

SERVING FACE: FASHION, MUSIC AND TRANSATLANTIC CROSSING SCENES BRAZIL-PORTUGAL (2018-2022)³⁹

SERVING FACE: MODA, MÚSICA E CENÁRIOS EM TRAVESSIAS TRANSATLÂNTICAS BRASIL-PORTUGAL (2018-2022)

SERVING FACE: MODE, MUSIQUE ET SCÉNARIOS DANS LES TRAVERSÉES TRANSATLANTIQUES BRÉSIL-PORTUGAL (2018-2022)

SERVING FACE: MODA, MÚSICA Y ESCENOGRAFÍA EN LOS CRUCES TRANSATLÁNTICOS BRASIL-PORTUGAL (2018-2022)

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ABSTRACT: In this work, I seek to analyze the impacts of Brazilian LGBTQIAPN+ immigration as a potent innovation in political and aesthetic discourses, especially concerning fashion and leisure spaces, on the Portuguese youth. I shall focus on elements pertaining to queer appearances and their narratives. Also, I observe how appearances allied to political discourses become an important tool in the construction of political, aesthetic and ethical narratives outside of a colonial perspective.

Keywords: queer; Porto; fashion; LGBTQIAPN+.

RESUMO: Neste trabalho procuro analisar os impactos da imigração brasileira LGBTQIAPN+ enquanto uma potente inovação nos discursos políticos e estéticos, sobretudo em relação à moda e ao lazer, na juventude portuguesa. Privilégio deste intercâmbio o que tange as aparências “queers” e suas narrativas. Tomarei como campo etnográfico os espaços do Porto (discotecas, ruas, festas), que sejam frequentados maioritariamente por quem se identifica como LGBTQIAPN+. Busco perceber como as aparências aliadas aos discursos políticos transformam-se em uma ferramenta na construção de discursos políticos, estéticos e éticos fora de uma perspectiva colonial.

Palavras-chave: queer; Porto; moda; LGBTQIAPN+.

RÉSUMÉ: Dans cette réflexion, je cherche à analyser les impacts de l'immigration brésilienne LGBTQIAPN+ en tant qu'innovation puissante dans les discours politiques et esthétiques, en particulier concernant la mode et les espaces de loisirs, sur la jeunesse portugaise. Je me concentre sur les éléments relatifs aux apparences queers et à leurs récits. J'observe également comment les apparences alliées aux discours politiques deviennent un outil important dans la construction de récits politiques, esthétiques et éthiques en dehors d'une perspective coloniale.

Mots-clés: queer; Porto; mode; LGBTQIAPN+.

RESUMEN: En esta reflexión, pretendo analizar los impactos de la inmigración brasileña LGBTQIAPN+ como una poderosa innovación en los discursos políticos y estéticos, particularmente en lo que se refiere a la moda y los espacios de ocio, en la juventud portuguesa. Me centro en los elementos de las apariencias queer y sus narrativas. También observo cómo las apariencias combinadas con discursos políticos se convierten en una herramienta importante en la construcción de narrativas políticas, estéticas y éticas fuera de una perspectiva colonial.

Palabras-clave: queer; Porto; moda; LGBTQIAPN+.

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1. Landing in Porto: introductory notes

According to the report by Lucas Janone (2002) for CNN Brazil, a survey of official data from Portugal's Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF), and Itamaraty (Brazil) indicate Brazilian immigration to Portugal has grown exponentially in recent years, reaching more than 200,000 legal people in the country. Many are the reasons that can be listed for this immigration, but it is above all due to the institutional and economic crisis that has plagued Brazil since 2016 - accentuated by the rise of the far-right to power in 2018 - and the cases of violence against gender and sexuality of dissident people, which also may have reflected the displacement of LGBTQIAPN+ (Lesbian, Gay, Transsexual, Transvestite, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, Pansexual, and Non-Binary) people to Portugal.

With this, the influence of Brazilian cultural practices and products has impacted Portuguese daily life, which had already been observed for some time before, for example with consumption of soap operas, funk, and Brazilian country music. However, there is a gap in the studies on Brazilian immigration in Portugal that does not seriously consider the aspects of sexuality and gender, especially regarding LGBTQIAPN+ people and their artistic and cultural expressions, something that could contribute to the understanding of other dynamics of this immigration context in the fields of mass culture, leisure, arts, and politics.

In this way, I bring here a field diary, with some observations and provocations in this journey, to try to understand how these Brazil-Portugal dynamics reflect in the LGBTQIAPN+ leisure spaces in the city of Porto, in Portugal. As a white, non-binary, Brazilian, and immigrant researcher, I take the positionality, partiality, and responsibility of this produced work, understanding myself and my text as a research/researcher-historical product (Haraway, 2009; Lane, 1989). Thus, in the first moment, I use a concise theoretical reference to guide me and provoke these questions, since some past academic productions are crucial for us to understand how Portuguese LGBTQIAPN+ history has been built, but also how it wants to be built. Later on, I systematize the spaces that are known as LGBTQIAPN+ in Porto so that, further on, as a "flâneuse", I produce an ethnography that can point us to some cultural and sociability dynamics of this group.

2. Thinking about LGBTQIAPN+ literature Brazil-Portugal

After the 1990s, a greater institutionalization and organization of the LGBTQIAPN+ community activism in both countries was observed, driven by the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the world (Adam; Duyvendak; Krouwel, 1999; Colling, 2014; Facchini, 2009; Trevisan, 2018); Coming out of the closet became a political act that also contributed to the reorganization of leisure spaces, since hiding was left aside and the public

affirmation in being lesbian, gay, transsexual and transvestite made these encounters among "equals" increasingly possible.

With the social changes in both countries, the production and consumption of an LGBTQIAPN+ culture also became possible. The very coexistence of a marketing acronym - GLS (gays, lesbians, and sympathizers) - reflects a specific market that was created for this public, such as bars, stores, magazines, movies, etc (Facchini & Lins França, 2005). This is to say that, over the years, the political struggle and the movement of markets around this group have grown in several countries and have established grounds for the "export" not only of products and services but of political and activist discourse about the LGBTQIAPN+ community, which needs to be questioned in another moment.

In Portugal, homosexuality ceased to be a crime in 1982, and the struggles in other countries also brought momentum for the Portuguese to experience legislation that recognized LGBTQIAPN+ rights - such as the typification of hate crimes based on sexual orientation (2007), civil marriage (2010) adoption (2016), and the gender identity and expression regime (2018) - even though, socially, there are still problems to be faced, as reports expose homophobia and transphobia in public spaces, especially verbal, psychological abuse, and the prohibition to enter certain establishments. Differently, Brazil did not have legislative houses as allies in combating LGBTQIAPNphobia, but it was the Judiciary and, in some moments, the Executive that recognized marriage rights (2011), the requirement to respect the social name in public agencies (2016), name and gender change in documents only in a notary's office (2018) and LGBTQIAPNfobia as equating to the crime of racism (2019).

With the guarantee of rights in both countries, the affirmation of an LGBTQIAPN+ identity may have enabled a greater exchange of artistic, cultural, and political products between the two countries, especially in the dynamics of the consumption of a Brazilian LGBTQIAPN+ culture by the Portuguese, since the frequent migration of Brazilians and the internet impacted this consumption in the Lusitanian territory, enabling a powerful innovation in political and aesthetic discourses in fashion, music and leisure spaces of the Portuguese community's youth. In this sense, other impacts can also be perceived in this scenario in several spheres, namely: the artistic, musical, and political activist panoramas.

Some authors sought to understand sexual and gender identities in Portugal, taking Brazilian immigrants as part of their research subjects since there would be no way to disentangle immigrant experiences from the Portuguese context, as they are fundamental figures in Portuguese history, whether political, as the case of Gisberta Salce, or even aesthetic within the dynamics of sex work (Luis, 2019; Ramalho; 2020). Even though the political struggles of the LGBTQIAPN+ movement between the two

countries have also been the object of analysis in other works, outlining their particularities and their convergences (Andrade & Saleiro, 2021; Lima, 2014), what we see is an absence of taking the aspects of appearances, leisure, and music as central themes of analysis.

3. Flanking the countryside in Porto

The urban environment is an important territory that coexists with different groups that experience the city in different and convergent ways. The estrangement within our society can provide fundamental tools for the very making of this research. Gayle Rubin (2012) recalls that the city within anthropology, for example, has been a fruitful place for new "doing ethnographic" with homosexuality becoming a research object in these contexts, since one can read it as a subculture that is found in the urban dynamics, dialoguing as an effect of this emergence of the homosexual identity.

The choice of the city of Porto allows us to observe these exchanges and discontinuities of living in the city, where different people eventually have their lives cross each other, or not, following parallel paths. Gilberto Velho (1980) considers that, in this way, when researching big cities, it becomes visible the coexistence of numerous cultural traditions that express differentiated and contradictory worldviews, heterogeneity, and complexity of urban life.

In this sense, we take a "deviation" to think about sexuality and gender, which allows an escape from heteronormativity and cisnormativity as ways of thinking and then privileging queer and LGBTQIAPN+ urban Porto experiences. Rubin (2012), when "digging" ethnographies to reflect on what has been produced about sexual minorities in metropolitan areas of North America, systematizes a series of studies that show the importance and prominence of recreational and leisure spaces as the main activities where LGBTQIAPN+ people fraternized, noting that some commercial spaces such as bookstores, cafes, magazine stands, clothing stores, were elected by this group in everyday life, even if of secondary importance.

Attending the discos, streets, parties, and literary events in Porto, frequented mostly by people who identify themselves as LGBTQIAPN+, Portuguese, and Brazilian, I seek, in this research, the convergences and differences in the identity construction of these individuals/groups. I thus firmed myself in investigating how plasticities, corporalities, performances, and political narratives emerge and articulate themselves in these local-global places in a time cut between 2018 to 2022. Three levels are organized for the research methodology: first, participant observation and field diary, coupled with a scientific literature review and mapping of institutional data on Brazilian immigration, focusing on issues of sexual identities; in a second moment, photography and semi-directive interviews; and, finally, following a qualitative approach, exploration of the material compared with queer and decolonial studies,

desensitizing the notions of gender, sexuality, race, and nation that sustain sexual identities and, likewise, perceiving how appearances allied to political discourses become an important tool in the construction of political, aesthetic, and ethical narratives outside of a colonial perspective.

The mapping of these spaces demonstrates both the constitution of a service directed to the LGBTQIAPN+ community, but also of a choice and occupation of certain places, such as bars, streets, and regions, where LGBTQIAPN+ subjects meet and can be identified by their clothing, behavior, and music played by their speakers or pickups, forming a complex network of meanings and interrelationships, incorporating specific practices that make it possible through this socialization to (de)identify them (GUERRA, 2014, 2016). There is also no way to say that the city of Porto is located in what we can call global cities since it offers a whole integrated system of institutional and technological equipment that places it in this globalized flow (Sassen, 1999).

To guide my field diary, in an attempt to systematize the spaces frequented by LGBTQIAPN+ groups and categorize them as a way to better observe these territories and locate them, a survey (table 1) was embryonically carried out from what I was informed about where LGBTQIAPN+ people frequented:

Public spaces (streets, squares, etc)	Rua dos Mártires da Liberdade	Rua Miguel Bombarda	Cordoaria	Jardim do Morro (Gaia)	-
Festival/Parties	Primavera Sound (Música)	Queer Porto (Cinema)	Kebraku (Itinerante)	FBAUP (Centro acadêmico)	-
Nightclubs	Zoom (R. Passos Manuel)	Invictus (R. da Conceição)	Jubilant (Av. Fernão de Magalhães)	Fabrik (Galerias Paris)	Passos Manuel (R. Passos Manuel)
	Rendez-vous (R Cândido dos Reis)	Maus Hábitos (R. Passos Manuel)	Bar of Soap (R. do Bolhão)	Ferro Bar (R. da Madeira)	-

Table 1: Names and locations of places frequented by LGBTQIAPN+ and dissident people in Porto

Source: Prepared by the author (2023)

Most of these spaces are concentrated in the central region of the city of Porto. Besides the ease of access to public transportation, such as the subway and buses, traveling from one space to another is also possible, which often implies that the circulation in more than one event can be done even on foot. Another important fact

is that most of the programming at these venues takes place at night, except for the cinema and music festivals, which have a larger schedule of attractions.

Concerning access values, this becomes a differential that can highlight the social classes that frequent certain spaces, delineating specific sectors within the LGBTQIAPN+ community itself, demonstrating its heterogeneity. From an intersectional analysis, one can complexify the social relations existing within Portugal and notice in a more micro way the disputes existing within the country. In this sense, social demarcations of difference such as race and nationality are indispensable to thinking about the Portuguese context. For example, there are complaints of spaces destined for LGBTQIAPN+ or appropriated by this group exposing xenophobia and mistreatment of foreign people, especially Brazilians.

On the other hand, we can cite cases of spaces created as a resistance to heterosexual, cisgender, and European assimilation, such as "Jubilant Relax", located a little further away from the center, which has as its proposal the welcoming of the difference. This is also because Brazilian people are involved in the organization of this project. One of the excerpts from my field diary tries to give a brief interpretation of the space:

I arrive by bus at the door of the Jubilant. My friend picks me up at the door, because upstairs, with the doors closed, I thought there was no one there. It was Brazil's game and she wanted a safe place with LGBTQIAPN+ people to watch. I went in. We grabbed a beer and went down a few steps. I immediately told her that the space looked like the Brazilian academic centers when I attended undergraduate school from 2013 to 2017: the graffiti, the street poster, and the furniture in different designs. With a setlist of Brazilian funk in the background, dissident bodies were dancing and having fun. The vast majority were Brazilian: male sapatões, non-binaries, queers, and a transvestite. I felt back to the parties that used to happen in the academic centers of Brazil, especially in the humanities, biology, language, and arts courses; with cheap beer, funk, and electronic music and a less heteronormative LGBTQIAPN+ appearance, in which the signs of masculinity and femininity crossed and escaped from hetero and cisnormative coherences, if I may say so, besides the absence of the need for dressing as a label for the middle-class demands. (P. O. Rodrigues Junior, personal communication, December 02, 2022).

It is interesting to point out, from this note, that not all spaces allow dissidence. The assimilation to the straight and cis appearance stands out in the first moment, and few people escape the binarity of clothing. As is known, dressing also through a class bias demarcates that certain types of clothing may prohibit people from entering the spaces, such as wearing flip-flops, very short shorts, tank tops, etc. If Sarah Thornton (1996) understood that in the 1990s nightclubs could be like these centralizers of marginal aesthetic experiences, one can say that certain spaces are at the margin of marginality itself, provoking a questioning of how these relations between market, leisure, politics, and LGBTQIAPN+ people have been built in

Portugal, more specifically in Porto. By assimilation to hetero and cisnormativity or by queerization, what if we look at queer as this questioning element?

In this way, beyond the commercial establishments, the street is also occupied by these bodies that seek to express themselves and project themselves. Although systematized, LGBTQIAPN+ people can be found in many public places. We notice that the "Passeio das Virtudes" and "Rua Mártires da Liberdade" are meeting points with greater frequency of both LGBTQIAPN+ and young people who appropriate more alternative styles that escape from gender or class binary coherence, for social gatherings such as drinking, listening to music, meeting colleagues, etc.

Briefly visiting Mártires da Liberdade Street, what can be observed is a concentration along the whole street, but in the direction of Praça da República the occupation of the street is greater, with the bar "Taskinha" being a synonym of this territory, especially on Fridays, from 10 pm to 2 am. The adjacent areas that demarcate borders enable their activities, services, and specific practices, competing or complementing each other. Magnani (2002) called them "manchas" in portuguese or "spots" and, here, a "leisure 'mancha'" is identified where equipment such as restaurants, bars, movie theaters, and cafes aggregate, offering a fruitful territory for the occupation of certain social groups. An interesting characteristic that the anthropologist points out is the unrestricted character of the activities, that is, those people who frequent it are not there expecting directed and specific services; the youth that frequent the mentioned street do not operate in an expectation of finding a specialized activity, providing a wider encounter of users.

Following these observations, the clothing itself reports this branching of subgroups that, as aforementioned, represents a heterogeneity of styles, such as the return of the Y2K, clubber, and rave aesthetics; the metal rock appearances and, finally, more "hegemonic" styles, such as jeans and cool jackets. Furthermore, we noticed young people walking around with speakers playing their favorite music, which varied from music by singers like Rosalía - a Spanish artist - to musical genres like metal rock, Brazilian funk, and psy trance. A space where different groups converge in a common territory, disputing the looks with their styles, thus communicating among equals but also differentiating from each other with the music, which set the tone of who would tune in with them or not.

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