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STRAIGHT TIME AND SCANDAL: TRAVESTI URBAN POLITICS IN SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

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Digital Object Identifier: http://dx.doi.org/10.13023/ETD.2016.145

STRAIGHT TIME AND SCANDAL: TRAVESTI URBAN POLITICS IN SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

THESIS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in
the College of Arts and Sciences
at the University of Kentucky

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2016

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

STRAIGHT TIME AND SCANDAL: TRAVESTI URBAN POLITICS IN SÃO
PAULO, BRAZIL

São Paulo, Brazil is currently pursuing a project of creative urbanism. Though city rhetoric insists this project is rooted in tolerance of sexual diversity, I suggest that city policy effectively perpetuates normative conceptions of family and respectability. Using data gathered through a series of qualitative interviews with transgender and travesti individuals living in São Paulo, I argue that the straight time of São Paulo's creative urbanism generates exclusionary temporalities and spatialities in the city that render travestis out of time and out of place. Furthermore, I argue that travestis use their capacity to enact shame through scandals to generate temporalities and spatialities of their own, ones not aligned with the reproductive, progressive futurity of straight time. In doing so, travestis participate in their own kind of creative urbanism and provide an affective challenge to the hetero- and homonormativity of São Paulo's creative urban project. Building on recent scholarship in queer urbanism and affect, this thesis adds to critical efforts to understand how creative urbanism sexualizes space and time in contexts outside of EuroAmerica and how a queer theoretical approach contributes to critiques of progressive modernity.

KEYWORDS: queer theory, affect, Brazil, transgender, creative urbanism

Christine Lenore Woodward

25 April 2016

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Acknowledgments

As with all acts of research and writing, this thesis was made possible by the support of a large group of wonderful people. First, thank you to my thesis chair Patricia Ehrkamp for the advice, encouragement, cheese, and wine. Thank you also to Andy Wood and Anna Secor for your valuable feedback on my ideas and direction. I'm grateful to the members of the migration reading group who were kind enough to go through several of these chapters with me: Araby Smyth, Mitch Snider, Rebecca Lane, Leif Johnson, Katherine Stearns, and Derek Ruez. In Brazil, Gui Monteiro was a great friend, a great translator, and always willing to help get the word out about my project. A big thank you also to all those who agreed to talk to me about their lives and be a part of my research. Finally, thank you to my family and friends for the help and encouragement.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

I walk down the Minhocão[1] on a gray winter afternoon. Beside me is Daví, a *paulistano* (resident of the city of São Paulo), transgender man, and active participant in São Paulo's LGBT community. As we walk, two young women ride past us on bicycles. A man with dreadlocks and a boom box on his shoulder ambles past, a small crowd following in his wake. Dozens of people are walking dogs. Since it's winter, most of the dogs have been dressed in sweaters or jackets by their owners. Earlier, I had seen a

Figure 1: Caixa d'água and mural on the Minhocão

[1] The word Minhocão comes from the word *minhoca*, or worm.

woman selling dog clothes at the street fair on the eastern end of the Minhocão; she had been doing brisk business.

As we pass a newly painted mural of a plant growing from a *caixa d'água* (water storage container; see Figure 1), Daví explains that there is support for the Minhocão to become a park.

The changing attitude toward the Minhocão reflects a broader shift driving urban change in São Paulo. The downtown is revitalizing. Property values and rental prices are increasing. The city wants to clean up the streets. The city wants to attract investment. There should be safe public spaces for average people. For families. But, as Daví explains, in spite of the rhetoric around urban change in São Paulo, "as mudanças não é pra todo mundo" (the changes are not for everyone).

He points to a building on the street below. The building is slate gray, its front covered in vines (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: The sauna

"That is a sauna," Daví says, switching to English. "Some of the travestis who work on the [street] do their *programas* there. But now tourists looking for…looking for cheap place to pass their stay in São Paulo, to have sex, stay there too. They [the sauna owners] want the Germans, not the travestis."

We continue to walk, leaving the sauna behind. Daví hooks his arm through mine. "The more the Minhocão changes, the more expensive the neighborhood." He gestures at a young father leading a toddler down the Minhocão on a leash. "There is nowhere for travestis."

Then Daví uses the phrase I would hear many times over the course of my fieldwork: "Gentrificação é transfobia."

Gentrification is transphobia.

World, City, Queer: Travestis in São Paulo

As the debates surrounding the Minhocão demonstrate, the spatiality and temporality of São Paulo are changing in new and contested ways. The Minhocão debates are as much over ways of living and being in the city, and the future toward which is the city is oriented, as they are over the future of the Minhocão itself. Daví's comments about the sauna – "There is nowhere for travestis." – highlight one of the tensions at the heart of São Paulo's project of urban change: what place and time are there for those in the city who embody gender or sexuality in a way that does not conform to the rhetoric of São Paulo's urban project? How do such people experience the changing spaces of the city? How do they carve out their own time and space in the city, their own ways of being? In this research, I focus on travestis, one group of people the new São Paulo (supposedly)

has no place for. Before continuing with my argument, it is important to explain what and who I mean when I say travesti, and why the situation of travestis in São Paulo offers insight into the ways gender, sexuality, space, and time come together and fall apart in different contexts.

The category 'travesti' and the category 'transgender' both fall under the umbrella of 'gender variant.' Feminist, historical, and anthropological thought has argued for some time that the concept of biological sex is a gendered notion, dependent on culturally generated notions of difference for its meaning and its ability to seem "natural" (Butler 1990; Hausman, 1995; Laqueur, 1992; de Lauretis, 1987). Gender variant individuals are those who express their identities in ways that confound societal expectations of what constitutes "natural" behavior for someone of their assigned biological sex (Doan 2007, 2010). What counts as gender variant behavior is not an ontological given, but varies considerably across cultures and historical periods (Rubin, 1975; Feinberg, 1996). In the context of EuroAmerican countries, transgender subject positions evolve when a society fails to recognize that an individual's experience of gender identity may not align with anatomical sex at birth. The term transgender is a collective term that refers to people assigned to one gender who do "not perform or identify as that gender, and ha[ve] taken some steps - temporary or permanent - to present as another gender" (Valentine, 2003: 27-28). Transgender can include, but is not limited to: cross-dressers, drag queens, drag kings, and pre-operative, post-operative, and non-operative transsexuals.

In Brazil, there exists an additional category, one related but not identical to transgender: *travesti*. The word travesti itself comes from the verb *travestir*, to cross-

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dress. Cross-dressing, however, does not accurately describe those who call themselves travesti. Travestis are individuals who, sometimes from the age of eight or ten, adopt female names, clothing styles, hairstyles, cosmetic practices, and linguistic pronouns, all while altering their bodies with silicone and hormones to achieve female bodily features. At the same time, travestis do not consider themselves to be women and do not often remove their penis; those who identify as travesti can adopt female physical attributes while retaining a male homosexual subjectivity (Silva, 1993; Kulick, 1998). Travestis mainly seek to resemble women by performing, in a very material way, an always negotiated kind of femininity (Benedetti 2005; Pelúcio, 2009; Leite Jr. 2006, 2011, 2012, 2014). It is important to note that the terms travesti and transgender are not synonymous; as Vek Lewis (2010) argues, the categories 'travesti' and 'transgender' are part of different cultural and linguistic contexts. Furthermore, travestis themselves reject the imported English nomenclature of 'transgender' (translated as *transgênero* in Portuguese). Silva and Ornat, (2014) corroborate this view by recounting the jokes they have heard Brazilian travestis make about the categories 'travesti' and 'transgender'. As they write, "The Brazilian *travestis* made various jokes about the term 'transgender', punning on the term 'transgenic', saying: 'I'm not transgenic soybeans, I am a *travesti*!'" (4).

It is difficult to know the number of travestis in Brazil generally, or in any given Brazilian city. 'Travesti' is not an option on the Brazilian census, and travestis are often subsumed under the category 'transgender' or 'transsexual' in official counts. Additionally, travestis are a highly mobile population; though the overwhelming majority

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live in major cities (Kulick, 1998), travestis often move between cities in search of work (Silva and Ornat, 2015), leaving the number of travestis in any given city in a constant state of flux. Some scholars have provided estimates: one scholar put the number of travestis at 4,000 in the city of Rio de Janeiro (Shuck, 2008) and others estimate that travestis number "in the thousands" (Kulick and Klein, 2003) in the southern cities São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro.

Given the population of Brazil (208 million as of 2015) and the city of São Paulo (11 million in the city proper, 19 million in the metro area as of 2013), the estimated number of travestis is relatively small. In spite of their low numbers, travestis have historically occupied a highly visible position in Brazilian society. Popular television shows have regularly featured well-known travesti actors for decades. Travesti models have also appeared on the cover of Playboy Brasil. One of the most telling cases of the special place travestis hold in the Brazilian popular imagination is that of Roberta Close, the individual widely acclaimed the most beautiful woman in Brazil through most of the 1980s and a travesti. Famous individuals like Roberta Close, however, are not representative of Brazil's travestis. The majority of travestis constitute one of the most marginalized groups in Brazilian society. In most Brazilian cities, travestis are harassed so routinely that many of them avoid public spaces during the day (Kulick and Klein, 2003). At night, when the vast majority of travestis engage in sex work, they are regularly the victims of violent police brutality and random assassinations by groups of men who take it upon themselves to "clean up the streets" (ibid, p. 318). Penelope, an older travesti who spends part of each year in São Paulo, provided a pointed summary of the

paradoxical treatment travestis receive: "Os brasileiros adoram travestis enquanto eles ficam na televisão. Um travesti na rua é uma coisa bem diferente" (Brazilians love travestis as long as they remain on television. A travesti on the street is a totally different thing). Penelope's words are backed up by Transgender Europe's Trans Murder Monitoring Project, which reported in 2015 that more trans people were murdered in Brazil from 2008-2014, 689, than in countries with the next eight highest number of murders combined (TMM IDAHOT Update, 2015). Valorized in the cultural imaginary and discriminated against in practice, travestis live in constant tension with the society of which they are a part.

How, then, does the simultaneous valorization and marginalization of travestis in Brazil connect to Daví's critique of urban change in São Paulo (there is nowhere for travestis)? What can the particular situation of travestis in São Paulo help us understand? Geographer Natalie Oswin points to an answer in her introduction to a 2015 symposium in *Antipode* on queer global urbanism. As Oswin writes in the introduction, in spite of how "sexual difference is increasingly marshaled as a symbol of progress and modernity for the purposes of fostering national *and* urban competitiveness" (557), the ways in which globalizing cities are spatially and temporally sexualized has received limited attention. Part of what I argue in this thesis is that changes to the Minhocão are part of a larger project of urban change conceived of and carried out by the city of São Paulo. São Paulo's project of urban change is both global and globalizing; in order to become more economically competitive with other global cities, São Paulo has imported and

implemented a set of policies commonly referred to as creative urbanism (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Consequently, a study of travestis in São Paulo offers a rich case for thinking about the contextualized confluence of globalization, urbanization, gender, and sexuality. More specifically, my study of travestis in São Paulo opens up a host of avenues for thinking and rethinking the connections amidst and among world, city, and queer. How do mobile urban policies, like creative urbanism, transform and get transformed across global contexts? How do such policies change the spatiality and temporality of the cities that adopt them? How are those spatialities and temporalities sexualized? How are travestis, who are incorporated into São Paulo's creative urban project in specific and problematic ways (remember Daví's *gentrification is transphobia*), affected? Additionally, the actions of travestis, a population I argue are "rendered alien" and "queered" (Oswin, 2012) (see Chapter 4) by normatively sexualized spatial and temporal change, offer an opportunity to exam how sexual politics are performed in the local and the everyday. In what ways are travestis creating possibilities for new ways of being in the city?

Though the case of travestis in São Paulo represents a rich case for pursuing the questions articulated above, it is by no means a fringe case or disconnected from other theoretical and empirical ventures. The situation of travestis in São Paulo links up with the experiences of other queered populations in other global and globalizing cities: migrant workers in Singapore (Oswin, 2012), Filipino working class queers in New York and Manilla (Manalansan 2003, 2005, 2015), transgender performers in Manila

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(Benedicto, 2014), participants in the queered tango circuit of Buenos Aires (Kanai, 2015), and non-normative sexualized subjects in Indian cities (Shah, 2015), among others. What my project has in common with these other ventures is stakes. Given the material-discursive violence that manifests at the confluence of world, city, and queer, I join other related projects in asking the persistent and urgent political question: who is creating new ways of being in the city and how are they doing it?

The Project

Research Questions

With these broader theoretical and political questions in mind, my project focuses on the ways travestis experience time and space in São Paulo. An investigation of where travestis go in the city, at what times, for what reasons, and to what ends allowed me to examine the entanglements of world, city, and queer in the lives of travestis. The research questions I developed to frame my research were as follows:

1. **What spaces do those who identify as travesti spend time in regularly?**

   This question was intended to garner a basic spatial-temporal map of travesti individuals in São Paulo, Brazil. Where do travestis go? When do they go?

2. **How do those who identify as travesti experience different spaces at different times?**

   Central to this project are the ways travestis, a marginalized yet highly visible gender variant population, are experiencing the changing spatialities and temporalities of the city. This question is intended to solicit data on those experiences. How do travestis

move through certain spaces at certain times? What are their affective responses to different spaces at different times? Have any of these experiences changed over time?

3. **How do the experiences of those who identify as travesti change their actions in different spaces at different times?**

Finally, the third research question was meant to garner information beyond that of experience. How do travestis interact with the spacio-temporal landscape? How do their bodies affect other bodies within certain spaces and at certain times, and vice versa?

To answer these questions, I conducted sixteen walking interviews with travesti and transgendered individuals over a five week period in the summer of 2015. More information about the research participants and the project methodology can be found in Chapter 2.

Project Overview

With this project, my intent is to provide an analysis of the ways in which the spatiality and temporality of São Paulo's project of urban change and the spatiality and temporality of travestis overlap, challenge, and transform each other. My goal is to advance a contextually specific examination of a kind of sexual politics that becomes possible at this particular coming together of world, city, and queer. In doing so, I seek to contribute to a growing body of literature classified as queer global urbanism. As mentioned earlier, research into the ways globalizing projects of urban change like São Paulo's are sexualized has been limited. Scholarship on the ways sexual politics is performed in the local and everyday, especially outside the EuroAmerican context and

beyond the hetero-homo binary, has been similarly limited. What follows from here is my attempt to address these current limitations in the literature.

In Chapter 2, I present and explain the methods and methodology I used over the course of my research. I used two main methods of data collection for this project: walking interviews and participant observation. I attempted a third method, mental mapping, but my attempt was ultimately unsuccessful. Paying special attention to such challenges and failures, I use this chapter as a means of working through the complexities and power relations of field work, especially international fieldwork.

In Chapter 3, I lay the conceptual groundwork for my argument. I first review the literature on queer global urbanism with an eye toward tracing both the boundaries of the field and fruitful concepts that might help push those boundaries further. I pay particular attention to 'straight time', a concept I turn to in Chapter 4 to open São Paulo's project of urban change to a queer critique. Next, I bring in relevant portions of the literature on affect. I connect the work on affect, particularly that of Sara Ahmed, to the questions of futurity and urban space raised by the concept of 'straight time'. By bringing these two literatures together, I demonstrate the relevance of studies of affect in uncovering new kinds of urban sexual politics.

In Chapter 4, I provide an overview of São Paulo's project of urban change and demonstrate that the project is one of creative urbanism. With this foundation in place, I argue that São Paulo's project of urban change is underpinned by 'straight time', defined by Natalie Oswin as "an exclusionary kind of reproductive futurity" (2012: 1624). I analyze two manifestations of the São Paulo's project of urban change – the Minhocão

and the TransCidadania program – to establish the meaningful connections between these projects and the temporality of reproductive futurity.

In Chapter 5, I begin by demonstrating the ways in which some travestis in São Paulo have been affected by the spatiality and temporality of São Paulo's project of urban change. Using Ahmed's figure of the 'affect alien', I argue that travesti bodies are ultimately figured as 'bad' bodies within São Paulo's project of urban change because they are not aligned with the project's temporality of reproductive futurity. I also argue that travestis us the politics of the scandal to draw other bodies into their affectively alien community. Those bodies are then temporarily 'unhoused' and reoriented toward a futurity not predicated upon the object of the reproductive family. Through the scandal, the travestis who participated in this research generate a different temporality and spatiality in the city. Even if this new way of being in the city is temporary and problematic, it still strikes a discordant note within and throughout São Paulo's larger normative project of urban change.

In chapter 6, I conclude with a summary of my research findings and offer an examination of the stakes of travestis' everyday, local sexual politics.

Chapter 2: Methodology

Students new to fieldwork may be tempted to individualize the problems and ethical dilemmas they encounter, thereby assuming that these issues stem from a lack on their part (of confidence, training, contacts, knowledge, intelligence, etc.). If researchers are individualizing their doubts and problems, they may be reluctant to make them part and parcel of their written work, thereby obscuring the ways in which politics and ethics are systemic elements of fieldwork.
(Sundberg, 2003: 187)

I am a student new to fieldwork. As Juanita Sundberg suggests in the above quotation[2], my newness with fieldwork may breed individualization; the sneaking suspicion that my detours, doubts, and frustrations are personal failings rather than part and parcel of the research process itself. In addition to explaining the reasoning behind my methods, my goal in this chapter is to bring 'them' – my failures and ethical dilemmas – to the fore, to call attention to them, and to connect them with the broader systems of power, politics, and ethics that play out in all research.

For this research, I applied two methods of data collection specifically aimed at uncovering the affective and the spatial: walking photo interviews and participant observation. In this chapter, I first discuss my participant recruitment process and how that process changed over the course of my fieldwork. Next, I explain how walking photo interviews and participant observation functioned, methodologically and practically, in the context of my fieldwork. I also explain my failure to deploy mental mapping as a form of data collection. Finally, I critically discuss issues of location, for myself and my research assistant, in the context of international fieldwork in Latin America.

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[2] Quotation is taken from a longer article by Juanita Sundberg on the challenges and potential of conducting fieldwork in Latin America.

Recruitment

In the run-up to the beginning of my fieldwork in Brazil, I organized the first four of my sixteen interviews. The first four participants were recruited from the contacts I made within São Paulo's LGBT community on two previous trips to Brazil, one in 2010 and one in 2011. All four of the initial participants were of a similar demographic profile; all were between the ages of 18 and 23, all were relatively light skinned, all came from middle- or upper middle-class backgrounds, and all were attending university. In the original research design for this project, I planned to use a combination of convenience and snowball sampling to grow the initial four interviews into 15-20 interviews. Convenience sampling, I reasoned, was an appropriate method of informant recruitment in situations like mine where the researcher has limited time and resources, while snowball sampling would allow me to reach additional informants through those I already know (Kuzel, 1999). Although both convenience and snowball sampling have been criticized for producing selection bias (Kuzel, 1999; Stangor, 2011), I originally employed these sampling strategies because they are commonly-used in projects of similar scope to mine.

The selection bias quickly proved too restrictive. By only pursing snowball sampling from an initial group of participants gathered through convenience sampling, I was reaching too narrow a range of participants. Two weeks into my five-week course of fieldwork, I began to recruit new participants by going to LGBT clubs and speaking to the people I found there about my research project. Frequently, a person I was speaking too would know someone who met the criteria of my research population. They would

then speak to that person and explain my project. If that person was interested in speaking to me, they either found me at the club or contacted me later through the popular cell phone application, Whatsapp[3]. With this method, I recruited participants with a much broader range of backgrounds and life experiences, greatly enriching my data.

Table 1: Research Participants

Pseudonym	Gender (self-identified)	Information
Daví	Transgender man	22 years old, student
Matheus	Transgender man	Early 20s, student
Fernando	Transgender man	Early 20s, recently graduated
Aline	Travesti	Early 30s, former sex worker, TransCidadania participant
Barbara	Travesti	Early 20s, sex worker
Denise	Travesti	Late 20s, sex worker
Penelope	Travesti	Late 40s, mostly retired sex worker, current *bombabeira*
Cecília	Travesti	Early 20s, sex worker
Rafaela	Travesti	Early 20s, sex worker
Carla	Travesti	Mid 30s, sex worker and hairdresser
Gabriela	Travesti	Early 20s, sex worker
Jully	Travesti	Mid 20s, sex worker and hairdresser
Isabela	Transgender woman	Mid 20s, ticket taker in the metro
Rebeca	Transgender woman	19, student, activist

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[3] Whatsapp is "a cross-platform mobile messaging app which allows you to exchange messages without having to pay for SMS" (whatsapp.com). As of April 2015, Whatsapp was the most popular smart phone app in Brazil. The app has been downloaded onto 70% of all smartphones in Brazil.

Tatí	Transgender woman	21, student
Luiza	Transgender woman	Early 20s, student

Methods

Walking photo interviews

The purpose of the walking photo interview is to uncover everyday spatial patterns and an individual's subjective and emotional attachments to space and place. In walking photo interviews, the researcher gives the participant a camera and walks with the participant as they photograph places that hold particular meanings. The researcher interviews the participants about the photos, asking questions about the importance of those places and the activities the participants engage in while occupying those spaces. The walking interview was used successfully by Margarethe Kusenbach (2003) to encourage European exchange students in England to reflect on their everyday behaviors in space, while geographer Mary Thomas (2006) used photo interviews to allow young girls to articulate ideas about their social activities, and their subjective and emotional attachments to space and place. Walking photo interviews also have the benefit of highlighting the discrepancies between the walking portion of the experience and the interview. These inconsistencies in the data, the messiness, offer the researcher the chance to think about the situated, partial, and situational nature of identity, experience, and subjectivity.

Over the course of five weeks, I conducted sixteen walking photo interviews with transgendered individuals living in the city of São Paulo, Brazil. The average interview lasted forty-five minutes to an hour, though some lasted as long as two and half hours.

Thirteen of the interviews were with participants who identified as transgendered females or travestis, three were with participants who identified as transgendered men. The participants came from a range of different backgrounds, age groups, and transition experiences. Two of the interviews were group interviews where more than one person was interviewed at the same time. In each case, the research participant first selected an area of the city that was meaningful to them: their university campus, the neighborhood where they worked or lived, or a neighborhood where the participant spent free time. I walked with participants as they selected our route through the interview site and as the participants took pictures of certain places and things within the site. Although the site of any interview will have a significant impact on the content of that interview (Elwood and Martin, 2000), participants' choice of site is an integral part of the information rendered by a walking photo interview. Through selection of site, route, and photography material, this method explicitly reveals relevant information about participants' material and affective relationship with space in the city.

The interviews themselves were qualitative and semi-structured. The purpose of the qualitative semi-structured interview format was to learn more about the behaviors of transgendered individuals in different spaces at different times. Qualitative semi-structured interviewing, even when deployed while walking, takes the form of a conversation where meaning is co-created by interviewer and interviewee (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Ultimately, the goal is to give the interviewer a glimpse of the participant's life world, including spatial practices and affective connections, in the participant's own words.

One unanticipated challenge I encountered while conducting walking photo interviews was the photography itself. Neither I nor any of my participants were trained in photography. Additionally, the camera used in all of the interviews was the camera built into my (at the time) three-and-a-half year old iPhone 4s. Consequently, the pictures that came out of the walking interviews are, generally speaking, dark and blurry. While the low quality of the photographs aided in concealing the identities of my participants, it also limited the amount of data I could retrieve from the photographs themselves. As Mary Thomas explains, one benefit of using photography as part of a qualitative methodology is that the photographs themselves become "products of the research process" (2006: 590). Thus, while photography should be conceptualized as sited, subjective, and situated (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Elwood and Martin, 2000; Hyams, 2004), it is still difficult to use a photograph when it is too out-of-focus for the researcher to understand what it is happening in the photograph.

Participant Observation

Participant observation as a method is well-regarded as a way to highlight how bodies interact, meld, and constitute social space in ways that may not come out in interviews (Watson and Till, 2010). In going beyond the verbal and focusing on the ways bodies interact with space and each other, participant observation allows for embodied actions and emotions to come to the surface. For this reason, geographer Rory Gallagher (2007) successfully used this method to examine the complex spatial relationship between transgendered individuals and tourist beaches. It is worth noting that some researchers (Jones et al., 2008) consider the walking interview to be a form of participant

observation, though I separate the two in the context of my own research. As I conducted them, walking interviews were semi-structured while participant observation was not structured by any guiding questions.

I conducted participant observation with five of the sixteen participants. I spent time with two of the participants as part of a larger group as we ate at restaurants, went to bars and clubs, and went to cultural events. This participant observation spanned almost twenty-two hours over the course of four non-consecutive days and nights. I spent time with the other three participants over the course of two nights. One night was spent on the corner of the streets where the participants worked, and the other night was spent in the apartment of a participant.

Though opportunities for participant observation were limited, this method furthered my understanding of the day-to-day lives of the participants immensely. During my participant observation I was able to directly observe the different ways some of my participants embodied gender. The night I spent in the apartment, for example, allowed me to witness one of my participants receiving silicone injections in her right outer thigh from another of the participants. The injection of industrial silicone by a *bombadeira* (a *pumper*: a person, usually transgender and usually informally trained) is a common practice in Brazil among many groups and nearly ubiquitous among the travesti population (Kulick, 1998). In this case, the participant was lying face down on a couch. When I arrived, two large, 10 ml syringes had already been inserted into the participants' outer thigh, one just at the hip joint and the next about two inches below that. As I watched, the bombadeira took another syringe, this one full of silicone, and pressed it

into the participants' thigh about two inches below the second syringe. Once it was fully inserted, the bombadeira placed both her thumbs atop the syringe's plunger and pressed forcefully with both hands. It took about forty-five seconds for all the silicone to empty into the participants' thigh. The purpose of injecting silicone into the thigh is to embody what many Brazilians consider to be the ideal female form: large thighs, hips, and butt; small waist; full chest. Participant observation allowed me to gather this data on embodied and lived gender in a way that interviews alone would not have allowed.

Mental Mapping

In mental mapping, the researcher asks participants to draw a map of a space or place they inhabit – a neighborhood, for example, a college campus, or a house – and then interviews the participants about the map. This method has been used successfully by Patricia Ehrkamp (2013) to examine gendered differences among young migrants' experiences of space in Germany. Ehrkamp cites Nagar (1997) to argue that mental maps are useful to study spatial practices, and generate data on activity in spaces and spaces of belonging (22). I had originally intended to offer mental mapping as an alternative for those participants who, for whatever reason, did not wish to do a walking photo interview. Every person I asked, however, declined to draw a mental map. I am not in a position to state the reasons why the participants did not wish to draw maps, as I did not gather the relevant data. I would, however, speculate that my failed plan to use mental mapping was at least partly the product of the unexamined assumptions I brought to the research process. As an academic researcher and geographer, I have a familiar relationship with mapping that my participants did not share. I failed to take my

positionality into account when developing this portion of my research design. I turn to the politics of location in the next section.

Location, location, location: Challenges of International Fieldwork

International fieldwork is a tricky proposition. As feminist scholar Leela Fernandes points out in *Transnational Feminism in the United States: Knowledge, Ethics, and Power* (2013), it is common for scholars in the United States to enter into international fieldwork with little knowledge of the material realities of their site. While one goal of preliminary research is to become familiar with such material realities, researchers are not often given the time to become familiar before they are expected to collect data, theorize, and publish. In the literatures connected to this research project, postcolonial urbanism has gone the furthest in arguing that such scholarly ignorance is not without consequences. Jennifer Robinson (2006) and Ananya Roy (2009) have both argued that the field of urban studies is saturated with imperialist and ethnocentric understandings of cities in the Global South. The cause is not malice, but ignorance and disregard of local context. To help combat this issue, Fernandes advocates a return to area studies.

One of the reasons I chose Brazil as the site of my research was that I completed an undergraduate degree in Latin American Studies. As part of this degree, I spent one year living and studying in Brazil. Five of those months were spent in the city of São Paulo, often in the same neighborhoods where my fieldwork took place. Of course, one year living in Brazil does not exempt me from considering the power relations that constitute me as a researcher. As feminist geographers working in Latin America have

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discussed (Lawson and Klak, 1993; Sundberg, 2003) if a researcher is not self-reflexive about their position (geographic location, social status, race, gender) they risk reifying unequal power relations (as was the case with urban studies). With this in mind, and following the suggestion of Geraldine Pratt (2000), I attempted to interrogate the assumptions I was bringing to my research questions and methods throughout the research design process. As Lawson and Klak suggest, I tried to avoid using "Anglo-American geographic concepts and theory" to "explain processes in Latin American settings" (1993: 1073). I was not always successful, as can be seen in my discussion of mental mapping.

Language was also a consideration for me. During the year I spent in Brazil, I became conversationally competent in Portuguese. Consequently, I was able to conduct thirteen of sixteen interviews in Portuguese (the remaining three were in English). It was important to me that I attempt the interviews myself, even if my Portuguese was not perfect. It has been well documented that interaction between languages is part of the establishment and maintenance of hierarchical relations (Kalanzis, Cope, & Slade 1989), and English especially is often used to promote claims to a dominant social, economic, and political perspective. Still, I am not fluent. In recognition of this fact, I found a research assistant to help with linguistic and cultural translation during interviews and the transcription process.

The presence of a research assistant requires that I conceptualize the role of the interpreter as more than technical. Just as I am positioned along multiple axes of belonging and not belonging, and just as the border between those two things is not fixed,

so too is the situation for the research assistant (Temple, 1997; 2002a; 2002b). My

research assistant, Gui, was a twenty-five year old Brazilian, fluent in both Portuguese

and English. He was gay, light-skinned, relatively wealthy, and a college graduate. At the

time this fieldwork was carried out (July 2015), I had known Gui for almost five years.

His presence greatly shaped the trajectory of my interviews and the project in general.

Gui, for example, often helped me with recruitment. He accompanied me to various

LGBT clubs, where he would help me explain my project. Gui's positionality becomes

relevant here; as a young, light-skinned athlete, Gui was considered desirable in the

sexual economy of the club. Several of the participants in my research project stated

outright that they only approached me because of my *amigo gatinho* (handsome friend).

In this way, the racial, socio-economic, and physical positionality of my research

assistant changed both the variety and number of participants in my study.

My positionality as a research also affected who I was able to speak to and why.

As a young, white, female American, I was generally viewed by the participants in my

research as, for lack of a better word, cool. It came with some cache to hang out with me.

As a result, I had an easier time finding people to talk to than some Brazilian researchers

have reported (Leite Jr., 2011). Don Kulick, a white American and gay man, described a

similar experience in *Travesti* (1998). Though he argued in his book that his identity as a

gay male put him in an advantageous relation with the travestis (they saw him as a

fellow, but not as a sexual object), he also spoke of the way his position as a white

American jump started the trust building necessary to any research because the people he

wanted to talk to wanted to talk to him. They wanted to be seen with him to gain social

status in their community. I benefitted from similar power relations and social configurations in my own research.

Conclusion

This chapter was an opportunity for me to both explain my methods and their relevance to my research questions, and to examine some of the failures and challenges that emerged during my fieldwork. By addressing these challenges here – from recruitment problems to the failure of mental mapping to the particular power relations involved in international fieldwork. I can begin to view those challenges as "systemic elements of fieldwork" (Sundberg, 2003: 187) rather than focusing myopically on myself and my position. Shot through with ethical and political implications, the research process is co-constituted by the researcher, the participants in the researched, and site. This research project is the beginning of a life-long grappling with these issues.

Chapter 3: Conceptual Framework

At the heart of my argument are the ways world, city, and queer come together and fall apart in São Paulo, Brazil. I focus on one group in particular, travestis, to better track how São Paulo's urban project actually incorporates sexual difference. I also follow some of the travesti participants in my research as they use a form of public shaming, called a scandal, to challenge the ultimately exclusionary effects of new urban policy.

Inherent in these issues are questions of the queer, urbanism, and affect. This chapter brings together two bodies of literature that deal with the overlaps between these three questions: queer urbanism and queer affect. The conjunction of queer urbanism and queer affect offers insight into the way urbanism becomes spatially and temporally sexualized. At the same time, these literatures together allow me to conceptualize political elements at work in the everyday affective lives of travestis in the city.

In this chapter, I begin by reviewing recent literature on queer and queer global urbanism with an eye toward tracing both the boundaries of the field and fruitful concepts that might help push those boundaries further. I pay particular attention to 'straight time', a concept I rely on in Chapter 4 to open São Paulo's project of urban change to a queer critique. Next, I bring in relevant portions of the literature on affect. I connect the work on queer affect, particularly the work of Sara Ahmed, to the questions of futurity and urban space raised by the concept of 'straight time'. I argue that bringing these two literatures together allows me to make two theoretical contributions. First, by applying queer urbanism to the case of travestis in São Paulo, I contribute to an existing effort to take queer urbanism beyond the EuroAmerican context and the homo-hetero binary.

Second, queer urbanism and straight time to open São Paulo's project of urban change to a queer critique, I can demonstrate the relevance of studies of queer affect in uncovering different and kinds of local, everyday urban sexual politics.

Queer Urbanism: Investigating Sexualized Time and Space via Straight Time

Like urbanism itself, approaches to urbanism are constantly changing and never simple. When deciding how to approach the way urban change was affecting the lives of travestis in São Paulo and vice versa, I needed an approach that would allow me conceptualize specifically the role sexual difference was playing in the changing spatialities and temporalities of the city. Queer urbanism, which speaks to both queer theory and urban studies, provided me with the concept of 'straight time'. Straight time is a productive way of interrogating São Paulo's project of creative urbanism, as it functions as a tool for examining the ways the spatiality and temporality of cities are sexualized, the ways hetero- and homonormativies play in urban belonging. With a study population of both non-normative gender and non-normative sexuality, queer urbanism and straight time give me a way to examine this dimension of urban change.

In this section, I conceptually situate my project within queer urbanism in both its spatial and temporal aspects. I also explain the insights afforded by the concept straight time, and argue that applying straight time to the case of travestis in São Paulo will allow me to push the boundaries of queer urbanism beyond the EuroAmerican context and homo-hetero binary.

Queer Space

Scholarly literature has a long history of exploring the relationship between urban space and LGBT issues (Abraham, 2009; Bailey, 2013; Chauncey, 1994; Houlbrook, 2005; Jackson, 2011; Knopp, 1998; Yue and Zubillaga-Pow, 2013), particularly in establishing the central role cities have played in the historical formation of sexual subcultures (D'Emilio, 1983; Delaney, 1999). Yet, as Natalie Oswin (2015) has noted, the ways in which globalization and urbanization interact with local sexual politics has received scant attention. The limited critical engagement with the convergence of queerness and global city projects is an especially important omission in the face of a relatively recent form of global creative urbanism that takes tolerance of sexual minorities as a marker of progressive modernity. This kind of urbanism, advocated by largely urban-based LGBT rights movements in a variety of national contexts as well as mainstream urban policy advisors like Richard Florida (2002), has popularized the notion that successful cities within the global economy are ones that are "gay-friendly." For this reason, as Oswin writes, "the city is a more important terrain for struggles over sexual equality than ever before" (2015: 558).

What, then, is a productive way to conceptualize the "terrain of struggle" at the conjunction of world, city, and queer? Throughout the 1990s, a wave of scholarship on the geography of sexuality suggested that 'queer space' might be an appropriate conceptual framework to engage in a critique of asymmetrical power relations in urban spaces (Bell et al., 1994; Bell and Valentine, 1995; Betsky, 1997; Ingram et al., 1997). In this context, to 'queer' a space was to recognize the hetero-normative nature of a space

(Bell et al., 1994) and, through overt action, make that space safe for those who identify as non-normative. Conceptually, queer space occurs at the margins of society as a kind of Foucaultian heteropia (Soja, 1996), though some scholars questioned if an all-inclusive queer space was only ever a theoretical construct. Lisa Duggan, for instance, articulated a theory of homonormativity to criticize the neoliberal restructuring of "queer" spaces to exclude practices that do not conform to neoliberal codes of privacy, domesticity, and consumption (Duggan 1994, 2002; see also Bell and Binnie, 2004; Rushbrook, 2002).

Taking up this concern over the inclusivity of supposedly "queer" urban spaces, more recent scholarship examines the limits of queer space in relation to non-(homo)normative genders and sexualities. Rather than being inherently transgressive or liberatory, many supposedly queer urban spaces have been unable to accommodate bisexuality (Hemmings, 2002), women (Valentine, 2000), non-traditional gender presentations (Namaste, 2000), and transgendered people (Doan, 2010; Nash, 2010; Hines, 2010; Browne and Lim, 2010). My argument here is born out of this history of research on both the hetero and homonormativity of supposedly queer-friendly space. One of the poles of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism is a valorization of sexual difference in order to seem modern and progress, a strategy the city hopes will make it economically competitive on the global stage with cities like New York and London. A queer approach to urbanism allows me to identify and call out the discrepancies between São Paulo's inclusive and tolerant rhetoric, and its treatment of an actual queer population, travestis.

In the wake of critiques of queer space, Nash (2010) has called for an understanding of the relationship between sexual difference and space that is grounded in the material - the lived, embodied, and affective - rather than the representational abstractions offered by a disembodied approach to the analytical concept of queer space. Three studies have now been published on the lived experiences of transgendered individuals in urban space: two studies by Petra Doan - a survey of transgendered individual's experience of space (2007) and an autoethnography of her experiences as a transgendered woman in different kinds of space (2010) - and one study by Marlon Bailey of the ways in which LGBT members of the Ballroom community in Detroit create space through socio-spatial practices (2014).

Bailey's work in particular is an example of the successful use of a materialist approach to examine sexual politics in urban space. In his essay "Engendering space: Ballroom culture and the spatial practice of possibility in Detroit," Bailey documented the everyday work, tasks, and activities of Ballroom participants – the way the runway is set up by participants to be the focal point of a transformative experience (2014: 499-500), for example, or the ritual performance of gender through "realness" competitions (492-493). Bailey uses the material and affective reality of black queer bodies to demonstrate that Ballroom communities undo and transform the exclusionary realities of both Black heteronormative spaces and supposedly non-normative gay spaces. According to Bailey, Ballroom members generate space that is "betwixt and between" (502) normative and discriminatory spaces. Thus, through their actions, Black LGBT Ballroom members create "community spaces of liminality" (503) that are "violent, tragic,

and…inconvenient" while still offering "moments of possibility and freedom, even if those moments are ephemeral" (ibid).

What I gain from drawing on recent queer space scholarship, then, is a way to 1) analyze the ways rapidly changing space in São Paulo is hetero and homonormative and 2) a material, embodied, affective framework to draw out the relationship between travestis and urban change in São Paulo. This framework allows me to ask questions about the sexual politics that come into play when non-normatively gendered bodies move through different kinds of space in a way that does not assign an inherently transgressive orientation to those bodies or those spaces.

Bringing Together Time and Space: The Case for Straight Time

One useful aspect of queer urbanism is the way it allows me to get at more than the spatiality of urban change. As just discussed, queer urbanism comes with a rich conceptualization of spatiality, mostly pulled from the fields of urban studies and geography. Queer urbanism, however, also draws from the history of scholarship on temporality in queer theory. Here I discuss work done within queer theory on temporality, and how that work intersects with projects of urban change. Ultimately, queer urbanism combines work on space and time in the concept of straight time. Straight time is defined by Natalie Oswin (2012: 1624) as "an exclusionary kind of reproductive futurity" in which the straight time of progress, development, and reproductive futurity is pit against a queer time that is asynchronous and out of place. This concept is a fruitful way of conceptualizing the situation of travestis in São Paulo. They are often cast as out of time and place within the city. Or, to take the title of Jack Halberstam's book (2005),

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in a queer time and place. Straight time does not literally mean 'heterosexual time.' It examines the way normativity (as a raced, classed, and sexualized logic) works through teleological narratives of progress and reproduction.

What is the history of straight time? In addition to owing much to Duggan's homonormativity, straight time is also indebted to studies of temporality. Judith Butler, for example, has written on the ways sexual politics have been co-opted by state (in addition to economic) interests to define some places as temporally modern and others as temporally pre-modern. As she explains it, "hegemonic conceptions of progress define themselves over and against a premodern temporality that they produce for purposes of their own self-legitimation" (2008: 1). Butler connects the hegemonic juxtaposition of progress and backwardness to the justification of the sexual torture of Arab subjects at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo. In these contexts, sexual torture is justified based on what Butler calls a "noxious deployment of the notion of sexual freedom" (18) in which feminism and sexual freedom are, "horrifyingly" (19), signs of the "civilizational mission in progress" (ibid). Here, a temporal framework based on the linkage of a certain historical narrative of progress with modern achievement uncritically supports and legitimates state violence and power.

Homonationalism provides a similar conceptual frame for understanding how supposed tolerance of gay and lesbian subjects has become a yardstick by which the right to citizenship and capacity for national sovereignty is measured (Puar, 2013: 336). Originally articulated by queer theorist Jasbir Puar in *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times* (2007), homonationalism extended the critique of

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assimilationist gay politics identified by Lisa Duggan's homonormativity to include the complicated connections between sexuality and race in neoliberal EuroAmerican states. Theorized as an assemblage, homonationalism makes sensible the complex interweaving of geopolitical and historical forces, neoliberal interests, biopolitical state practices, and affective investments. Puar has also clarified that homonationalism is not "identity politics" or a "synonym for gay racism" but "a historical shift marked by the entrance of (some) homosexual bodies as worthy of protection by nation-states" (2013: 337). Thus, at its heart, homonationalism is a critique of gay and lesbian liberal rights discourse and the process by which state and economic interests weld that discourse onto narratives of progressive modernity. The sexual progress narrative so produced allows certain groups access to legal and cultural citizenship while excluding (racialized) others.

Over the last ten years, queer urbanists have brought together the critique of the temporality of progress and development encapsulated in homonationalism and combined it with a queer critique of reproductive futurity. This became the concept of straight time. Conceptually, straight time grows out of and speaks back to recent queer scholarship on temporality (Edelman, 2004; Halberstam, 2005; Muñoz, 2009; Puar, 2007). Oswin (2012) explains straight time as follows:

> This work [on straight time] analyzes the ways in which heteronormativity, as a raced, classed, gendered, and sexualized logic, works through teleological narratives of progress and social reproduction. It points out that, even in contexts within which homosexuality is tolerated or gays and lesbians are enfranchised, dominant heteronormative narratives persist and 'queer' lives are deemed to have no future (1625).

Straight time, then, allows for more nuance in theorizing the sexual progress narrative. As Oswin points out, even in the context of a Florida-style creative urbanism where

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homosexuality is tolerated and even valorized, the dominant logic behind the teleological

narrative of progress can still be that of social reproduction: the reproductive futurity of

straight time. Moreover, one of the advantages of straight time is that it does not, in a

literal sense, mean 'heterosexual time.' Within the framework of straight time, the queer

preoccupation with the heterosexual-homosexual binary can be expanded; a 'queered

subject' can be anyone stuck in a state of arrested development beyond "the spheres of

respectable domesticity, familial norms, and national belonging" (Oswin 2012: 1625).

Multiple subjects, including travestis, can be caught up in the logics cast progress,

development, and reproduction against a queer time that is stuck in the past and cannot,

literally or figuratively, reproduce. Within such narratives, queer subjects like travestis

are deemed to have no future. Straight time, then, gives me a way to think about how the

normative temporality of urban change in São Paulo manifests spatially for travestis in

the city.

Some scholars have already successfully applied straight time to projects of

creative urbanism in other global cities. For example, work has been done on Filipino

working class queers in New York and Manilla (Manalansan 2003, 2005, 2015),

transgender performers in Manila (Benedicto, 2014), participants in the queered tango

circuit of Buenos Aires (Kanai, 2015), and non-normative sexualized subjects in Indian

cities (Shah, 2015). To give more detail on one such study, Natalie Oswin has argued that

Singapore's creative city project as underpinned by straight time – an exclusionary notion

of reproductive futurity. One excluded group of queered subjects are sexual minorities.

Though Singapore's government has liberalized its approach to public expressions of

homosexuality in order to attract a creative class of foreign talent, discriminatory policy

and legislation that bars gays and lesbians from full citizenship remains. Thus, tolerance

for the sake of attracting a creative class has not disrupted the rhythm of straight time.

Additionally, Oswin argues that some foreign workers count as queered subjects. She

makes a distinction between 'foreign talent' – highly educated and usually light skinned

foreigners – and 'foreign workers' – poor construction and domestic service workers

from nearby Southeast Asian countries. Foreign talent is welcomed to join the national

family (figuratively and literally) while foreign workers are subject to laws that render

them permanently transient and exclude them from normalization and naturalization. In

this way, foreign workers, like Singapore's gays and lesbians, are set on an alternative

developmental path that precludes intimacy, love, and familial connection.

I, too, use the concept of straight time to open a city's project of urban change to

queer critique to get at its sexualized spatialities and temporalities. Like Oswin, I want to

use straight time to push queer urbanism further than the EuroAmerican context, and

beyond the homo-hetero binary. Queer urbanism and straight time let me conceptualize

travestis as a queer population whose presence in São Paulo cracks open narratives of

progress and queer tolerance in creative urbanism.

Before turning to affect, though, the idea of reproductive futurity deserves more

attention. The idea of reproductive futurity, as used here, was first articulated by Lee

Edelman in *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (2004). In *No Future*,

Edelman adopts a Lacanian approach to reproductive futurity, described as a kind of

futurity built around the figure of the Child. Edelman goes on to argue for a queer ethic

animated by a politics of resistance that refuses to seek acceptance by participating in circuits of reproduction. For Edelman, "queerness names the side 'not fighting for children'" (3). A queer ethic, therefore, must disavow the future.

The polemic of No Future, however, has been criticized as being an antisocial, antirelational political proposition. For this reason, Jose Muñoz (2009) advocates recasting the future through a utopian lens rather than disavowing it altogether. There is no universal queer subject. Forgetting the future is only an option for the politically privileged. As Muñoz explains, "the present is not enough. It is impoverished and toxic for queers and other people who do not feel the privilege of majoritarian belonging, normative tastes, and 'rational' expectations" (2009: 27). Rather, Muñoz argues that we must "insist on an ordering of life that is not dictated by the spatial/temporal coordinates of straight time" (ibid: 31). With this research project, I seek to understand what other spatial/temporal coordinates are possible, how those different coordinates are lived and produced, and how those coordinates may help us live by alternate futures.

Affect Aliens: Conceptualizing Travesti Urban Politics

How can the "ordering of life" spoken of by Muñoz be conceptualized? This question is essential to the work of this project. I want to examine not just the ways in which the straight time of creative urbanism in São Paulo incorporates (or not) travestis, I also need to conceptualize how travestis challenge or transform creative urbanism. How do travestis find other ways of being within an urban project predicated upon progressive, reproductive futurity? Are other futurities at play? How is space involved? I took a conceptual cue from Natalie Oswin, who called for scholars to "attend to the multiple

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lives that are rendered precarious" by straight time by paying attention to "how sexual politics is performed in the local and everyday" (2012: 1637). Affect is an ideal way to approach the material, embodied, and everyday politics of a city, especially given, as Rob Shields has argued, that affect is a mediator between spatiality and temporality (2013). In other words, affect is part of the unfolding of spacetime; affect is part of what ties space and time so tightly together.

In this section, I suggest that affect is a productive way to approach questions of everyday urban sexual politics, especially when taken in conjunction with space and time. I rely on Sara Ahmed's concepts of the affect alien and affective community as a means of tying queer urbanism and queer affect together in a way that can make sense of the lives of travestis. To explain this, I first explain what I mean when I say affect. I then take up the figure of the affect alien, and discuss how affect can be used to create space and different horizons of futurity. I pay special attention to the role of one particular affect, shame, as this affect plays a central role in the travesti politics of scandal.

Affect, Aliens, and Shame

For the purposes of this paper, I draw on a Spinozian and Deleuzian notion of affect (de Spinoza, 1883; Deleuze, 1988; Deleuze and Guattari 1987, 1994; Hardt, 2001; Massumi, 2002). Several assumptions undergird my conceptualization of affect. First, affect is bodily capacity, or the capacities of a body to affect and be affected by other bodies. Affect is thus the virtual and the actual taken together. In other words, a body's affects are its potential to affect and be affected (Massumi, 2002). This brings me to the second assumption, namely that affect is transpersonal and relational. A body is defined

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by the encounters it is capable of having with other bodies. As a body's potential, affect is what puts bodies in relation with each other, though different bodies have different capacities. Feminist scholars especially have called attention to the idea that "different bodies hav[e] different affective capacities" (Tolia-Kelly, 2006: 213). Third, this notion of affect takes affect to be apriori and unmediated. Just as with everything else, however, there is an excess between what is real and what is represented in language.

The excess is what makes affect and emotion inseparable, as I conceptualize them. Philosophy has long perpetuated a dualism between what is real and what is represented. Debates over emotion and affect within geography have upheld this dualism, with some scholars arguing for the inherent unrepresentability of affect (Pile, 2009, 2011) and some that emotion has been overlooked by scholars of affect (Bondi and Davidson, 2011; Curti et al., 2011; Dawney, 2011; Thien, 2005). In my conceptualization, emotion codes affect but is not secondary (i.e. less important). Rather, affect and emotion can be thought of as a Mobius strip[4]. They are in an impossible relationship in which they are inseparable but also irreducible to each other. Affect and emotion are matter and meaning. As such, they do not exist independently of each other. Affect and emotion make each other. By thinking of the relationship between affect and emotion in this way, I hope to avoid equating the coding of affect as emotion with stoppage. The moment you represent affect, it doesn't stop working; it starts doing things. Emotions do work, important work, just as affect does.

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[4] A Mobius strip is a surface with only one side and one boundary. It has no inside and no outside. An example of a Mobius is a piece of paper, twisted once, then connect at the ends.

Sara Ahmed does not do much theorizing of affect as I have described it above in her work. In *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, for example, Ahmed usually refers to what I call affect as 'sensation' and then uses the terms affect and emotion interchangeably to refer to coded sensation. Her position is clear in the following passage: "Hence whilst sensation and emotion are irreducible, they cannot simply be separated at the level of lived experience. Sensations are mediated, however immediately they seem to press upon us" (2004: 25). While the vocabulary may be different, Ahmed also argues for something apriori that is then coded, and that those two things cannot be separated for reduced to each other. When I use the word 'affect' in this thesis, I am referring not just to that apriori something that cannot be represented, but also to linguistic, embodied, and culturally specific counterpart we call emotion.

Though Ahmed is not interested in cultivating an ontology of 'sensation', she is interested in discussing how affect (both the affection of bodies and its evaluation) circulates and gets caught up in moral economies. Consequently, her work often delves into the realm of affective politics. More specifically, Ahmed theorizes the ways affect is used to bind bodies together, set bodies apart, and orient bodies in relations of 'towardness' or 'awayness' from different objects (2004: 8). According to Ahmed, affect does not reside in a given subject or object, but functions as a form of capital. Affect is produced as an effect of its circulation; it circulations between signs and signifiers in relationships of difference and displacement (ibid: 44-45). When it moves, affect can go sideways (between signs, figures, and subjects) as well as forward and backwards (opening past associations and incorporating horizons of futurity). A key point of

Ahmed's is that the affective responses a body has to a certain object (disgust when we see a bug, happiness for an upcoming wedding) are not generated by the object itself, but accumulate (or stick to) that object as it circulates as a social good. This stickiness is not an inherent property of an object (i.e. shame sticks to a certain object because that object is shameful), but an effect of the history of contact between bodies, objects, and signs (ibid: 90). We read an object as shameful because we already understand that object to be 'bad' due to its prior circulation within a culturally-specific affective economy.

Affective communities are created when a group of bodies share an orientation toward the same objects. These shared orientations can be thought of as social norms; to be happy, one must have an orientation to objects that circulate as social goods. It is this point where affect becomes a way to mobilize people. Ahmed has written on the role of affect in generating a sense of nationalism, for example (2004), and how orientations toward shared feelings like shame can bring a nation into existence. Other geographers have pursued similar projects investigating the affective ties between (geo)politics and the state (Carter and McCormack, 2006; Militz and Schurr, 2015; Ó Tuathail, 2003; Woodward, 2014; Yea, 2015). For the purposes of this research, I use affect in a similar way, but instead of examining how the state comes into begin through affect, I focus on affective challenges to state (in this case municipal) and economic control. This method provides with the tools necessary for identifying the social norms (the good objects) constructed and circulated by São Paulo's city government in pursuit of its project of creative urbanism. In this way, queer urbanism and affect bring insights to each other. With Ahmed's ideas about affect, I can recognize that the affective object being

circulated by the city is a horizon of reproductive futurity and its related object of the family norm. It also allows me to conceptualize travestis as a population not aligned with these affective objects; they are affect aliens, or alienated because they are not aligned with the good object of straight time.

In terms of thinking through everyday politics, then, it is useful for me to think of travestis as affect aliens. An alien affective community is a population of bodies who are not "facing the right way" (Ahmed, 2010: 41). The concept of alien affective communities allows me to think of how affect can be used on the local level and in everyday life to reshape the spatial and temporal horizons of a city. In other words, the idea of the community of alien affect allows me to conceptualize an everyday practice of travestis – the scandal – as a kind of urban sexual politics. If I think of affect as something that can transform the relations between objects and bodies, then the capacity to affect shame in others becomes a weapon, something that can be deployed (with no small amount of uncertainty and failure) as a way of turning bodies away from normative good objects and toward alien bad objects.

Shame is the affect I single out to understand travesti politics in this thesis. Silvan Tomkins located shame alongside anger, fear, and disgust as one of the primary 'negative affects' (1995). Shame involves an intense and painful feeling of negation that is taken on by the subject as a sign of its own failure, as well as the de-forming and re-forming of bodily and social spaces (Ahmed, 2004: 103). It is this failure that is useful to me, for shame is often experienced as "*the affective cost of not following the scripts of normative existence*" (ibid: 107; italics in original). The shame of failing social norms is part of

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what upholds that norms, but, as I will argue in Chapter 5, it can also be used to challenge them. The challenge comes from the fact that shame, as the exposure of failure before another, is only felt when a prior desire for the shameful object exists (Tomkins, 1995). Shame, then, enables the argument that when scandals provoke shame they also force the shamed party acknowledge some attachment to the same bad objects that travestis are aligned with. The ambivalence of shame is how scandals can create a community of alien affect.

By pursing a contextual exploration of the everyday affective politics of shame, I am also following in the footsteps of Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. Sedgwick has long argued for the place of shame in identity formation (queer and otherwise), and also for the place of shame in politics. Instead of proposing an end to shame, or the goal of ending shame (as Tomkins might), Sedgewick argues that shame should be acknowledged, embraced, and put to transformative political use. Her goal is to reconfigure shame into a "near inexhaustible source of transformational energy" (1993: 4), and to deploy that energy creative in queer political struggles. Anthropologist Don Kulick began such a project in the late 1990s when he first conceptualized scandals as related to an affective politics of shame (Kulick, 1998; Kulick and Klein, 2003). I harness Sedgwick's and Kulick's thinking on the political potential of shame to bring affect to the realm of queer urbanism, investigating some of the previously unexplored ways queer populations trouble the normative scripts that continue to underlie supposedly tolerant and diverse projects of urban change.

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Conclusion

As I have argued, it is fruitful to conceptualize the situation of travestis in São Paulo in a way that puts it in conversation with queer urbanism and affect. Theorizing the case in such a way allows me to, first, push the boundaries of queer urbanism. I do this by going beyond the EuroAmerican context to examine how mobile urban policy like creative urbanism is playing out in different cultural and historical context. I also focus on a queer population that goes beyond the usual queer homo-hetero binary, which thinks of queer subjects in terms of homosexual set against heterosexual. Focusing on travestis, then, allows me to get at the homonormativity of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism and the ways homonormativity has been incorporated into the straight time of urban change. Finally, I offer a way affective politics can be a useful way to identify everyday forms of politics and challenges to challenges to normative scripts of urban change from unexpected places and times.

In the next two chapters, I apply this conceptual frame to analyze empirical data gathered from interviews and participant observation with transgender and travesti individuals in São Paulo. The remainder of my thesis provides an example of the way queer urbanism and affect together can highlight – and spread – different ways of being in the face of the violent normativities of urban change.

Chapter 4: The Straight Time of São Paulo's Creative Urbanism

Gentrificação é transfobia.
Gentrification is transphobia.
(Daví, 22 years old, transgender male)

This chapter analyzes São Paulo's project of creative urbanism through the lens of straight time. As discussed in Chapter 3, straight time has been used by other scholars to open projects of urban change to queer critique (Manalansan 2003, 2005, 2015; Benedicto 2014; Kanai 2015; Shah 2015). Natalie Oswin (2012, 2015) in particular has argued that straight time can clarify how exclusion works through narratives of reproductive futurity. She challenges the idea that official rhetoric of tolerance toward sexual difference guarantees a fundamental embrace of sexual difference. Ultimately, the goal is to explain the circumstances that enabled Daví's statement above. How can a project of urban change (what Daví describes using the imported English word gentrification) be transphobic?

In this chapter, I start with a discussion of the history of creative urbanism and provide an account of its adoption by the São Paulo city government. Through an analysis of certain articles of the city's 2014 Plano Diretor Estratégico, I explain how world, city, and queer come together in the Brazilian context; in traveling to São Paulo, the economic principles of creative urbanism have combined with a legal commitment to the social that extend to special provisions for São Paulo's 'socially disadvantaged' populations, including travestis. With this context in mind, I then examine two manifestations of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism: the Minhocão (an elevated highway that has now been closed to traffic and turned into a public park) and the

TransCidadania program (an educational program meant to help travestis gain employment and housing). Using the lens of straight time, I discuss how these examples work to render travestis as out of time and out of place, even as they claim to the opposite according to the dictates of creative urbanism.

Before I begin, a note on my methods. In addition to using data gathered through interviews, I use passages from newspaper articles and city documents to support my argument. All articles appeared in the last four years in either *O Globo* or *Folha de S.Paulo*, the two most widely circulated newspapers in Brazil. All city documents are widely available on the city of São Paulo's website. I chose recent articles and documents focused on São Paulo's creative city project, or the specific manifestations of the creative city project analyzed in this chapter.

Creative Urbanism: The Case of São Paulo

> Creativity is like a rash. Everyone is in the creativity game.
> (Charles Landry, author of *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators*)

Creative urbanism is a seductive proposition. In spite of the many, many critiques of this style of urbanism, it has still been taken up by cities all over the world, São Paulo included. How did it come to be so popular?

Creative urbanism as city policy has its roots in two parallel movements: first, the efforts of UNESCO[5] and the Council of Europe to quantify the economic contributions of creative industries in the late 1970s, and, second, the push by artistic communities in the United States and the United Kingdom to justify their worth in the face of decreasing

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[5] The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

government support (Landry, 2009). These investigations into the economic potential of creativity became specifically tied to cities and urban policy in 1983; that was the year Nick Garnham, professor of communication at the University of Westminster and member of the Greater London Council, put cultural industries on London's urban development agenda. Around the same time, Swedish scholars Gunnar Törnqvist and Åke Andersson began to publish work on the 'creative milieu' of cities (Törnqvist, 1983; Andersson 1985a, 1985b). Törnqvist specifically argued for what he saw as the four key features of the creative urban milieu (Hall, 2000: 644):

> Information transmitted among people; knowledge, consisting in the storage of this information in real or artificial memories; competence in certain relevant activities, defined in terms of the demands of an external environment, which can be instrument– specific or region–specific; and, finally, creativity, the creation of something new out of all these three activities, which could be regarded as a kind of synergy.

Over time, Törnqvist's four features of the creative milieu – transmitted information, knowledge, competence, and creativity – would become more strongly tied to wealth creation and the economic competitiveness of cities. Charles Landry's *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators* (2000) and John Howkin's *The Creative Economy* were two books devoted to the elaboration of creative urbanism in an economic context.

Most relevant to my research is the work of Richard Florida. In 2002, Florida wrote *The Rise of the Creative Class: And How It's Transforming Work, Leisure, Community, and Everyday Life*. His point: cities are in competition with each other, nationally and, increasingly, globally. Therefore, in order to be economically successful

across scales, cities must accelerate their "urban metabolism"[6] by taking steps to attract a "creative class." The creative class comprises the usual bohemian suspects – muralists, writers, academics, tech nerds, food truck enthusiasts, engineers, doctors, and so on – who are economically valuable because they "create new ideas, new technology, and/or new creative content" (8). To attract such a creative class, Florida recommends cities must possess "the three T's" of talent, technology, and tolerance, qualities that echo the four keys of the creative milieu elaborate by Törnqvist.

One strategy[7] to attract a creative class, Florida argues, is for a city to promote itself as "gay-friendly." The idea is not that gays and lesbians are synonymous with the creative class, but that members of the creative class are so gay-friendly they consider the size and vibrancy of a city's gay community to be a proxy for the general enlightenment of the city as a whole. To prove his point, Florida has promoted what he calls a "Gay Index" (first created by Gary Gates in 1990 [Chen 2011]), a spatial quantification of gays and lesbians that supposedly measures the creativity of a city. In other words, tolerance of sexual minorities becomes one of the markers of economically competitive cities.

Urban studies scholars have challenged Florida's argument in the form of methodological and empirical critiques, political and social equity concerns, and questions regarding the reproducibility of creative city strategies (see Luckman et al,

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[6] Biologically speaking, a metabolic rate is the rate at which living things convert food to energy. Metabolic rates tend to fall as the organism gets bigger. In the case of urban metabolism, the situation is reversed. Successful cities move faster as they grow. As the number of people living in the city rises, so too does the number of "creatives": smart, ambitious, entrepreneurial people who drive the idea-economy.
[7] Other strategies might include increasing the number of live music, restaurants, sports facilities, public meeting spaces per capita; branding neighborhoods to give each one a distinct character; reusing older industrial sites.

2009; Markusen, 2006; Peck, 2005). The critique most directly related to my empirical

concerns, as noted in Chapter 3, is the critique of Florida's Gay Index. David Bell and

John Binnie (2004) have demonstrated that Florida relies on census data on gays and

lesbians in same-sex partnerships to make his linkage between the presence of 'gays' and

'creativity'. Bell and Binnie argue that such a reliance on partnership data means "the gay

index is therefore an index of respectability, of nicely gentrified neighborhoods" (2004:

1817) than an index of tolerance of sexual difference. Furthermore, Bell and Binnie argue

that the incorporation of 'sexual others' into entrepreneurial urban governance strategies

of place promotion "has meant tightening regulation of types of sexualized spaces in

cities" (1818). In other words, they suggest that the "'sexual restructuring' of cities"

encourage by Florida's Gay Index and creative urbanism "is a powerful component of the

'new homonormativity'" (ibid; see also Manalansan, 2005; Rushbrook, 2002).

In spite of such critiques, cities around the world have pursued projects of creative

urbanism. São Paulo is one such city as evidenced by its most recent marketing

campaign. In the run up to the 2014 World Cup, the city of São Paulo launched a public-

private partnership called São Paulo Turismo (SPTuris). The objective of this new

private-public partnership, more commonly known as an *empresa municipal*, was to

conceive and launch a new tourism campaign for the city. During the summer of 2011,

SPTuris did just that. The name of the new campaign: "São Paulo. Cidade Criativa" (São

Paulo. Creative City).

Caio Luiz de Carvalho (Prefeitura, 2011), the President of SPTuris when the

campaign was launched, explained the campaign as follows:

A economia criativa é um conceito que surgiu há poucas décadas e atualmente cresce em alguns dos principais centros globais. São Paulo, com sua vocação para a cultura e os eventos e um celeiro de grandes talentos, já está inserida, ainda que instintivamente, nesse conceito e agora começa a trabalhar e investir nisso de forma mais planejada como via para atrair mais investimento para a cultura e demais setores criativos, gerar mais conhecimento, empregos e renda e se tornar mais inclusiva, visando o desenvolvimento sustentável.

The creative economy is a concept that emerged a few decades ago and is now growing in some of the main global cities. São Paulo, with its aptitude for culture and events, is a hotbed of great talent and already part of, instinctually, this concept and is now beginning to work and invest in a more planned way to attract more investment to the culture and other creative sectors, generate more knowledge, jobs, and wealth and become more inclusive, aiming at sustainable development.

The campaign, as discussed by Carvalho, was based on the idea of the creative city, a concept that "emerged a few decades ago" and is "now growing in some of the main global cities." In order to compete on the level of other global cities, São Paulo must do what other global cities do: attract investment in culture and creative sectors, attract creative people, and generate knowledge, jobs, and wealth.

Carvalho goes on to explain what about São Paulo makes it "creative" and attractive to investors and those working in creative sectors. He continues (ibid):

Estamos investindo e precisamos mostrar o quanto São Paulo já está adiantada nessa área, com sua diversidade, suas tribos, seu grande caldeirão cultural que faz surgir lugares como a Vila Madalena, a nova Augusta, o Mercadão, os vários museus e centros culturais, e eventos como a Virada Cultural, as Bienais, a Mostra Internacional de Cinema, a Fashion Week, a Parada Gay e tantos outros. Agora, queremos aproximar ainda mais o mundo dos negócios para essas atividades e desenvolver a capacidade de estimular os talentos e atrair empresários.

We are investing and we need to show how advanced São Paulo already is in this area, with its diversity, its tribes, its great cultural melting pot from which emerges places like Vila Madalena, the new Augusta, the Mercadão, various museums and cultural centers, and events like the Virada Cultural, the Bienas, the Mostra Internacional of Cinema, Fashion Week, the Gay Parade, and many

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others. Now, we want to approach the business world even more for these
activities and develop the capacity to stimulate talent and attract business.

Diversity and São Paulo's "cultural melting pot" are important factors in marketing São
Paulo as a creative city. And, as discussed in Chapter 3, an important element in showing
that diversity is the *Parada Gay*, or Gay Parade.

São Paulo's project of creative urbanism, however, is more than marketing.
Creative urbanism as a vehicle for fostering a creative economy found expression in the
city's newest Plano Diretor Estratégio (Strategic Directive Plan, a legally binding urban
development plan which I will hereafter refer to as PDE). The PDE was a massive
undertaking. The 229-page document was written and rewritten over nine months of
debate, involving 114 public audiences attended by more than 25,000 city residents
(Pardue, 2014). Signed into law on 30 July 2014, the PDE carried with it a mandate from
city residents to "humanize" urban development, prioritize environmental concerns,
support cultural initiatives, and bring urbanization more in line with the "social function"
of the city outlined in both the 2001 City Statute and the Brazilian Constitution within the
next sixteen years.

With its emphasis on reestablishing the 'social' in urban development, the PDE is
a marked departure from city development plans (or lack thereof) of past generations.
Though bureaucratic urban planning bodies like the EMURB (*Empresa Municipal de
Urbanização de São Paulo* / Municipal Company of São Paulo Urbanization) have
existed for decades, these bodies mainly focused on using public funds to renovate
historic buildings rather than, for example, developing popular housing. As a result,
urbanization in São Paulo has taken shape "as a result of short-term deals amplified by a

massive infrastructure of commercial media rather than sustained socio-geographical plans" (Pardue, 2014). The PDE, on the other hand, takes seriously the demands of groups like the MTST (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Teto* / Homeless Workers Movement), the MSTC (*Movimento Sem-Teto do Centro* / Homeless Movement of the Center District), and the MMRC (*Movimento de Moradia da Região Central* / Housing Movement of the Central Region). Consequently, this new urban development plan enjoys broad support form a cross-section of São Paulo residents (Rolnik, 2014a).

However, as the PDE makes clear, the social considerations built into the plan serve an economic purpose in addition to one of justice. The phrase *economia criativa* (or some derivation thereof) appears in nineteen different subsections of the PDE document. One subsection (Seção III: 116) is titled *Dos Polos de Economia Criativa* (The Poles of Creative Economy). The Poles, as described by the PDE, are intended to "promote and develop" the following:

> atividades economicas que compõem a economia criativa, entendida como o ciclo de criação, produção e distribuição de bens e serviços tangíveis ou intangíveis que utilizam a criatividade, a habilidade e o talento de indivíduos ou grupos como insumos primários, sendo composta por atividades econômicas baseadas no conhecimento e capazes de produzir riqueza, gerar emprego e distribuir renda.

> economic activities that make up the creative economy, understood as the cycle of creation, production, and distribution of goods and services, both tangible and intangible, that utilize the creativity, the ability, and the talent of individuals or groups as primary inputs, being composed of economic activities based in knowledge and with the capacity to produce wealth, generate jobs, and income.

How to accomplish these goals? In line with the three Ts of Richard Florida, the PDE suggest that the city foster the creation of a creative economy by valorizing and promoting "a diversidade cultural e suas formas de expressão material e imaterial, bem

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como o potencial criativo e inovador, as habilidades e talentos individuais e coletivos, o desenvolvimento humano, a inclusão social e a sustentabilidade" (the diversity and its material and immaterial forms of expression, as well as the creative and innovative potential, abilities, and talents of individuals and collectives, human development, social inclusions, and sustainability) (Art. 184: 117). Other portions of the article specify that diversity means respect for sexual diversity in particular (*respeito à diversidade sexual*) and social inclusion necessitates a fight against homophobia (*combate à homofobia*) (ibid). As such, this article explicitly ties the social goals of the PDE – diversity, tolerance, sustainability – to the economic goals of the PDE – attracting a creative class – according to the dictates of Florida-style creative urbanism.

At this point, Bell and Binnie's critique of the valorization of sexual difference in creative urbanism by way of the Gay Index comes back into play. In what ways is São Paulo actually incorporating 'sexual others' into its entrepreneurial urban governance strategy? How is the city spatial and temporally sexualized? In the remainder of the chapter, I take into consideration three manifestations of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism: the redevelopment of the Luz district, the Minhocão, and the TransCidadania program. Each of these manifestations emerged from provisions in the PDE. Though the rhetoric surrounding each manifestation emphasizes the inclusion of sexual difference, including transgender and travesti populations, each one is ultimately oriented along the temporality of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism: a straight time predicated upon exclusionary reproductive futurity. The teleological narrative of progress and social reproduction driving São Paulo's project of urban change renders travestis as out of time

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and out of place, even as it holds up travestis as evidence of the tolerance and diversity of the city.

The Minhocão

> There is nowhere for travestis.
> (Daví, 22 years old, transgender male)

The Minhocão is a creature of myth. Often depicted as a giant, horned worm, the Minhocão[8] is said to spend its days burrowing under the surface of the hottest, wettest places in Central and South America, emerging occasionally to snatch livestock from careless ranchers.

Figure 3: The Minhocão on a Sunday afternoon

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[8] The name Minhocão comes from the Portuguese word *minhoca*, meaning earthworm.

In the city of Sao Paulo, the Minhocão is the name of an elevated highway, three and half kilometers in length, which runs, worm-like, between the eastern portions of the city and the city center (see Figure 3). Construction of the highway began at the height of Brazil's military dictatorship under the auspices of then-Mayor Paulo Maluf. Controversial from the start, the Minhocão is oddly positioned and curiously short; ostensibly meant to relieve the increasing amount of work-traffic flowing in and out of the city's center, the Minhocão did not actually connect with any of the highways that carried traffic in and out of the city. A common suspicion was that Maluf, who is currently wanted by Interpol for conspiracy and corruption charges, ordered the construction of the highway for personal reasons. This suspicion was articulated by Athos Comolatti, president of the Associação Parque Minhocão, in a 2015 interview: "Coincidentally, the Minhocão ends right in front of Maluf's company headquarters. Everyone says he built it to get from his house [in the eastern part of the city] to his office without traffic lights" (as quoted in Scruggs, 2015). When construction of the Minhocão was completed in 1971, Maluf gave the highway its official name: the Via Elevada Presidente Costa e Silva, after the general-cum-dictator who had appointed Maluf to office.

The Minhocão has been the subject of fierce debate for decades. Should the highway, that long-hated *cicatriz profunda* (profound scar) on the face of the city, be destroyed, or should it be closed permanently to car traffic and turned into a public park? Until recently, São Paulo Mayor Fernando Haddad had sided completely with those who wished to destroy the Minhocão. He is on record saying the highway "should never have

existed" and that he would like to see the Minhocão "deactivated" (Gatinois, 2015). By way of an alternative, Mayor Haddad had long offered vague plans for a network of bicycle paths, public transportation, and green space to take the place of the demolished highway.

Since the passage of the PDE, however, Mayor Haddad has changed his position; he came to see the Minhocão as a possible manifestation of the city's creative urban project. The first indication of his change in position came in the fall of 2014 when Mayor Haddad partnered with three organizations – SENAC (*Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial* / National Service for Commercial Education, an education products and services company), SESC (*Serviço Social do Comércio* / Social Service of Commerce, an organization devoted to social transformation), and FECOMERCIOSP (Federação do Comércio de Bens, Serviços e Turismo do Estado de São Paulo / Federation of Commerce in Goods, Services, and Tourism of the State of São Paulo, a group of 154 São Paulo businesses dedicated to finding creative solutions to economic problems) – to solicit proposals to better incorporate the Minhocão into São Paulo's project of creative urbanism. A website making the proposals available to the public, *sampa criAtiva[9]*, was created at the same time. On March 9, 2016, Mayor Haddad signed a law closing the Minhocão to all traffic at all times. One week later, on March 16, Mayor Haddad officially granted the Minhocão the status of a public park. Though, it should be said, the Minhocão's status is not guaranteed. The new park will be reevaluated after thirteen months. If the creation of the park (and its closure to traffic) has a negative

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[9] A play on words meaning Creative/Active São Paulo.

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impact on local business (rather than the positive anticipated impact), it could have its status revoked.

Of course, the Minhocão has long been used as a gathering place by local residents. Minhocão supporters have pointed to the fact that the Minhocão was already closed to traffic on weekday nights, Saturday afternoons, and all day on Sundays. On those shut-down Sundays, the highway transformed into a DIY park with paulistanos climbing the Minhocão's on-ramps to enjoy the empty street, a kind of civil occupation.

Figure 4: The Minhocão street fair is visible in the distance.

The space is incredibly popular; on any given Sunday, park-goers shop at the Minhocão street fair, ride bikes, or view the many murals painted on the buildings lining the highway (see Figures 4). The space is also the focus of local activist organizations. For example, a collaborative of artists, activists, and local residents called *Baixo Centro* (Lower Downtown) organizes events on the Minhocão with a mission that reflects the larger goals of those who wanted to see the Minhocão become a permanent city park; in *Baixo Centro*'s words, "Com o mote 'as ruas são pra dançar,' busca estimular a apropriação do espaço público pelo público a quem, de fato, pertence, motivando uma maior interação das pessoas com seus locais de passagem, trabalho ou moradia cotidianos" (With the motto 'the streets are for dancing,' we seek to encourage the appropriation of public space by the public to whom, in fact, the space belongs, motivating more interaction between people with different places of travel, of work, and of daily life).

The Minhocão is exactly the kind of space Richard Florida would encourage a city to cultivate in order to attract talent and make itself economically competitive with cities around the world: it's *cool.* It has music, art, food, young people, craft beer booths, roller blades, dogs wearing sweaters. As the *Baixo Centro* statement demonstrates, the space of the Minhocão also has a reputation for diversity and tolerance. It belongs to the public, to everyone. Mayor Haddad's change in position regarding the Minhocão can be explained along these lines; at the press conference following the March 16 creation of the Parque Minhocão, Mayor Haddad specifically referenced the two articles from the PDE devoted to the formulation of a creative economy (Diógenes, 2016). The Minhocão

is progressive, a material manifestation of São Paulo's bright future in the physical space of the city. Headlines like "Brazil may be getting its own Highline" (Scruggs, 2015), referring to New York's Highline Park, advance the narrative that creating a Parque Minhocão is helping São Paulo catch up to globally competitive cities like New York.

In various narratives, São Paulo's future is connected to ideas of progress and development, but also to the family, to the image of the baby stroller. Take Mayor Haddad's remarks at the March 9 closing of the Minhocão to traffic: "Não precisamos ficar atravessando ruas, competindo com os carros…o único veículo um paulistano precisa dirigir por ali [o Minhocão] é o carrinho de seu bebê. Imagina, o todo tempo a pista é toda deles: famílias, ciclistas, donos com seus cães. Este é o futuro da cidade." (We don't have to cross streets, competing with cars…the only vehicle a paulistano needs to drive there (on the Minhocão] is a baby stroller. Imagine, at all times the walk is only these: families, cyclists, owners with their dogs. This is the future of the city) (Allegrini, 2016). Here, then, is how the Minhocão, as a manifestation of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism, is underpinned by straight time. As discussed in Chapter 3, straight time is defined by Natalie Oswin as "an exclusionary kind of reproductive futurity" (2012: 1624). The Minhocão is, in Bell and Binnie's terms, sexually structured by a cultural logic that casts 'straight time' as progress, development, and reproduction against a 'queer time' that is asynchronous and out of place. The space of the Minhocão welcomes those bodies who align themselves with the futurity of progress and reproduction, but those who do not – like some of the travestis who participated in my

research – are not welcomed. They are not a part of the straight time of São Paulo's creative urbanism, cast as out of time and out of place as they walk down the Minhocão.

Take Carla. As we walked down the Minhocão, Carla explained that she enjoyed the energy of the Minhocão; the Minhocão is a happening place to be and she enjoyed being at a place she considered cool. The Minhocão is also free, an affordable pastime in an expensive city. Carla, however, went on to explain that she did not go to the Minhocão too often. She only went *para incomodar* (in order to annoy), or when she felt like annoying the other people on the Minhocão. Though the rhetoric around the Minhocão is of diversity and tolerance, Carla said she always noticed other people, especially parents of young children, giving her dirty looks or moving farther away from her. She often overheard people making comments on her clothes, her shoes, her hair, and her makeup.

Carla, then, was made to feel out of place and out of time on the Minhocão. She was out of place in that she felt unwelcome in that space; she was aware that her body in that space 'annoyed' the people around her. The reactions of other people to her presence made it clear that space was not for her, in spite of rhetoric saying the Minhocão was for the public, for everyone. Instead, Carla's experience echoes the earlier words from Daví: There is nowhere for travestis. Additionally, Carla specifically took note of the reactions of parents with young children. It was in these reactions that a particular tension came to the fore. Carla would go to the Minhocão to annoy, but only because she perceived that space and the bodies in that space to be unwelcoming. By going to the Minhocão to annoy others, Carla was doing a certain kind of work; with her presence, she was troubling the categories and separations that arise within the straight time of São Paulo's

urban project. She was challenging which bodies belong in or are allowed to move

through which spaces at which times. This idea will be explored in greater detail in

Chapter 5.

TransCidadania

> Essas pessoas da prefeitura, eles me dizem que eles podem me dar um futuro na
> cidade. Falo não quer o seu futuro. Quero liberdade.
> These city people [TransCidadania representatives], they tell me they want to give
> me a future in the city. I say I don't want their future. I want freedom.
> (Barbara, early 20s, travesti)

The TransCidadania program also exemplifies the straight time underpinning São

Paulo's project of creative urbanism. The TransCidadania (Trans Citizenship) program

launched in 2014 just after the PDE was signed into law. The first cohort included 100

transgender and travesti students (five trans men, forty-three trans women, and fifty-two

travestis) many of whom were recruited when program representatives approached them

on the street at night. The only two requirements for entry to program: you must be

transgender or travesti, and you must have been officially unemployed for at least three

years (sex work, work in the informal sector, and under the table work do not count).

Once in the program, participants take thirty hours of classes per week for one year,

culminating in different degrees depending on the level of the student; out of the forty

graduates from the first cohort, thirty-three finished with the equivalent of an elementary

school education, five finished with the equivalent of a middle school education, and two

finished with a high school degree. While in the program, participants are also required to

take citizenship classes and meet regularly with both a social worker and a psychologist.

As long as participants regularly attend their classes, they receive a stipend of R$ 827.40

per month[10] and, importantly, they qualify for housing priority under the Solidarity Quota

in the PDE.

When the PDE was being formulated, an important victory for activist groups was

Subsection 9, the *Cota de Solidariedade* (Solidarity Quota) (Rolnik, 2014b). The

Solidarity Quota consists of Article 112 of the PDE, which reads as follows:

> Os empreendimentos com área construída computável superior a 20.000m2 (vinte
> mil metros quadrados) ficam obrigados a destinar 10% (dez por cento) da área
> construída computável para Habitação de Interesse Social, voltada a attender
> famílias com renda até 6 (seis) salários mínimos, de acordo com regulamentação
> definida nesta lei.

> Projects with a built area that measures more than 20,000m2 (twenty thousand
> square meters) are required to allocate 10% (ten percent) of the measured area for
> social housing, aimed at helping families with an income up to six (6) times the
> minimum wage according to regulations defined in this law.

As seen above, the Solidarity Quota requires all large-scale developments in the city –

those of more than 20,000 square meters (about 215,00 square feet) – to be at least 10%

'social interest housing'. Reserved for families making up to six times the minimum

wage, this provision for social interest housing is meant to both keep the city affordable

for low-income residents and increase the density of the city by requiring all

developments to offer housing. The quota itself is modeled after similar housing policies

commonly used in Spain and France, as well as the mandatory inclusionary zoning

provision in New York Mayor Bill de Blasio's new housing plan. Built into the Solidarity

Quota, however, are several opt-outs for real estate developers. Instead of dedicating 10%

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[10] R$827 (Brazilian Reals) is equivalent to about US$225 using March 2016 exchange rates. The stipend
will be increased for the next cohort, who will receive R$910 per month, about US$247. The number of
slots available per class has also increased from 100 to 200, and more than 1000 people are on the class
waitlist.

of their development to social interest housing, developers have the option of building affordable housing on a completely different lot (which may be far outside the center of the city) or paying into a newly created Urban Development Fund (a fee 'equivalent' to the cost of the unbuilt housing units).

My main point here is that the Solidarity quota is directed toward families. The meaning of 'family' in the context of the Solidarity Quota was described by Mayor Haddad (Rolnik, 2014a):

> We make provision for families in the Plano Diretor. The family is the basic building block of our society. Our city is a family too, made up of other families. For the purposes of this document, a family means a married couple, ideally employed, having children, and bringing up those children in a stable environment.

For those who fit the family norm and contribute to the social reproduction of the city, both literally and figuratively, the PDE provides access to space in the city. Travestis, however, are not a part of the family norm, either literally or figuratively. Simply being travesti does not qualify a person for priority affordable housing the way being a part of the family norm does. In order to qualify for social interest housing, travestis must complete the TransCidadania program.

Consequently, TransCidadania is another example of city urban development policy that simultaneously valorizes sexual and gender diversity as part of its teleological narrative of progress and social reproduction while reaffirming travestis as out of time and place. The ultimate goal is to transform the travesti students into good citizen-subjects; in other words, to align them with the straight time of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism. Through citizenship and professional development classes, the

TransCidadania program teaches travestis what they need to know, including how to dress and speak, to enter the formal labor market and become productive (if not reproductive) members of society. TransCidadania instructor Sula (late 20s, cis-female) had this to say about the TransCidadania's role in shaping travestis:

> When they come to us, they are so far behind. They don't stop talking. They talk about the freedom prostitution gives them. Our job is to teach them better. To teach them about the Constitution, the law, and their rights. We teach them how to contribute to society. We give them dignity and teach them self-respect. We give them a future.

To have a place in the city – to qualify for housing in the rapidly gentrifying city center where travestis have lived and worked for decades – travestis must align themselves with the temporality of straight time. They must be 'caught up' to the progressive development of the city because, as Sula explains, they are "so far behind" and they must be taught better. As they are, the travestis have no future, unlike the city itself. They must be given a future through the TransCidadania program.

What does it mean to be taught better? To be welcomed into the city family, to have a future that can be understood within the framework of straight time, travestis must change the way they dress, the way they talk. They must change the hours they are awake, asleep, and at work to match the rhythms of straight time. Aline (mid-30s, travesti), a program participant I interviewed, describes her experience with the program:

> Você sabe a dignidade de levantar de manhã, tomar um café, pegar um ônibus e as pessoas te tratarem bem? Eu revivi. Eu vivia na escuridão, eu me vestia de palhaço pra dar sexo pra um monte de homens. Eu fiquei depressiva, eu pedia pra Deus me levar. E hoje… Hoje eu me sinto integrada na cidade. Eu sei o que eu tenho que fazer para ser feliz.

> Do you know the dignity of waking up in the morning, eating breakfast, catching the bus, and having everyone treat you well? I am reborn. I was living in the dark

and dressed like a clown to have sex with tons of men. I was depressed and I asked God to save me. And today…today I feel integrated into the city. I know what I have to do to be happy.

Most travestis work at night and usually dress to show off their feminine bodies. To succeed in the TransCidadania program, travestis must be up for class during the day and sleep at night. They cannot dress "like a clown," or in a way that identifies them as a prostitute, in the light of day. They must 'catch up' to both the progressive development of creative urbanism, but they must also align themselves with the rhythms and respectable domesticity of normative straight time. Those travestis who learn to "contribute" to the new creative economy are allowed to live as 'respectable' guests in the city for as long as they remain within the boundaries of the normative and are seen to create value.

Take, for example, Aline's phrase "I know what I have to do to be happy." A double meaning threads through her words. On the surface, the words express gratitude to the TransCidadania program for showing Aline how to be successful. At the same time, the words express a deeper idea; the TransCidadania program has taught Aline what is required of her to gain legibility within the governance structures of the city. To access employment and housing, she must wake up in the morning, be awake during the day, and inhabit the 'straight' spacetimes (e.g. the bus) of the city fearlessly. She must conform to a kind of normativity that is not just heteronormative, but homonormative. To be happy, she must be a good, respectable queer, an idea discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5. Ultimately, Aline and other travestis are caught up in a cultural logic that pits

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the straight time of development, progress, and social reproduction against a queer time that is out of step, out of place (Oswin, 2012: 1625).

In contrast to the positivity espoused by Aline, skepticism was common among those I spoke to, as well as the sense that the TransCidadania program was not meant to help travestis so much as change completely what it means to be a travesti. The passage that starts this section is one example. Barbara explains: "Essas pessoas da prefeitura, eles me dizem que eles podem me dar um futuro na cidade. Falo não quer o seu futuro. Quero liberdade" (These city people [TransCidadania representatives], they tell me they want to give me a future in the city. I say I don't want their future. I want freedom). Barbara recognizes that participants in the TransCidadania program are figured as out of time, and, as a result, as out of place. She rejects that notion and emphasizes that she wants "freedom," or the ability to live her life according to the spatial and temporal coordinates of her choosing.

Conclusion

This chapter seeks to contribute to the growing amount of research on the ways globalizing projects of urban change are sexualized spatially and temporally. My focus on travestis is a way to push scholarship past the EuroAmerican context and the hetero-homo binary queer urbanism has long rested upon. Travestis as a group trouble the homonormativity perpetuated by Florida-style creative urbanism. They also crack open the narrative that the valorization of sexual difference necessarily leads to an acceptance of queer lives, spaces, or times.

Despite the city government's deliberate focus on addressing the 'social disadvantage' of the travesti population, the idea remains that queerness represents no future, that it arrests development; that the queerness of travestis, and their out of time and out of step-ness, arrests São Paulo's development. As different facets of the same phenomenon, the Minhocão and the TransCidadania program both rhetorically include travestis, either through diversity (the Minhocão) or opportunity (TransCidadania). However, according to travestis themselves, both fall short, giving presence to the role of straight time in São Paulo's project of creative urbanism. Travestis are tolerated, at least superficially, in the straight time of the city so long as they stop acting *like travestis*, or "grow up" and stop talking. Otherwise put, tolerance for the sake of attracting talent does not disrupt the rhythm of straight time in São Paulo.

According to Muñoz, "straight time tells us that there is no future but the here and now of our everyday life. The only future promised is that of reproductive majoritarian heterosexuality" (2009: 22). This thinking extends to travestis in São Paulo. While the city attaches potential economic benefits to the tolerance of travestis, a more fundamental change is not on the table. Travestis may have a role to play in the productive sphere, but they are not allowed to shape social reproduction on their own terms. The question remains: what politics emerge from such a situation? In the next chapter, I turn my attention to the politics of the escándalo. With the politics of the escándalo, some travestis are, as Barbara suggested, living life according to the spatial and temporal coordinates of their choosing.

Chapter 5: The Politics of the Scandal

In a small, dimly-lit hotel room, a man and a transgendered prostitute have just had sex. The price of this transaction had been agreed on before the couple entered the room, and the man, now dressed and anxious to leave, removes his wallet from his back pocket.

The travesti straightens her bra-straps and eyes the man. "No", she murmurs, as she sees him open the wallet and take out a few notes. "More. I want more".

The man is startled. "What do you mean, you want more?", he asks warily. "We agreed on thirty *reais*, and here's thirty *reais*. Take it".

The travesti slips towards the door, in a swift, resolute gesture. "Listen love," she says calmly, blocking the man's exit, "The price went up. You wanted me to fuck you. You sucked my dick. That's more expensive. That's not thirty *reais*. It's sixty".

The man growls that the travesti can go fuck *herself* if she thinks she can rob him like that. He flings the notes in his hand at her and moves towards the door. But the travesti moves too. Practiced. Fast. She slams her purse on the floor and plants her feet firmly apart, in a stance that makes her seem thicker, stronger, more expansive. A pair of tiny nail scissors flash in her hand. Suddenly afraid, the man stops in his tracks. He stands in front of the travesti, staring at her and wondering what to do next. Suddenly, he sees her coral-red mouth open and he hears her begin to shout; to utter loud, harsh, abusive screams that fill the room, the hotel, and, horrifyingly, it seems to the man, the whole neighborhood:

"Have shame you pig! You disgraceful faggot! You act like a man but you come in here and want to be fucked more than a whore! You sucked my dick and begged me to fuck you! Disgusting faggot! Maricona without shame! You're more of a woman than I am! Your asshole is wider than mine is! You're more of a puta than me!"
(Don Kulick and Charles Klein, "Scandalous Acts"; italics in original)

What is occurring in the above passage is called, in travesti parlance, *um escándalo*: a scandal, a commotion. To blackmail a client into parting with more money than originally agreed upon, a travesti will *dar um escándalo* (give a scandal); in other words, she will publicly shame a client until he agrees to the travesti's demands. As Kulick and Klein have argued, scandals are one of the everyday, mundane means travestis use to make sure they earn enough money to support themselves (2003: 216).

But scandals have also grown to be, as I argue in this chapter, more than a way to extort money from clients. Scandals have become a way for travestis to assert themselves in the face of the straight time of São Paulo's project of urban change. The travestis who participated in my research use scandals to extend shame to other bodies in their proximity. Thus, the scandal becomes a spatial practice in which shame is used to extend the travesti's 'space of out of place'. Shame is a means to forcibly draw other bodies into the travesti's affective community. In doing so, the travestis giving the scandal reorient those other bodies in both space (to a 'space of out place' that is literally inscribed on the physical space of the street, as will be explained later in the chapter) and in time. The new bodies in the travestis' affective community are oriented away from the straight time of creative urbanism and toward the queer time of the travestis, a time not predicated upon respectable domesticity or the family norm.

In this chapter, I begin by considering the scandal in greater detail. Using Sara Ahmed's figure of the affect alien, I explain how shame functions in a scandal to create an ontological indeterminacy between travesti bodies and other bodies. This ontological confusion is what allows shame to function "like a sticky web" (Kulick and Klein, 2003: 216) that extends the travestis' 'space of out of place' outwards as it draws other bodies into the travestis' community of alien affect. Next, I describe several examples of the new kind of scandal I witnessed during my fieldwork. Through an analysis of these examples, I argue that the intention of these new scandals is different than scandals meant to extort money from clients. Rather, these new scandals challenge the straight time of São Paulo's creative urban project by generating new spatial and temporal coordinates in the city.

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Though scandals have their problems, they ultimately perform what Ahmed calls an "un-housing" (2010: 102-106). Scandals delegitimize the coming together of world, city, and queer that casts travestis bodies as out of time and out of place by orienting other bodies, even temporarily, toward a different horizon of futurity than the one put forth by straight time.

The (Traditional) Scandal: Shame and the Affect Alien

> If we feel shame, *we feel shame because we have failed to approximate 'an ideal' that has been given to us through practices of love*. What is exposed in shame is the failure of love, as a failure that in turn exposes or shows our love.
> (Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2004: 106; italics in original)

The intention of the 'traditional' scandal – the scandals travestis have been giving for decades, like the one described in this chapter's opening passage – is to publicly shame clients to get them to pay more money than they had originally agreed upon. They work insofar as they circulate shame between travesti and client, and channel that shame in a way that benefits the travesti. If, as discussed in Chapter 3, shame is a double move of concealment and exposure (when "one is visible and not ready to be visible" [Erikson, 1965: 244]) brought on when one fails to approximate a social ideal, then what is the social configuration of shame at work in the traditional scandal? What social ideal is being failed? Kulick and Klein argue that shame, in this case, "hinges on widespread and violently upheld sanctions against male homosexual relations" (2003:218). Though travestis alter their bodies to achieve a culturally specific version of femininity, travestis still consider themselves male. They have penises, penises which they see as a symbol of their continued manhood. And though these penises are kept tucked away in most circumstances, travestis are frequently asked by their clients (the vast majority of whom,

according to all of the participants in my research, would call themselves heterosexual) to take out their penises and put them to use.

There is an ambiguity embodied by the travesti, who looks like a woman but insists she is not, and uses her penis to prove it. The language travestis use to refer to themselves only highlights this ambiguity. Though travestis consider themselves to be male, they refer to each other almost exclusively using female pronouns and forms of address. The linguistics become more complicated when considering that the word *travesti* itself was originally masculine (all nouns in Portuguese are either feminine or masculine). Though the word *travesti* is now often paired with the feminine articles *a* and *uma*, the word is also still sometimes paired with the masculine articles *o* and *um* in news articles and broadcasts. For many Brazilians, the gender and sexuality of travestis remains unresolved.

When a travesti gives a scandal she uses language invoked by others to condemn travestis (*Have shame you pig! You disgraceful viado!)* to challenge the ontological distinction between travesti and client. Scandals publicly accuse the travesti's client of desiring the same 'bad object' as the travesti, sex with another man. And here is the reason why scandals work (one participant in my research, Jully, claimed scandals worked "nove vezes de dez" or nine times out of ten): because the travesti is right, or *might be right*. When travestis point their finger at a client – or, in the words of Kulick and Klein, when "a travesti's penis is rhetorically unfurled and resoundingly brandished at anyone within hearing distance of her shouts" (2003: 217) – she asserts an affinity with the client (*You're more of a woman than I am!*). Since the boundaries of the category

'travesti' are fuzzy, the distinct possibility exists that the client does indeed share a

(formerly) secret affiliation with the travesti. The shame of the scandal, then, functions in

the following manner outlined by Kulick and Klein (2003: 218):

> Scandals do nothing to contest or refute the socio-cultural basis of travestis' abject
> status in contemporary Brazilian society. Quite the opposite -- instead of
> challenging abjection, scandals cultivate it. And with a skill that is nothing short
> of dazzling, travestis use scandals as a way of extending the space of their own
> abjection. A scandal casts that abjection outward like a sticky web; one that
> ensnares a petrified client, completely against his will.

The scandal "casts the abjection outward" and "ensnares the petrified client." The

"abjection" here is the shame conferred on the travestis themselves for failing to live up

to the ideals of Brazil's heteronormative society. Travestis take that shame and use it for

their own purposes, creating an affinity with other bodies by circulating that shame.

In this case, shame is able to flow outwards "like a sticky web" to "ensnare the

petrified client" because it works according to the description of affect laid out by Sara

Ahmed. According to Ahmed, affects are sticky and relational. Affects move sideways

(the sticky associations between signs, figures, and objects, including bodies) and

forwards/backwards (reopening past associations and incorporating horizons of futurity)

(2004: 44-45). As affects circulate in these ways, they "involve (re)actions or relations of

'towardness' or 'awayness'" (Ahmed, 2004: 8). In other words, affect can turn bodies

toward or away from each other, from different spaces, and from different times.

Travestis take the shame that has attached to their bodies as a result of Brazilian

cultural norms around gender and sexuality, and stick that shame to the body of their

client via a scandal. With this circulation of shame, the body of the travesti and the body

of the client enter into a different relation with each other; they now share a similar

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orientation toward the same object (the pleasure of violating the sanctions against male homosexual relations). The travesti forces the client to acknowledge that he derives pleasure from proximity to an object that is not attributed as being good. In entering into this new relation of similar orientation, the travesti draws the body of the client into her affective community. But that affective community is not "facing the right way" (Ahmed, 2010: 41); the object of orientation does not circulate as a social good. Therefore, the affective community being built is an *alien* affective community, or a community of bodies out of line with the public mood (ibid: 157) and embracing possibilities (and spatialities and temporalities; a scandal extends the space of abjection) they have been asked to give up (ibid: 218).

The (Repurposed) Scandal: Toward a new set of Spatial/Temporal Coordinates

> If I don't belong here, neither do you.
> (Denise, late 20s, sex worker)

Travestis are affect aliens. Or, to connect my examination of affect to the language I have used in this thesis thus far, travestis are (affectively and effectively) in a queer time and place. They are not aligned with good objects, with good spatialities or temporalities. Travestis are not oriented toward the reproductive futurity and progressive development of creative urbanism (those objects that circulate as social goods); as a result, they are alienated from São Paulo's urban project. In the face of such alienation, some travestis (like Aline, the TransCidadania participant) respond by attempting to orient themselves in a similar way as São Paulo's project of creative urbanism. They change the way they dress and speak, their aspirations, and the rhythms of their lives to better match the horizon of futurity valorized by creative urbanism. Some of the travesti

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participants in my research, however, took a different route. They took the politics of the scandal, which had previously been used on an individual basis to extort money from clients,[11] and repurposed it as a kind of urban sexual politics, a way to challenge the deleterious effects of creative urbanism.

Here is one example of the repurposed scandal I observed during my fieldwork. It happened around midnight on a Thursday. I was spending time with a group of three travestis – Denise, Gabriela, and Jully – on the street where they often worked. As we waited and talked, the subject of the Minhocão (which was visible from where we stood) came up. The Minhocão was originally broached by Jully, who replied with the following when I asked her what she liked to do on the weekend:

> Passeio, eu vou, sabe, dou minha voltinha, eu vou no Arouche, vou na República, sabe, vou nos parques. Adoro ir, quando tem de domingo, nas feirinhas, vou para as feirinhas, Santa Cecília, vou para o Minhocão, desintoxicar, por a droga para fora um pouco, andar um pouco, ver gente, ver o dia, sabe. Eu adoro viver o noite e depois também gosto da madrugada. (risos)

> Walking, I go, you know, on my little walk, I go to Arouche, I go to República, you know, I go to the parks. I love to go when I have a Sunday, to the markets, I go to the outdoor markets, Santa Cecília, I go to the Minhocão, detox, sweat the drugs out a little, walk a little, see people, see the day, you know. I love to live the night and after, too, I like the early hours of the morning. (laughs)

Jully mentions the Minhocão as one of the places she might enjoy going to on Sundays. Denise immediately took issue with this. She replied, leading to this exchange:

> Denise [falando prà Jully]: Eh, meu amor, eu acho ridículo.
> Author: Porque?
> Denise: O Minhocão é crocodilo. Ele assusta os boyzinhos e traz esses viados ricos. Eles não querem ser vistos.

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[11] Travestis occasionally help each other with scandals if the scandal starts to go wrong (i.e. if the client fights back). Normally, however, travestis try to keep other travestis out of their scandals, as they are expected to share any money from such a scandal with the travestis who helped them.

> Denise [speaking to Jully]: Eh, sweetheart, I think that's ridiculous.
> Author: Why?
> Denise: The Minhocão is a crocodile. It scares the boys [the clients] and brings these rich viados. They [the clients] don't want to be seen.

Here Denise calls the Minhocão a "crocodile," a Brazilian Portuguese term for traitor or two-faced. She meant that even though the Minhocão is cool, it is also harmful because it scares away clients. The clients don't want to be seen by those "rich viados" drawn by the Minhocão. The clients don't want to be subjected to the shame of being seen in proximity to the travestis, an increasingly possibility as the neighborhood gentrifies. Or, as Denise clarified in her next statement: "Caralho, esse gentrificação" (Fuck, this gentrification).

Figure 5: Denise drawing penis with baking soda

That said, Denise plucked the box of baking soda out of her plastic grocery bag (baking soda is a moisture absorber and used by some travestis in this capacity), and

stalked into the nearby intersection. Cars stopped on each side of her, honking. Denise

flipped them off and began to draw on the asphalt with the baking soda. Her drawing

took shape quickly. It was a penis. Or, as would soon become clear, it was *her* penis,

literally inscribed onto the physical space of the street (see Figure 5).

Box in hand and drawing finished, Denise faced the cars and pedestrians around

her and began to give a scandal. While she was too far and the honks and shouts too

numerous for my recorder to catch her exact words in Portuguese, this version of her

words appears in my field notes from that night: "See this! [Points at drawing of penis].

This is me. I am this street! You're in/on me![12] And you would pay me to be in/on you! If

I don't belong here, neither do you!" (see Figure 6).
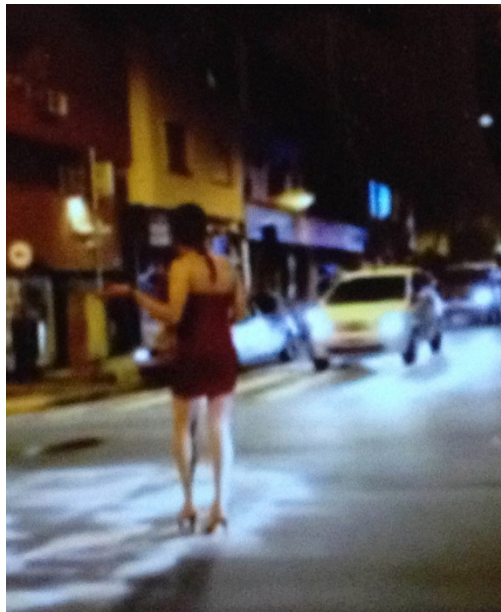

Figure 6: Denise giving a scandal

In many ways, Denise's scandal functions in the same way as the traditional

scandal. The intent is still the circulation of shame. This is evident in Denise's words.

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[12] The preposition *em*, which is the word I am translating here, can mean both 'on' and 'in'. The meaning in these phrases could be either 'on', 'in', or both.

Phrases along the lines of "You're in/on me! And you would pay me to be in/on you!" create the same ontological indeterminacy between the travesti body and the other bodies on the street. The purpose of the circulation of shame, on the other hand, is different. Shame this scandal is not meant to get money out of the drivers and passersby. Rather, it is aimed at gentrification, a word many São Paulo residents have imported from English to describe the spatial and temporal effects of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism. Denise's scandal functioned as a challenge to the straight time of creative urbanism. By circulating shame in this manner, Denise was able to change the relation between bodies, time, and space on that street. She created, in the words of José Muñoz, "an ordering of life that is not dictated by the spatial/temporal coordinates of straight time" (2009: 31).

Let me examine my assertion in greater detail. As I argued in the last chapter, travestis are cast as out of place and out of time by São Paulo's project of creative urbanism because they are not aligned with straight time of the project. Travestis are not, to use Ahmed's language, oriented toward straight time's horizon of reproductive futurity and progressive development. Because they are not "facing the right way" (Ahmed, 2010: 41), travestis once again, in a way that builds off of but is not coextensive with the sanctions against homosexual relations identified by Kulick and Klein (2003:218), accumulate shame. In spite of creative urbanism's valorization of sexual difference as an economic strategy, as programs like TransCidadania make manifest, travestis remain affect aliens. They still desire 'bad' objects: bad bodies, bad jobs, bad futures. Many travestis, like enthusiastic TransCidadania participant Aline, try to align themselves with

the horizon of straight time as a way to get by in the city, to become less alien. Others, like Barbara and Denise, reject such respectability politics.

Denise, with her scandal, uses affect and the way it moves (sideways between objects and forward/backward in time) as urban sexual politics. She draws a penis on the ground, inscribing this highly symbolic part of her anatomy on the physical space of the street. In doing so, Denise fuzzes the apparent border between her body and the space of the street. Affect is what makes this fuzziness possible. As Sara Ahmed has argued, "To say that feelings are crucial to the forming of surfaces and borders is to suggest that what 'makes' those borders also unmakes them. What separates us from others also connects us to others" (2004: 24-25). Shame is one of the primary affects used by creative urbanism to build the border between city and queer. It is the travestis' shameful desires and orientations toward bad objects that render them out of place and time in the city. Therefore, according to Ahmed's reasoning, shame can also be used to unmake those borders. In drawing her penis on the street, which has always been used as a symbol of shame in scandals, Denise is fuzzing the boundary between her body and the street, as evidenced by the phrase "I am this street!"

Denise goes on to extend that fuzziness – to extend her 'space of out of place' *and* 'time of out of time'– to the other bodies on the street. She yells at the drivers and passersby "You're in/on me. And you would pay me to be in/on you!" These other bodies are in her space, on her street, which could also *be her*. Shame again becomes a sticky web, ensnaring other bodies in the new spatiality and temporality (one not aligned with straight time) Denise is generating, a spatiality and temporality sticky with shame. In

appealing to the other bodies in this space – the street that could be a travesti and the travesti that could be the street – the scandal becomes effective. In the confusion and fuzziness of blurred borders, the bodies of the drivers and the passersby are rendered alien. They are drawn into the travesti community of alien affect. For Denise *might be right* when she says "If I don't belong here neither do you!" Like the clients in the traditional scandal who are forced to acknowledge the ways they are like the travesti, so are the drivers and passersby here. As many have argued (Ahmed, 2012; Tompkins, 1995) shame involves a turning toward the self, a concealing move that follows an exposure. The drivers and passersby are turned, in the moment, away from the temporal horizon of straight time working in most of the city because their (possible) shameful desire for bad objects is exposed by the scandal. They are the ones out of time and out of place.

I observed other instances similar to Denise's scandal, though none so dramatic. On several different occasions I saw travestis scrawl penises with pens, markers, or paint on the ground or the walls of buildings on this same street. They would then stand close to their drawings and make comments to people walking down the street. For example, in the interview with Carla (who would go to the Minhocão "to annoy"), I saw her draw a penis on the ground with a piece a chalk. Many people with drawing with chalk that day, a common pastime on the Minhocão. When Carla finished, she looked up to meet the eyes of a young heterosexual couple. With a flick of her wrist, she threw the chalk away, then said, "Olá queridinhos, vocês têm alguma dúvida? Pode perguntar pra mim. Mas, por favor, usem uma camisinha" (Hello darlings, do you have a question? You can ask

me [gestures at the penis]. But, please, use a condom). Again, Carla is equating herself with the street, this time the Minhocão. She also takes a shot at the family norm ("please, use a condom", which places HIV/AIDS and pregnancy on the same level), while insinuating that the couple is in the market for a prostitute. Uncomfortable, out of place and out of time, the couple left.

What's the point?: Enacting Unhousings

> What kinds of alternative kinship are possible, which are not organized by the desire for reproduction, or the desire to be like other families, or by the promise of happiness as "being like"?
> (Sarah Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness*, 2010: 114)

Some travestis are engaging in the politics of the scandal whereby they use shame as a way to create different spatial and temporal coordinates in the city and draw other bodies into a community of alien affect. But what is the point? What are the travestis going for with these scandals, and what are the actual consequences? Challenging normative projects of urban change is, after all, a longer-term project than extorting money from a client. If the bodies in question are only temporarily rendered alien, what changes?

For the travestis who spoke to me, the point was not to align themselves with straight time. The politics of the scandal is not a politics of assimilation or acceptance. There is no appeal here to be admitted to the city family, no pursuit of respectability. Within such a scenario, acceptability becomes a gift given by the already-acceptable world to travestis, with all of the debt such a gift implies (see Nguyen, 2012). Or, as Ahmed (2010: 106) writes:

Recognition becomes a gift given from the straight world to queers, which conceals queer labor and struggle [see Schulman 1998: 102], the life worlds generated by queer activism. It is as if such recognition is a form of straight hospitality, which in turn positions happy queers as guests in other people's homes, reliant on their continuing good will.

If the city is the home and those who align with the dictates of straight time are the residents of said home, the best travestis can hope for through 'good behavior' is guest status, guests in their own city. Barbara and Denise do not want to be guests, but they also do not want to be a part of the São Paulo family as it stands. What is at stake for them?

I turn to Sara Ahmed to make sense of the scandal. In *The Promise of Happiness* (2010), Ahmed speaks of 'unhousing' as a possible goal of affective sexual politics, a concept she ties to her larger political project, a revolution of unhappiness. Unhousing, in this sense, can be a violent and damaging process; travestis themselves are unhoused by creative urbanism when they are driven out of the neighborhoods they have lived in for decades. But unhousing can also involve "delegitimating the world that 'houses' some bodies and not others" (106). Furthermore, unhousing is "not only a call for arms but a disturbance in the very grounds for happiness, insofar as happy folk, those who sleep, those who do not think to think, depend on misery being kept underground" (102). In an unhousing, the walls that contain misery are brought down, and the misery that had previously been kept underground is out in the open. Scandals can be thought of as an unhousing. Through the scandal, travestis take the misery heaped upon them – the shame, but also the confusion and fear – and blur the borders that keep it separate from the rest of

the city. In doing so, the travestis unhouse others. They transform formerly 'resident' bodies into temporary guests in their own city.

With a scandal, travestis create a new set of spatial and temporal coordinates in the city. They refuse to be guests in the house of the normative respectable family the straight time of São Paulo's creative urban project depends on. At the same time, the scandal unhouses others, turning them from straight time as well. What is created, and what I argue the travestis I spoke to are going for, is to forge (forcibly) their own way of being in the city, a time and space they create which is not dictated by the spatial and temporal coordinates of straight time (Muñoz, 2009). I cannot, at this point, pin down in detail what that way of being(s) is, except to say that it depends an anti-prescriptivism. It's appropriate here to bring back the words of Barbara from the previous chapter. In her remarks on the TransCidadania program, she says: "Falo não quer o seu futuro. Quero liberdade" (I say I don't want their future. I want freedom). She does not want to be restricted to an alignment with straight time as her only legitimate way of being in the city. She wants the freedom to live her life according to different horizons of futurity, though which specific horizons of futurity are at play in travesti politics will require further research.

Ultimately, the politics of the scandal is a struggle for a certain kind of recognition and legitimacy. It is a struggle for the reproduction of another way of being in the city. But it is also a struggle for recognition without first having to approximate straight time. Is that possible? If it is, what risks are travestis exposed to in pursing such forms of politics? And the risks are real. If you'll recall a statistic from the introduction,

between 2008 and 2014, more trans people (including travestis) were murdered in Brazil, 689, than in the countries with the next eight highest number of murders combined (TMM IDAHOT, 2015). This, it seems, is a paradox, and the real question at the heart of the scandal. The question is also one that I, unfortunately, am not yet able to answer.

Conclusion

This chapter seeks to examine how sexual politics in the local and the everyday at the particular confluence of world, city, and queer emerging in São Paulo. Along with the work of other scholars doing work in cities around the world with an array of queer populations, my argument contributes to other scholarship examining how new ways of being in the city are being produced, and what the outcomes of such ways of being might be.

Travestis in São Paulo engage in the politics of the scandal to challenge the straight time of São Paulo's project of creative urbanism. By circulating shame, travestis draw other bodies into their community of alien affect, thereby rendering those bodies as out of time and out of place in the city they had previously taken for granted. The purpose of these scandals is to enact an unhousing, to turn the bodies in question away from creative urbanism's horizon of straight time. Though such unhousings may be temporary and have no guaranteed outcome, they also provide the conditions of possibility for the legitimation of a new way of being in the city. For that is the goal of those I spoke to about scandal; to live a bearable life, a life with a future, that is not dictated by the spatial/temporal coordinates of straight time.

Chapter 6: Concluding Remarks

I argue thus because we cannot afford no future.
(Natalie Oswin, 2012: 1637)

Just as Brazil is one of the few countries in the world where a travesti could be
declared to be the country's most beautiful woman, so it is perhaps the only one
where travestis could be held forth as beacons of civic responsibility that other
citizens ought to follow. In the eyes of those who don't like travestis and wish
they would just shut up and disappear, that, perhaps, is the biggest scandal
of them all.
(Don Kulick and Charles Klein, 2003: 236)

In this thesis, I have taken the concept of straight time from queer urbanism to

open São Paulo's project of creative urbanism to a queer critique. By doing so, I was able

to identify how the spatialities and temporalities generated by the project are being

sexualized. What I found was that even though creative urbanism relies on the

valorization of sexual minorities as a marker of modernity and progress, São Paulo's

project of creative urbanism is ultimately oriented toward the horizon of straight time, an

exclusionary kind of reproductive futurity. The particular confluence of world (mobile

creative urbanism), city (São Paulo), and queer (travestis) in São Paulo also ends up

mobilizing sexual others in complicity with the bureaucratic, exclusionary, and

hierarchical logic of straight time. On the Minhocão, for example, travestis acting like

typical travestis are made to feel out of place and out of step with São Paulo's creative

urban project. Additionally, the TransCidadania program offers a clear and disturbing

glimpse at the steps travestis must take to 'catch up' and 'fit in' with the straight time of

the city. Travestis, as a queer group not aligned with straight time, crack open the hetero

and homonormativity of São Paulo's creative urban project. This finding represents a

contribution to queer urbanism, as it helps to make theory from a city outside of the

EuroAmerican context and also serves to push queer urbanism past a simple homo-hetero binary.

Through my research, I found that while some travestis (like TransCidadania program participant Aline) try to align themselves with the straight time of creative urbanism as a survival strategy, other travestis who spoke to me did not. Instead, they seek out the cracks and fissures in straight time, and find creative ways to live according to alternative urban futures. When they draw their penises on the ground and walls of the city, travestis engage in their own creative urbanism. Their creative urbanism, however, is not bound by the hetero- and homonormative straight time of São Paulo's urban project. Travestis are doing something different.

In this spirit, I argue that travestis engage in a politics of the scandal where the scandal functions as a kind of everyday sexual politics. Scandals circulate shame to make normally comfortable paulistanos out of time and out of place in their own city; unhoused in their own home. Ideally, such a move opens those bodies to new horizons of futurity (and possible ways of being in the city) as a result. This particular kind of politics was shown in the actions of Denise, who literally stopped traffic to hurl sticky bits of shame at passing drivers and pedestrians. In the process, she generated a new set of spatial and temporal coordinates in the particular bit of street, ones not dictated by straight time. By adding affect to queer urbanism, I was able to highlight different ways sexual politics are playing out in the local and everyday of the city.

Of course, as I mentioned at the end of Chapter 5, there are very real questions to ask in regards to the situation of travestis in São Paulo. More generally, the same

questions remain for any queer group facing homonormative projects of urban change that loudly and vehemently claim they are exactly the opposite. How effective are scandals really? How far do the effects spread? What will happen in the long run? Politics of affect are, after all, imprecise and often unpredictable. Though tendencies might be identified, as Sara Ahmed has written, you cannot know how a body will be affected until it is affected (2010). What if the shame that forces bodies to acknowledge the ways they also fail to follow the script of normative existence ends up perpetuating fear of travestis that results in a backlash? At this point, there is no way to know.

In spite of such obstacles, I concur with Natalie Oswin's statement above that those cast into historical purgatory by the normative script of straight time cannot accept no future. Though the political moment for travestis is uncertain, ordinary affective politics like the scandal may function as the condition of possibility for a larger re-imaging of what the present can become. I think here of Lauren Berlant and her concept of the impasse (2011). The impasse is the radically uncertain present, a space from which you cannot tell what is coming next. It can also be a space of radical creativity, a way to see "what is halting, stuttering, and aching" and to "produce some better ways of mediating the sense of a historical moment…so that it would be possible to imagine a potentialized present that does not reproduce all of the conventional collateral damage" (263). The travestis who spoke to me can be said to dwell in the radical uncertainty of the impasse. But though their attempts to legitimate different ways of being in the city may be temporary or collapse suddenly, they might not, or they may transform the urban project in unexpected ways. Travestis are actively undoing the city in the present on

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behalf of what they imagine the city can become, a city where they are not the collateral

damage. Perhaps, as suggest by Kulick and Klein above, that is the biggest scandal of all.

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2008-2012   University of Washington
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2011   Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
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Awards and Scholarships

2016   Travel Award ($100)
                   Urban Geography Specialty Group
2015   Clarissa Kimber Field Study Award ($800)
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                   University of Kentucky; Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino
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2014   Daniel R. Reedy Quality Achievement Fellowship Award
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                   University of Kentucky, Graduate School
2014-2016   University of Kentucky Teaching Assistantship
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2012   Library Research Award, Senior Thesis
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2012   Best Paper in Latin American Studies
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                   University of Washington, Latin American and Caribbean Studies
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2011   Fund for Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE)
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2011	Martin and Anne Jugum Scholarship in Labor Studies ($2500) Henry Bridges Center for Labor Studies, Seattle, WA
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Research

Conference Participation │ Panel Member

2015	*Minor Theory* 22nd Annual Conference on Critical Geography, Lexington, KY. 25 October Organized by Anna Secor; Panelists: Christine Woodward, Anna Secor, Matthew Rosenblum, Brent Sturlaugson, Ishan Ashutosh, Margaret Walker
2012	*Intersection of Social Justice and Global Health* Western Regional Health Conference, Seattle, WA. 14 April Organized by Sophia Teshoma; Panelists: Christine Woodward, Eunice How, Maria Guillen, Jesse Hagopian
2012	*Past, Present, and Promise of Occupy* Global 99 Conference, Seattle, WA. 29 March Panelists: Christine Woodward, Matthew Sparke, Taso Lagos, John Burbank, Cody Lestelle, Genevieve Aguilar, Maria Guillen.

Conference Participation │ Papers Presented

2016	Woodward, Christine. "Queer time in the city: reshaping normative temporalities of urban change in São Paulo, Brazil." *American Association of Geographers 112th Annual Meeting*, San Francisco, CA
2011	Woodward, Christine, Jennifer Halpin, and Karl Eckhardt. "Composting old remediation models: changing the growing conditions for ELLs." *Pacific Northwest Writing Centers Association Conference*, Yakima, WA
2010	Woodward, Christine, Jennifer Halpin, and Pamela Saunders. "Risky business: steering your Center through the shifting sands of budget cuts." *Pacific Northwest Writing Centers Association Conference*, Monmouth, OR

	Conference Participation│Discussant/Chair
2015	Chair of *Precarity*
	22nd Annual Conference of Critical Geography, Lexington, KY. 24 October
	Organized by Daniel Cockayne; panelists: Daniel Cockayne, Heather Hyden, Leanne Purdum, Michael Samers, Jerry Shannon

Service

	University of Kentucky
2014-	Professional Development Committee, Department of Geography

	Conferences Organized
2015	Co-organizer (with University of Kentucky Geography Department)
	22nd Annual Conference on Critical Geography
	Lexington, KY, 23 October – 25 October