### 2AC – FW

#### Their complaint is with the form rather than the content of the 1AC – translating this complaint into a rule plays into sovereign hands which turns decisionmaking and guts education

Steele 10 – Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Kansas

(Brent, Defacing Power: The Aesthetics of Insecurity in Global Politics pg 109-111, dml)

The rules of language and speaking can themselves **serve to conceal truth** in world politics. I begin here with the work of Nicholas Onuf (1989), which has inspired constructivists to engage how “language is a rule-governed activity” (Wilmer 2003: 221). Rules help construct patterns and structures of language exchanges, and “without these rules, language becomes meaningless” (Gould 2003: 61). From the work of Onuf, we recognize that rules **do more** than set appropriate boundaries for language, as the ¶ paradigm of political society is aptly named because it links irrevocably the sine qua non of society— the availability, no, the unavoidability of rules— and of politics— the persistence of asymmetric social relations, known otherwise as the condition of rule. (1989: 22) ¶ **Rules lead to rule**— what Onuf (1989) titles the “rule-rules coupling.” Thus, linguistic rules **demarcate relations of power** and serve to **perpetuate the asymmetry** of social relations. The structure of language games is valued because it provides order and continuity. But because those rules are obeyed so **frequently** and **effortlessly**, they are hard to recognize as forms of authority. ¶ Where does the need for such continuity arise? As mentioned in previous chapters, Giddensian sociology suggests that the drive for ontological security, for the securing of self-identity through time, can only be satisfied by the screening out of chaotic everyday events through routines, which are a “central element of the autonomy of the developing individual” (Giddens 1991: 40). Without routines, individuals face chaos, and what Giddens calls the “protective cocoon” of basic trust evaporates (ibid.). Yet, as I have discussed in my other work (2005, 2008a) and as Jennifer Mitzen notes (2006: 364), rigid routines can **constrain agents in their ability to** **learn new information**. This is what the rhythmic strata of aesthetic power satisfies. In the context it creates for parrhesia, these routines, connected to an agent’s sense of Self, **shield that agent from the truth**.4 “The shallowness of our routinized daily existence,” Weber once stated, “consists indeed in the fact that the persons who are caught up in it do not become aware, and above all **do not wish** to become aware, of this partly psychologically, part pragmatically conditioned motley of irreconcilably antagonistic values” (1974: 18). The need for such rhythmic continuity spans all social organizations, including scholarly communities (thus we refer to such communities as “disciplines”). ¶ The function of these rules creates a similar problematic faced by the parrhesiastes who is attempting to “**shock**” these structured rules and habits of the targeted agent. Because the parrhesiastes may find the linguistic rules or at least “styles” or language used by the targeted power to be part of the problem (the notion that one must be “tactful,” for instance), she or he must perform a balancing act between two goals. **First,** the parrhesiastes must **challenge the conventions** that serve to simplify and even conceal the truth the parrhesiastes is speaking. **Second,** the parrhesiastes **must observe** some of these speaking rules, part of which may themselves be responsible for or derivate toward the style of the Self that needs to be challenged by the parrhesiastes. Favoring the first, the parrhesiastes is prone to being ignored as irrational, as someone “on the fringe” or even unintelligible or, in the words of Harry Gould already noted, “meaningless.” Favoring the second moves the parrhesiastes away from the truth attempting to be told or at least obscures the truth with the language of nicety. As developed by Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, parrhesia existed within this spectrum: at times, it bordered on “harsh frankness” that was “not mixed with praise”; at other times, the frankness was more subdued (Glad 1996: 41). 5 As the examples of Cynic and academic-intellectual parrhesia provided later in this chapter illustrate, different manifestations of truth-telling as a form of counterpower occupy different spaces along this spectrum— balancing between abiding by these conventions of decorum and style; the need to provide forceful, decloaked truth; or, in the case of Cynic parrhesia, flauntingly contradicting the conventions altogether. ¶ The parrhesiastes will most likely face charges of the first order (ignoring convention) **regardless of the manner** in which parrhesia is delivered. If, indeed, “the truth hurts” and if the target of such truth cannot deny the facts being delivered, the **most convenient option** for the victim **is to blame** “**the way**” in which the parrhesiastes said something, knowing full well that it was **the substance** of what that person said that was, for the victim, inappropriate or, more to the point, inconvenient.

#### “Resolved” means to reduce through mental analysis

Random House Unabridged Dictionary, 6

(http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/resolved)

Resolve: 1.To come to a definite or earnest decision about; determine (to do something): I have resolved that I shall live to the full. 2.to separate into constituent or elementary parts; break up; cause or disintegrate (usually fol. by into). 3.to reduce or convert by, or as by, breaking up or disintegration (usually fol. by to or into). 4.to convert or transform by any process (often used reflexively). 5.to reduce by mental analysis (often fol. by into).

#### You should be an informed citizen, not the government – they shut down critical thinking and deliberation

Steele, 10 – Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Kansas

(Brent, Defacing Power: The Aesthetics of Insecurity in Global Politics pg 130-132, dml) [gender/ableist language modified with brackets]

When facing these dire warnings regarding the manner in which academic-intellectuals are seduced by power, what prospects exist for parrhesia? How can academic-intellectuals speak “truth to power”? It should be noted, first, that the academic-intellectual’s **primary purpose** should not be to re-create a program to replace power or even to develop a “research program that could be employed by students of world politics,” as Robert Keohane (1989: 173) once advised the legions of the International Studies Association. Because academics are denied the “full truth” from the powerful, Foucault states, we must **avoid a trap** into which governments would want intellectuals to fall (and often they do): “**Put yourself in our place and tell us what you would do**.” This is **not a question** in which one has to answer. To make a decision on any matter requires a knowledge of the facts **refused us**, an analysis of the situation we aren’t allowed to make. There’s the trap. (2001: 453) 27 This means that any alternative order we might provide, this hypothetical “research program of our own,” will also become imbued with authority and **used for mechanisms of control**, a matter I return to in the concluding chapter of this book. When linked to a theme of counterpower, academic-intellectual parrhesia suggests, **instead**, that the academic should use his or her pulpit, their position in society, to be a “friend” “who **plays the role** of a parrhesiastes, of a truth-teller” (2001: 134). 28 When speaking of then-president Lyndon Johnson, Morgenthau gave a bit more dramatic and less amiable take that contained the same sense of urgency. **What the President needs**, then, is an intellectual ~~father~~-confessor, who dares to remind him[/her] of **the brittleness of power**, of its arrogance and ~~blindness~~ [ignorance], of its **limits** and **pitfalls**; who tells him[/her] how empires rise, decline and fall, how power turns to folly, empires to ashes. He[/she] ought to **listen to that voice** and **tremble**. (1970: 28) The primary purpose of the academic-intellectual is therefore not to just effect a moment of counterpower through parrhesia, let alone stimulate that heroic process whereby power realizes the error of its ways. So those who are skeptical that academics ever really, regarding the social sciences, make “that big of a difference” **are missing the point**. As we bear witness to what unfolds in front of us and collectively analyze the testimony of that which happened before us, the purpose of the academic is to “**tell the story**” of what actually happens, to document and faithfully capture both history’s events and context. “The intellectuals of America,” Morgenthau wrote, “can do only one thing: live by the standard of truth that is their peculiar responsibility as intellectuals and by which men of power will ultimately be judged as well” (1970: 28). This will take time, 29 but if this happens, if we seek to uncover and practice telling the truth free from the “**tact**,” “**rules**,” and **seduction** that constrain its telling, then, as Arendt notes, “humanly speaking, no more is required, and **no more can reasonably be asked**, for this planet to remain a place **fit for human habitation**” ([1964] 2006: 233).

### AT: Predictability

#### **Our affirmation is a form of play that liberates debate from rigid rules and detaches humanity from the sacred**

Dragona, 8 – PhD Candidate in the Faculty of Communication and Mass Media at University Of Athens, Freelance media arts curator (Daphne, “WhoDaresToDe-sacraliseTodaySPlay,” Personal Cinema, Page Last Modified 24 April 2008, http://www.personalcinema.org/warport/index.php?n=Main.WhoDaresToDe-sacraliseTodaySPlay?)

Giorgio Agamben considers play a most important element in culture, explaining that it is the only one that can profane what is considered sacred. It can liberate humanity from the “sacred”, without negating it. It can profane the “sacred” without destroying the myth behind; it does not simply politicise. And if play is to cause changes and form our lives in better ways, this would be through its capacity to be an act of profanation by itself. But, unfortunately, this tendency according to Agamben is in decline and the need to regain it is a political necessity (Agamben 2006 : 127). What are the conditions of play today? Can it seriously play a role in our everyday lives? Who could re-attribute its capability to profane? Defining play There have been many definitions of play from different disciplines and orientations. Sutton – Smith in his book The Ambiguity of Play refers frequently to Mihail Spariosu who had called play “amphibolous” describing a basic disagreement between the Western philosophers over whether play is an orderly and rule- governed affair according to the common western society norms, or a chaotic, violent and indeterminate interaction of forces, according to some more modern approaches (Sutton Smith 1997/2001: 80). Roger Caillois had also seen two poles in play, but as a continuum where diversified forms could be set. On one extreme we find “paidia”, an “indivisible principle”, common to diversion, turbulence, free improvisation and carefree gaiety which is manifested by uncontrolled fantasy. At the other end, we find “ludus”, bound with “arbitrary, imperative and purposely tedious conventions”. The more the “frolic and impulsive exuberance” of paidia is “disciplined by an inversed tendency to its anarchic and capricious nature”, the more play approaches ludus (Caillois 1958/2001: 13). The Western European thought mostly followed the rationalistic common pattern and embraced the politicized, ruled form of play surpassing its anarchic and vivid features. This can be easily seen by the well known definitions of Huizinga and Caillois who, although they described play as free and unproductive activity, still insist on its dependency on the rules and its separation from everyday life. (Caillois 1958/2001: 43, Huizinga 1955: 13) Is it play or game? The old scholars, Huizinga and Caillois, did not especially differentiate the two terms. It seems that the rules that institutionalised play gave form to games. Play appears to be the idea, the notion, the anarchic and spontaneous basis, the activity based on fantasy, what Caillois called paidia, as Plato and Aristotle first put it. Accordingly, games seem to be the expressions and the forms of play that are governed by rules, demand discipline and form hierarchies, need a constraint space and time, reflecting more the ludus element. Generally, one could assume that play as a notion precedes games – it is their presupposition; it is the play ‘instinct’ that inspires the formation of forms. (Huizinga in Wark 2007: 181) In our times, with the explosion of the video game industry, the two words seem to have enclosed different features and ideas. Edward Castronova highlights the difference as follows: “Play is an intense, survival- relevant action that is not serious… Play is make believe… Play is an easy- to- copy behaviour that brings joy… Games are not the same thing as play. Games are designed goal environments with uncertain outcomes. They are social institutions. Games are a perfect environment for creating play, but also they appear under other circumstances. Elections… stock markets… wars are games.” (Castronova 2007: 100,101) In the digital era, games in the form of video games distant themselves more from play. Games compared to play can be described, can be analysed; they become a product, a commodity; they can be copied, copyrighted and become a subject of control. As Alexander R. Galloway notes, the video game is a cultural object bound by history and materiality, consisting of an electronic computational device and a game simulated in software (Galloway, 2006: 1) Risks of play Mckenzie Wark writes in his recent book Gamer Theory that games are no longer a past time, outside or alongside of life. They are now the very form of life, and death, and time, itself (Wark 2007: 06) To a certain degree, every civilization can be described and characterised by its games but what happens today is that life itself has taken the form of a game; of game and not play. While gaming platforms today are being used widely for different disciplines we might need to wonder: What are the risks play runs in this context? How could they be faced? The risk of contamination According to the classic thinkers of play, there was one main threat for play, its “contamination” by the ordinary life. Play could only be considered as a “stepping out of real life, into a temporary sphere with a disposition of its own” (Huizinga 1955: 8). The world of play and that of everyday life were considered as two different universes, antagonistic to each other (Caillois, 1958/2001: 44, 53). This austere distinction was what the situationists tried to break and to transcend. “Play, radically broken from a confined ludic time and space, must invade the whole of life”, they stated in 1958. The situationists with their notions of the psychogeographies, the derive, the situation and the détournement had proposed a fusion of play into the cities, a total swift where the player is in reality the “liver”. In our days, a different fusion of play occurred. Our everyday life is a fusion in itself of the virtual and the real. As Edward Castronova mentions “the real world can be a terribly empty place.” Synthetic worlds may offer experiences and opportunities that one might not have in their real life. Of course, “reality remains reality, strongly sensated but unfiltered, raw. It will always command attention, but it has long since abandoned the claim to all of our attention. We already live partly in media. Games are just the latest improvement.” (Castronova 2007: 30, 69) The risk of productivity Play is longer by definition an occasion of pure waste; waste of time, energy, ingenuity and skill. Play’s second major risk is the one formed by productivity, by players who belong to the generation of the prosumers, as they are producers and consumers at the same time. Play nowadays becomes part of the immaterial labour, within which as Lazzarato notes ‘leisure time’ and ‘working time’ are increasingly fused, making play – in our case- inseparable from work (Lazzarato 1997). This affective labor of play produces the informational and cultural content of the commodity that at the end is defined as game. Within this content stand today’s synthetic worlds where the players contribute voluntarily with their work and behaviour to the formation of the gaming worlds and the augmentation of the virtual economy. Communication is continually improved as the power of this form is found in the collective process, in the users/prosumers social relations. People of course might as well make profit for themselves. This kind of play can be to their advantage. But one can not overlook the fact that this era of ludocapitalism, as Dibbel frames it, is “a curious new post-industrial revolution, driven by play as the first one was driven by steam”. (Dibbell in Shaviro 2007) The risk of being the alibi The risk of play being exploited and being used as an alibi for economical or political profit is not a new one. The ambiguous –in ethic terms - economy of the casinos, the lotteries and the hippodromes or even the economy of the sports industry are such phenomena that have given birth to discussions, problems and even scandals for most of the countries of the Western world. However, the highest risk for play today is found in the exploitation of play being made by the military entertainment complex. War as a game is an old metaphor. Chess and Go and especially the 19th century Kriegsspiel which was used to aid Prussian officers, could be considered as predecessors of the games that would be used for military entertaining purposes later on (Halter 2002). But what the media and especially the video games changed was the possibilities given for nationalistic propaganda. Games like America’s Army, are at the same time a recruiting tool, an edugame, a test bed and tool and a propaganda game. Such games can influence attitudes and behaviours and win a communication battle that would otherwise be lost. Creating falsifying images of super-clean pure war, as seen on the screens, the games succeed in “using sweet power to win a war on ideas” (Neiborg 2007: 79) Summarizing the risks above, the impression given is that we have “nowhere to hide outside the gamespace” (Wark 2007: 183). But, are we trapped within a total game or is play itself trapped as well at the end? The sovereignity of the game over play today is a fact. Having been institutionalized, play has been accredited with the seriousness of an academic, social, political and economic value and has become an issue of controversial discussion accordingly. But in reality, again, it is mostly games we are talking about, not play. Contemporary play is purposely sacralised and distant, used as an excuse for games’ abuses. Being considered sacred, play’s case reminds us of religion. Religion does not unify all; on the contrary it keeps the roles distinct and separated. It keeps people apart from the divine (Agamben 2006: 124). So it happens with play, keeping the players apart from play itself. Could this separation be broken? And could play become an important contributory factor to our lives’ amelioration? Setting play free “It was in fact from art that play broke free” Raoul Vaneigem wrote in reference to Dada (Vaneigem 1967). To transcend rigid and crystallized forms, rules need to be broken. One can play by rules, or play with the rules. Freedom can be regained by those who can play with today’s forms of play, who can appropriate them, see through and reverse them, by those who can profane what is considered sacred. Following the famous predecessors of the dada, Surrealism, Fluxus and Situationism, artists today turn again towards play and use it as a means to challenge stereotypes, to offer new ways of reading and understanding, to break the constraints and offer new perspectives. Art merged with new media, activism, philosophy, politics and social sciences takes the role of the animator, the hacker, the player – “liver” today. Artists working on these fields through projects that do not necessarily need to be game – based, reveal play’ s multifaceted original character and propose means for its use, liberation and expansion within different sides of life. Play as play… Play can not be doubted and its fundamental role, original features and continuous presence is what some artists highlight. Axel Stockburger’s Tokyo Arcade Warriors – Shibuya and William Wegman’ s Dog Duet (Two Dogs and a ball) showcase how play absorbs one in the most serious and utter way. Documenting only the figures of players and not the action itself, one can still not deny or doubt play even if it is hidden. Other artists working on the field, show how playfulness is kept intact, while common playgrounds are being transformed into new ones based on technology. Such are the cases of Himalaya’ s Head by Devart where a snow war takes place between physical and virtual players or Jumping Rope by Orna Portugaly, Daphna Talithman and Sharon Younger, where participants are invited to jump a rope which is being turned by two virtual projected characters. Play back in action… Artists like the Ludic Society and Gordan Savicic follow a neo – situationist approach of play; they bring action back to the real dimension and spread it in the cities. In their projects they create ludic ambiances and city walks where the notions of the “dérivé”, the “détournement” and the “psychogeographies” are being appropriated to raise questions about today’s everyday life and potentialities for playfulness. Objects of Desire by the Ludic Society is a playful metaphor where objects take the place of subjects, with obsessions and desires that they follow to find their home. Gordan Savicic’ s Constraint City / the pain of everyday life is based on a corset with high torque servo motors and a WIFI-enabled game-console, that when worn, can write and read the city codes while also being a fetish object causing pain according to the strength of signal it gets. Following a different direction, David Valentine and MediaShed, also re-invite play back to the ordinary life, as seen on their video The duellists that documents a CCTV parkour performance. Two free-runners run an acrobatic competition in a shopping mall of Manchester Arndale. The fluid, uninterrupted movement of them acting as players re - energizes the environment in the most vivid and spontaneous way. Play caught in between… Other artists look into limits between the virtual and the real in today’ s play. The work of Silver and True named Sell your Rolex comments on the virtual dimension lived by millions of people today. Taking the roles of the user and its avatar, players note that behaviours of the virtual world are odd, funny and embarrassing when brought back to real life. How accurate is simulation after all in realistic terms? The MIT Lab with Stiff People’ s League mingles the two dimensions through a mixed reality game of soccer, happening simultaneously in the real space and in the world of Second Life. The common relationship between physical and virtual world is inverted as physical players need to rely on the virtual ones to play the game. Play reclaimed… Different questions are being raised by artists regarding play’s exploitation for purposes of political, nationalistic and ideological propaganda. Is morality a question? Are people conscious enough about what they are playing? John Klima in his project The Great Game.Epilogue brings reality into a game context as he incorporates in a child’s arcade ride true information from the conflict in Afghanistan, which has been collected by the Department of Defense of the US. John Paul Bichard with the Art of War addresses the issue of the representation of violence and its ways of interpretation through the contemporary media. Through two video works with footages from the army, one cannot tell what is real and what is imaginary anymore. In a similar direction, Vladan Joler has created the Schengen Information System, Version 1.0.3, a game where the player takes on the role of the activist who should intrude the building of the Schengen Information System and destroy the archives. Making use of publicly accessible technology and information, the artist has managed to make a realistic reconstruction and reverse the common use of games for military training purposes. Derivart wishing to tackle a socio-economical issue -that of real estate in Spain - use play to situate a problem and raise people’s awareness. The Burbujometro, showing the prices of apartments in different Spanish cities in the form of bubbles, that the user can shoot, criticizes the building boom of the 2000s. Play 2.0… The Folded-in project, created by Personal Cinema and the Erasers is a different critique on today’s play. The project examines the notion of borders in the era of the web 2.0 social networks. In the form of an online game application which reverses and criticizes the platform of YouTube, the projects seeks to find if players in the digital spaces could be liberated from their common prejudices and beliefs and to what extent they are supporters of immaterial labour, being the ideal prosumers. Taking this problem more to its extremes, one meets the phenomenon of the gold farming. Ge Jin with his documentary The Gold Farmers examines how the growth of virtual economy has given birth to the phenomenon of the gaming sweatshops and aims to answer how it leads play to become real work and what facts are hidden behind it. Play re-discussed… But how far can games and their creators go when observing, reproducing and criticizing today’s real world? Danny Ledonne, a young artist from Colorado, polarised the audience when he made a videogame of the Columbine assassination in the 90’s. Wishing to express this controversy, he made a documentary about the game investigating the issues of games, violence, and ethics. A lot of answers regarding the strategies followed by artists today and the phenomenon of the play culture, are also given in the 8 bit documentary by Marcin Ramocki & Justin Strawhand where they examine the overall influence play has in our everyday culture. CONCLUSION Play in our times presents a paradox. Despite its wide use and continuous presence in different forms of cultures, it is distant and trapped in its own formations, the games. Games are being accused; play is being sacrilised and is placed on a pedestal. Running certain risks, within this structure, play’s influential role on our culture is questioned. If, following Giorgio Agamben, play’s significance lies on the fact that it can detach humanity from the “sacred”, play would need to liberate itself first from the constraints of the sacred. To achieve this, one should not deny play; because this would lead to its cancellation. What one should do is to profane, to neglect, to surpass the constraints and break the rules. And this again can happen only through play itself, through its anarchic and vivid features that are today being wept out. This is how the actions taken by the artists can be described: as actions of profanity where they appropriate the myth and reverse the ceremony of the sacred. This violation is also an act of play itself that is then set free from all constraints. But there is one last point to remember: According to Agamben, profanation gains its complete meaning only when what has been profaned, is then rendered back to the people, at their disposal to start all over again. So this act is not an act of cancellation or politicisation; it is an act about raising awareness and about re-assigning to play its capacity to become a passage for true life, as Vaneigem would describe it. Can art fulfill this? Let’s hope so and wait and see…

### 2AC – Anthropocentrism

#### Our critiques are one in the same – the category of bare life connects and sustains the categories of human and other beings – only through an understanding of this construction can we hope to stop this form of violence by the sovereign

Oliver, 7 – W. Alton Jones Chair of Philosophy and Professor of Women's Studies at Vanderbilt University (Kelly, PhaenEx 2, No. 2 (fall/winter 2007): 1-23; Stopping the Anthropological Machine: Agamben with Heidegger and Merleau-Ponty, 2007)

In The Open, even while Agamben points to the shifting and unstable significations of the term “human,” he is more concerned with the ways in which we do and do not maintain the space in-between animal and human, the so-called missing link. The greatest danger of the anthropological machine is that, along with the categories human and animal, it produces a phantom third category in between the two, which both connects and separates them and thereby constitutes and sustains them. He concludes: What would thus be obtained, however, is neither an animal life nor a human life, but only a life that is separated and excluded from itself—only a bare life. And faced with this extreme figure of the human and the inhuman, it is not so much a matter of asking which of the two machines (or of the two variants of the same machine) is better or more effective—or, rather, less lethal and bloody—as it is of understanding how they work so that we might, eventually, be able to stop them. (37-8) A bare life is one produced by biological and medical science as a living body separated from its social, political and even ecological context. In Homo Sacer, Agamben suggests that it is an exceptional body (monstrous or sacred) whose fate can be determined outside of systems of law or reason (see Homo Sacer). As such, the deadly killing power it provokes seems virtually unstoppable. Thus, Agamben maintains that only by understanding how this logic works, which is to say, how the anthropological machine creates homo sapiens who are considered less than human, can we hope to stop it.

#### The intersectional approach of the perm is comparatively the best option – otherwise the alt gets coopted

Kahn and Humes, 9

Richard Kahn, Assistant Professor of Educational Foundations and Research at the University of North Dakota, AND Brandy Humes, Masters of Education from the Feminist Approaches to Social Justice in Education program at the University of British Columbia and a Bachelor of Environmental Studies from York University; “Marching Out From Ultima Thule: Critical Counterstories of Emancipatory Educators Working at the Intersection of Human Rights, Animal Rights, and Planetary Sustainability”, 2009, http://www.academia.edu/167063/Marching\_Out\_From\_Ultima\_Thule\_Critical\_Counterstories\_of\_Emancipatory\_Educators\_Working\_at\_the\_Intersection\_of\_Human\_Rights\_Animal\_Rights\_and\_Planetary\_Sustainability //bghs-ms

Despite environmental education’s potential limitations as a critical field of study, significant theoretical inroads have been made over the last 10 to 15 years that have sought to intervene and reconstruct it as an advocacy pedagogy capable of transformatively engaging with the socio-political and cultural contexts of environmental problems. It is thus not altogether uncommon now to hear critical environmental educational theorists speak of the need to either develop pedagogical methods that can work both for ecological sustainability and social justice or mount critique of environmental education from an oppositional variety of racial, class, gender, queer, and non-ableist standpoints. Institutionally, this has translated into the recent emergence of education for sustainable development as environmental education’s heir (Gonzalez-Gaudiano, 2005) along with attempts to blend forms of environmental education with work hailing from the tradition of critical pedagogy (for examples, see McKenzie, 2005; Gruenewald, 2003; Gruenewald & Smith, 2007; Fawcett, Bell & Russell, 2002; Bell & Russell, 2000; Cole, 2007; McLaren & Houston, 2005; O’Sullivan, 2001; Kahn, 2008a; 2008b; 2006; 2002; Andrzejewski, 2003; Gadotti, 2008).2 While some of this work, like that of McKenzie, Russell, Fawcett, and Andrzejewski has been concerned with the need for a critical literacy of nonhuman animals, the majority of the socio-ecological turn in environmental education has either ignored nonhuman animal advocacy issues or has worked only ambiguously on nonhuman animals’ behalf through an attempt to teach non-anthropocentric values. Though deconstructions of anthropocentrism are no doubt useful towards reconstructing educational frameworks, they have however been deployed for different and sometimes contradictory ends by a variety of groups. Hence, a curriculum of deep ecology might critique anthropocentrism in order to establish norms of greater equality between species and to challenge human identities through an attempt to foster biocentric or ecocentric literacies of planetarity. This could work well with outdoor education and other wilderness- oriented pedagogies. Animal welfarist educators, by turn, might promote reformed visions of humanity as a good steward for life on earth and thereby uphold human rights to use nonhuman animals within an ethics that is less imperialist and more paternalistically familial. The curricular model here could question painful or needless dissection exercises in science education or promote the value of using classroom pets to teach character traits of responsibility and non- violence. Yet, neither of these theoretical perspectives, despite whatever positive outcomes they may tend toward, entail the production of knowledge about the ways in which the plight of nonhuman animals is structurally necessitated by our current system of political economy based on exploitative capitalism, violent militarism, and industrial technics. Moreover, they do not demand that we understand the subjugated status of nonhuman animals in our society as related to or concordant with the historical reality of oppressed human groups as well as with the domination of nature generally. Without seeking to limit the multiple pathways that liberatory pedagogy may presently take--that is, we recognize that differences between sociopolitical struggles even as we seek to promote recognition of their common causes--our feeling is that a new paradigm3 of what might be inclusively termed “total liberation pedagogy” is now at hand and beginning to be more fully articulated in the practices of a vanguard of educators. This total liberation pedagogy attempts to work intersectionally across and in opposition to all oppressions (including those of nonhuman animals) and for ecological sustainability. Producing what Haraway (1988) has called “situated knowledges,” total liberation pedagogy may in any given instance favor analysis of the primacy of one social antagonism over another, or one set of antagonism over the others, in generating inequalities of power and privilege. Again, there is still room for the application of ecofeminist educational theory, for example, and it need not give way to the universalization of vegan Third World ecofeminist anticapitalist Queer disability (etc.) pedagogy, no matter how much we might welcome the latter.4 But total liberation pedagogy, following the advances of multicultural educational theory, views oppression in systematic and complex terms, what Collins (2000) has termed the “matrix of domination.” This not only allows for a more refined analysis of the ways in which power circulates throughout nature and culture, to the systematic advantage of some and disadvantage of others, but by increasing the number of epistemic standpoints from which to teach and learn we free a potential multitude of educational subjects from the culture of silence generated by the dominant mainstream pedagogical and political platforms. To backtrack, save for perhaps lacking a strong commitment to the moral challenge that society’s treatment of nonhuman animals now poses for robustly democratic educational theory, those taking the socio-ecological turn in environmental education already tend to integrate intersectionality into their analyses. What distinguishes total liberation pedagogy, then, is its normative requirement that we also educate against what intersectional social psychologist Melanie Joy (2008) calls, “arguably the most entrenched and widespread form of exploitation in human history: speciesism” (p. 17). This would be to go beyond, for instance, teaching non- anthropocentric values. For by developing educational platforms that illuminate the socially- constructed nature of “species,” total liberation pedagogy does not seek to just destabilize human power in the abstract, but roots this in the need to support cultural and political practices that actively seek to overthrow speciesist relations across society.

#### Anthropocentrism is inevitable, but strategic anthropomorphism is possible – we can identify with and make decisions for the benefit of other beings

**Scholtz, 5** – associate Professor in Law, North-West University, (“Animal Culling: A Sustainable Approach or Anthropocentric Atrocity?: Issues of Biodiversity and Custodial Sovereignty”, MqJICEL (2005) Vol 2)

The CBD recognizes that the value of the biosphere is integrated with the importance of conservation of the biosphere for human survival. Loss of biodiversity in nature may impact on man just as the actions of man impact on nature.49 The anthropocentric approach evoked responses from various scholars who have advocated that nature itself should be awarded subjective rights.5 In a previous publication the author introduced the so-called ‘qualitative approach’ in order to escape the dichotomy of subject (man) and object (nature). A holistic approach is needed whereby the two opposites are united in a single organism. Instead of arguing for or against an anthropocentric approach, one must favour and promote ‘quality’ of the organism as the goal which needs to be achieved.51 According to this viewpoint it is impossible to escape anthropocentrism. **Anthropocentrism is inevitable** even in the instance where human beings confer rights on natural objects. It is futile to engage in an approach which does not pay heed to this reality. The focus on quality reconciles the interests of both man and nature. Quality encompasses quality of life for man which requires quality of, for instance, the ecosystem of which humans are a part. The focus on quality provides one with a certain conceptual understanding of the relationship between man and the environment. The question which arises is whether the qualitative approach really addresses the criticism that sustainable development is anthropocentric and that the interests of nature may accordingly be disregarded in favour of human needs? The acknowledgement that one should focus on quality already manifests in the concept of diluted anthropocentrism. This diluted form of anthropocentrism may also be relevant for the notion of sustainable development. To illustrate this point one may refer to the precautionary approach which is one of the well-known principles of sustainable development. This approach requires that despite absence of scientific evidence that actions may harm the environment, protective and/or prohibitory measures must be taken. The broad scope of this approach implies that various factors must be taken into account. These may extend beyond human interests to include the interests of nature.52 This important principle or approach is indicative of the diluted anthropocentrism inherent in the ideal of sustainable development. If one also takes notice of intergenerational equity in addition to the precautionary approach sustainable development, then the line of reasoning is further strengthened as actions detrimental to nature may have negative effects on future generations. The quality of life of future generations may be diminished by a decrease in biodiversity through the actions of the present generation. The recognition of the qualitative approach may be of importance in decisionmaking in issues of sustainable development. Where a decision-maker needs to balance the three elements of sustainable development; namely ecological, developmental and societal needs; the qualitative approach implies that one does not change the values which need to be balanced. Rather, it is a case where the perceptions of the adjudicator are altered to accord with reality. This resulting decision would reflect the reality which does not support the ‘fiction’ that the human component can be disregarded as the ecocentric approach propounds. One of the presumptions on which the qualitative theory is built is that conservation and use can only be achieved from a homocentric approach and further, that alternative theories establish a fiction whereby the human adjudicator is disregarded by way of elimination. This does not reflect reality. For some commentators this presumption is unconvincing. For example, Gillespie contends that: … non-anthropocentric theorists are not claiming that it is possible to know exactly what it is to be a non-human piece of Nature, but only that it is still possible to make certain broad assumptions about the general interests of living entities. Without this ability, a male could not be non-sexist, or a Caucasian, non-racist.53 Gillespie’s viewpoint is not without merit, but does this mean that the qualitative approach is incorrect? That the human component in relation to environmental protection cannot be disregarded does not imply that humans cannot make decisions which are in the broad interests of biodiversity. By way of analogy, it would of course be absurd to state that a caucasian is incapable of being non-racist. These examples do not, however, suffice to explain the complex homocentric relationship between man and the environment. Caucasians may be non-racist, but in a society in which they dominate it is most probable that they may pursue their self-interest as a group in certain circumstances.54 This does not mean that the dominant group is unaware of the general interests of others, but rather pertains to the adjudication of interests. As such it is not a question of knowledge regarding the interest of other entities, but the issue pertains to the adjudication of interests. The examples provided by Gillespie furthermore differ from the situation between humans and nature. Objects of nature are incapable of voicing their concerns in the same way as humans. It is accordingly true that man may make certain assumptions regarding nature’s interests, but man will evaluate these interests from an anthropocentric perspective. The qualitative theory therefore attempts to ameliorate man’s selfinterest to accord with a more holistic approach in which the interests of man are more in line with the requirements of biodiversity, for instance.55 According to the qualitative approach, biodiversity needs to be conserved and used in a sustainable fashion because of its instrumental value. Biodiversity has a qualitative instrumental value which far exceeds the total of man’s self-interest. Self-interest, in this instance, presupposes a certain interest in non-human elements because of the linkage between man and environment.

### 2AC – Schmitt

#### Western politics is not built on friend/enemy but rather bare life/political existence

Agamben 98 – professor of philosophy at university of Verona (Giorgio, Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life, pg. 8, gendered language under erasure)

The question “In what way does the living being have lan­guage?” corresponds exactly to the question “In what way does bare life dwell in the polis?*”* The living being has *logos* by taking away and conserving its own voice in it, even as it dwells in the *polis* by letting its own bare life be excluded, as an exception, within it. Politics therefore appears as the truly fundamental structure of Western metaphysics insofar as it occupies the threshold on which the relation between the living being and the logos is realized. In the “politicization” of bare life—the metaphysical task par excellence— the humanity of living man is decided. In assuming this task, modernity does nothing other than declare its own faithfulness to the essential structure of the metaphysical tradition. The funda­mental categorial pair of Western politics is not that of friend/enemy but that of bare life/political existence, zoe/ bios, exclu­sion/inclusion. There is politics because man is the living being who, in language, separates and opposes himself to his own bare life and, at the same time, maintains himself in relation to that bare life in an inclusive exclusion.

#### The alternative is the state of exception – makes the aff’s impacts inevitable

Boersma, 5(Jess Boersma teaches courses in Peninsular literatures, critical thought, and Spanish language at U of NC, “What About Schmitt? Translating Carl: Schmitt’s Theory of Sovereignty as Literary Concept”, published in *Discourse*, 27.2&3, Spring & Fall 2005, pp. 215-227 (Article), accessed 7/16/13, projectMUSE)

It would be too hasty to conclude that Schmitt’s current critical standing indicates any kind of resolution of the polemics between left and right regarding the legacy of his legal thought and his political association with the Nazi party. It almost goes without saying that the extreme right has taken pains to revive the friend-enemy distinction, developed in Schmitt’s The Concept of the Political and, in many cases, has reduced it further to a friend-foe distinction in order to justify strategies of total war and cultural, religious, and ethnic cleansing.3 On the other side of the spectrum, Giorgio Agamben, in his Homo Sacer series argues that the possibly tyrannical consequences of Schmitt’s thinking on the friend-enemy distinction and the sovereign decision are not isolated to the followers of the ‘‘Crown Jurist of the Third Reich,’’ but rather are only too alive and well within the practices of present day liberal democratic states.4 Let me give one quick example of Agamben’s line of thought in the form of biopolitics and the sovereign decision. In Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life Agamben argues that the state of exception is fast becoming the rule, with the consequence that the state of nature and the state of law are nearly indistinguishable (38). Rather than a pure Hobbesian state of nature of all against all, the sovereign state maintains the monopoly over violence and yet the demand for obedience is no longer contingent upon the guarantee of protection. In Remnants of Auschwitz, the Nazi concentration camp is shown to be the end result of a legal process which produces a separation between the living being (zoe) and the speaking being (bios) with the aim ‘‘no longer to make die or to make live, but to survive’’ (155). Agamben then seeks to illustrate how states of exception have played out in American history by following the sovereign decisions of presidents Abraham Lincoln, Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and George W. Bush. In the last case, he states that as a result of September 11 ‘‘Bush is attempting to produce a situation in which the emergency becomes the rule, and the very distinction between peace and war (and between foreign and civil war) becomes impossible’’ (State of Exception 22). Evidence for Agamben’s claims would appear to be provided externally by the suspended legal status of the Guanta´- namo prisoners; and internally by the recent ethical and legal battles over the coma case of Terri Schiavo (whose last name happens to mean slave in Italian), along with the present debates between the legislative and the executive branches in which Attorney General Alberto Gonzales has defended the constitutional legality of President Bush’s decision to not fully disclose matters regarding domestic spying.5

### 2AC – Politics

**Their focus exclusively on the federal government legitimizes violent exclusion of alternative viewpoints**

Bleiker, 2000 (Roland Bleiker, Ph.D. visiting research and teaching affiliations at Harvard, Cambridge, Humboldt, Tampere, Yonsei and Pusan National University as well as the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology and the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague; “Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics,” Cambridge University Press)

To expand the scope of international theory and to bring transversal struggles into focus is **not to declare the state obsolete**. States remain central actors in international politics and they have to be recognised and theorised as such. In fact, my analysis will examine various ways in which states and the boundaries between them have mediated the formation, functioning and impact of dissent. However, my reading of dissent and agency makes the state neither its main focus nor its starting point. There are compelling reasons for such a strategy, and they go beyond a mere recognition that a state-centric approach to international theory engenders a form of representation that privileges the authority of the state and thus precludes an adequate understand­ing of the radical transformations that are currently unfolding in global life. Michael Shapiro is among an increasing number of theor­ists who convincingly portray the state not only as an institution, but also, and primarily, as a set of 'stories' — of which the state-centric approach to international theory is a perfect example. It is part of a legitimisation process that highlights, promotes and naturalises cer­tain political practices and the territorial context within which they take place. Taken together, these stories provide the state with a sense of identity, coherence and unity. They create boundaries between an inside and an outside, between a people and its others. Shapiro stresses that such state-stories also exclude, for they seek 'to repress or delegitimise other stories and the practices of identity and space they reflect.' And it is these processes of exclusion that impose a cer­tain political order and provide the state with a legitimate rationale for violent encounters.[22](http://www.questia.com/reader/action/next/105471072#22)