Positive Affect in the Queer Americas

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The Kumbia Queers recently returned home to Buenos Aires from their 2010 tour, “te quiero de a madre”—which translates loosely as “I love you a hell of a lot.” This title comes from the lyrics of their song, “yo te quiero un chingo” (“I love you a fuck of a lot”), included on their second album, *La Gran Estafa del Tropipunk* (*The Grand Tropipunk Swindle*, 2010). This six-woman, Argentine-Mexican, queer-core cumbia band mobilizes the sort of irreverently positive affect that characterizes so much contemporary feminist and queer cultural and political work throughout the hemispheric Americas, but about which contemporary U.S.-based feminist and queer scholarship has been curiously dismissive.

Indeed, while recent scholarship in feminist and queer theory is characterized by a growing preoccupation with affect, it has tended to configure such feelings of punk love, optimism, thrill or euphoria as uninteresting at best and hegemonic at worst, investing instead in feelings like melancholy, shame and depression as sources for new generations of critical, creative and political work (Cvetkovich 2003; Berlant 2000, 2008; Bersani and Phillips 2008; Edelman 2004; Halperin and Traub 2009; Love 2007; Muñoz 2000; Sedgwick 2003). In this short essay, I argue that feminist queer theory’s primary investment in the politics of negative affect is produced from an historical, cultural and epistemic specificity which has been undertheorized and for which it has not been sufficiently accountable. I hope to suggest that this has led to not only overlooking or ignoring but also undermining and dismissing the political and ethical work of positive affect both within the U.S. and elsewhere. I return to the Kumbia Queers in my conclusion, to show that their cultivation of this kind of queer joy is part of a much larger and transnational mobilization of positive affect to galvanise feminist queer energies at the intersection of various anti-normative social justice movements.
I want to suggest that these sorts of positive affect are functioning as important media of communication for feminist queer efforts to resist, disrupt or simply survive the mundane and transnational violences of failed democracies, state-sanctioned homophobia, transphobia, misogyny, racialised poverty, financial terrorism, and neoliberal homonationalisms. That is, I want to think about the ways that forms of positive affect work both in and as media of feminist queer communication – as contagious feelings of social justice-oriented dissidence which animate creative forms of resistance throughout the Americas. By taking seriously the circulation of positive affect we can begin to recognize that illicitly utopic feelings like thrill and euphoria have been and continue to be important affective media of communication for feminist queer political and cultural work. I propose that a sort of euphoric utopian striving has reinvigorated feminist and queer efforts with a consistency that cannot be contained or characterised by national borders and cannot be taken seriously by current scholarship that casts such positive affect as delusional or normative. I do not mean to suggest that these are wholly new forms of feminist and queer political work. Indeed, much of this work explicitly and insistently relates its strategies and energies to earlier, ‘old-fashioned’ feminist and queer activism, art and politics. Rather, I want to suggest that our critical frameworks need to be reformulated to recognise the positive affective valences that reveal these efforts as a transnational anti-normative movement rather than marginal, isolated or nationally specific phenomena.

While I aim to thematize the necessarily partial and situated perspective from which it emerges, this project should be understood as a continuation rather than rejection of feminist queer theory’s radical reconceptualization of the politics of melancholy, shame, loss, trauma, exhaustion and depression. That is, I do not want to be mistaken as arguing that the only affective mode worth paying attention to is positive. Indeed, such experiences and feelings as euphoria, hope, thrill or optimism are inseparable, in
the most culturally, socially or politically interesting moments, from much less ‘positive’ experiences
and feelings. My point is, quite simply, that the latter have become the privileged sites of analysis and
interest at the expense of equally serious considerations of the former—and, perhaps less simply, that
this neglect might be understood as a product of the very specific and limited context from which this
work emerges. Indeed, most queer feminist affect studies concentrate on things like trauma, depression,
loneliness, self-hatred and shame in hope—the hope that we might take seriously the routinized
violences that queers are normatively compelled to ignore, forget, or get over; the hope that we might
attend carefully to, remember, interrogate, archive and not get over these affective experiences, resist
their pathologization and individualization, and recognize them as shared across a spectrum of anti-
normative, minoritarian, queer subject positions. This work has drawn our attention to the ways that
certain modes of feeling serve communicative and community-building functions for subjects and
politics excluded from conventional public networks of communication and imaginations of community.

Much of this work is related to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s hope that queer and feminist studies might
shift from our critical and disciplinary habit of paranoid reading (which she calls “a theory of negative
affects”) into a methodology of reparative reading (Sedgwick 2003: 136). Sedgwick suggests that
paranoid reading is oriented in advance to discovering the oppressive violences we know about, while
reparative practices are oriented towards surprise, impelled by such risky ameliorative material as
pleasure, joy and love. Reparative reading is the task of accounting for, doing justice to and perhaps
cultivating those strategies, texts, practices and moments through which we might forge survival in the
face of the realities we know too well. However, while giving us this thrilling account of a new
methodology of hope, Sedgwick’s work maintains a near-exclusive focus on the sorts of negative affects
which she attributes to paranoid reading—shame, loneliness, hopelessness, frustration, death and of
course primarily depression. Ellis Hanson gives us a perfect description of the paradox of Sedgwick’s work: “Just as paranoid reading can never be too paranoid, reparative reading can never be too depressed” (Hanson 2011: 106).

I think we might see queer feminist affect studies following Sedgwick’s lead, displacing a paranoid methodology with a reparative one, but maintaining paranoia’s negative affective fixation. That is, the reparative impulse might be traced across most recent queer feminist affect studies, but as Hanson suggests, it seems these reparative readings can never be too depressed. Take for example even the most extreme recent meditation on queer negativity, Lee Edelman’s No Future: despite the anti-sociality of the argument, its politicization of radical negativity and rejection of reproductive futurity resides in a shared (so in some ways social) recognition and embrace of the negation, anti-futurity and death with which queers and queerness are always already associated (Edelman 2004). And while few are as cavalier in their disregard for the struggle to any kind of queer life at all, that is, to the actual proximity to what Ruth Wilson Gilmore calls “group-differentiated vulnerabilities to premature death” (Gilmore 2002: 261), the association of queerness with politicized negativity has compelled attention to the communicative potential of anti-normative affect. People like Ann Cvetkovich and those working on the “Public Feelings” project have shown that recognizing shared feelings of exhaustion or depression can form the basis of broad-based coalition building and political action. As Cvetkovich puts it,

The goal is to depathologize negative affects so that they can be seen as a possible resource for political action rather than as its antithesis. This is not, however, to suggest that depression is thereby converted into a positive experience; it retains its associations with inertia and despair, if not apathy and indifference, but these affects become sites of publicity and community formation. (Cvetkovich 2007: 260)
José Esteban Muñoz has similarly argued that a depressive affective comportment, or ‘feeling down,’ can function as a medium of communication by which queers of colour and other minoritarian subjects “speak and are heard or, more importantly, felt” (Muñoz 2006: 677)—this might be understood as a reparative media of communication where the “recognition of antinormative feelings flickers between minoritarian subjects” (679-80). This mode of “depressive positionality” figures as ethical communication which “gives us the ability to know and experience the other who shares a particular affective or emotional valence with us” (682). Within current queer theory, however, positive affect retains nowhere near such reparative, resistant, ethical, communicative or coalition-building political potential.

Indeed, Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner write of “hegemonic optimism” (Berlant and Warner 1998); Berlant gives us “dubious optimism” in 2001 and now “cruel optimism” in her most recent work (Berlant 2001; 2008). Heather Love argues that in the face of “compulsory happiness” and the happiness industry, it is not yet time for accounts of queer joy (Love 2008). And Sara Ahmed, while speaking of the U.K. rather than the U.S., writes that “the face of happiness looks … very much like the face of privilege” (Ahmed 2008: 9). I want to suggest that there is a fine line to be tread here, between accounting for the coercive normativity of compulsory happiness (in particular contexts at particular times) and accounting for the queerly, irreverently anti-normative force of political optimism, or the cultivation and circulation of thrill and euphoria. While Michael Snediker’s *Queer Optimism* and José Muñoz’s *Cruising Utopia* both address the need for considerations of positive affect in queer theory, neither seem interested in attending to those whose political and cultural works have been dismissed by this primacy of negative affect (Snediker 2008; Muñoz 2009). Muñoz argues compellingly that “[u]topian and wilfully idealistic practices of thought are in order if we are to resist the perils of
heteronormative pragmatism and Anglo-normative pessimism” (Muñoz 2009: 96). And I could not agree more. Why, then, do we not expand our scope to engage with intellectual, cultural and political work generated by people and places which have been mobilizing exactly this kind of anti-normative optimism and hope for years?

Disrupting the ‘heteronormative pragmatism and Anglo-normative pessimism’ that orients contemporary U.S.-based feminist queer theory involves accounting for its historical, cultural and epistemic specificity. While such an account demands more attention that I can give it here, I want to briefly signal some of the historical-cultural and the political-epistemological context that situates this work. First, the ruminations on failure, depression, exhaustion and shame dominating the field have emerged from an historical moment when the cultural faith in U.S. exceptionalism has been severely shaken. In the wake of the reinstatement of the Bush administration in 2004, disappointed hope of the Obama administration, the ongoing occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, the criminalization of resistance and the impunity of U.S. war criminals, the militarization of gay and lesbian politics in the age of homonalization (Duggan 2004; Puar 2007), the curtailing of U.S. civil rights, with especially pernicious effects on immigrants, Muslim, queer and trans people in the era of the Patriot Act, it seems only appropriate that so much U.S. academic and cultural production would be preoccupied by the feeling of depression and failure. However, by turning to histories, cultures, epistemologies and politics of sexuality outside the U.S., we can begin to see that negative affect is not the universal response to state sanctioned and routinizied violences, authoritarian regimes and failed democracies, or neo-liberal economic, cultural and political imperialism. Second, queer theory emerged in the U.S. during the early 1990s as a way of questioning and destabilizing strict sexual, gender, racial and class identities in efforts to mobilize broad-based coalitions for social justice work (specifically for AIDS activism at the time)
(Cohen 1997; de Lauretis 1991), and these commitments are continued in the more recent turn to affect studies. That is, coalition-building and community-making continue to be central concerns for queer theory and need to be understood as struggles with an epistemology of sexuality and subjectivity rooted in modern western liberalism and individualism (Butler 1990, 1993; Foucault 1990).

It should come as no surprise, then, that neither this depressive affective response to nationalized and routinized violence, failed democracy, or oppressive authoritarian regimes nor this liberal epistemology of sexuality and subjectivity are universal—despite how universalized they seem in recent queer theory. Importantly, the history of sexual dissidence in Latin America is not a history of identity—of personality or psychology. Instead, as David Foster has argued, since the 1880s when homoeroticism emerged into social, political and cultural discourse, it was associated with a ‘collective history’ of resistance to a patriarchal social order. Indeed, since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, writings on homosexuality in Latin America have come hand-in-hand with resistance to authoritative military dictatorships (Foster 2000). That is, homosexuality emerged as a social movement before it became an individual identity or psychologized personality type (Monsiváis 1988). The homosexual was a subject of social and political dissent in Latin America before it was a subject of medical or criminal discourse.

The legacy of this history of sexuality is reflected in the contemporary language of sexual dissidence—in terms like *las entendidas, de ambiente, el movimiento*. *De ambiente* (as in *soy de ambiente*, or *¿estas de ambiente?*) means literally “of an ambiance or environment.” As Juana Maria Rodríguez explains, the term or phrase speaks “not of a specific sexual practice or identification … [but] participation in a subaltern space that is coded by cultural knowledge, and sexual and social practice within specific communities” (Rodríguez 2003: 26). *Del movimiento* means being from or of ‘the movement.’ This is
not a ‘being’ but a ‘taking part’—not a sexual identity, but an orientation towards a collective social movement. *Las entendidas* means literally, the ones who understand, the understanding ones or those ‘in the know.’ The question ¿Entiendes? (do you understand? Are you in the know?) would be loosely (and inaccurately) translated as ‘are you queer?’ As Emilie Bergmann and Paul Julian Smith write in their introduction to the anthology ¿Entiendes? Queer Readings, Hispanic Writings, “‘Understanding’ is clearly a cultural, not a natural category …. It is also a matter of knowing rather than being: a woman or a man can be married or straight identified, but still be ‘wise’ to same-sex culture. Finally, it is not an identity, but an activity …. Hence, both in written texts of queer activism and in the oral tradition of lesbian and gay slang, Spanish speakers may have anticipated the critique of identity and community implicit in much recent Anglo-American queer theory” (Bergmann and Smith 2005: 12).

The epistemic difference suggested by this non-identitarian history and discourse of sexual dissidence is played out in histories and contemporary practices of queer activism and cultural production in Latin America. As Norma Mogrovejo shows, in her groundbreaking history of lesbian activism in Latin America *Un amor que se atrevió a decir su nombre: La lucha de las lesbianas y su relación con los movimientos homosexual y feminista en América Latina* (Mogrovejo 2000), contemporary gay and lesbian activist movements cannot be understood outside of their shared history with and commitments to the explosion of left activism in the 1960s. While these movements negotiated sustained state and military suppression and violence, culminating in the Tlatelolco massacre of 1968 in Mexico, Latin American social justice movements (including gay, lesbian, trans and queer activism) and academic work has been and continues to be characterized not by depression, melancholy, apathy or the variations

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1 *A love that dare not speak its name: the lesbian struggle and its relation to homosexual and feminist movements in Latin America*. As of yet, this book is published exclusively in Spanish, so all translations are my own.

2 While official accounts of this government-sanctioned attack vary, soldiers, police officers, and federal security agents coordinated in the killing of anywhere from 44 to 1000 protestors, wounding 2000 and arresting approximately 1500-2000 (Poniatowska 1971; Keck and Sikkink 1998).
of negative affect that U.S.-centric queer theory suggests is the ethical and perhaps activist response to the violences of repetitive history, mundane traumas of minoritarian living, politically sanctioned aggression and creeping neo-liberal homonormativity. Instead, Latin American queer and social justice activism, cultural and intellectual work is characterized, as Mogrovejo argues, by its sustained investment in utopia. She writes that, “utopia in Latin America has been more than a concept, or the goal of the struggle, but primary and principal to the formation of a Latin American identity” (60). Consequently, “we need to understand the utopic in the historical process of the lesbian movement as a category that lets us understand the modes by which hope operates as a political praxis” (60). A sense of possibility or striving to utopia forms a political praxis of hope which is central to lesbian and gay activism, social justice work, and indeed a transnational Latin American identity generally.

As these scholars remind us, Latin American politics of dissident sexuality—which, since their first iterations were configured as components of anti-oppressive social movements—signal an epistemology of sexuality that is significantly different than the epistemology of liberal/sexual individualism against which U.S. queer theory struggles. I hope to suggest that this epistemology, linked to a very different history and culture of political resistance and social justice work, leads to a different sort of anti-normative queer affective economy than is currently being universalized from the cultural, political and epistemic specificity of the U.S. Indeed, if we continue to focus so exclusively on the critical potential of negative affect, we risk missing the wide range of cultural and political work galvanized by positive affect throughout the Americas. We might miss, for example, the work of Mexico City-based Resistencia Creativa, the political movement for creative resistance initiated by queer feminist performance artist, Jesusa Rodríguez, which develops networks and actions of non-violent civil disobedience dedicated to ‘strategic optimism.’ Along with her partner and collaborator, Liliana Felipe,
Rodríguez has been making and facilitating queer feminist activist art since the 1980s, with a focus on political satire and interventionist performance. *Resistencia Creativa* developed out of Rodríguez’s work in mobilising the massive and ongoing protests against presidential electoral fraud in 2006, and has staged flash-mob protests against homophobia and violence against women, neo-liberal economic policies and multi-national corporations throughout Mexico. Perhaps most notably, the movement staged a massive feminist protest in 2008 of *Las Adelitas* against the privatisation of Mexico’s oil reserves, storming the senate, closing Congress and ultimately stopping the last-minute bill that would have opened Mexico’s natural resources to transnational corporate ownership. Such actions by *Resistencia Creativa* incorporate performance art, culture-jamming visual art, music and dance, mobilising thousands of people in queer, feminist, anti-normative acts of explicitly optimistic creative civil disobedience.4

I suspect that only by recasting our focus to recognise the work of queer feminist positive affect can we do critical justice to the irreverently positive affect cultivated and circulated as a medium of politicised communication by a group like the Kumbia Queers. We can look, for example, at their video for the song, “Chica de Calendario.” This video is communicating on at least two slightly different levels. On the level of ‘content’ the song and video tell a story of constant and unapologetic lesbian desire, sung by

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3 *Las Adelitas* refers to the female fighters of the 1910 Mexican Revolution – locating this 2008 action firmly in a long history of anti-colonial resistance.

4 Within the U.S.-centric, negative affective critical parameters of contemporary feminist queer theory, there are many feminist queer cultural and political strategies, efforts and works that we might miss or dismiss as naïve or delusional. Some examples might be: the *Colectivo León Zuleta ¡Por la emancipación Social y Sexual!* (The León Zuleta Collective, For Social and Sexual emancipation!), based in Bogotá, Colombia, is an ambitious gay, lesbian, bisexual and trans educational, artistic and political organization dedicated to radically utopic social change. Their mission statement explains, “ours is the fight for another world, seen as possible from LGBT perspectives, opposed to a world globalised by capitalism, consumed by imperialist wars and oppressed by the systematic negation of the fundamental rights and liberties of men and women” (“COLECTIVO LEÓN ZULETA: DECLARACIÓN FUNDACIONAL”); the fund-raising, life-saving underground networks of feminist, queer, transgender, transsexual and travesti activist parties in Argentina; the culture-jamming performances by the Lesbian Billionaires (of the Lesbian Revengers), as well as the massive pick-up party demonstration for Take Back The Dyke, both in protest of the G8/G20 and 2010 Pride events in Toronto; or Montreal’s annual “underside of Pride” Perver/Cité festival and the dance-in protest against Israeli government gay tourism campaigns in Montreal in the summer of 2010.
a car mechanic *macha*[^5] to the photo of a calendar girl which she keeps on the wall year after. The lyrics play on the highly sexualized working class, macho cultural histories shared by car mechanics and cumbia as a musical genre. In the raunchy sexual slang culturally reserved for working-class men hissing at women in the streets or cumbia *villera* and *sonidera* ‘love songs’, this *macha* mechanic describes her lover as a jewel among all these dudes (*bato*), as a body she wants to eat, smother in oil, and jerk-off to all year long.

On another level, of course, the video and song communicate a kind of queer feminist utopia via antinormative feelings of complex happiness, illicit pleasure and unlikely euphoria. The old depressive affective position of the sad mechanic is displaced by the thrilled and present realization of queer pleasure and party—including not only the now ecstatic mechanic and the calendar girl turned real woman, but a whole coalition of queer party subjects reveling in antinormative positive affect. The video’s culminating scenes show the Kumbia Queers celebrating their love of Alejandra Bogue with a party coalition of men, women and children dancing in the macha’s garage. Like most of their work, this video and this song communicate the kind of “loca alegria” (or crazy happiness) that Daniel Balderston also finds in contemporary queer Colombian literature:

> what defines queer Colombian literature in the past few years is a humorous and joyful tone… what we feel in [work by Colombian writers like] Valdés, Reyes and Sánchez Baute is a pleasure in ‘crazy happiness’ …. Homosexuality becomes a central factor for the exploration of masculinity and femininity, class relations, family conflicts and national political and economic crises.[^6] (Balderston 2006: 30)

[^5]: *Macha* is, obviously, the female form of *macho* and is used in Mexico City as a name for working-class butches.
[^6]: My translation.
That is, in contemporary Colombian literature and as I think we can see in Kumbia Queers, the ‘crazy happiness’ works to communicate a sense of the broader configurations of discourse and power which might cohere in textual content or sexual identity. While the Kumbia Queers’ lyrics might suggest a story of impossible and unrealized lesbian longing, the video enacts a momentary transformation of space and time—the conventionally heteronormative space of the mechanic’s garage becomes a space where _macho_ lust is not only satisfied but celebrated by crowds of mixed classes, races, genders, sexualities and ages. That the ideal _chica de calendario _lusted after by a group of _macho _mechanics is embodied in the video by the well-known Mexican trans-activist and actress, Alejandra Bogue, ensures that the politics of queer affective affiliation is invigorated by the denunciation of the trans-phobia that has marred feminist and lesbian culture and politics in the past. Kumbia Queers engender the feeling of a sort of queer utopia—demonstrating that in the presence of under-addressed and still violent histories, depressing and failed political presents, we might find in feelings like euphoria and thrill the current antinormative affective comportments for queer political critique and coalition.

**Works Cited**


