beginning of May – when the City Hall closed the street for automobiles and turned it into a pedestrian street. This change of scenery is, obviously, more than aesthetical: as Sainte Catherine Street became a pedestrian way, terraces began to spring up on sidewalks. While in the winter most people were in a hurry to escape from harsh cold weathers, during spring and summer locals and tourists shared the main street in calm strolls.

4.1.2 Context: Porto Alegre

Lucas: It's – and sometimes I feel like walking, so... I like that area [referring to Redenção Park area, known for cruising]. And I was like that, walking. And everybody knows that Redenção is a cruising spot. Men, having sex, fucking during the night.

P: Cruising as “pegação” [Brazilian term]?

*L: Yes. “Hunting” and having sex. And a really cute guy started to follow me. And he... I felt that shadow, that person following me. I crossed the street towards João Pessoa Street, and stopped under a store awning, waiting for my bus, because the rain got intense. And he was following me all throughout João Pessoa Street, walked to the cross-section and came back. Coming my way and looking intensely into my eyes. And he was very handsome [...]. And after a while I smiled – **as if inviting** him to come talk to me. And he came to talk to me... And he said “Hi, how are you?” and whatever “How are you and, uhm, are you going somewhere?” And I said “I'm going home”, and he said “you're very good looking” and I said “Thank you, you too”, and he said “do you have anything to do right now? Don't you want to go there to do something...” **like, asking** me to go to Redenção Park and have sex.*

P: Yes.

L: I was super turned on, it's something I always wanted to do, but...

[long pause] At that moment I didn't want to put... Not even my...

***Physical integrity, at risk, but...** There was a matter of... I had my, in my bag there was **my work suit**, and – whatever – **my cellphone, my other stuff**. It was raining... And I didn't... If I had nothing on me, I would have... **But I didn't want to put... in danger, my stuff**. No... **I wasn't afraid of him, but of putting myself in Redenção Park, a thing that is a place that anyone can just show up**. And steal, both of us. So I said no. But... uhm... at this moment my intuition said **"Lucas, you're putting your stuff at risk."** My physical integrity, I think that... Of course, there are some situations that I wouldn't take any risk.*

Porto Alegre's gayscape is subject to the same historical, social and economic flows as any other. Figure 10 shows place-things found during fieldwork phase. Even though comparing both gayscapes is beyond the scope of this work, some differences must be cited. Porto Alegre's gayscape has visibly more "dispersed" place-things – comparisons can be made between Figures 9 and 10. There's no historical mapping of Porto Alegre's gay places easily available, but some history remains within LGBT participants and could be collected via interviews or materials that participants kept throughout their lives.

As one participant opened Porto Alegre's LGBT history book from her memories, Flower's was cited as the *first gay club* in Porto Alegre, from 1971-1975 (Barroso, 2007). However, Cabana do Turquinho bar is technically regarded as the first space that was open to "lesbians and homosexuals", during the 1950's (Idem, 2007). Marcia recounts that due to its proximity to a local military barracks, Flower's was constantly inspected (or raided) and was forced to relocate (she also points out to the fact that, in her view, the mere existence of the bar did not bother military officials during the Brazilian dictatorship era – but the fact that soldiers would occasionally visit the bar for *leisure* when not on duty). Other medias reveal Flower's to be a vibrant and LGBT oriented space (Cruxen, 2007). Cited as an effervescent nightlife hub, Cruxen's (2007) documentary also reveals that, even though during this time Brazil was going through a severe military dictatorship, most of Flower's patrons were not

interested or active in politics. Clothes and costumes, music, ambience and regular patrons were also heavily cited.

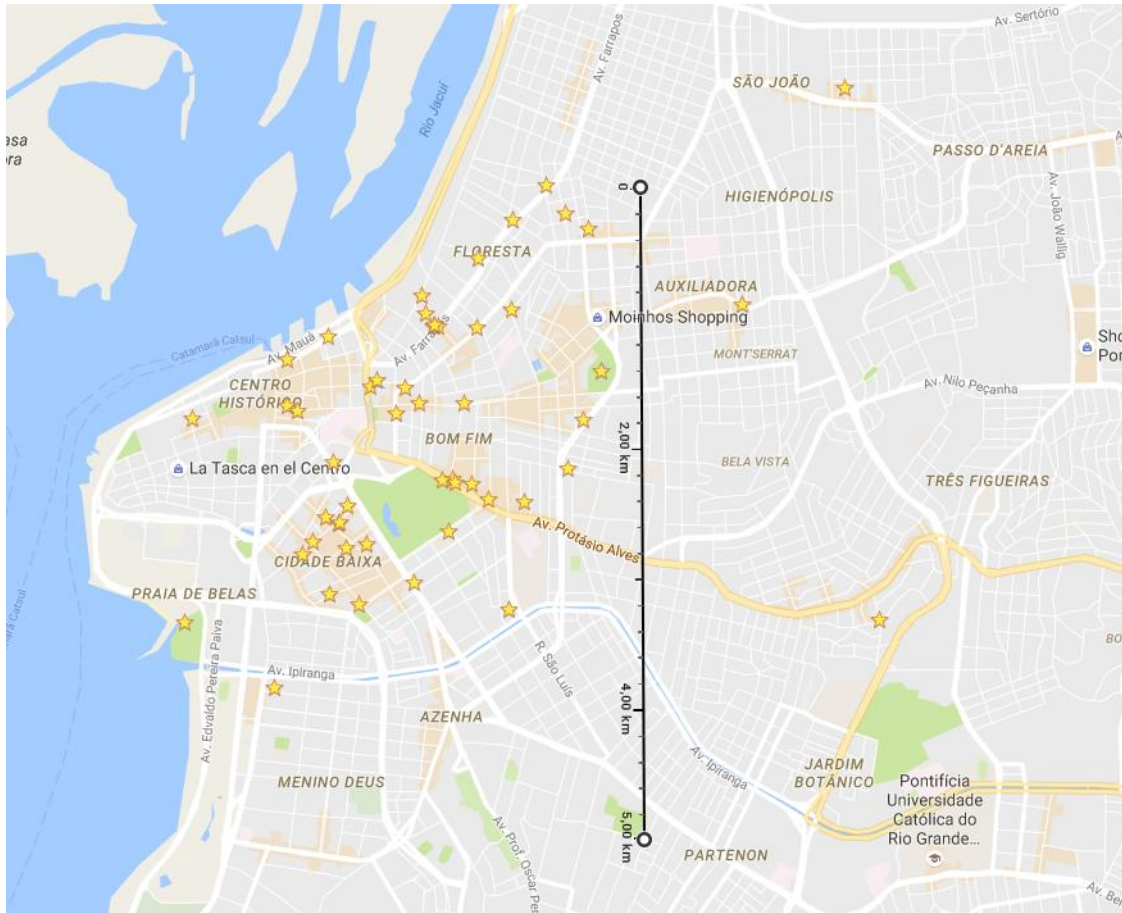


Figure 9. Porto Alegre's urban gayscape as collected during fieldwork (source: made by the author)

The individual place-things shown in Figure 9, even though generally dispersed, have a noticeable agglomeration in specific parts, mainly in the northern, central, and east parts of downtown. There are a few cruising areas that could not be accessed because of safety concerns¹⁴. I did, however, visited Redenção Park with a participant and remained in the well-lit areas at the entrance, observing from afar the movement of people in and out of the park during 2015's summer. For this reason, I marked it as a gay place in Figure 10.

¹⁴ Even though the by-laws in effect during fieldwork Montreal made it difficult to operationalize park observation, Porto Alegre's parks are not closed during the night – but the police are hardly seen in those areas

The few agglomerations show a section of Rua da Republica, considered by many participants a *gay street* – where showing signs of affection is not *so dangerous*. Another cluster, to the northern part of downtown, shows several after-hour clubs, generally considered sleazy and rundown by most participants – to some, even saying that they *had been there* was followed by laughter and discomfort. The other cluster is closer to Bom Fim neighborhood, showing one of the oldest gay place-things still operating, sitting across Redenção Park cruising spot and Rua Jose Bonifácio male prostitution street. Actors in Figure 9 include 20 bars and/or clubs (including after hour clubs), 2 cafes, 2 cinemas, 5 LGBT organizations (including health and services), 3 parks, 7 saunas, 1 restaurant (which closed before the end of my research), 5 stores/video rentals, and 1 venue (holding “gay events”, but not identified by informants as “gay place”). These 46 actors were the primary places in Porto Alegre’s gayscape (although only 19 were actively visited and observed).

Historical movements and gay *hubs* are not easily accessible in Porto Alegre’s context for two reasons: (1) Porto Alegre’s gay places are hardly clearly identified as LGBT spaces (for example: pride flags, business networks, advertising,...), so patrons rely much more in networks and social connections to navigate the gayscape (more about this is discussed in the next subsection); and (2) the only Porto Alegre gay guide currently being distributed started to be published only recently (around the year 2000). Figure 10 shows the official 2005 gay guide map for Porto Alegre, published by Nuances gay group.

Even though this was the earliest accessible gay place-things mapping I could find, there is a 2000 edition of a gay periodical published in Porto Alegre (also by Nuances group)

that listed cruising spots¹⁵ and more sexual activity centered places (Barroso, 2007). Comparing Figures 9 and 10 helps to understand the mobility and changing characteristics of Porto Alegre's gayscape, and there hasn't been a strong or remarkable movement or displacement in the last 10 years (the timespan of both figures).



Figure 10. Porto Alegre's gay guide from 2005 map (source: Nuances, 2005)

Noticeable places that appear in both maps are the southernmost markings in both Figures 9 and 10, and some of the markings around the middlemost park in both maps. Some individual place-things have changed name, others have changed their offerings (for instance, the southernmost marking in both maps continues to have the same name, but no longer offers dark rooms for casual and impersonal sexual encounters – clearly offered in the 2005 guide).

¹⁵ "And also on page 5 of the 10th edition (February 2000), [there is] an introduction to the description of addresses and distinctive characteristics of establishments and places for erotic encounters between people of the same sex in Porto Alegre (the "map of the mine", the "cruising routes")." (Barroso, 2007, p. 170, our translation)

4.1.2.1 Porto Alegre's marketplaces

Porto Alegre's gayscape positioning, affected by politics and historical factors, is also affected by market practices. If we displace some of the actors in our relationship mesh temporarily to the "consumer" category, some relationships between humans and things need to be explored in some market-bound characteristics.

Taking movement and transportation as the starting point in my argument, Porto Alegre has an inconsistent network of public transport options when consumption habits are put in place: normally nightlife starts relatively *late* in the city (most of my field notes point to public increasing after midnight). Most participants rely more on taxi or rides rather than on mass transportation systems (most bus lines stop operating from 10:20 PM¹⁶ and only restart operating from around 5:30 AM). This transportation dynamics favors (or *restricts*) long nights out for some class intersections. In two circumstances, I had informal conversations that revealed patrons waiting until at least 5:30 AM to leave parties and have public transportation options to go back home. In addition, similar to Montreal's 450s derogatory term, Porto Alegre's working class patrons were referred to as "GPA" (*Grande Porto Alegre*, or Greater Porto Alegre, a reference to the suburban and metropolitan towns and rims) – and this public was perceived by most participants to prefer the northern place-thing agglomeration (closer to *Floresta neighborhood*, in the map). This could possibly be also linked to the only train system – TRENURB – connecting Porto Alegre's northern downtown area to some satellite and dormitory northern towns.

Carlos: [...] To me, it's like this, look: the crowd at [bar] is a... how can I put it? Uh... It's... I'm trying not to offend anyone, ok? But I think it's a more of a... lower class crowd trying to be upper class.

Paulo: Hm-hm.

C: Got it?

¹⁶ For detailed information, check Porto Alegre's Public Transportation Company's website at <http://www.eptc.com.br/EPTC_Itinerarios/Cadastro.asp> (Portuguese only)

P: Got it.

*C: So it's that crowd with pocket cash. That most of the times come to [bar] uh... only... with the admission fee in their pockets, a crowd that **rides the bus all the way from** Gravataí, Cachoeirinha, Viamão [note: Greater Porto Alegre towns], wherever, to arrive at [bar], and then arrives at [bar] and **becomes a different person**. Got it? He kind of... Of... **dresses up as a character when he enters the place**. I think that. I see it that way.*

P: I understand. Yes, yes, of course.

C: Right? Things that I don't see in other places. [...]

Even though Carlos initially tries to avoid offending anyone, at a later interview point he refers to the *crowd* in the above excerpt as “GPAs”, an emically offensive term. Transportation in this class intersection is, therefore, one of the factors that influence patronage in different places according to their *easy accessibility* for gayscape dwellers. Only one night club had parking space at the time of this work – represented by the southernmost yellow star in Figure 9. Possibly due to its relative *isolated* location, it offered parking as an option for drivers.

Another characteristic is perhaps only perceptible due to multi-sited ethnography: the consumption behavior towards alcohol in Porto Alegre's gayscape. Unlike Canada and the United States, for example, alcohol consumption restriction and regulation is much more lax – sometimes considered non-existent - in Brazil (Laranjeira and Romano, 2004). This affects the timespan of parties in night clubs, usually starting after midnight and ending 5:30 am and on. Alcohol can be purchased at stores with no time restrictions. Consumption can occur in most public spaces and streets (in comparison, Montreal's night clubs – excluding afterhours clubs – must close by 3 am, and alcohol cannot be purchased in stores after 11 pm or anywhere after 3 am; also, consuming alcohol is not allowed in most public spaces excluding terraces and parks, if alcohol consumption is accompanied by a meal¹⁷). This lack of strict

¹⁷ For detailed information about Quebec Charters and Regulations regarding alcohol: (1) Chapter P.9-1 deals with alcohol permits <<http://legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/ShowDoc/cs/P-9.1>>; (2) Chapter I-8.1 deals with offenses related to alcohol <<http://legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/ShowDoc/cs/I-8.1>>; and (3) Chapter S-13, r. 6.1

regulation on consumption and purchase of alcohol in place-things makes Porto Alegre's gayscape shift the timespan of nightlife events in comparison to Montreal's gayscape, for example.

Another characteristic of Porto Alegre's gayscape and market practices is that the place-things found in the field do not communicate their LGBT status to strangers (their "voices"). Unlike most touristically-oriented gayscapes that have been co-opted by official governmental structures (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008), Porto Alegre's gayscape is not structured around a touristic effort that embraces and celebrates LGBT place-things. Porto Alegre's tourism secretary launched, in 2015, the Porto Alegre LGBT initiative to include the city as a gay-friendly worldwide destination. The program was considered problematic¹⁸ from the beginning for several reasons: (1) the program does not create or demarcate safe or friendly spaces, it just receives applications for listings in a website¹⁹; (2) the program was criticized by Juntos Organization representative (a Porto Alegre LGBT rights NGO) for its Eurocentrism, excluding all intersections that do not conform to white, male, and rich; (3) the program stepped back from creating an identifiable tag or symbol for place-things for not knowing what the *reaction* of other, non-LGBT, patrons would be.

It is very difficult (if not impossible) to find a cause, but it is clear that Porto Alegre's gay place-things are silent when it comes to talking to human actors. This creates a market dynamic of much more social, word-of-mouth, and dwelling-based knowledge for gay place-things within LGBT human actors. Some confusion in delimitating what a gay place-thing *actually is* was apparent in some participants' discourses: as I asked Lucas about whether

deals with possession and transportation of alcohol in Quebec Province
<<http://legisquebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/ShowDoc/cr/S-13,%20r.%206.1>>

¹⁸ The program and its problems were covered by the media, available in <<http://g1.globo.com/rs/rio-grande-do-sul/noticia/2015/09/porto-alegre-busca-atrair-mais-turistas-ao-se-tornar-destino-gay-friendly.html>> and <<http://zh.clicrbs.com.br/rs/porto-alegre/noticia/2015/09/porto-alegre-esta-entre-os-sete-destinos-gay-friendly-certificados-pela-embratur-4855061.html>> (Portuguese only)

¹⁹ <http://www.portoalegre.travel/lgbt_br/category/porto_alegre/>

there *are* gay places, he tried to distance himself from gay place-things, and fell into a *contradiction*.

Paulo: Are there places that you go that you consider gay? Is this place [you were talking about] gay?

*Lucas: Uh... I don't like places like that. I don't like this idea of, like, segregating. Uh... For... But there are [gay] places, yes. **For example Rainbow Club is gay. I never went to Rainbow Club.** Shoes Club is gay. Babylon is gay. But all the rest? All parties... I like this Porto Alegre culture, I think Curitiba has this too, parties that are for alternative people. This is the alternative party that will have everything and everyone. And there will be a bunch of gay guys there because they are accepted, so they go in bulk [laughs]. I said, like, UFRGS [university] folks. Everybody accepts and everybody is part of uh... Redemption Club, even though... Redemption Club, Twin Dance Club, [non-visited club], Cosmo... **Mos... Most of them are gay, but none of these places self-titles itself as a "gay place", and this makes them non-gay.** Alter Club is gay.*

*P: But I think it's funny, because Redemption Club is, according to you, non-gay, but it has a huge sign at the entrance that reads "**homophobes shall not come in**"...*

M: ... nor sexist people.

P: Nor sexist people, nor racists...

*M: So there you have it, the **future** [laughs]*

P: [laughs]

This apparent contradiction, however, is disentangled when communities of practice (Descola and Pálsson, 1996) are taken into consideration: even though individual place-things may not identify themselves as gay, gayness-as-an-actor is still involved in practices that cross those place actors. In other words: (1) gay practices are not exclusive of the places Lucas is talking about; and (2) those places are not the basis for the exclusive circumstances that inculcate said gay practices. This creates the apparent contradiction that even if those places are involved in this practice-bound mesh, they are not the exclusive grounds for such practices – and this, in Lucas' views, makes them *non-gay*. This characteristic (of hard-to-pinpoint queerness or gayness in places) makes Porto Alegre's gayscape a much more dwelling- and socially-bound actor. The need to walk, see, dwell, talk, experiment and habitate specific place-things was very present during fieldwork phase.

For example, taking sexuality and performativity (Butler, 2006) meant not considering a specific place-thing *gay*, even though it was listed in Porto Alegre LGBT's website. This contextual detail happened after six incursions in a specific club that is listed as "alternative" in the official media, but in none of the six times a single LGBT performance or practice was seen: no couples, no hook ups, no flirting, and no dressing up. Asking local informants also helped me in my decision not to consider that specific place-thing as part of a gayscape (even though gayness as practice may operate there as in any other non-gayscape place).

Carlos: Basically in gay places they are "being themselves" [...] And then – sometimes, in a bar, a restaurant, a theatre... things kind of change, like... I notice – this is very uh... clear. It's very easy to notice that they are... uh... acquiring a new behavior.

[...]

I have lots of information. Because – look – my Facebook is full of producers. Several club owners, lots of Drag Queens, you know? [...]

Paulo: And do they tell you personally – or you just gather information on Facebook itself?

Carlos: No, some tell me personally, some create events, and put it up on Facebook. "Something will happen at this day, this place."

Paulo: Got it.

Carlos: And word-of-mouth information, too. 'Cause you're in the gay world, right? And gays – thanks God – are well-informed creatures, right? [laughs]

[...]

And Wednesday Club's crowd is also... uh... Because it's a crowd that goes to... they can go to a gay club, but they always go to the straight club, you know? Straight [note: used "hétera" – a feminine treatment] again [laughs]. [...] Look, I'm gay as soon as I have sex with a man. But this doesn't stop me from going into places that I'm not going for sex. And places that other people who are not gay also go – like Wednesday Club. You find gay people from [non-visited place] and Cosmo in Wednesday Club, in straight places.

Carlos' excerpt illuminates that – even though the public in the non-included bar can be gay, the place itself is not considered gay, and was consistently cited as a straight club by most participants. Even with a market-based effort of applying for the official media (Porto Alegre LGBT's website and tourism initiative) – this specific place was not considered by participants to be actually LGBT-friendly, since most LGBT affection was not performed in

the place: “Gilles: Exactly, you go in there and gay people are walking hand-in-hand, gay people are kissing, gay people are sitting [at the tables] together, talking – and in [straight non-visited bar] you don’t see that.”

This apparent disconnection between a market-bound discourse (tourism initiatives, official co-optation, advertising) and practice-bound observation (“this place is not *really* gay”) will be explored in subsection 4.2.3 Social Structures: how normative structures can be co-constitutive and, at the same time, exclusionary.

4.1.3 Context: Virtual place actors

Gayscapes, as previously conceptualized, are not limited to physical borders. Every –scape is crossed by multiple experiences. Some places, therefore, can be experienced in virtual settings. Two main gay dating apps were included in my fieldwork. The main differences from other places are: (1) the simultaneous presence (participants can freely attend virtual places as they experience the marketplace); (2) easier anonymity (participants can hide their identity – but not some intersections); and (3) more control over bad experiences (participants can disengage from unpleasant experiences in or within phone applications).

For simultaneous presence, I mean that applications allow a user to check in or out as they want, even while – for example – attending a place, party, or event. Lucas, for example, opens both apps when he attends bars in order to see who is available for hook ups. He mentioned that this is a *tag* that a person puts on as soon as they walk in a bar. By signaling availability in an app, people who are physically at a place can indirectly get in touch without the need of face-to-face communication.

As for easier anonymity, Derek cites the benefit of selecting how much of your identity is available for other app users:

Derek: I think Tind... Tinder has to be attached to your Facebook. So... It... It exposes more about you. And the risk of running through other people who might know your profile is higher. So... it might not be t... difference in interface that made it not-so-popular among gays. But it might be the functionality...

Paulo: The fact...?

Derek: The fact that it's attached to your Facebook, and you don't necessarily want to share that with everyone... Especially if you're just looking for a quickie.

[And later]

Derek: Since I don't have my face on display [on Grindr], it's very rare for someone to approach me. Because that's a... a disadvantage that I have, that I cannot put my face up ... out there, or else...

Paulo: I see a lot of users doing that too...

Derek: Not putting their face?

Paulo: Yeah.

Derek: But, but... They put their six-pack [laughs]

Although Derek cites that hiding his face in dating apps is easier, and therefore his identity is protected, he is also at a specific intersection he judges to be at a disadvantage: “Derek: But I don't [...] think that I'll write [...] ‘I'm a closeted gay person’ on my profile [...] because I think that... most of the people would think [...] in a North American free Canadian society, would think ‘oh I don't want to deal with a closeted person’.” This feeling derives from his perception that out of the closet people have crossed a bridge and will not look back to people who have not crossed it yet.

This relates to the third characteristic, having more control over bad experiences. Blocking or creating fake profiles gives users control to engage or disengage from interactions they might find bad. Lucas connects blocking profiles in apps to uncomfortable feelings and exposure:

Paulo: When you see someone in an app, being someone that you... Let's start by people you know. When you see someone you know.

Lucas: I used to – I don't do this anymore – but I used to... even a short time ago... [...] block them. There was this acquaintance...

Paulo: Really?

Lucas: An acquaintance – like [name], or [other name].

Paulo: Would you block them?

Lucas: A friend of my ex... All the time. Because it was a kind of a feeling – I'm talking about acquaintances and friends – similar to being at a party and my mom is standing in the next room with her friends [laughs]. This was the feeling, of like... Being exposed at a place like that.

Lucas could control bad interactions or unpleasant experiences by controlling the app functionality: blocking people immediately makes them disappear in a user grid, and this – in turn – mitigates the feeling of being uncomfortable (when acquaintances or friends see you at the same place or application).

4.1.4 Context: Gayscapes

Looking at Figure 12, one might consider both gayscapes as a final picture, or a structured field. I hope that the two previous subsections made the point that no gayscape is a finalized actor – much as human actors, they must be seen as things-in-the-making (Ingold, 2010). They subject and are subjected to multiple encounters and relations that make the mere uttering of “gay village” or “gay street” sound displaced. Historical, political, economic, sexual, marketing, regulation [...] forces keep changing with (and to) these meshes. As I followed practices throughout the field, I noticed that a dark room is never just a dark room; a wet sauna is never just a wet sauna; a bottle of liquor is never just a bottle of liquor; a cruising spot is never just a cruising spot; music is never just music – all of these (and many, many more) actors are moving and affecting-and-being-affected by the local practice-meshes. A bottle of liquor in a gay restaurant is different from a bottle of liquor in a gay club, and it says completely different things depending on the human holding it.

The very voice of two saunas were very different: one of the saunas in the Gay Village communicated sexual performances expectation in its lighting, music, layout, and visible sexual practices – while the off-center sauna had separate environments for sexual practices

(rooms) and well-lit, silent areas for steam-rooms and showers. The gay crowd present in the off-center sauna – during my observations – was composed of students that previously met in a nearby house to socialize and then walked to the sauna, which shows a different logistic dynamic for that specific gay clientele. It was also the only sauna offering parking – since clients had no easy public transport access. Other transportation dynamics are visible in the Village, during summer. Sainte-Catherine Street was closed for pedestrians and bicycles during summer, which meant car access was restricted, and no saunas in the village offered parking. Accessibility in other intersectional concerns was also different in most place-things. From all analyzed contexts, only two gay places communicated a very specific problem: able-bodied access. Two accessible gay events happened during fieldwork, with clear and planned infra-structural concerns for wheelchair accessibility, and gender-neutral toilets. Both events were held by LGBTQ activists and NGO volunteers. This same concern could not be found in other gay places.

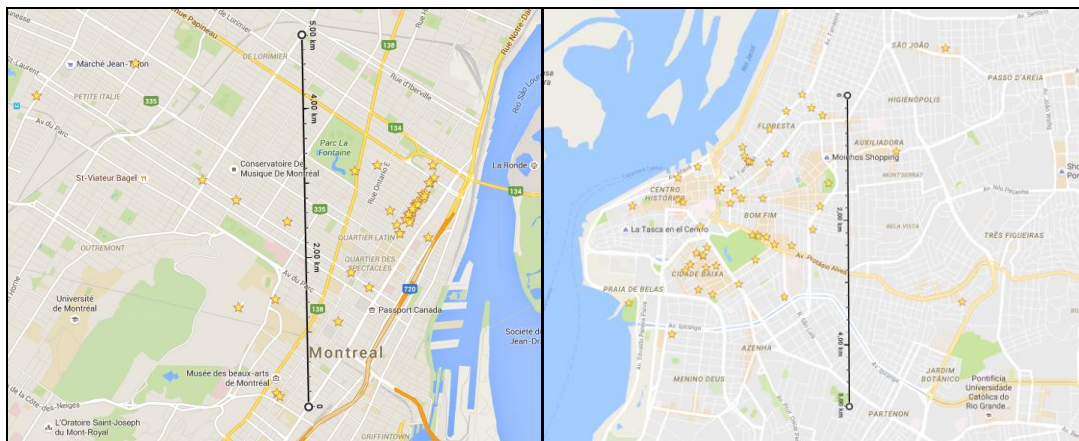


Figure 11. Both gayscapes crystallized, side-by-side, for comparison – but also things-in-the-making (source: made by the author)

This means that the maps shown in Figure 12 are not supposed to be taken as a cartographic exercise or exploration: they are merely a possible visualization scheme that is

immediately *wrong*, by default – *wrong* because they go against one of the premises of this work. Wrong because they crystalize something that changes every minute of every hour. In Latour’s (2014, p. 265) words: “any attempt at choosing a homogeneous concept to establish connections among all entities [...] has a powerful but short-lived effect. Powerful because it allows not to make artificial distinctions [...], but short lived because inevitably the differences that had been recorded slowly fade, turning out to be the *same way* for everything to be different.”

Gayscapes are not maps – they are, as previously said, a mesh of material relationships that are entangled with practices that involve gayness. Since there is no visualization to be made of these practices, I chose to simplify the visuals to support an argument. These practices are varied, and other visualizations may be possible in a multimedia approach²⁰ – but they will still be, by default, *wrong*. I participated in a *queering spaces* workshop in August 2016, and one informal conversation revealed an important characteristic of queer spaces, but that can fit into gayscapes as well: “you see a lot of spaces that are queer, then get corrupted by other people and have to close down or you have to move and find another place”, and in order to move and find new places, according to the same participant, one must have the ability to ***unlearn and relearn*** how to perceive and act in these gayscapes.

This is what Figure 12 should express: the ability to ***unlearn and relearn*** about place-things, and to keep up with this practice-mesh. This was achieved, as I said previously in the Method section, through walking and actively collecting materials, but one of the strongest factor in discovering gayscapes only became clear during my displacement to another city: starting my field work in Porto Alegre made it difficult for me to perceive how I was *exploring* this gayscape and finding new and different actors, since I had a longtime

²⁰ For a video attempt, during my stay in Montreal, Concordia Student Sonya Stefan made an institutional video, available in: <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OAiR282HIUo>>

knowledge of some of the gayscape actors. The displacement to Montreal made me realize that actually engaging with different actors in institutional and personal level made me **unlearn and relearn** about these place-things constantly. For example, while doing volunteer work for a queer radical group, I got in contact with queer party organizers and people critical of the Village, which would – by their turn – make me unlearn about some of the Village places, and relearn different practices and actors in other locations. This direct contact and practical involvement was not directly perceived in Porto Alegre because I was already engaged in it – being out of the closet since 2004 made me accustomed to getting involved with actors in Porto Alegre’s gayscape. Arriving in a new city with a different arrangement made it necessary to *unlearn and relearn* about all those place-things and, especially, human actors.

Therefore, without looking at meshes and how actors relate to each other, gayscapes would become relatively inaccessible for me because of my epistemology. However, the mere fixing of actors is also problematic since it crystalizes a process. In order to find the inner relationships in the gayscape, I now move to the emerging themes and categories found in the field.

4.2 EMERGING THEMES AND CATEGORIES

The final 36 themes were reduced into 5 categories, summarized in table 3. Each category will be explored in detail in the following subsections.

Practices represent the themes that refer to practices found in the field, be it reported practices or observed practices. Intersections refer to how difference was analyzed, be it in participants’ discourses or in participant observation.

Table 3 Themes and Categories

Practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> App deletion Clustering Exclusion Expression Hiding Consumption Migration Performativity Place-enabled practices Sex
Intersections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Age Class Effeminacy HIV Income Intersectional divergences Race Transnationality
Social Structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institutional exclusion LGBTphobia Normativity Safety Social Rules
Actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dying places Friend-enabled places Non-gay human actors Place agency Stigmatizing things Substances Thing-thing
Conceptual constructs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Closet logic Exposure Material-enabled relationships Place novelty Space and Time Stigma by association (Un)Learning

Source: made by the author

Social structures refer to exclusion and institutional rules that were reported by informants, participants, or observation. The category Actors contain all actors that were found in the field, excluding human actors that, for the analysis, are the participants and observed interactions within places. And finally, the Conceptual Constructs are the reported and observed concepts that are connected to the specific field, episteme (gayscapes) and are uniquely connected to the method used to collect data.

4.2.1 Practices

Practices are the material engagements between actors found in the field. These engagements are focused in observable, material phenomena. Themes that were grouped in this category:

- App Deletion: This practice was observed and reported by participants several times, and supports the higher “hiding” observation. App deletion happened when long-term relationships started (to hide specific apps from significant others) and when traveling to specific countries considered dangerous to participants (cited countries were China and Iran). When in relationships, the stigma associated with dating applications (Grindr, Hornet, Scruff, Tinder) risks the relationship, so participants chose to delete them to avoid getting involved in fights with their significant others (due to jealousy, mistrust or cynicism); In travel related deletion, participants were afraid that social conservative governments would profile, ban, or deny entry for gay men as gay dating apps might be found in mandated unlocked mobile phones when crossing country borders.
- Clustering: This theme supports the practice of grouping several intersections that closely relate to each other. This happened both with place actors (for example:

twinkie parties, bear clubs, working class bar, etc.) as well as human actors (for example: choosing friends that share some intersectional commonalities, such as gay friends, black friends, rich friends, etc.) Clustering was reported as well as observed in the field when specific places had many people sharing a specific characteristic. There is one more observation of clustering, mainly in Porto Alegre's northern section and Montreal's gay village: grouping places that share intersectional commonalities as well (for example, the gay village is a cluster of gay places; the northern sexually laden places of Porto Alegre share the red light district sexual intersection).

- Exclusion: this theme will be explored in depth in its own section (4.4 Intersectional Exclusion)
- Expression: This practice is connected to humans and how they relate to things and materials to express their self (Belk, 1988). The utterance of "gay hair" or "gay pants" is what mostly supports this in gayscapes. As people move toward a bar, or wear specific clothes, or do their hair, they express and perform. It is important to understand that expression, in my work, is not connected to a univocal relationship disconnected from the surrounding context: being in Montreal's gay village is part of a performance that expresses specific intersections (for example, that of being gay).

Lucas: It's also a strategy of percep... of showing that [laughs] – that there is an intellectuality in me. Because yes, yes [laughs] Abso... I don't remember your question.

Paulo: Whether you think that the image you put up is what you are.

Lucas: Well, it's because I believe that the stark image – this worries me – is that of Party Lucas, the one that parties, drinks, is happy, an extrovert.

Paulo: It worries you?

Lucas: What?

Paulo: It worries you?

Lucas: Yeah it does. And I... I wanna show there's another side. Because the real Lucas is a 24 hours grumpy guy. This is... It's like... Grumpy, old, lacking a sense of humor, always anxious. It's not a person that... So... Everybody gets to know me when I'm drunk and hugging everyone, affective, loving. This is why I drink, to become this person, not for other people to accept me, but because I want to feel this too. Which begs the question of why I fell in love with Ecstasy.

- Hiding Consumption: This theme is a large theme and will be explored in detail in the Consumption Occlusion section (4.3)
- Migration: This practice comprises of movement through gayscapes, and is also very reliant on time. It is observable in club's lines, in sauna attendance, and the hours and seasons that help to explain how human actors relate and engage to places. This theme supports the gayscapes qualitative definition of being composed of time and space. Even though most of my observation was done in specific places, the movement towards places was also filled with gayscapes interaction, such as following maps, taking notes of the way, the surrounding area and how people were moving towards places. Migration is also very dependent on social groups and clustering: given the social nature of gayscapes, seeing groups of friends moving, or parties being organized in one place instead of another were also observed.

Pedro: [...] Of Elza Club, to Alter Club. I used to go Fridays and Saturdays. To Alter Club, I mean.

Paulo: Was there a reason to pick these specific days?

Pedro: Sure, the nights [parties]. They have specific nights. And nowadays the people playing and DJing at these nights ah – at these nights are – uh, they are close friends of mine.

Paulo: Both in... Well, Elza Club doesn't exist anymore... but also Alter Club?

Pedro: Yes. Because the Elza Club's guys in the old days... right? They are DJs now at Alter Club.

Paulo: Oh, ok.

Pedro: So these nights moved like Neon, Disco [specific party names]... Everything was El... Elza Club's parties. From Elza Club they went to Wednesday Club and from there to Alter Club. And I moved with them.

- Performativity: Following my previous discussion on Performativity, I adhere to Butler's (2010) conceptualization of not depending on *a priori* categories to analyze how people perform in gayspaces. Intersections are discursively built and performed. This theme is supported by participants reporting on how they manage their selves by changing their attendance, changing how they relate to things and their bodies, as well as how their selves are discursively built. For example, Aaron is Asian, but the way he constructs his race is never fixed nor monolithic:

Paulo: Do you have a specific way of presenting yourself in this virtual space?

Aaron: Ah... Uh... I try not to be – you know? – be classified as a member of certain groups... You know?

Paulo: Yeah...

Aaron: But I guess... No matter how much I want or not, like, you know... Physical appearance is very important. I fall into the “Asian” “hairless” whatever category, whatever uh... [...] [laughs] ... group who likes Asians, I guess... Uhm, I don't know... Uhm... Do I fit into the more athletic, muscular? Maybe... But I don't consider myself, you know? And... And how do I present myself online?

Paulo: For instance...

Aaron: I try not to be, you know... as... I guess... I try not to be a part of, like, one group or the other.

Paulo: Ok.

*Aaron: Because I can be “geeky” **if I want to**, you know? Uhm... I dunno... I can be a jock, if I want to, you know? I'm... I... I'm bigger than most Asians, so I can, you know? Easily get out of, like, you know, the whole “Asian Skinny” thing.*

Aaron sets himself apart from the Asian Skinny stereotype by relating to his body and constructing this different self: a muscular, jock Asian. His performativity is what constructs his social intersectional positions as he performs what he *wants to* perform. The performances in this theme, however, are not born out of context: Aaron sets himself apart from the Asian Skinny category because, inherently, this category is relegated to second class in the contexts where Aaron performs (Aaron: “My brother's ex-boyfriend...He calls me *Le petit Chinois* (The

little Chinese guy), because in Quebec province anyone who is Asian is automatically small and Chinese.”)

- Place-enabled practices: These practices are bound to places. But practices are supported by a set of codes or rules, a “displacement game” (Perlongher, 1986) connected to what you are allowed to do and what you’re not allowed to do.

Paulo: You mentioned earlier that ... uhm... Before you had specific social non-liquor based places, gay places, that were just like liquor or party places, or bathrooms, or parks...

Russell: Well, I mean, otherwise you’d had to be attached to a social network – that’s the period we had – if you didn’t know somebody you had no choice to – you know – hook up with somebody in a public space.

Paulo: But [...] what makes a place gay?

Russell: A place where you can pick up people there without fearing having your face smashed in – too much fear [laughs]

Paulo: [laughs] but that’s the point, because bars and bathrooms, technically... you know...

Russell: No, no, no [laughs] No, no, no. There’re codes.

Paulo: There are codes...

Russell: In the parks and the mountain where cruising took place until – it was killed off by the internet... there were no straight people. That was not their territory. They were afraid to go there [laughs] but they were!

While these game rules are shared among certain people, they can only function while these people are in a specific place. One of the main observations that support this theme is that while I conducted field research in many places, the tension of having to decline a person’s flirtatious advances due to ethical commitments was more perceptible in saunas and cruising spots. While in these places, I had to be clear and concise that I was not interested in any kind of personal contact. When attending bars or clubs I could indirectly unengage from any contact that only *seemed* to be drifting towards flirting. The place-enabled practices changed from my presence in a sauna or in a bar: just by being physically present in a sauna, I was communicating my participation (summarized in the question, heard in a Brazilian sauna: “what else would you be doing here?”)

- Sex: Sex as a practice is both a source of pleasure as well as a political performance in this work. It is inherently connected to the place-enabled practices, as well as performativity. While sexuality implies sexual activity, intersectionality position subjects within a sexual matrix. As I argued before, while some affections might fall outside of the heterosexual matrix (Butler, 2006), gayness is treated as an actor in gayscapes. This theme, therefore, does not relate to *gay sex*, but to sex as an activity that depends both on places (in place-enabled practices) as well as an axial actor in gayscapes. This observation supports that the attachment of place agency to sexuality can create both a gay bar (in which sex is not necessarily performed, but serves as an axis that clusters actors) and a gay sauna (where sex is performed and also serves as an axis to cluster actors). Both places may be gay, but they are gay in different senses: that of a gathering place, and that of a performance place.

4.2.2 Intersections

This category, Intersections, contains themes that refer to the matrix of subject positionings observed in or reported by actors. Some of these intersectional positions are visible (age, race, effeminacy), some are indirectly visible or noticeable (transnationality, class), and one is not visible (HIV status). Intersectional divergences were reported or observed when the subject positioning within the power matrix was divergent with the other relative positions (for example, when a black participant reported feeling out of place in a bar; or when an effeminate participant felt excluded from dating apps due to profile messages such as ‘masc only’).

Since I'm not doing quantitative analysis for these relative positions, I will focus on how divergences are present in gayscapes. One intersectional divergence that stands out is how sexuality is performed on a day-to-day basis. Derek, for instance, is in the closet:

Derek: [...] I feel at a disadvantage, because maybe I thought... If I'm... If I have decided to send this guy a message then clearly I thought that he would... He is potentially interesting to me. And the fact that he wouldn't talk to me because I am closeted... Or... I am... Not willing to share a picture right away before I know for sure that I am safe... Uhm... Yeah, I feel at a disadvantage. That's a lost opportunity. Maybe we could have been friends. Maybe we could have had coffee.

His intersectional position within the gayscape, although he understands his sexuality, is that of not relating to gay things or people. Being physically present at a gay bar, for instance, puts him at the risk of being taken out of the closet – being discovered by coworkers or friends who do not know of his sexuality. This avoidance of gay things was perceived in all gradations of closet strategies. Otto, for instance, does not go out in any circumstance and does not have gay friends. He connects this to the fact of being a business owner, and how being out of the closet would hurt his business. This intersectional position is connected to the idea of passing as straight, the ability to stay in the closet, but participate in the practices that were discussed in the Sex theme. Effeminacy, for example, is connected to another position that relates to the inability to pass as straight:

Paulo: But did you ever suffer with prejudice?

Renato: Yes, even in the [phone] apps.

Paulo: Really?

Renato: Yes. I was swapping pictures, and all. I was having a wonderful conversation and suddenly a "oh, no, I didn't like it" arrived. And then I asked "Oh, why not?" – they made fun of me in the app, so I did it too.

Paulo: But how [did it happen]?

Renato: It happens a lot. For example, there was this guy I was talking with and he was explaining that blablabla, he wanted this, he wanted that... He was looking for another [masculine – "macho" in Portuguese] man, whatever, "I don't like effeminate people", and whatever...

This intersectional position puts Renato in a divergence related to other positions within places. And relating to things furthers this feeling. Saul surrounds himself with

performative things – fishnet gloves, nail polish, and wigs – and this puts him at the bottom of the pyramid of gay romance. This, coupled with the fact that Saul is black and thin, puts him at an intersectional position that differs from other subjects. These intersectional divergences also put Saul at a distance of gay places:

Saul: [...] the safe haven for one group of people. And Lesbians, what do Lesbians have? You know... Every bar is a gay bar. Gay... is supposed to describe everyone who is homosexual, but... you can't tell me that Lesbians can't have that. They're lesbians. They don't have, in Montreal, I don't even know of a bar that they have. Lesbians say "fuck the village". Black guys say "Fuck the village". Fuck the village!

The category Intersections, therefore, is supported by discourses and observations that reveal different positions in a power matrix, and how they are interpreted by participants.

4.2.3 Social Structures

Social structures is the category that contains perceived structures that affect and are affected by participants and places. These structures are not meant to be fixed nor predetermined in this work, but also performed and constructed as they are done (Butler, 2010). For example, the theme Institutional Exclusion contains discourses and observations about how LGBT people are excluded via institutional means:

Márcia: I always say... the State never gave me anything. The State – today it gives me my retirement money – it's good, reasonable, it keeps me alive... But everything I have was due to prostitution, alright?

Márcia, due to the fact of being Travesti, did not have her work recognized and protected by the State during her years as a sex worker. Due to this lack of institutional inclusion, Márcia was persecuted by police officers during the Brazilian military dictatorship years (1964-1985) and taken to military barracks to clean, cook, and provide sex – all of those free of charge – to officers. Rebecca, another Travesti, recalls those years:

Rebecca: At the time there was a precinct called "Behavior precinct" ["Delegacia de Costumes"] or of... Something like that, "Moral precinct" or blablabla. Something stupid like that. And what did we do

– we'd clean that precinct, we'd make coffee, and have sex with... some... sometimes with the police officers, got it? And then we'd spend the day there doing whatever the hell they wanted us to do, and they'd send us home.

Institutional exclusion is also inherently connected to the notion of place – for example, institutional exclusion and vulnerability in marketplace transactions (Jianfeng and Tian, 2013; Khare and Varman, 2016) is connected to how rural consumers have limited access to financial services due to the intersectional position they have in relation to urban consumers. By occupying the base of the pyramid, subaltern subjects are forced to undergo Kafkaesque procedures regarding land rights (Khare and Varman, 2016). Much in the same way, the Institutional Exclusion in Márcia's case (who moved to Porto Alegre from a small rural town) is connected to the difficulty in understanding the legal and financial rights she had from the very start. However, the performative nature of my analysis also points to the fact that through social networks and organizational strength, this structure changed during history: since 2002 prostitution is listed as a recognized profession in the Brazilian Ministry of Labor, and anyone over the age of 18 years old can legally be a sex worker. This change is not only due to political organization, but also achieve in the performances that subaltern and other subjects conduct on the field – it's co-constitutive.

Normativity also plays an important role in this category, since participants report both heteronormativity (the need to act straight, or to stay in the closet) as well as homonormativity (how expectations on gay behavior are played within the gay intersection). Homonormatization has been discussed before (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008) and has been connected to the marketization of gay places as a tourist destination. Tourist destinations attract upper classes that are able to afford travelling and leisure far from home. Local government and investors intervene with the development and commercialization of places in a hegemonic fashion to mainstream-friendly representations of gayness; in many ways

Montreal's gay village is created as a palatable spectacle for heterosexual tourists (idem 2008). This mechanism of exclusion is present in participants' discourses:

Paulo: Ok. And do you remember how you felt about the gay village?
Jacques: Uhm... Well we had these images from the media. And I think you could see very well out there – and it's not, you know, very positive I think. It's all these images that you see about gays that are... diminishing uh... yeah...
Paulo: What do you mean with that?
Jacques: Uhm... Well so many guys act like whores, and so many other guys act like, you know, really tough male, and all. And they talk to you like you're a piece of meat, yeah. I don't really like that, in the gay village.

This social structure is, therefore, also co-constitutive: in Jacques' view, the media represent something that is unfavorable to gay men, and gay men act in ways that are unfavorably represented by the media. This creates a palatable spectacle that is, on its turn, taken by mainstream consumers (Round Table participant: "I went to the Village - saw a straight bachelor party with a guy in a dress, and they see it's a zoo. It's like, oh we had a wild and fun night in the Village.") This complicates the view of marketplaces as places of liberation, and instead turns them into a place of performativity: a straight man in a dress consuming the place (Village) is not in the same matrix position as a gay man who is also consuming at the same place.

This same complication is present in the theme Social Rules, in which the rules to socially participate in marketplaces are at a constant struggle. Brice, jokingly, explained to me how the rules to engage potential partners must have safeguards against homophobia:

Brice: [whispering] I'll teach it to you!
Paulo: [laughs] It's a set of rules...
Brice: Ah, yes. Yes. Yeah. It's looking... It's looking, you know? Straight to straight it's sort of [locks eye contact and breaks quickly] ... You know? Gay to... gay to gay is sort of... [locks eye contact and lingers]

While Brice was joking, he was also indirectly commenting on a specific social rule that applies to flirting at any place (not necessarily gay places). A rule that allows a certain

leeway to avoid confrontation. This potential conflict is – as previously stated by Russell – alleviated in gay places. Even a straight man that is at a gay place, therefore, is engaged in a performance that is temporarily allowed.

This temporary characteristic of gay places both supports the gayscape definition (a set of practices that is infused with the experimentation of a landscape) as well as is supported by the theme Safety. This theme had more discourses connected to the Brazilian field work part:

Paulo: Yes ah... I have a final question for you, regarding the surrounding area: for example, Alter Club – what is around Alter Club? What do you perceive?

Pedro: It's a very busy street... They have lots of other bars, right? At Elza Club we didn't... It stood there... Alone.

Paulo: And does that alter your feeling of safety?

Pedro: A lot.

Paulo: How do you think that...

Pedro: [interrupting] Elza Club was dangerous. There was a time that it was very dangerous – we wouldn't go out... we'd arrive in a taxi and leave in a taxi – why? The homophobes started to attack it for a time. And we'd... We'd go in and out on a taxi.

Due to the night nature of gay party places, safety played a bigger role for Brazilian participants. The lack of a cohesive cluster of gay places paired with urban violence meant that the night time was more dangerous than other times of the day. This structure was, also, connected to institutional exclusion, since no comprehensive government program to eradicate LGBTphobia related violence was put in place before or after this research in Porto Alegre.

In its turn, LGBTphobia is the structure that persecutes and oppresses LGBTQIA people. This work is focused on gay men and their interactions to the marketplace – but it's inevitable to include other oppressed voices that cross and are crossed by sexuality studies. Given the intersectional approach, LGBTphobia was not only analyzed in the relationship between straight/gay subject positionings, but within participants' discourses:

Diego: There're several new projects coming up, and I see they're very nice, right? This ... This "Queen of the desert" party, anyway, a party I'll never go to.

Paulo: Why?

Diego: Because even the party producer [Name], a friend of mine, we hooked up in the past, he asked my why wouldn't I go and I said, and he didn't like it... I said "well, look, sorry, but it's a bunch of basic faggots [bicha quáquá]", I have no conversation with them... A bunch of men dressed as women, I don't like this kind of... Aggression to my eyes, you know? Not that... Not that they... I'm not bigoted, it's not that, but what they're doing is aggressive, it's a joke... And he said "Well, people are born...", no, great, it was born out of protest, perfect. It's correct, the party's idea is correct, but I don't like it. I don't like these peop... I don't like it.

Diego's intersectional position within the gayscapes put him at a privileged position: being a young employed undergrad attractive mixed-race man means he can move through gayscapes with relative ease. He can detach himself from parties that contain performances he doesn't like, even though these same parties are crossed by LGBT intersections. His profile at the Method section states that he had cited the most places in all Porto Alegre's interviews, and he considers himself to be party-savvy. Therefore, his judgment of this specific party can only be linked to his privileged position in an intersectional matrix, and how he distances himself – discursively – from other interacting intersections.

4.2.4 Actors

This category refers to actors interacting within gayscapes, or occupying a specific intersection within the larger mesh of relationships. Dying places refer both to the material actors who have ceased to exist or those deemed unnecessary in interview discourses. For the ones that do not exist anymore, Elza Club in Porto Alegre is a good example. This club closed down before data collection began, but it was cited in many interviews. The existence of this club in interviews pointed to how human actors moved and migrated towards other places:

Diego: [At the time] people were, you know? If you want to, get in! You'll see the... you know? If you're not ready, if you don't want to see it, don't come. And all parties [at Elza Club] had this catch. Of the... I

don't know, Gay rock glam parties – kind of straight but who cares? To the Pop queer party – that was born with [producer's name], and also [other producer's name] at Elza Club. The younger ones.

Paulo: Was [pop queer party] born at Elza Club?

Diego: Yeap. The pop party was [Producer's name] party, ok? And...

Whatever... It was the party of a crowd, like... you know?

Paulo: What crowd?

Diego: Trashy crowd.

Paulo: And, and... In comparison to Alter Club you see things in common?

*Diego: Oh... I see many things in common, because... Because by then Alter Club was ostracized – Alter Club was really an old faggots place, you know? Kind of... Lacking... a cool party. It's because, really, Alter Club took too long to sell itself to parties. If you look, you'll notice that very few Alter Club's parties are... you know? But I ... Don't... The public – you know? **But then Alter Club incorporated Elza Club's parties to get back on its feet.** And then most parties came to Alter Club.*

As Elza Club closed, specific producers took their parties to Alter Club, and the public migrated with them. Both clubs had a history of having the same people moving back and forth, according to Diego's and Pedro's interviews. So the death of a place means migration in this context. The other phenomenon this theme contains is the growing irrelevance of gay places noticed in some interviews:

Brice: It was, you know? It was a great... It was the... It was the village square at that time. And I think, like, manhunt and probably gay411 [gay dating websites] are very much ... a place to meet people today.

And there... And they're killing the bathhouses as well. Because...

Paulo: You think websites or apps? Like...

Brice: These... uh, these apps are... are, you know? Because people can connect with – you know? – see a photo, uh... See the height, the weight, the occupation, the lifestyle, bottom, top, all the information they need to know, and... uh... Uh... So, you know, like, one – one bathhouse not far from here closed, uh... a couple of years ago, because it just ran out of customers... And, and... uhm... I think of the ones, other than the ones right on the village, well, will probably end up closing at some point as well.

In this sense, gay dating applications are perceived as powerful disruptive actors within the gayscapes. Most participants cited that gay places are dying in the sense that finding partners is now easier on cell phones than in direct face-to-face interaction. For

participants, however, the most affected places are more practice-bound places (saunas for cruising, for example) rather than socializing places (gay bars and pubs).

As for friend-enabled places, these are connected to the learning and unlearning theme and how people attend places. This can change while experimenting gayscapes: Russel connects his nonattendance to friends.

Paulo: Are you used to go to the gay village at – like – for leisure instead...

Russel: You mean if I habitually go there...

Paulo: Yeah. Do you?

Russel: No.

Paulo: Is there a reason for that?

Russel: Well, I mean, I go in the summer if I'm with people, but most of the people I'm likely to do things are either in couples and hopelessly housebound or... They're out of town. So, no.

Paulo: You don't.

Russel: Very little.

Place attendance is heavily connected to friend networks and the previous proposition (in section 4.1.4) points out to this observation. Participants pointed out friend-enabled places in all place categories (bar, sauna, pub, club, etc.) and most of them cited that the first time they went to places was because of friends:

Paulo: Ok, so what made you want to go there?

Jacques: Uh, I was supposed to go with [friend's name], to uh... To tan – for a tan on the top. And... So, we were drunk one night and uh... He said – “Oh, why don't we go to the sauna and spend the night there, and we can go tan in the morning.” And I was like “ok, sure”, and this is why we went there that night – we were really drunk [laughs]

Kevin: Yeah. I went to... The first sauna I went to was [name], in [street].

P: The one that cl...

S: The one downtown that was closed, in the west. Uh... I went with a friend.

P: Do you remember how you felt?

S: Scared to death [laughs]

Paulo: But did you go to this place for a reason?

Roberto: Curiosity.

Paulo: Did you know you were gay?

Roberto: Yes, ever since I was a kid.

Paulo: And then you decided to go? Were you alone?

Roberto: I was alone. I ended up meeting a guy – the guy that took me to... Rainbow Club. It was accompanied by him that I met most of the places. He took me. Then I met him there [at the first time].

Places are available for everyone, but participants report that some places were only visited for the first time because friends invited them or took them for specific occasions or activities (in Jacques case, for example, his friend invited him both to *demystify* saunas and to tan).

This friend enabled exploration brings forth the non-gay human actors: actors that intervene in gayscapes but are not, themselves, gay. Participants' discourses ranged from straight people in gay places to malicious intent in business owners who were not gay.

Kevin: She came in a second time, and she asked for me and she said uh... "I'm... We are getting ready to do the paperwork to buy this buil... these two bars upstairs" – [Straight pub], which was straight, and [Gay bar]. And she said uh... She did not want a gay bar. And I said "you'd make money if you did the right thing, and made a couple of changes you know?" and she didn't really want a gay bar but she wanted to keep me. She said "I'd like to keep you because I like your personality and I like the way you deal with the customers" and I said "well, I'm used to the customers, and they are my family. These are all, they are all my family" and uh... She said "Well, would you come work for me?" and I said "I don't know". So I discussed it with my friends and uh... The bar they wanted to open was a Latino... A kind of Latino bar. Was – that was her... Her husband's dream, to have a Latino bar down there. And uh... we were last... Almost last to – to leave the west end. And uh... I think it was time. It was time and... I said "you know what?" I said "They will buy this bar but they'll have nothing in this bar that will remind them – that it was a gay bar. We are taking our gay customers, we are taking our gay bar, we are leaving – if we... leave it they'll all leave it". She bought a bar, and her bar, she got... The liquor, the stools, and her equipment to be there. Anything that was gay, memorabilia, pictures – gone. Everything was gone. We were... The walls were empty and uh... She got her bar. And she came back to me again and asked me if I'd work for her and I said "no".

Mainly in the Canadian data, straight business owners were vilified due to the perception that they were *preying* upon gay customers' money:

Brice: And they exploit, as... as I said, there's a mood in the staff, at Club Glass that is very... uh... unfriendly to clients. And dismissive of clients – much more dismissive than they are in their other restaurants. Because... The owner who is an outspoken [pauses] prick. You know?

Always fighting, always being closed down because he's made too much noise, and he says "the government is trying to kill businesses, blablabla, it's not my fault", it's bullshit. He was closed down because his place was just too noisy. And I could almost hear him say "who gives a fuck what the faggots want?" you know?

P: Yeah...

D: He's... He'd... No respect. For, for... uh... for the clientele. It's the money.

Non-gay human actors are affecting and being affected by gayscapes, as seen in participants discourses. Mostly, non-gay human actors were perceived negatively:

Aaron: Yes, in the summer there are fireworks, but... And you see it a lot of – like – straight people going through the village going home, going to the... uh... Going through the village, because there's a promenade street – they close the street – so, it's a "zoo". I don't like it when...

Paulo: What do you mean with "zoo"?

Aaron: Because there's too much people and they are... S....

Paulo: Oh, okay...

Aaron: Thousands of straight people and some of them are not friendly. No, no, no. They still think gay peoples are oddities – meaning, you know...

Paulo: Yeah.

Aaron: Or you see people who are doing bachelor or bachelorette parties, and going into the village is like "embarrassing", whatever. The person getting married, so they bring them into the village, so...

Paulo: That's interesting.

Aaron: Like, some gays are stupid enough to think it is amusing, others ... I'll... For me personally, it's like making fun of gay people.

Paulo: Yeah.

Aaron: You know? It's a real disrespect for gay people. It's the worst thing you can do for them.

As for place agency, this theme refers to things' capacity to act on gayscapes. Most interviews point out to the easiness of approaching other people while in gay places – enabled by places' positioning within larger contexts. For example, saunas were connected to sexual practices, and not for socializing. This means that saunas act on the localized cluster of gay places (or, in a wider sense, gayscapes) as actors who enable this practice with relative ease. Pubs, on the other hand, acted as socializing places instead of practice enablers. Clubs were acting on both – socialization and practical engagements.

This theme also revealed a difference in both cities: while Montreal's Village speaks of gayness as an actor, Porto Alegre's dispersed gay places were not clear in their intersectional positioning. Most Porto Alegre gay places did not have rainbow flags. To understand gay places agency in Porto Alegre, other indirect inferences had to be made. Here, the friend-enabled places were the main way to discover new gay places: informants and interviewees discourses revealed which places were gay and which were not. A previous excerpt from Lucas illuminates how, by not having a gay flag at the door, most gay clubs weren't gay in his perception.

Some clubs were necessarily inconspicuous, like Rainbow Club. Since it sat in relative isolation and in a rundown area, being too conspicuous could put both the club and its patrons at risk.

Stigmatizing things are things that affect humans by association: Stigma by association (SBA) literature is usually focused on human-human relationships, or spontaneous trait transference (Argo and Main, 2008). In Argo and Main's (2008) case, staying in line to redeem coupons with other customers transfer a stigma from coupon redeeming customers (i.e. cheap) onto subjects. In this theme, however, I found how being physically present at places (actors) can have a similar effect. This theme, combined with Hiding (from Practices category) will be further explored in section 4.3 (Consumption Occlusion).

Substances were inevitably considered enablers in the field. As agentic constructs, substances such as alcohol, cigarettes and other illicit drugs were regarded as socializing agents. I underline, however, that substances are not inherent to gayscapes: they are present in any other field – they stood out, however, due to the nature of most places visited: night time entertainment can be accompanied by substance use. Goulding et al. (2009) have explored how illicit substances are acknowledged and tolerated within club culture, and I reinforce

such observation. Substances were either embraced or vilified by participants, but all recognized its presence within night time entertainment. They are actors that enable certain relationships between actors (human or non-human). For example, Jacques cited being very drunk before going inside a sauna for the first time. In his view, he wouldn't go to a sauna without alcohol enabling him to do so, since he considers himself shy. At the same time, Ahmed had a negative judgment because of his family and religious history. Ahmed said having "no need" to drink or use other drugs to enjoy his night, demarcating his difference towards other patrons and his distaste for substances.

Thing-thing as a theme relates to how material actors interact in participants' discourses. Substances, for instance, were found and observed in nightclubs, but not in NGOs – the reasoning behind being how one thing enables or not other things. My argument is not that there is no human agency on how material actors relate, but instead how they are separated in discourses. Claude, for example, linked material actors to others:

Claude: Some direction sometimes... we work in groups.

Paulo: uh-hum...

Claude: They sent me the music list, and I develop the costumes from my... understanding of the songs. So, basically uh... My professional and social life is connected to gay places.

As Claude recounts his professional experience as a costume designer, he connects his physical creation to other actors (music, in the excerpt's example). Gayscapes are indissoluble in their meshes, but Claude points to the thing (costume) thing (music) relationship, and how he is involved in the making of things that relate to other things.

4.2.5 Conceptual Constructs

While I analyzed data, some conceptual constructs emerged as intrinsically connecting most of the other themes. These are theme-binding constructs that are inherent to the field.

Closet logic, for example, is the theme that brings forth the reasoning behind the concept of being in the closet.

For example, Otto connects the need of staying in the closet to how it would affect his customer relations. Derek connects his need to stay in the closet to career advancement (his superior made homophobic remarks in the past and Derek fears his reaction if he learns Derek is gay). Those reasonings are not, however, out of a context: the relationships with other humans and things. The practice of staying in the closet is accompanied by the severing of gay-as-an-actor ties. All in the closet (partially or fully) participants recount that attending a gay place or wearing specific clothes puts them in danger. Even the performance of masculinity comes into play: a constant policing of gestures, voice, sentences. In this sense, closet logic in this work refers to the intersectional positioning of subjects and the performances they are allowed within the heterosexual matrix.

Exposure is also linked to closet logic. Exposure refers to how engaging and relating to gay-as-an-actor is perceived by participants. Lucas makes this clearer when referring to the fact that he usually puts his face as a profile picture in gay dating phone apps: “So when I put my image there [Grindr] it’s something... I’m giving it up, in a sense. What I’m saying is my image is here, do whatever you [other users] like.” This feeling of giving something up is contained within this theme. Exposure supports, also, the Hiding theme. Through material relations, participants can participate in gayscapes navigating around exposure and hiding. While Exposure is a conceptual construct because it crosses most of the material relationships within the field – Hiding is the practice which participants can engage in order to mitigate this construct.

Material-enabled relationships are how some human-human relationships are possible due to materials. Brice remembers that socializing, as he came out of the closet later in his life, was easier with things available in bars, for example:

Brice: If I'm walking along Sainte-Catherine Street and I see someone across the street that I find attractive, that I don't know [laughs] I'll cross the street and say hello to him. So I have – I don't have trouble meeting people, that's for sure. But – again... In the first times I was there uh... Not knowing anybody, the pool was easy – quick an... You know, you put your name on a list, and as long as you want and keep winning at pool, you stay playing at the table and another person will come, so... It's a great way to meet a lot of people.

Not all enabled relationships are positive. Jacques remembered feeling dirty as he left a sauna due to how materials were disposed inside the place:

Jacques: Well, I felt very dirty when I left there. I felt like everything I touched had been touched by so many people before – and I didn't know what happened there – so I was... Like, when we were at the spa, I didn't want to stay there for long, because we were naked, and we started to touch each other and it was like "oh my god, how many people have done that before in this spa? This is disgusting", you know? So, every place that I touched I felt like it was dirty – so... When I left there, it took me 2 days before I could feel myself [clean] – uh... again, [felt] dirty.

Therefore, this theme is a conceptual construct that binds human relationships through material actors. Other important actors in this theme are substances: they are socializing agents as well, and can enable relationships.

Place novelty, by its turn, is the concept participants express when remembering how they learnt about new places – it refers both to how places can be included in their relationships as well as the feeling that they are new to the place itself. Renato remembered when he arrived in Porto Alegre from northeast Brazil:

*Renato: Uh... Let's say that – in life... I can't say much about Porto Alegre's nightlife because I'm not used to go out during the night, ok? I went out sometimes to a bar, or a club called Florence, I don't know if you know it...
Paulo: I do.*

Renato: Uh... Very tight, the place [laughs] – people... When you go to a specific place that the same people always go, too – when someone new arrives, everybody notices.

Linked with the concept of exposure, therefore, place novelty is how participants relate to new materials and places in the field. While the discovery of places and place novelty is linked to (Un)Learning, new places are also actors that enable new relationships. When Brice talked about how the pool table was a socializing agent, it was also a reference to how place novelty is connected within the larger category Conceptual Constructs.

Space and time are integral concepts within gayscapes. Although I do not use the term space (preferring the agentic term *place*), this theme summarizes how experiencing the gayscape is intrinsically connected to a notion of space and time (Ingold, 1993). First, since gayscapes are qualitative, time will be the main difference in learning the practices inherent to the field. In a more practical sense, as time goes each day gayscapes change form and function. A park can be a place of afternoon leisure, or a cruising spot – time being the main influencer in this change. Claude compares two parks in Porto Alegre, one considered to be gay-friendly (visited by me) and the other considered upscale and not gay-friendly (not visited by me):

Paulo: Oh, but do you see Millers Park as gay and [not visited park] as non-gay? Is that what you meant?

Claude: Yes, yes.

Paulo: Oh, ok... But how do you...

Claude: Public, public, public.

Paulo: Do you mean people walking there?

*Claude: Exactly, to be walking there and see gay people walking and holding hands, gay people kissing, gay people sitting down at the benches, talking – and in [not visited park] you can't see that. Like... well, you see it, but **only during the night**, you know? When gay people go there to... uh... hook up or have sex under the trees [laughs].*

As people experience time, their approaches to gayscapes also change. Aaron went from refraining to attend the Village, fearing he would be recognized, to having no problem going there in a time difference of 15 years:

Aaron: Like, you wouldn't have a problem to be walking in... I don't know - Guy Street and someone recognizing you. That's... There's a difference there. You know? It's sort of a territory that... You know. Should I go there or shouldn't I? But mind you, this was like... You know... 15 years ago.

Paulo: Oh, yeah, right...

As seasons pass, too, this quality changes. This seasonal influence was easier to perceive in Montreal, where winter can bring negative temperatures easily. This shift in time directly influences how places and humans relate. Porto Alegre also has a harsh winter compared to the rest of the country. This also influences how places and humans relate: during winter, park cruising and nightclub attendance are affected. Ahmed talks about seasonal differences in his perception of Club Glass:

Ahmed: Yeah, well, I like Club Glass more in the summer. It's a little bit more... Disa... Well, it's a little uh... Depressing in the winter, when you see that there aren't as many people anymore. It's not that crowded anymore. And you see that their whole façade has changed because they don't have that out... [terraces] yeah... They don't have their terrace anymore, so... It's kind of sad to see, I mean – you know? Beginning of fall, and winter kicks in, and you don't even notice that. You come walking past Club Glass and you don't notice it, whereas in the summer it's a huge thing... A huge thing is going on.

The theme Stigma by Association is the result of how participants describe their relationships within gayscapes when connected to the themes Stigmatizing Things, Exposure and Hiding. It is also a theoretical construct derived from Argo and Main (2008). While the authors (2008) discuss how spontaneous trait transference happens between human actors (for example: customers standing in line to redeem coupons might be regarded as cheap), my discussion is more centered in human-place relationships. As stated in the theme Stigmatizing Things, Argo and Main's (2008) case focuses on stigmatized individuals (i.e. poor customers in coupon redeeming queues) transferring their traits to other non-stigmatized individuals. In my case, gay places transfer their stigma to customers. Lewis, for example, has not told his parents about his sexuality, so the Village can transfer stigma onto him:

Lewis: I'm just like – yeah, I'm there so whatever, I mean. Maybe when I was younger. Well, I still don't tell my parents that I go to the village [laughs]

Paulo: Oh, your parents don't know...

Lewis: No. Only my oldest brother actually knows. But my parents are usually "where are you going?", and I'm not going to tell them, because this is something I won't discuss with them. But, I mean, yeah... with my friends I'm really open, so am I scared of people seeing me in the village? Yes, I do sometimes. The other day I told my sister I went to... for my birthday I went to a gay club, to Club Glass... And she was like "oh, you went there?" and maybe she knows... maybe after that she noticed I'm gay... But she was like "oh, I went there once", and she was actually just being cool about it, so whatever.

Russel goes one step further and immediately connects presence to trait transferring:

Paulo: When we say "expressing"... sexuality... or performing sexuality... How would you begin to describe this uh... practice or this

...

Russell: Where?

Paulo: In gay bars.

Russell: You don't have to, in gay bars – you're there because you're gay.

Paulo: Are you sure [laughs]?

Russell: In the old days, yes. [laughs]

This immediate transference is, in Russell's view, based in physical presence. Therefore, this conceptual construct is based in how relationships established in the field (gayscapes) transfer stigma onto individuals. This is the reason why Hiding and Exposure themes are connected to Stigma by Association.

And finally, (Un)Learning is the theme that was explored during the group interview (Round Table). "You see a lot of spaces be queer [that] then get 'corrupted' by other people and have to close down or [you have to] move and find another place" was the sentence that brought this theme to the fore. It was uttered by a queer participant at the round table, as they were exploring the question "what makes a space gay?"

Learning and Unlearning are the concepts that bind gayscapes while humans experience it. Russell remembers how he found out about gay places:

Paulo: Do you think that guides and the advertising in [magazines], or... or... whatever... actually helped you to find new places, or would you...

Russell: No.[...] Well, I mean, someone might see an ad for something that's supposed to be opening, and if they like that – but once you, I mean, that's the thing. In the old days, you had to be on the inside – once you were inside, you knew everything.

Paulo: But how would you get in the inside?

Russell: Well I did it by... joining the androgyny collective. Essentially, after that I was a total insider. Because we were the information center for the city. And we managed to make it bilingual by 77. So, really...

We got rid of the anarchists [laughs]

Paulo: [laughs]

Russell: It wasn't a very happy cohabitation. Certainly not very good for those poor timid people trying to work out the courage. And if they happened to be in the Anarchist's day they were wasting their time because they [anarchists] were the homophobes inside the gay bookstore.

As humans experience the gayscape and engage in relationships, the process of learning and unlearning takes place. Some of this learning and unlearning is done by engaging with other humans, and some is done by engaging with materials. I kept two separate field logs, one for each city. Since Porto Alegre was my origin and current home, experiencing the gayscape was not methodically logged. Moving to Montreal, however, gave me a new perspective on how this conceptual construct can operate. My first field log in Montreal is dated September 12th, 2015, at 15:28. This was the first field incursion I did after asking the reception desk worker where I could find gay places. Keeping logs and entries in my field journal was a thing-enabled learning experience. The field journal served as a strong material actor in the field, and allowed me to experience and keep memories about this entire process of discovery. This material actor helped me remember informant's names – Tracy Trash, for example, confirmed that Sainte-Catherine East was a gay area. It also tells the story of how I lost my wallet at around 17:00, in a coffee shop, and found it as I rushed back in panic.

The first human enabled learning experienced happened with one of my roommates, who said on September 19th 2015 that I should visit Bar Muscle – a 'non-pretentious gay bar'. In Bar Muscle, the field journal also reminds me, the music was much quieter compared to

Porto Alegre bars, and also how Slot Machines were scattered inside gay places in the Village. All these memories of how I learned about Montreal gay marketplaces, therefore, are enabled by my relationship with my field journal. Russell remembers similar material actors as part of his learning experience:

Paulo: [laughs] ok! And let's talk a little about your exploration of gay places. When you arrived in Montreal how did you learn about the gay places?

Russell: Well, I had already come here with other people who knew where to go, there was no... difficulty in knowing where to go.

Paulo: Were they locals?

Russell: Yeah. Or, well, there was the body politic too... It was ample access to information I was involved.

Paulo: What do you mean with that?

Russell: The body politic, published – we had a map in 1973 of Montreal hotspots. It was called gay hotspots... There was a ton of places in Montreal. And after uh... I went to a gay McGill meeting, and met a guy – in September. Who eventually recruited me into the androgyny bookstore collective. The guy who spoke at the meeting was [name] he was one of the founders of Androgyny, one of the leaders of the movement and a sort of – 72 to 75 Anglo phase.

Through both human and material actors, Russell condenses most of his initial experience in gayscapes and the learning process to relationships. Unlearning is also as important as learning. The concept of unlearning is based in how dying places are seen throughout the fields. Lilian, for example, connects the idea of moving to other places, as she organizes parties in the city, to hearsay:

Paulo: [...] Did someone tell you “you should go to that bar, you should go to that bar” or was it just “oh, let's try this one” and it didn't work out?

Lilian: No, it's definitely... Definitely people sharing experiences with each other. I mean, there are a lot of people organizing things all the time in the city. Especially in the queer community word gets around quickly. And if you're going to parties you're checking the spaces yourself too, and you get an idea which spaces you like and which ones you don't like. And then eventually when you start organizing, it's a pretty small community too – so people will say “oh, I had a terrible experience in this place”, so it's kind of a hearsay, you know?

The participant at the round table called this as corruption of places, by straight people. Other participants report the same feeling: as underground or less known clubs reach

mainstream knowledge, the LGBT community feels invaded, corrupted, and start to report terrible experiences through hearsay. Then, the process of unlearning begins. As people start to spread this information through their relationship network (or include this information in the larger mesh, via human relationships or material actors, for example letters or newspaper articles) this unlearning process is continued. Finally, a once considered gay bar may become *just another bar* – no longer part of the relationship mesh, almost ostracized for relating to intersections that are perceived detached from gayscapes (straightness, for instance).

From the process of intuitive sense making (McCracken, 1988), some connections between themes started to emerge during data analysis. These connections are discussed in the next subsection.

4.2.6 Theme connection analysis

The first connection found between themes is that of how certain themes are connected to hiding in the field, and particularly gayscapes. Table 4 contains the themes that are involved in how participants and places hide or are hidden within this mesh.

Table 4 Hiding behaviour and its themes

Hiding Consumption	(Practice)
Intersectional divergences	(Intersections)
Normativity	(Social Structure)
Stigmatizing things	(Actors)
Exposure	(Conceptual construct)
Stigma by association	(Conceptual construct)

While hiding consumption is a larger phenomenon, these connections emerged from gay participants and informants, as well as participant observation. For comparison, I will argue the differences of (1) a straight man hiding his attendance to a gay place; (2) a closeted gay man hiding attendance to a gay place; and (3) an out of the closet gay man hiding his attendance to a gay place.

All of them have different reasons behind this practice, but what stood out during observation was out of the closet gay men who had reasons to hide their participation in gayscapes. I have not interviewed straight men during the dissertation, but it is reasonably expected that a straight man might want to hide his attendance to a gay sauna, due to the risk of having his sexuality misread by close friends, family, co-workers or acquaintances. The same might apply to a closeted gay man. Derek, currently in the closet, commented on his fear that someone might see him at a gay place:

"Derek: I wouldn't take it... to the extent of feeling unsafe, but... Yes. I feel at... A little bit of intimidation if you wish call it, or extra care for... or on the lookout? Oh, what if someone [pause] sees me? That I don't want them to know that I'm gay.

Paulo: Yeah.

Derek: But then I say, ok, well, we are both at the same place.

Paulo: [laughs]

Derek: [laughs] So...But they might have nothing to lose if they're out of the closet.

Brice, while living out of the closet nowadays, remembered his in-the-closet days much in the same way:

Brice: But... uh, when I – uh... When I was out and not worried about somebody from Trois Rivières seeing me and reporting me back there, when I didn't have that weight of hiding on my shoulders, uhm... I felt like so much at home. That, you know, that I could do things that I wanted to do all my life, but had... just kissing a guy in both cheeks, you know, in the straight world you don't do that. Period.

So, for in-the-closet participants, the practice of hiding is also based in this combination of several themes that explain such practices: stigma by association, stigmatizing things, exposure, and normativity.

Straight men and in-the-closet gay men have reasonings that might be obvious for most observation: the fear that someone might *report* them or *recognize* them in gay places. For gay men, however, hiding attendance and consumption of gay places was also found. The main difference, however, is that they share some intersections and, mainly, gayscape practices (i.e. being openly gay or having sex with other men) but *continue to hide gay place*

attendance. I call this phenomenon *Consumption Occlusion*, and I discuss it with more depth in the next section, 4.3 Consumption Occlusion.

The second connection found between themes is how participants felt or reported exclusion in marketplaces – in my case within gayscapes. Table 5 contains the themes that are involved in how exclusion was interwoven in this mesh.

Table 5 Stigma and Exclusion

Clustering	(Practice)
Exclusion	(Practice)
Performativity	(Practice)
Age	(Intersections)
Class	(Intersections)
Effeminacy	(Intersections)
HIV	(Intersections)
Income	(Intersections)
Intersectional divergences	(Intersections)
Race	(Intersections)
Transnationality	(Intersections)
Institutional exclusion	(Social Structure)
Normativity	(Social Structure)
Place agency	(Actor)
Space and Time	(Conceptual Construct)
Stigma by association	(Conceptual Construct)

One of the first things that can be noticed in Table 5 is that Exclusion is interwoven with the whole Intersections Category. Exclusion is dependent on how intersectional positions shift when actors experience gayscapes.

Exclusion is also connected to how places and other human actors are clustered in gayscapes, catering to specific intersections (e.g. a twinkie bar caters to young, fit gay men) and how this organization is scattered through space and time. Since night time activities demand mobility, money, and privilege specific bodies some human actors are left out. Saul, who felt at the bottom of the pyramid of gay romances, commented on how his thin, small

build made him undervalued at the village to the point of preferring being accepted by homophobic people rather than people at the village:

“Saul: I’d rather have the approval of people who are generally homophobic [laughs] ... And having seen change on that side. Because these gay guys are going, like, stay in their area, and they’re gonna... They’re gonna feel whatever. They have, again, the straight community, or the outside world, and they can have that. But, me, I’m gonna focus on the real world. I m... That’s more important to me, then, the village. Because eventually the village is no longer going to really exist. I don’t know if it’s like in, 10 years, or like 80 years. I don’t know. But for me it’s just, like, I don’t care.”

This preference is based in the exclusion he suffers based on a combination of several intersections. The way gay black masculinity is built in Montreal pushes him away from the clustering of the Village. Roberto feels the same way about gay black masculinity, although he performs the expected (he considers himself stiff – non effeminate – and well built). Marketplace exclusion will be further explored in section 4.4 Marketplace Exclusion

4.3 CONSUMPTION OCCLUSION

“Russel: [...] and there was, like, two steps down from the sidewalk level. So you could sort of see up... Through the door, the... It was... Very... Common to watch people go back and forth – trying to build the courage to come in. Which would happen in bars – people would think that just turning onto the street made them suspect.”

*“Paulo: Uhm... Are you used to talk about the sauna with your friends?
Roberto: It depends... But I have no problem admitting it.
P: Interesting: it depends – what did you mean?
R: Ah, no, it’s just because there are friends and friends – there are some straight friends that I’ll never open up about this, you know? But I’m not ashamed to say it to you – I think everyone has a necessity, has some... desires n’ all, so to each its own.”*

During fieldwork in Montreal, I once sat on a bench that faced one of the biggest saunas in the Village and stood there for one and a half hour. I wasn’t overtly staring at people or taking notes, but my main interest was to observe how people relate to the place – especially those who would go in. This was a warm Friday night in June 2016. Since May 5th,

the main street had been covered with pink balls suspended in wires that stretched perpendicularly for 1km and turned into a pedestrian-only street. That specific night was not particularly busy, and sauna attendance usually only goes up after 2am. I could notice, however, some people going inside and their behaviors were similar, albeit carrying significant differences in details.

Some customers would walk quickly from any indefinite point of origin and enter the sauna without looking around or facing the ground. They would try to occupy the sidewalk the least possible amount of time as if to be missed by anyone looking at the place. Others would walk up and down the sidewalk – either eastward or westward – stop, turn around, and walk in the opposite direction. They could be, as Russel said, trying to build up courage to go in – or they could be observing if any known person was around witnessing their entrance – or even measuring how busy the place is. After any amount of back-and-forth, they would quickly enter the sauna midway through their strolls.

Another behavior that stood out was how people with company behaved – when two or three friends would go in at the same time. Curiously, they were talking all the way through until going in. Further observations inside the sauna, in other opportunities, showed that talking ceases as soon as the entrance door leading to the vestibule is crossed (the line forming in front of the cashier is unusually quiet and at most some whispering can be heard).

These behaviors were cross-referenced in a search for how consumption practices are treated when there is intention to negate, hide or keep consumption a secret. Of the theoretical foundations dealing with how consumption is treated with the previous intentions, six constructs were closely related to my observations (a) Negative/unwholesome demand; (b) Conspicuous (ostentatious) consumption; (c) Consumer resistance/Anti-consumption; (d)

stigma and consumption; (e) taboo or disreputable exchange; and (f) covert consumption. I will now briefly discuss how these constructs are not analogous to Consumption Occlusion.

4.3.1 Consumption Occlusion – Differences from previous theoretical constructs

In order to define consumption occlusion, I will briefly need to define what consumption occlusion is not. This will be done in no particular order, but as an argumentative stream that compares consumption occlusion to other consumption behavior constructs.

For (a) negative demand, I will consider a managerially-focused definition of it as “a state in which all or most of the important segments of the potential market dislike the product and in fact might conceivably pay a price to avoid it” (Kotler, 1973, p. 43). In fact, the consumption actors and things involved in this type of demand might be beneficial – but this does not change the fact that – in a managerial sense – the *consumer* still does not wish to engage in consumption practices: one example being dental work, where a person might not like the experience of going to a dentist, but ends up paying and engaging with the experience anyway. This behavior, although closely connected to my observation, does not fully explain the observed behavior since there is no necessary dislike in the equation of entering a sauna. In fact, the opposite might be happening – a desire to engage in a pleasurable marketplace-bound experience might be present, but with the accompanying need to hide this fact.

Continuing within the same managerially-bound definition, Kotler (1973) also defines *unwholesome demand*, which might be closer to what has been observed. In this category, a consumer might experience a positive level of demand, but deem it excessive because of undesirable qualities associated with the product. In this case, a product can be considered undesirable because of inherent product qualities: cigarettes and alcohol being good

examples. Kotler (1973) does not provide a more service-oriented perspective for this category, but there is an interesting managerial take on *solving this marketing problem*: any attempt to *unsell* a product can be seen also as “an effort to sell something else” (Kotler, 1973, p. 48). *Unselling* a cigarette, in Kotler’s (1973) example can be an effort to sell health. Again, my observations do not bring forth emerging attempts to substitute what is being offered in saunas: *unselling* saunas have no substitutive product or service – except, perhaps, a morality-bound discourse of *controlling desires*. Some could argue that *unselling* saunas could be a substitutive effort to control STD-related problems, but saunas are not correlated to new STD cases: unsafe practices during sex are correlated to new STD cases (Holmes, O’Byrne and Gastaldo, 2007; Woods et al., 2000).

For (b) conspicuous consumption, I take the definition of this behavior as ostentatious (and sometimes competitive) display of wealth through consumption (McCracken, 1987; Page, 1992). According to Patsiaouras and Fitchett (2009, p. 155), “The adoption of practices such as ostentatious display of goods and status consumption maintain a leading role in social relationships, with material or immaterial conspicuousness being conveyed via individual actions and behavior.” Therefore, there is a similar socially-bound behavior in consumption practices that refer to how people can or cannot display certain things. In my case, some consumers were not ostentatious about going in the sauna, but the opposite. They were **not** displaying such actions, and actively hiding it. Conspicuous consumption, however, is intrinsically linked with status structures: lavish goods are purchased and shown in order to differentiate some consumers from others. The differentiation in my field occurs precisely in *not* consuming something. Conspicuous consumption, when observable, refers more to privileges and class-based freedoms. Ricardo, for example, cites Posto 8, in Rio de Janeiro; there, he could connect to an upscale public and show his international experiences, conspicuously:

Ricardo: Everything was Posto 8. And then I saw – when I pass there nowadays I remember I’ve nev... - then I started this volleyball group, and we started playing – I stopped going to Posto 8. And then they started talking to me about this: because that is a very standardized guys’ area, standard, international, I dunno what else, blablabla... And then it left me thinking: dude, they [foreigners] obviously feel comfortable there – everybody is speaking English – everybody is... uh... talking about their experiences in Mykonos, that – everybody is talking about their experiences in New York during Fall season and whatever. So they [Brazilians] are talking their [foreigners] language – so that’s why people go there to legitimize that space as an international gay space. It’s like they’d take that whole block, separate it, and this is a Vatican. It’s an international gay destination – it’s not Rio.

His positioning as an actor in gayscapes puts him, in another participant’s words: “at the top of the pyramid”. He navigates gayscapes with race, class and material freedom, which points to a different scheme of differentiation from some actors and others. Conspicuous consumption is the ostentatious display of goods and wealth through consumption to gain status - but consuming some specific places (like a sauna, or a *less prestigious place*) is potentially harmful to some consumers’ status – mainly the privileged.

This also sets consumption occlusion apart from other close consumption behaviors: (c) consumer resistance (Penaloza and Price, 1993; Roux, 2007; Cherrier et al., 2011), or anti-consumption (Lee et al., 2011; Cherrier et al., 2011). Consumer resistance as a behavior is (1) intentional, and (2) a behavior connected to how consumers resist structures of domination, or resist purchasing goods and services that might harm the environment. This behavior has also been connected to status maintenance and growth²¹, mainly through behaviors and strategies regarding field-dependent capital (Arsel and Thompson, 2011) management within groups. Anti-consumption is also connected intrinsically to *intentionality* – a set of behaviors and strategies in marketplaces dealing with rejection in acquisition, use and dispossession of goods – and not connected to structures of domination. Anti-consumption can be related to

income concerns (such as budget-setting), or *functional* reasons – such as not buying knock-off items. Both behavioral sets have, however, intentionality. Consumption occlusion does not *restrain consumption*; it is merely a behavior that actors engage – even if the final act of consumption takes place.

For (d) stigma and consumption, the main definition of social stigma is the possession of attributes deemed discrediting (Goffman, 1990). However, this definition depends on relationships - not the attributes themselves. Goffman (1990) exemplifies this relationship dependence when he reports that a “middle class boy may feel no compunction in being seen going to the library”, while a professional criminal kept “looking over [his] shoulders [...] before [going in the library]” (1990, p. 13), afraid someone he knew might see him. One of the central themes in Goffman’s (1990) social stigma exploration is the notion of sympathetic others, a concept he lays out in the concept of *the Own and the Wise*: the first sympathetic others are those sharing a specific stigma. For example, recent work in marketing literature has focused on stigma and its relationship to specific groups: those sharing cultural background (Peñaloza, 1994); age (Tepper, 1994); or subcultural affiliation (Kozinets, 2001; Kates, 2002) – identifying the presence of stigma in consumption. This was not the only case observed in gayscapes: as previously noted, those wishing to keep their patronage or consumption a secret when acting within *-scapes* might even wish to keep such act of consumption a secret within their own *gay community* – sauna attendance being an example.

When stigma is taken as an intertwined attribute with social information, Goffman (1990) uses the concept of *stigma symbols* to clarify “signs which are especially effective in drawing attention to a debasing identity discrepancy” (idem, 1990, p. 59). Instead of looking at this set of relationships as contextual cues that convey meaning, I use the concept of mesh:

²¹ For more information, see: DALPIAN, Paulo R. C.; DA SILVEIRA, Teniza; ROSSI, Carlos A. V. (2015) “One Less Car’: The Collective Initiative Toward Sustainability”, *Journal of Macromarketing*, v. 35, n. 1, p.

so a specific stigma turns into another actor that intersects with other actors, also creating different meanings in different contexts. For example, stigma by association (SBA) literature usually finds human-human relationships and applies the concept of spontaneous trait transference (Argo and Main, 2008) – or how a stigmatized individual might transfer his or her trait onto a non-stigmatized individual. So for Argo and Main (2008), staying in line to redeem a coupon with other coupon redeeming customers would *transfer* a stigma (i.e. being cheap) to subjects. My view is that, within thing-human meshes, stigma is – instead – an actor that circulates in a –scape: it can affect and be affected by any number of humans and things. A gay sauna and a gay bar are differently affected by such actor, and affect such actor differently. The trait here is not *gay*, but *gayness* as interpreted in a –scape. For a bike gang leader, the stigma of gayness might be discrediting, but he might be intertwined with a gayscape in order to affect and be affected by such actor, finding consumers for illicit pleasure, and even *preying* on specific gay communities (through protection charge, violence, etc).

Still within the stigma argument, in a more place and consumption argument, Goffman (1990) separates three possible kinds of place: (a) forbidden or out-of-bound places, where exposure of a stigma means expulsion; (b) civil places, where people are treated as if they are not disqualified to be; and (c) back places, where exposing a stigma is not a problem. For Goffman (1990) an individual's social identity divides the world of people and places. This must be taken into account when analyzing an individual's routine: how he adapts when moving between places. Some strategies are markedly consumption and market-bound – for instance, buying modern bifocal lenses with no *dividing line* is a market-offered solution for managing the stigma of old-age. By analyzing Star Trek fans, Kozinets (2001), for instance, found a boundary set by accepting or not certain items connected to the *nerdy* stigma: while

the mental stigma of being a Star trek fan might keep some consumers from being involved with that specific material culture, it also acts as a boundary. *Crossing this boundary* seems to encourage deeper involvement in what seems, in Kozinet's words, "to provide the thrill of the forbidden" (1990, p. 76). This boundary appears as a more physical phenomenon in our field: the door leading to the sauna is the clear-cut border of participation in an act of consumption. The management of such a shared stigma operates differently, thou:

Brice: You know, when I was married it had to be – I didn't want to be there, I didn't want to be seen there, I was there for one reason, and... When I was in New York, or Paris, or London, the chance of running into somebody else is small, however I was there during fashion trade shows... So, you know... I did, in Paris once, I saw a designer from uh... and in Toronto once I was seen by somebody... Who, you know, who came back and told other people.

Paulo: Oh!

Brice: And when I came out to a former associate of that person he said "well, I've known for many years, because so-and-so saw you in a bathhouse in Toronto, and told so-and-so, and he told me", and... Uh... So... But by then I was out, so... it was... it was not an issue.

This material border for participation does not *resolve* the stigma management problem in this consumption context: being inside of a, how Goffman would call, a "back place" (1990, p. 102), where gay sexuality is expected, is not enough to diminish or resolve the social stigma connected to being gay and looking for sexual activities – not in *all cases*.

For (e) taboo and disreputable exchange, we use the definition of a morally inappropriate positive-sum trade and how every cultural group forms taboos based on refraining from these engagements in *disreputable exchanges* (Rossman, 2014). In an exploration of how actors engage in disreputable exchanges (by neither challenge exchange taboos nor refrain from engaging in them), Rossman (2014) exposes the concept of *obfuscatory relational work*. This structure is bound to the how "we tend to see sublimated transactionalism as more palatable than open *quid pro quos*" (Rossman, 2014, p. 44). This trade and exchange structure depends on basic Zelizer circuits and sacred and profane items.

The author (*ibidem*, 2014) uses extreme examples (such as prostitution and bribery) but also subtler examples (such as faculty giving cookies to students prior to a class evaluation survey).

Some direct (rhetoric and price) strategies are used by consumers when confronted with disreputable exchanges (Rossman, 2014; Haylett, 2012; Pinker et al., 2008; Velthuis, 2003): (a) simply honoring a taboo (not engaging in such exchanges); (b) rhetorically framing exchanges as altruistic or socially beneficial; (c) shrouding exchange in indirect speech, ambiguity and deniability; and (d) using prices symbolically (lowering or raising prices to symbolically load an exchange). Our observation, however, adds a fifth strategy: that of occluding consumption *even within groups that share a value* (i.e. a gay man going into a sauna and refraining from telling other gay men in his friendship circle; or buying and consuming drugs while refraining from telling other friends who also do the same).

Furthermore, when obfuscatory relational work is at play, all mitigation efforts (bundling, brokerage, and gift exchange) relate to a two- (at most three-) party system based in cultural groups norms and values (Rossman, 2014). Our observation goes beyond specific trading rituals: it is connected to how actors engage in hiding consumption acts regardless of shared norms or values. In Brice's words, "the chance of running into someone you might know" continues to be a reason to occlude a consumption act, even if the other person is also gay.

And finally, (f) covert consumption refers to how consumers might use a set of strategies to consume certain services and products. It has been connected to prostitution (Huff, 2011), where the vast majority of male consumers (*johns*) "do not make their behavior known to their family or friends and are fully aware of the socially contentious nature of prostitution" (Huff, 2011, p. 9). Indirectly, covert consumption appears also as a strategy used

by “underground networks [of] ravers [seeking] to evade supervision and surveillance” when consuming illicit drugs inside raves (Goulding et al., 2009). The secrecy involved in these contexts has been connected to how consumers derive pleasure from learning and mastering the challenges of the act of consumption itself – this was found in intricate rituals and handling of objects by Belk and Costa (1998), but it applies to very contextual consumption fields. This makes the covert consumption a close construct to consumption occlusion, with two exceptions (1) the *socially contentious nature of* said act of consumption; and (2) the illicit nature of said act of consumption. Consumption occlusion might happen in one context or community, but not in another – the contentious nature of an act of consumption might be restricted exclusively in one context – and in our case, hiding acts of consumption happened even *within groups* that share the same scheme of values, expectations or norms (for instance: keeping a gay sauna visit a secret from gay friends); and the illicit nature of consuming something is also not a condition for consumption occlusion (for instance: going into a gay bar is not illegal in both cities where I conducted field work).

Although this work is materially-centered and ontologically placed as a mesh of relationships between humans and things, it is worth noticing also that a connection of consumption and feelings has *guilt* as a strong factor in consumption practices (Dahl, Honea and Manchanda, 2003). *Psychological constructs were not taken in consideration* for consumption occlusion, but guilt has been connected to (a) guilt related to others; (b) guilt related to societal standards; and (c) guilt related to oneself. Ignoring the psychologically-bound treatment of guilt (Dahl, Honea and Manchanda, 2003), there are actions and behaviors that were reported in purchasing experiences that closely resemble the need to hide acts of consumption. All of them, though, were connected to the inherently harmful result of consumption (from purchasing cigarettes to buying an expensive thing without consulting one’s spouse). They are all also connected to three broad categories dealing with *standards*

(social, societal or personal). My observation is focused, however, in the consumption of things or place-things that are not inherently breaking all standards. Sex and sexuality are infused within my field, and even though entering a sauna might be against the standards of a heteronormative set of rules, the sauna observed in June 2016 was located inside the gay village – there are no initial reasons to hide a sexuality performance within a gayscape that considers sexuality an integral part of the mesh of relationships.

Even further, Russel’s account of people “*go[ing] back and forth – trying to build the courage to come in*” is related to gay men and a gay bookstore and a gay bar, not a sauna. This means that even removing the sexual performance that people would deduce from sauna patronage, there is still a need to occlude a relationship between human and thing. Therefore, a definition of *consumption occlusion* is in order.

4.3.2 Consumption Occlusion – Definition

Now that I exposed how consumption occlusion is not analogous to other consumption behavior structures, I can define it. Consumption occlusion is a consumption strategy used by actors in a –scape (in my case, **gayscape**) in order to access a specific service, patronage, or thing. However, this strategy may be used even in –scapes that share some rules, expectations or values – regardless of how a certain practice is seen in a larger scheme (*society* as a whole). This means that this strategy may be **employed within communities of practice** - consumption occlusion might be engaged as a strategy even when a **certain practice is shared among actors in a –scape**. For example, sex between two men is considered expected (whether for the good or bad) in gayscapes, but gay actors were engaged in consumption occlusion even in relationship to other gay actors. Saunas would be far removed from local

gay place clusters, men would be resisting of going into bars or saunas, some bars would be non-vocal about their nature (no visual cues related to gay voices), etc.

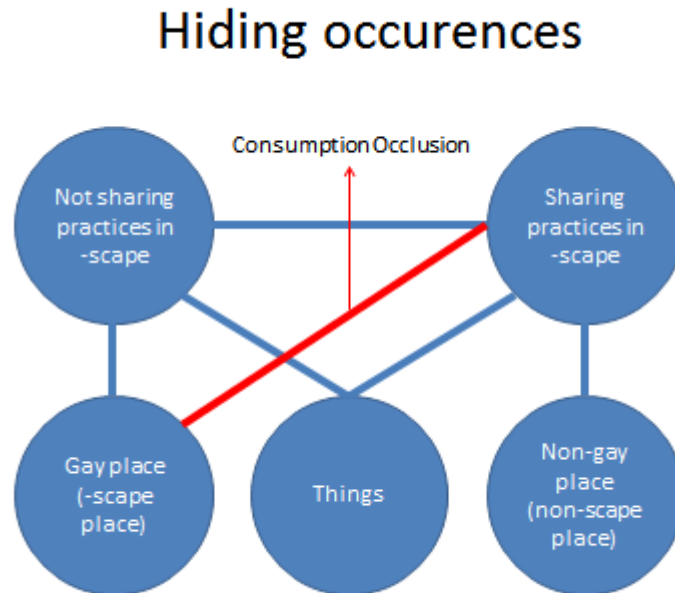


Figure 12. Consumption Occlusion visualization

Figure 13 tries to clarify that Consumption Occlusion happens in a relationship between field participants that share practices in a –scape (gayscape) and other actors (in my case, gay places) that also participate in the same –scape. Consumption occlusion has some defining characteristics, this strategy is:

- (a) Always a community-bound practice, that;
- (b) Is mediated by marketplaces, and;
- (c) Depends on a specific –scape;
- (d) Engaged by all actors (humans or things);
- (e) That results in hiding, camouflaging, disguising, obscuring, protecting, or shielding an act of consumption.

First, it is a **(a) community-bound practice** because of how different strategies are used when engaging in it. As previously said, groups of friends going in the sauna would talk all the way until the entrance, showing no reserves or the need to hide the fact they were going in.

Russel: It was... Very... Common to watch people go back and forth – trying to build the courage to come in. Which would happen in bars – people would think that just turning onto the street made them suspect.

P: Do you remember feeling the same thing [...]?

R: Well, no, because when I went to places in Toronto my younger brother was taking me there. [laughs]

P: [laughs]

R: Or friends that I made, so... No. I mean, there were places I didn't know, all kinds of different... social... conditions in different places.

P: What do you mean?

*R: There was a bar in Toronto where people – called *The Quest*, where people went in uh... sports coats and ties.*

P: [laughs]

R: So it never appealed to me as a gay place to go out... maybe now? [laughs]

Russel brings forth why he wouldn't feel the need to engage in the same practice that some other people would engage. **He had company.** This shielded him from the need to engage in consumption occlusion. Derek, another participant, defines himself as completely in the closet, although a few select friends know about his orientation. He does not like to visit place-things, and resorts mainly to smartphone GPS-bound applications. When asking him why he wouldn't go to gay places, he said:

“Derek: I feel at... A little bit of intimidation if you wish call it, or extra care for... or on the lookout? Oh, what if someone [pause] sees me? That I don't want them to know that I'm gay.

P: Yeah.

D: But then I say, ok, well, we are both at the same place.

P: [laughs]

D: [laughs] So...

[...]

P: And then she – uh, he has more information about you than you about him?

D: Right.

P: So, I understand that. Uh...

D: So, this is the part where it's not comfortable. And this is where the fear is... like... “Oh, what if I see someone that I really don't want them to know about me”, or... There's uhm... a professional relationship between us, or like... A conflict of interest or anything...”

Derek does rarely go out to gay places, saying that **“I do go, but when I go, I'm usually in a group of friends.** And I'm not there to... Make new friends, or to ... meet

someone, or to... hook up with someone.” This adds to the point of consumption occlusion being (a) always a community-bound practice. Company and friendship networks are used as mitigation or strategy to engage in consumption practices that would usually be concealed. In John’s view, when you are with friends you have the excuse of being “just accompanying friends”.

It must be noted that some actors that may initially be considered as *not part of a community* may still fall within analysis. They will not necessarily engage in *consumption occlusion*, but will nonetheless interfere with how things and humans circulate in said *-scape*. For example, bike gangs or other drug traffickers may insert certain substances in a mesh of relationships (therefore affecting the mesh) and relate to other actors (i.e. consumers for said drugs, competition with other trafficking agents, alliances with consumers or other drug distributors, etc.) Even though these actors may not share a specific characteristic with a specific community (in a *gayscape*’s case, *gayness*) they still affect and are affected by this mesh of relationships. Another common case for this would be space planners (human actors) and how they affect the physical disposition of occlusion devices (doors, stalls, dark rooms) for a gay *clientele*. Notice that *consumption occlusion* is itself a community-bound practice – but it does not exist in a vacuum: it is affected and affects *wider* meshes of relationships.

The second point is that consumption occlusion **(b) is mediated by marketplaces**. Even though a discovery-oriented field work allowed me to observe other situations in which **occlusion** might be taking place, **consumption occlusion** is marketplace-bound. I did field work in Parc Thierry on May 30th 2016, and I could see the same hesitation in some people before going into the park for cruising. I could not enter the park mainly for legal reasons (see discussion in subsection 4.1.1 Montreal’s Context), but I felt the same hesitation of being observed and judged as I felt in my first sauna incursions. The field note was logged May 30th, 9:30 pm and refers to P. (an informant, not an interviewee):

“May 30th, 2016 – 9:30 pm: Fieldwork in Parc Thierry with P. After an informal conversation with P., when I admitted hesitating to do field work in some parks, P. invited me to have a few beers at [bar] and then take me to Parc Thierry. I went to [bar] at around 9:30 pm and had one beer. P. had two. We then took a taxi to Parc Thierry at around 22:45, but P. – being a Canadian citizen – told me he was worried about me going into a park after closing time (he was unsure of the legal risks for me). I decided to stay on the opposite sidewalk and observe from afar. While the light was very dimmed, it helped me to remain relatively unseen. Many guys don’t get restricted by the main cruising spot and roam freely between the trees that surround the main spot. I had to deny light advances (obviously not as direct as they would be, had I been inside the park) from an older gentleman and a young middle-eastern guy for obvious reasons – but their flirting showed me that even the ones who are not physically in the park can participate, if lingering for too long (as if hesitating to participate in the game). I also could spot, from afar, public sex. I left at 11:45 pm alone, after texting P. so he wouldn’t worry about me”

Notice that the themes Friend-enabled places and Substances are present within the mesh that made this field note emerge. Therefore, while the same behaviors are present in both bathrooms and parks where a whole market of sex and sexual practices is present (Perlongher, 1986) and specific rules are also being applied, they lack a marketplace-mediated characteristic, mainly through economic exchanges (and when there are economic exchanges, they are bound to prostitution services). The need of institutional freedom of operation within markets that gay marketplaces and place-things achieved in both Montreal and Porto Alegre was granted by other normative institutions (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008). Marketplaces are connected to this *homonormatization*, the watering-down of acceptable gay behavior (Idem, 2008). While paying to enter and consume gay place-things is institutionally accepted, parks and bathrooms continue to be legal gray areas for sexual performance. Therefore, **occlusion** is still engaged, as a practice, in parks and bathrooms – for example – but **consumption occlusion** was observed in gay place-things as mediated by marketplaces.

This mediation mainly happens through this *homonormatization* (Hunt and Zacharias, 2008), but it can be attached to other normative structures. For example, in the hipster

community this normatization²² can be seen through the demythologization practices in consumers' discourses. As market actors take over a set of practices and shape it into a market category (e.g. "hipster"), consumers recur to distinction discourses in order to consume specific marketplace offerings, while protecting their identities from this category - shaped by the market – in Arsel and Thompson's (2011) case, the indie field. Granted, the authors (2011) were not discussing occlusion, but the practices employed by consumers in order to consume something add to my argument: normatization in marketplaces is one of the factors that weight in when analyzing consumption practices. In Arsel and Thompson's (2011) case, consumers were protecting their identity investments in the *hipsterscape*, in our case, the observed practice is occluding one's consumption in order to relate to another normatization structure. In both cases the marketplace normative narrative (what it is to be *gay*, what it means to be a *hipster*) is shaped by marketplace actors, and this makes consumption acts to be shaped by marketplaces (mediated). In other words, specific marketplace actors continuously shape and shift the *norm* and the *normal*, and consumers use strategies (also mediated by the marketplace, since they will base their strategies in marketplace narratives) to consume (or not consume) marketplace offerings. Marketplaces mediate this practice (just as they would mediate any other practices and strategies), but by depending on specific *-scapes*, the practices, discourses and strategies might shift and change.

This leads to the third point, that consumption occlusion (c) **depends on a specific –scape**. In my case, it depends on a **gayscape**. Consumption occlusion is connected to the qualitative nature of *-scapes*. Landscapes are, first and foremost, inherently qualitative – i.e. we can ask what a landscape is like, but not “how much of it there is” (Ingold, 1993, p. 154),

²² In this work I use the term *normatization* instead of *normalization*. The reasoning behind it is that the definition of normalization is to make normal, or to bring things to a state of normal; it is related to the tension created between one actor or structure and another, but not ‘*what the normal*’ is. Normatization, in its turn, is related to the internal process of creating a norm or a *normal* – it is not necessarily the result of a conflict

so I will not argue from a quantitative point of view. Also, a landscape cannot be considered space, as any person moving in a landscape cannot occupy its whole space – only experience the passage of a point A to a point B, through time. This passage is experienced as a process. Therefore, when I argue that Consumption Occlusion depends on a specific *-scape*, I mean that this experience is as individual as it can be, but always dependent on how an actor is embedded in its own *-scape*.

Some participants report that going into a sauna or a club is not a problem *per se*, but only in certain places. Both Brice and Ahmed used to go to gay place-things when they were located far away from their hometowns or current cities. They cited the fear of being seen inside a specific gay marketplace by colleagues or acquaintances and having their identities *discovered*. When questioned whether this wouldn't apply for the other person as well (the one discovering them in gay places) they had different answers: to (a) Brice, being discovered by someone out of the closet in a gay place means a power level difference – the other person being in an advantageous level, holding information that has a specific risk for Brice; and for (b) Ahmed, being discovered was not the problem, but how this information could be shared in other circles. Brice eventually came out of the closet and met an old friend at a gay place:

Brice: [...]But... uh, when I – uh... When I was out and not worried about somebody from [hometown] seeing me and reporting me back there, when I didn't have that weight of hiding on my shoulders, uhm... I felt like so much at home. That, you know, that I could do things that I wanted to do all my life, but had... Just kissing a guy in both cheeks, you know, in the straight world you don't do that. Period. You know, and as I was, one time there, I ran into uh... a supplier of mine, that I had bought from for 25 years. I had no idea he was gay. He had no idea I was gay. And we looked at each other and we burst off laughing, and we gave each other a big hug, a kiss in both cheeks, and we've been, you know, very – we weren't friends when I was buying from him, and we've been very good friends now ever since that first day.

This leads to a specific behavior when customers engage in consumption occlusion: in order to continue a consumption behavior, it is possible to confine consumption to other places *but* their own –*scapes*, occluding their consumption from immediate actors engaging in the same –*scape*. In both Brice and Ahmed cases, the consumption behavior of attending gay places could happen as long as they were removed from their current place cluster. Consumption occlusion, although an individual behavior, is not a behavior intrinsically connected to specific actors, but how some actors relate to others: in a close-to-home –*scape*, consumers might engage in consumption occlusion; the same might not happen when far removed from their specific –*scape*. It is also dependent on specific intersectionalities: both Ahmed and Brice had high income and had access to other marketplaces far from home. This was not the case of Otto, in Porto Alegre: inside the closet, with less access to disposable income, bound to his work routine, and *trapped* in a gayscape that would constantly add – in Brice’s words – the *weight of hiding* on his shoulders. In Otto’s case, therefore, consumption occlusion inside his own gayscape was a given. He would not go out to gay bars or clubs, would not comment about his sexuality with his family or co-workers (and only disclose his sexuality to a very close group of friends), and rely exclusively on mobile applications (with a no-photos, secret profile) to find sexual partners.

The use of mobile apps by Otto is an indicative of how consumption occlusion – dependent on –*scapes* – is engaged by all actors. Mobile apps, in Otto’s case, are enabling actors: before their existence, Otto used to go online in chat rooms to find new partners. He commented that the existence of mobile apps has made his life “much easier”. At the same time that he relates to a mobile app to occlude his participation in the gayscape of Porto Alegre, if the analysis shifts toward the mobile app, we find another actor who is engaging in consumption occlusion (by enabling the behavior).

The fourth point, therefore, is that consumption occlusion is **(d) engaged by all actors (human or things)**, and it refers to how it is a ubiquitous observed behavior. Some consumption acts are hidden based on larger schemes – such as hiding the fact that a person enters a gay bar or sauna; others are smaller in nature. Both Lucas and Ahmed comment on how cocaine is generally taken as a secret, hidden drug in public or open places:

Lucas: I think it happens a lot, by that I mean the older crowd, and a lot – you feel... For example, we went out last week and I noticed a crowd that... it was... it's a crowd that, like,... It's the drug you choose, if I say, it will be cocaine, which is a drug that a lot of people who actually use drugs have prejudice against. They take it as a somber drug, whatever, that brings many collateral effects and damages to your life. Uhm... there's a lot... there are people who will take LSD, Ecstasy... and not, well, cocaine as a drug – and a lot of people used to hide in the bathroom of [night club] to use it – a lot, a lot, a lot of people.

Ahmed: [discussing an open air electronic music festival] [...] I saw a lot of people – a lot of young people uh... You know? Doing coke [cocaine] completely uh...

P: In the open?

I: Yeah! I mean, they weren't even hiding it. They were not even discreet about it. You know, right on your face somebody was rolling out... I mean, seriously? [laughs] Is it legal in here?

Consumption occlusion occurs, therefore, inside place-things as well. It is engaged in a mesh of relationships that enable such occlusion in consumption: mainly the expected acceptance of such substances by the *knowing wink* of club producers, the police, and state authorities (Goulding et al., 2009). While the authors explore the calculated suspension of rules and norms of everyday life through illicit substance use, we add – through consumption occlusion - that the mesh formed by secret places (i.e. bathroom stalls), dimmed lights, loud music, and busy environment offers an easy way to hide consumption. Even the *knowing wink* – the implicit understanding between clubbers and club promoters that maximizes the possibility of illicit pleasure (Goulding et al., 2009) – has limitations as how *ostentatious* such consumption is. For example, in all clubs visited during field work my bag would be searched

with no exceptions. The search was, however, more of a ritual than a thorough security check: no specific demands or thorough searches were conducted on me.

Here, intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) might also be mentioned again to clarify that I occupy a very specific intersection (white, young) that is largely privileged in the *knowing wink* phenomena. It was clear that club promoters and security teams would enable me to go inside without checking my bag thoroughly (and would hardly touch me in pat downs). The first time I accompanied a black, young participant to a bar in Porto Alegre he was held up for several in-depth searches in his pockets, waist, ankles, and backpack. Consumption occlusion is affected by intersectional positioning – some consumers may consume some things, while others may not. Social markers will, therefore, interrelate with the consumption occlusion phenomena – while certain privilege markers (whiteness, richness, youngness) will offer social ties which allow certain consumption processes (e.g. consuming drugs in a club) others will constrain consumption based on oppression within oppressed groups (e.g. a black patron being patted down by the same security structure that allows unfettered entry to white patrons [Goulding et al., 2009]).

Diego, alternatively, comments on the accomplice relationship within groups as enabling the use of drugs:

Diego: Alcohol actually, it's a legal drug, so it c... I consume alcohol [alone] in my place, easily.

Paulo: Out of these environments.

D: Alone, you know? Now, the illicit I can't... I won't... use alone.

P: Yes.

D: Do you understand? So there's this also, the illicit drug, it... it... yes... like, as if those people were your accomplices, you have to do it with them.

P: As...?

D: No, exactly... if you start using it alone I think it characterizes it as dependence. Not that it's not dependence the fact that you use it every weekend [laughs]

P: [laughs]

Much the same way previously discussed by Goulding et al. (2009), certain field meshes enable the use of illicit drugs in specific place-things. In Diego's point of view, using

illicit drugs alone at home is not acceptable so, in this case, consumption occlusion is **(d) engaged by all actors (humans and things)** as an enabled behavior – there is a need for a specific mesh of relationships (being in a club with friends that use drugs together) for the consumption of illicit drugs, but friends are still seen as “accomplices”. Accomplices, in Diego’s case, because the consumption must not be overtly open – but kept a secret from other people (i.e. patrons, promoters, security) and done in relationship to specific dark places (i.e. dance floor corners, bathroom stalls).

Here, things have a role in consumption occlusion – whether as a focal occluded product for consumption (e.g. drugs, sexual activity in a sauna) or marketplace *offerings* that enable consumption in an occluded setting (e.g. doors, stalls, dark rooms, steam). This mesh of humans and things as actors can be markedly observed when both categories are intertwined – for example, saunas. The set of occluded product (sexual activity) and enabled occlusion (dark rooms, glory holes) is more readily observable in saunas. Saunas in both cities (Montreal and Porto Alegre) had sensory deprivation *devices* – loud music, strong smells, dimmed lights, hot (tactile-numbing) rooms. All of these marketplace offerings were present and facilitated the consumption of sexual activity. Much in the same way, music clubs had similar sets of marketplace offerings: loud music and dark environments facilitated the consumption of *illicit pleasure* (Goulding et al., 2009) in occluded settings.

Specific places are also occluded in their relationship with the gayscape. This occlusion can happen when a specific marketplace is removed from the main attention given to a specific set of places. This will happen with gay saunas that are not within the specified demarcation of a gay village, or even *loosely tied* with the gayscape as a whole (for instance, a gay bar that does not communicate its affiliation with gay people, and depends on other forms of patronage – such as specific groups of gay friends). Porto Alegre’s place-thing placement is markedly more *diffuse* than the one in Montreal (See Figure 12). The previously

discussed mediation by marketplaces (point (b)) cites that normatization structures may help to explain how markets shape consumption: in Montreal's case, a marketplace actor – mainly political structures – defined the gay village as a tourism destination. This enables certain acceptable practices within the gayscape that are *palatable*. In Porto Alegre's case, though, there is no such a concept as a *gay village*, and the República Street (considered by many informants as a gay destination for nightlife) is not directly normatized within the political structure as the Gay Village in Montreal.

Regardless of how a *gayscape* is normatized, however, the practical results of operating within a normatized set of relationships will result in **(e) hiding, camouflaging, disguising, obscuring, protecting, or shielding an act of consumption**. This result is not a simple act: it is the result of this very mesh of relationships previously set in a *-scape*. In the *gayscape* case, it can mean choosing bars that are far removed from one's city; or going into a known bar which has dark ambiance and loud music in order not to be easily recognized; or going into a sauna far from the central cluster of gay places; or quickly entering a glory hole cabinet; or moving into the dark rooms in sex clubs. Any of these strategies for consuming something – even when such consumption is expected by the very patronage that shares a marketplace (and its practices) with a person – have the final result of occlusion. In other *-scapes*, the same set of practices and strategies will – with the obvious dependence to other sets of relationship – also be present. For example, in a *hipsterscape*, consuming a chain store Pumpkin Spice Latte will be either incorporated into one's discourse (e.g. "I do it ironically") or will depend on other occlusion practices that are relationship-bound (e.g. visiting a store far removed from a specific stores cluster in the hipsterscape). The app deletion theme is also involved in this definition, since participants felt the need to hide certain application in some gayscape relationships (for example, when visiting perceived homophobic countries or when entering a long-term relationship).

4.4 MARKETPLACE EXCLUSION

Marketplace exclusion is a condition that not every individual is given equal access to participate in marketplaces. Since my work is based in these places, so this condition is also based in participation in marketplaces. According to Saatcioglu and Ozanne (2013) markets themselves promote differences and reinforce inequalities and establish means for discrimination. The exclusionary logic in marketplaces cannot be reduced to a segmentation logic that only relies on cultural and economic capital of consumers (as suggested by Castilhos and Dolbec [forthcoming]). The exclusionary logic must add a social logic that consistently underprivilege specific intersections, even those with adequate economic and cultural resources.

Following Gopaldas and DeRoy (2015), my treatment of differences within marketplaces follow a multidimensional approach, because of my intersectionality approach. Previous multidimensional approaches have involved, for example, income and gender (Agier and Szafarz, 2013; Denissen and Saguy, 2014; Hutton, 2015); race and gender (Crockett, Grier and Williams, 2003; Acker, 2006; Carr et al., 2014); age, gender and sexuality (Lindau et al., 2007); class, ethnicity and gender (Crockett and Wallendorf, 1998); HIV-related stigma and class, race, gender and sexuality (Parker and Aggleton, 2003).

My specific discussion on exclusion is connected to all intersectional themes (age, class, effeminacy, HIV-status, income, intersectional divergences, race, and transnationality); as well as three practices (clustering, exclusion, and performativity). An actor was specifically linked to exclusion: place. I included bars, clubs, saunas, restaurants, neighborhoods, and

other commercial places in the geography of gay places. See table 5 for all themes connected to Intersectional Exclusion.

In my case, the category gay men is not meant to be understood as monolithic; rather, sexuality is one of the intersections that positions subjects or actors. In that regard, while I center this discussion based on sexuality, I must point out that sexuality should not be considered a singular axial point, but rather, as an intersection enmeshed with other intersections that destabilize the category gay men.

As I experienced gayscapes, I gathered materials and interviews about a multitude of places and people, either from research participant or reflexive fieldwork. While this mesh is affected by numerous actors (some of which might be outside of my observations for physical reasons) one market actor is markedly present: place. For this discussion on exclusion, place is an active agent that mediates subject positions and brings forth differences.

From the practices category, three themes emerged: Clustering, Exclusion and Performativity. These practices, together, were observable and heard during interviews. The clustering theme refers both to how places are clustered around certain practices in a (gay)scape, and also how humans cluster around certain intersections. This is more easily shown in Figure 9 – Montreal's context. The Village shows how many gay places are clustered around a few blocks in Sainte Catherine Street. This proximity sets a few conditions for human participation. As previously shown, being physically present at the Village demands the acceptance of being seen there. For some in-the-closet gay men, this might be the first barrier for participation. Even for straight men who might want to experiment with entertainment options or even sexual partners, being physically in the Village might be a risk.

Another clustering characteristic, the practice of human clusters (twinkies, bears, etc) might also set conditions for participation. This condition was specifically present in Saul's recount of feeling rejected by young, white gay guys' cliques:

Saul: Because you're at the top if you're young and white. That's the top of the gay pyramid. And not that. Like, those are the top o... the top of the pyramid. No... Even if you want, I try to dance with the guys, just to dance... I've never... I know that I'm not... It's unlikely that I'll pick up a guy in the Village, but I'll get, like, rejected in the rudest way by these guys.

Exclusion, as a practice, was also a theme that explains Intersectional Exclusion. It refers to direct and clear actions that exclude some actors from gayscapes. Gilles brings this direct exclusionary practice to light:

Gilles: Age is very... uh... There's a... Regarding...

Paulo: Let's keep it in Grindr, to start.

Gilles: No, I mean... Age is a factor that limits a lot. Yeah. I even see people putting up – ah... “I just speak to people between this and this [age]” [laughs]

Paulo: [Laughs] yes...

Gilles: Or “bigger or smaller than” [laughs] Got it? I can't do anything. I know this is a form of exclusion towards some people, right? And something else, like... That gay people usually don't like to say it out loud – about their condit... about... a... how can I put it? Their sexual activity... position... right?

Paulo: You mean top and bottom?

Gilles: Exactly. About their... Exactly. Because it sounds ugly, right?

Paulo: What sound ugly?

Gilles: Saying you're a bottom instead of a top.

Gilles' experience is based in this direct action that some Grindr users put on their profiles, excluding specific intersections. He also spoke about people who put um profiles that clearly state “no Asians, no blacks”, as another example of direct and clear exclusion. An analysis was conducted on collected screen captures on two gay dating apps. For ethical reasons, I redacted the pictures. There was a noticeable lack of black gay men, trans gay men, and many containing non-identifying pictures (no face, empty profiles, or pictures depicting landscapes or other things). This reflexive search for different subject positions within the larger profile grid on both apps shows how underrepresented some intersections can be.

Performativity is also linked to this racial exclusion. As Roberto makes clear, he performs his sexuality as *stiff* – meaning he is not effeminate. The reasoning for this is how people take advantage of fragile guys when in clubs:

Roberto: Ah, in Babylon I'm more of a... more of a... surly profile.

Interviewer: Surly – what did you mean?

Roberto: Oh, I'm more into myself... more... 'don't touch me' [laughs]. More of a straight type, more of a top guy. These kinds of things.

Interviewer: Is there a reason for this behavior?

Roberto: Uhm... because I'm more into a quiet mood sometimes, when I'm not drunk and high – I don't like to make myself open, because people there are too slutty.[...] [They usually look for] a profile of a fragile guy, more of... really, they will approach and take advantage.

Roberto, being a black man, performs his masculinity differently than Saul, for example. Saul surrounds himself with fishnet gloves, wigs, nail polisher, and other materials that enable a different masculinity performance – and as previously stated, he feels at the bottom of the pyramid. The difference here is how black masculinity is performed. As Roberto performs a surly black man and Saul performs a more effeminate man, their race is regarded differently within gayscapes. Roberto feels no prejudice, while Saul directly points out moments where he suffered with prejudice. Therefore, the way race is constructed within gayscapes (black men are supposed to be rough, big, toned and sexually driven) is involved with intersectional exclusion.

As for intersections, instead of focusing on each intersection to explain how exclusion operates in gayscapes, I will instead focus on the theme Intersectional Divergences. While the category intersections contain themes that participants and observations found standing out in gayscapes, intersectional divergences are intrinsically connected to the participants and interviews. This theme brings internal differences within participants. Ricardo, for example, speaks from a privileged intersection:

Ricardo: But then I'll tell you: I'm not saying that a person won't go in a place with a rainbow flag – the person can... the person might want a Colgate advertising similar to that one with a wife and a husband and a kid – but then adding a gay couple or whatever. That's what the

Brazilian gay man wants, got it? To be associated with other Brazilians, not having a specific product catered to him.

Ricardo speaks from a background of acceptance and social and economic integration. He could pursue his Doctoral degree and occupies a class position that allows him to travel to international gay destinations such as Ibiza or Mykonos. This diverges with Roberto's case – a black man that came from a poor neighborhood and struggles to make ends meet at the end of the month. They are also divergent with Russell, who feels disconnected from gay youth:

Paulo: But can you explain why do you feel disconnected from the youth, the gay youth nowadays?

Russell: Yes.

Paulo: Ok. Can you explore that? Why do you feel disconnected?

Russell: Because they are disconnected from me.

Paulo: How do you feel they are disconnected from you?

Russell: Well, there's a certain point... and actually a friend started mentioning this – there's a certain point where in French, they start calling you Vous.

Paulo: Vous? V-U...

Russell: No, V-O-U-S.

Paulo: Oh, ok.

Russell: The polite...

Paulo: The polite "tu".

Russell: Yes, because being among people of your age it would be extremely insulting to use "vous". For most types of relationships. Even with someone in a store, or you know?

So intersectional divergences influence internal exclusion within participants not because of their intersectional positioning only within a wider context, but their intersectional position within the gayscape: the internal cohesion of the so-called gay category quickly dissolves as participants' discourses are analyzed side by side.

This exclusion is observable in marketplaces as the gayscape is experienced. The internal fracturing of the gay category is noticed when exploring gay marketplaces. The theme place agency is what unites all other themes within the mesh on a focal actor: places. Russell and Brice, who are older, mentioned how the night time focus of gay places (bars, clubs) are restrictive for their participation – not only because of intersectional divergences but also because of the very materiality of the places. The time and space in which they take place is

restrictive both in commuting as well as the physical strain. Saul and Roberto could not access all places within the mesh based on their income and race (which are, arguably, intrinsically connected). So places raise barriers of participation and exclusion based on a mesh of intersectional positions that restrict participation – whether based in age, race, income, or a combination with other intersections.

5 DISCUSSION

The three theoretical pillars explored in the literature review (intersectionality, things and landscapes, and gender) served as the argumentative stream and the qualitative verification proposed in the method section. Things (Ingold, 2012) were followed in their paths along the human-thing mesh of relationships, in order to access their biographies (Kopytoff, 1986). Gender and sexuality were studied through performativity and performances within places (Butler, 2010), and the procedure to study these constructs was an experiential approach toward the field. Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) served as the basis for finding contrasting practice regimes in the field – a critical search for different subject positions when attending and observing places.

The main objective of this dissertation was to comprehend what human-thing relationships say about homossexualities in marketplaces. This objective was supported by two specific objectives, and by materially interacting with things and humans in gayscapes. Places were visited and observed, humans were interviewed, and this enabled my comprehension of this complex intertwined field – or mesh – of relationships. Treating my approach to the field through the concept of a gayscape allowed me to integrate actors' relationships without romanticizing agency on some actors and not others. This approach also

allowed me to analyze consumption within a holistic, contextual, historical, and even political setting.

5.1 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES AND MAIN OBJECTIVE

The specific objectives were to (1) analyze the spatial configuration of actors in relation to homossexualities and consumption practices; and (2) follow actors and their stories inside marketplaces classified as gay. To achieve the first objective, I collected data regarding places within wider spatial dimensions (gayscapes). I interviewed participants, took notes, and observed places, to experience the material practices and discourses present in the field. I also volunteered in two organizations and collected virtual artifacts that were jointly analyzed within the larger interview data. As specified in the Method section, no comparative analysis between Montreal and Porto Alegre was done, although I recognize that the movement within gayscapes might provoke some comparisons. Data was, however, treated as a single *corpus* based in human and things interactions.

To achieve the second specific objective, I kept field notes, draw maps, and kept logs during my experience and exploration of the field. I also engaged with materials found in the field to, in a similar way to a snowball procedure, find other gay places and informants. Following Kopytoff's (1986) biography of things, I also tried to perceive status changes (for example, from commodity to singular) of places and materials. I also interviewed participants with this objective using McCracken's (1989) Long Interview method. Due to the personal nature of most collected materials, screenshots and pictures, most of them had to be individually analyzed and could not be shown in the main text body. Regardless of that, I

followed and engaged with materials (Ingold, 2007) as they appeared during my field work. All followed materials and artifacts were kept in a personal folder.

These two specific objectives allowed me to comprehend what human-thing relationships within consumption contexts say about homossexualities in marketplaces (main objective). The theoretical findings are (1) consumption occlusion; and (2) marketplace exclusion. Both of these theoretical findings deal with how the monolithic category gay men is actually much more fluid and ruptured in marketplaces. Intersectional positions' shifts can be observed as gayscapes are experienced, and this comprehension is based in how these qualitative objects are meant to be regarded as processes things-in-the-making (Ingold, 2010).

5.1.1 Consumption Occlusion – Discussion

Consumption occlusion is an observable behavior when dealing within groups (Puar, 2012). Consumption practices that somehow hide an act of consumption can happen in a wider sense, such as stigmatized consumption: in Goffmann's (1990) case, a professional criminal walking into a library relates to how he is not consuming a place *within* a context: he stands in stark contrast with usual library-goers (a middle class boy). Much in the same way, in Argo and Main's (2008) case, standing in line to redeem coupons transfer a stigma (i.e. being cheap) to people because of how they do not wish to participate in such an intersection.

In consumption occlusion, however, group participation is not denied or avoided: this strategy for marketplace participation is dependent on the willingness to participate in such a group. A gay man that shares a set of practices and values with other gay men might still feel the need to hide the fact that he goes to a gay sauna every weekend. Therefore, consumption occlusion is not connected to the wider concept of societal values – it is, on the contrary,

connected to internal group politics, and how this mesh of relationships (Ingold, 1993) intersectionally position marketplace participants.

There are a few observations that may illuminate Consumption Occlusion even further: while it is marketplace mediated, it affects even privileged intersections. Gay men that engaged in Consumption Occlusion were still able to participate in marketplaces – albeit hiding their consumption for a plethora of reasons. General occlusion, the one seen in – for example – parks, affects different intersections. Participants of the park cruising scene were visibly intersectionally positioned in minority categories. The presence of observable minority intersections (race: black, Asian and middle-eastern peoples; age: older people) in park cruising and the need of occlusion is not the same when adding consumption to the phenomena.

The notion of consumption occlusion, therefore, allowed me to show how –scapes (Ingold, 1993) may be useful concepts for marketing researchers interested in consumption meshes. Thomas et al. (2011, p. 271) point to “a lack of meaningful definitions and distinctions that hinders our understanding of contemporary consumption collectives”. Be it a Brand Community, a Subculture of Consumption, or Consumer Tribe, the main argument is that “theoretical and definitional linkages between those groups remain unknown” (Thomas et al., 2011, p. 271). Therefore, by displacing my analysis to a gayscape, I could look for categorical linkages that are not dependent on consumers sharing a sense of belonging. Even belonging to the LGBTQI intersection may put an actor at a consumption occlusion situation.

Also, even people occupying privileged intersections (white, young, high income) engaged in consumption occlusion, which points out to the definition that consumption occlusion is not necessarily bound to exclusion or majority intersections within the wider concept of LGBT. It also points out that intersections that are excluded from regular

marketplace relationships may still participate in other offerings (like public sex, impersonal sex, cruising parks, etc.)

However, marketplaces can be exclusionary not only because of how they relate to cultural hegemony, but also because of how intersectional positions relate *within* these places. The next section deals with this exclusionary phenomenon.

Marketing researchers interested in *current* politics and normativity (through intersectionality) and *a priori* or *a posteriori* creation of such politics and the making of norms (flat ontologies) might benefit from these frictional, but ultimately conciliable theoretical perspectives (Puar, 2012).

5.1.2 Intersectional exclusion discussion

Intersectional exclusion is an observed phenomenon that is enmeshed in gayscapes. I could observe it and find it in participants' discourses because of the intersectionality approach (Crenshaw, 1989) paired with the concept of (gay)scapes (Ingold, 1993). As actors interact in a mesh (gayscape) they restrict participation of other actors. These restrictions are not outside of a larger context – social structures that involve the themes institutional exclusion and normativity.

Institutional exclusion is involved in this phenomenon because of how larger (governmental) institutions interact with gayscapes. In Montreal's case, as previously discussed, Hunt and Zacharias (2008) showed how local and national government's marketization of the Village created a homonormatization structure. This structure institutionalizes the acceptable and unacceptable behaviors for Village attendants. It creates a

palatable spectacle for tourists, and excludes gay behaviors considered inappropriate for non-gay audiences. This normativity, in its turn, affects gay men as well. Three phrases uttered during the round table summarize this problem:

“I went to the Village - saw a bachelor party with a guy in a dress, and they see it as like a zoo. It's like, oh we had a wild and fun night in the Village.”

“I'm skeptical of places like the Village which are effectively government sanctioned spaces that are fixed and are unmoving.”

“It's important to consider who we're allowing to be present and who we're excluding in spaces. If you think about safety and desirability, that limits so many folks.”

These phrases show that even though gay men are allowed to be present in the Village, as safety and desirability are sanctioned and enforced by institutions they also limit participation of LGBTQI people who might not participate in the allowed rules. One of the themes that deal with the desirability and safety comments is stigma by association. One of the participants made it clear that allowing undesirable gay men participation in these normatized places would risk stigmatizing other gay men. Claude brought the fear that his drag queen performances might be confused with another intersectional position: *travestis*. Even though he clearly states he has *nothing against them*, he used the same normatized background that non-gay people use when talking about *travestis*:

Claude: Yeah, but the problem is that in general people don't understand this concept [drag queen]. There are a lot of people who confuse drag queen with travestis.

Paulo: Ok, ok.

*Claude: And then it gets complicated, because they think you are a sex worker – **nothing against it, ok?** But then **they assume you are a sex worker, that you live in the night, that you use drugs**, that you this, you're that. So, like, I think they create concepts based in little information.*

Paulo: I see.

Claude: They don't try to... find out. They go - ... Then people think, and they think wrong.

Claude's discourse brings forth the normative side of a participant in gayscapes who side with the argument that another intersection is undesirable. He practices the same

exclusion towards Travesti people by siding with the argument that he does not wish to be confused with *them*. This rupture within the LGBTQI intersections, therefore, becomes a demonstration of how exclusion operates even within the imagined *boundaries* of the LGBTQI intersectional positions.

5.2 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

This subsection deals with propositions and implications that were found in gayscapes. I expand and point out most of the propositions that were made in the previous subsections. The order of thematic linkages in the two previous sections will be the same for theoretical implications.

First, with Consumption Occlusion, I bring forth a consumption strategy that is engaged by actors that are participating in a shared set of practices within the same intersectional positionings: in my case, gay men who occluded their consumption within gayscapes. Some places adapted to this behavior by including material actors that facilitate the engagement with this strategy: dimmed lights, loud music, dark booths, separate entrances (for example: sauna foyers are separated from the main floors, so paying to get in can be done separately and before engaging with other customers) and cluster detachment (for example, gay bars removed from central gay bar clusters). This theoretical implication means that consumption occlusion found in other –scapes may benefit from the same actor inclusions: separate rooms for paying and consuming, for example.

With intersectional exclusion, I contribute to theory by adding the notion that exclusion is not mitigated by market actors adding diversity in homogenous marketplace that primarily address privileged segments. This was suggested by Gopaldas (2013) but, as I

showed, building a gay Village (adding diversity to tourism market strategies) does not solve the problem of exclusion. The segmentation tactics that devise places with a market logic that carry an implicit set of rules (Castilhos and Dolbec, forthcoming) may still exclude specific intersectional positions. Even a markedly public space such as gay village excludes the most vulnerable gay men: those in the closet and those with minority performativities. This power relation between majority and minority intersections exposes vulnerabilities and reiterates marketplace exclusion (Saatcioglu and Corus, 2016) even within places regarded as diverse.

My work also adds further theoretical nuance to existing literature on exclusion by showing that financial and cultural capital are not always necessary *a priori* conditions for inclusive marketplace participation (Üstüner and Holt, 2007; Varman and Belk, 2011). Even when considering places as active actors that enable or restrict human repertoires of action (Saatcioglu and Ozanne, 2013), exclusion will continually operate within oppressed or marked categories (i.e. a gay bar enables and welcomes particular gay men, but restricts other intersections).

5.3 RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

As I argued before consumer studies have, as their units of analysis, consumers' personal experiences and meanings connected to their possessions, objects, and consumption actions (Thompson, Arnould and Giesler, 2013). My work could not appropriate these notions since my unit of analysis lied between the relationships among humans and things. In other words, my work was based in the inclusion and experimentation of a multiplicity based in researcher, researched, and *things*. Instead of a fixed field, I was immersed in a relationship mesh (gayscape) and its relationship with other things (research instruments, intersectional

differences, etc). Therefore, my research began by listening to place-things. To understand it I needed to follow it in the relationships it established with other actors.

I had to, therefore, prepare several procedures, strategies and tactics to manage my own intersectional positioning (my social markers), as well as the data collection process: Pocahy (2011) already mentioned how absurd it would be to keep a field log inside a sauna. Much in the same way, I had to adapt some of the normal procedures on field logging, note taking, and observation. This proved to be a practical limitation. I managed such problems by either using different note taking methods (like writing notes on a mobile phone) or using my memory and writing things down as soon as I had access to my field log. I also triangulated most of the information with on-site informants – people who accompanied me and helped me to alleviate the bias of personal opinions and memories.

Also, the method contains an intrinsic limitation based on the fixing of a space and time observation (analogous to an image, or a picture). As actors move through landscapes and share practices, perform and learn and unlearn about the landscape, they are not bound to limited and fixed meanings or behaviors. Things' biographies do not have an end, so context must always be kept in mind when using such a method.

The fieldwork was conducted by me, a researcher occupying a specific subject position in a mesh of relationships – intersectional positionings. As I conducted field work, my intersectional positions (white, cisgender, young, academic, with available income and funding, etc...) To manage this limitation, I tried to bring out quotes and positions other than mine. I also avoided proverbially walking on *other people's shoes* and favored to keep my intersectional position constantly on my mind. I left actors speak for themselves, aware of the contextual cues and different positions within the mesh.

Lastly, flat ontologies have a known criticism: the ontological shift of meshes is seen as a short-lived materialization of relationships, and these fall into a discontinuities/continuities/discontinuities circle. In Latour's words, 'any attempt at choosing a homogeneous concept to establish connections among all entities [...] has a powerful but short-lived effect. Powerful because it allows not to make artificial distinctions [...], but short lived because inevitably the differences that had been recorded slowly fade, turning out to be the same way for everything to be different.' (Latour, 2014, p. 265). This short-lived nature of differences is, however, a good approach for intersectional studies where subject positions are contingent and emergent.

5.4 FINAL REMARKS

After 4 years of countless classes, seminars, volunteering activities, academic duties, committees, advisor meetings, essay writings, and a 8,692km relocation (from my hometown to Montreal), I felt like I needed to talk to the reader about this work. This work is a Marketing dissertation, but it is crossed with uncountable voices of personal and academic interest.

The learning process I engaged with was not simple. It came from clashing beliefs, clashing theories, clashing epistemes, and a constant need for reality checks. My academic colleagues helped me to make my argument straightforward and to *keep it simple*. While I agree that a theoretical advance is what constitutes a dissertation, I also know and understand that to make advances in the contexts we live in we require material engagement. Volunteering in LGBTQ+ organizations is, probably, the most practical result of this work to me. I hope showing that this methodological procedure can make a real difference in our

academic production: engaging with the communities and contexts we study is a fundamental academic task.

The theoretical implications that I show in this work are not born out of pure theoretical and abstract thought: they are the result of real engagement. They result from personal experiences of shame, doubt, fear, despair. They come from talking to real people, people who suffer every day because of who they are. At the same time, as Foucault once said: “Do not think that one has to be sad in order to be militant, even though the thing one is fighting is abominable.” I had many friendships born out of this work. I had many moments where I saw real impact in people’s lives. I had many happy, hopeful, and serendipitous moments. As marketing (or any other area, really) scholars, we should continue to fight for inclusion, respect, and equality. We should never bow to what we don’t agree. And we should always do critical and/or propositive theory that takes into account *people*.

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APPENDIX A – Roteiro base/provisório para entrevistas com informantes

1. Idade e Ocupação
2. Conte-me sobre sua história com [lugar].
 - a. **Quando** tu começaste a ir; **Quantas** vezes vai; Que dia da **semana** costuma ir; Como tu e **vestes** quando está lá? [todos “Por que?”]
 - b. Pode me descrever [lugar] em algumas palavras? Como você se sente quando está no [lugar]? [*Como tu expressas tua sexualidade no [lugar]?*]
3. Conte-me sobre outros lugares que tu vais.
 - a. Há algum lugar que tu costumavas frequentar, mas fechou/mudou-se? Pode me contar um pouco sobre esse lugar?
4. Como tu te sentes quando está indo para [lugar]?
 - a. Tu sentes que, quando está em [lugar], tu consegues expressar tua sexualidade?
5. O que tu achas que as outras pessoas acham de ti quando tu estás em [lugar]? {**Pergunta de projeção**}
 - a. Pessoas que sabem que tu estás em [lugar];
 - b. Pessoas que também estão em [lugar];
 - c. Tu costumavas falar sobre esse lugar com teus amigos? Podes me falar um pouco sobre essas conversas?
6. O que tu achas das pessoas que frequentam [lugar]?
 - a. O que tu achas de seus comportamentos?
 - b. Tu achas que as pessoas são tratadas de forma igual em [lugar]? Podes me dar alguns exemplos de quando esse tratamento igual/desigual acontece?
7. Como tu comparas esse [lugar] com outro [lugar gay {**P.3**}]?
8. O que tu podes dizer do espaço ao entorno de [lugar]?
 - a. Como tu te sentes nesse espaço?
 - i. Tu te sentes seguro? {**sonda caso segurança não seja mencionada**}
 - b. Há outros [lugares gays] próximos?