# Pennsbury---Round 5

# 1NC

## 1NC—vs. BCC BY

### Quare

#### <the 1NC begins with me reading a narrative, then all00n reads this stuff>

#### Rhetorical silence normalizes heterosexuality as an invisible norm that leads to interpersonal and social violence

Afshar – ‘4 – Department of Political Science, Syracuse University (Ahoura Afshar, 2004, “The Invisible Presence of Sexuality in the Classroom,” Interrupting Heteronormativity, http://www.syr.edu/gradschool/pdf/resourcebooksvideos/Heteronormativity.pdf, p. 33-37)

Should discussions of sexuality be included in the classroom?1 The easy answer might be no: it is not 'relevant' to the subject matter of most courses except perhaps to those that explicitly engage with human sexuality, such as Child and Family Studies, Sociology, or Women's Studies. Moreover, this reasoning might go, given estimates that within the general population less than ten percent identify as non-heterosexual, there's a good chance that in a class of sixty students everyone is straight. / It is this kind of perspective, however, that not only contributes to the invisibility of LGBT students, but it also constructs and reinforces heteronormativity in our classrooms and across campus.2 LGBT students (and teachers) ARE present in our classrooms—whether we choose to see them or not—and it is their very invisible presence that demonstrates the power of heteronormativity to mask that which does not conform, and to naturalize that which does. This is a problem for both LGBT and heterosexual students and teachers alike. Heteronormative assumptions and practices regulate the beliefs, behaviors, and desires of ALL of us, restricting the range of possibilities of identification and expression for ALL of us, to such an extent that even momentary and joyful expressions (e.g. the heterosexual man singing "I feel like a woman" in the Chevy commercial discussed by Susan Adams) become sources of discomfort and fear. / Practices of regulation and restriction are integral to creating and maintaining hierarchies of power, which in turn limit the kinds of learning and teaching that can happen in our classrooms. As responsible teachers, we know that our pedagogical theories and practices need to expand the kinds of learning opportunities we provide students, not restrict them. In fact, the administration of this university recognizes the importance of this by emphasizing the link between a rich intellectual climate and a diversity of perspectives and people: "[. . .] diversity in our student body, faculty, and staff has far-ranging and significant educational benefits for all non-minorities and minorities alike" (Syracuse University Academic Plan, 2001). Particular strategies to create more inclusive curricula have been developed and implemented in programs and departments university-wide because "[s]tudents in diverse learning environments learn more, and have higher levels of satisfaction and greater degrees of civic engagements. They are better able to appreciate the ideas of others and they are better prepared to enter the world they will lead" (SU Academic Plan, 2001). This diversity of students, faculty, and ideas includes: "race, ethnicity, gender, age, religious beliefs, sexual orientation, and physical and mental ability" (Syracuse University Human Resources, emphasis added). / In principle, then, SU values diversity. Taking a closer look at what diversity means and how it is "practiced," however, exposes some gaps between these principles and actual, everyday classroom procedures, particularly when that "diversity" topic is sexual orientation. It's important to note that sexual orientation is a term that does not reference a particular set of people; it's not only about LGBT people, but also non-LGBT, or heterosexual, people. Why is this broader definition of sexual orientation important? Because the sexual orientation of heterosexuality is simultaneously institutionalized and naturalized to the extent that it becomes the invisible norm against which all other sexual orientations, identifications, or expressions are named "abnormal." The issue of "invisibility," then, isn't just about LGBT students and teachers; it's about the ways in which our assumptions about (hetero)sexuality are invisible to us. And we carry these assumptions into our classrooms. As a result, heteronormativity is reproduced, most often unconsciously, through our own everyday classroom practices. Rather than expanding the kinds of learning opportunities we create space for, we inadvertently reinforce a regulated and restrictive framework for understanding the complexity of human sexuality. / II. Ten years ago, research with Syracuse University LGBT students showed that one third of the respondents would have gone to another school had they had sufficient information on the circumstances surrounding LGBT issues on campus (Sherrill & Hardesty, 1994). Although the situation has changed since then, this statistic may still be accurate to some degree. Bias against those who are perceived to bend the rules of heteronormative behavior pervades SU's campus climate. There are still cases of verbal abuse and physical attacks against LGBT students on this campus: instances of name-calling, of derogatory comments written on doors, dry-erase boards, or computer desktops in residence halls and on campus, and even of physical assault on the basis of perceived sexual orientation (Syracuse University Public Safety, 2004; see also Byrnes, 2003; Wightman, 2003). "Fifty-one percent of bias-related incidents reported last fall [2003] had to do with sexual orientation, while 27 percent concerned gender" (Moritz, 2004). These statistics show that many LGBT students face problems that their straight peers do not. Non-straight students often experience a complex process that involves questioning their sexual orientation, achieving a comfortable sexual identity, coming out, and self-acceptance. They often experience loneliness, isolation, and exclusion in this process. And, they are often targets of homophobia simply because the heterosexual majority claims an exclusive version of sexuality and morality due to the regulative powers of heteronorms. Despite these facts, there is silence in our classrooms when it comes to sexuality. It appears as if no one wants to recognize this silence as a problem, let alone discuss ways of addressing it. Why? / One reason there are so many misconceptions about sexuality is that it is not talked about in U.S. educational systems. It is not generally included in primary schools because, it is argued, it is too early for children to learn about sexuality (Fine, 1988). It is often not included in high school curricula because, the argument goes, adolescents are at a crucial age and should not be exposed to the "promotion of sexuality," especially non-heterosexuality. It is not included in college since it is not 'relevant' to the subject matter in most courses. But, sexuality is relevant: it is not just about sex; it is a critical aspect of life, a primary means through which we identify ourselves, though this identification is usually unconscious for people who identify as "heterosexual" because heterosexuality is the assumed norm, and thus invisible as a "marker" of identity. For LGBT-identified people, however, sexuality is a conscious "marker" of identity; describing oneself in terms such as "gay," "lesbian," "bisexual," "transgender," or "queer" is fundamental to the process of "coming out." Thus, sexuality is not simply a "private" aspect of individuals, but is intimately connected with power relations in our culture, and influences much of our social experiences. There is much misinformation and bias regarding matters of sexuality. There are students with "non-traditional" sexual identities whose needs are not usually met. Only a tiny fraction of the entire student body may take courses that directly address sexuality and the privileges it awards, denies, and limits access to, and hence the majority of students will never discuss the politics of sexuality in any classroom. But it is a mistake to think that this is a problem only for LGBT students. / A social stigma has been attached to sexualities other than heterosexuality, bred out of the myths and misinformation this volume is trying to "interrupt." Hence, some people find moral justification in being violent towards non-straights. Emphasizing the shamefulness of same-sex desire, this logic simply ignores the fact that most people have some sort of "non-heterosexual" fantasy or experience at some point in their lifetime (Laumann et. al., 1994). One may have such experiences without having a LGBT orientation. Being unaware of such facts may cause heterosexuals to experience these fantasies with immeasurable anxiety, dreading that they might be gay. / Gay-bashing may also be seen as a way of proving one's masculinity. The pressure to "prove one's heterosexual manhood" can lead to the need to disparage gays in all ways. This kind of sexual stereotyping not only encourages violence against those who are perceived to be LGBT, but also causes psychological dissonance for straight youth, who are endeavoring to comply with rigid gender roles. It is because of these rigid gender roles that sexuality is an issue that all students face, regardless of their sexual orientation.

#### This ensures that their destruction of the current academy will only lead to the replacement of a new, more insidious heteronormative one—their approaches are incomplete without thorough reflection on and disruption of heteronormativity

SIERRA-ZARELLA – ‘4 (ELIZABETH SIERRA-ZARELLA, 2004, “Constant Queerying,” Interrupting Heteronormativity, http://www.syr.edu/gradschool/pdf/resourcebooksvideos/Heteronormativity.pdf, p. 110-112)

Intersections of Heteronormativity and the “Work to be done” / As Aman Luthra points out in this volume, Syracuse University has made great strides in the interruption of heteronormative ideologies and practices on campus.1 However, there is still work to be done. The notion of how heteronormativity is constructed and reinforced is not typically addressed in relation to diversity issues on campus or in the classroom. Changing this is an important element of our interviewees’ thoughts about LGBT pedagogy. Jackie Orr (Sociology) says, “The notion of social construction which says that things are not natural, that things are made through culture and history and relations of power, is extremely useful for trying to begin to destabilize … students’ notion of sexual identity as natural and normal.” / Orr’s comment makes clear that recognizing the socially constructed nature of sexuality and gender (along with other social categories) is a powerful and necessary tool in the “work” to interrupt the power of dominant ideologies, including heteronormativity. Interrogating what is typically labeled “normal” and the resultant production of the “abnormal” centrally plays into this effort. / Another area of “work to be done” concerns the ways that LGBT issues ARE entering into the curriculum. While several departments administer courses addressing multiculturalism and diversity on campus and throughout society, the focus of these classes tends to emphasize race and ethnicity while comparatively little attention is given to issues that are specifically faced by the LGBT population. Plus, if attended to at all, LGBT issues are typically presented simply as one of many separate facets of “difference” among the population without acknowledgement of the cumulative effect people’s sexual and gender identities often have on their entire social experience, or the ways that sexuality and gender intersect with other identity categories. If there is a disconnect between gender, sexuality, and the rest of a person’s identities, this has the potential to minimize and invalidate a person’s experience as a complete human being. As Linda Carty (African American Studies) puts it: “To simultaneously deal with the issues of gender, race, class, and sexuality is to recognize that some people experience multiple oppressions simultaneously. So, for example, if you have a woman who is a lesbian, black, and disabled, no one can deny that she would definitely experience more and multiple forms of oppression at the same time. So how can we talk about her without giving legitimacy to all of her? After all, she is never one part of herself without the others.” / Carty reminds us that there are complex elements that interconnect in the construction of identity. How we, as instructors in the classroom, address these multifaceted components is likely to impact how our students self-identify as well as how they make sense of other peoples’ self-concepts. / As a new TA, you may be wondering how you can begin working to recognize, minimize, and interrupt heteronormative practices in your teaching methods. The first step is to explore your own beliefs about lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, and transgendered people. What do you assume about your LGBT students and others with whom you interact? What do you feel when you think about LGBT people and LGBT issues? Why do you think that is? As Barbara Applebaum (Cultural Foundations of Education) states, “A professor who has not dealt with his or her own heteronormative assumptions…will be prevented from incorporating LGBT pedagogy… It’s not a subject you can just teach and not understand yourself.” / Holding biases and stereotypes about people whom you perceive as “different” from you are learned behaviors that are rooted in our socio-cultural context. Growth from and interruption of these biases is not a simple process; it involves a lot of critical reflection and intentional questioning. However, if you want to effectively teach diverse populations without subjecting them to your own personal biases, this reflection is required. / Disrupting heteronormativity in the curriculum and acknowledging the existence and effects of multiple oppressions can be a daunting task for TAs, but we have the responsibility to do so on a daily basis.

#### Attempts to distinguish blackness from questions of sexuality centers analysis on black heterosexuals and white gays and lesbians, excluding all others from discussion.

Hutchinson – ‘99 – Assistant Professor, Southern Methodist University School of Law (Darren Lenard Hutchinson, Winter, 1999, “Ignoring the Sexualization of Race: Heteronormativity, Critical Race Theory and Anti-Racist Politics,” 47 Buffalo L. Rev. 1, lexis)

In addition to placing anti-heterosexism beyond the domain of civil rights policy, Butler's analysis also disparages gay and lesbian equality by marginalizing gays, lesbians, bisexuals and the transgendered of color. Butler's attempt to "distinguish" blackness from "homosexuality," like the analogical approach employed by white gay and lesbian activists and theorists, treats blackness and "homo-sexuality" (and black subjugation and homophobia) as unconnected. As a result, Butler's framework erases black gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender experience and places black heterosexuals and white gays and lesbians at the center of analysis. Ironically, Butler criticizes white gay and lesbian activists for omitting "black homosexuals" from discussion through their use of the analogies. n173 His own analysis, however, makes the same omission. For example, after locating "distinctions" between "homosexuality" and blackness, Butler concludes that the "issue of social change relating to homosexuality must be divorced from issues relating to the history of blacks in America." n174 This conclusion essentializes black identity by ignoring the multiplicity of experiences within black communities. Black gay experiences, for example, cannot be "divorced" from black history. Furthermore, Butler, at various points in his analysis, explicitly limits his observations to white gays and lesbians and black heterosexuals. n175 By erasing black gays and lesbians, issues of their multidimensional oppression, the relevance of gay and lesbian equality to "black" liberation, and a discussion of what the repeal of the military's anti-gay policy might mean for gays, lesbians, bisexuals and the transgendered of color are excluded from discussion.

#### We can agree with a lot of what the aff’s said, but their advocacy still maintains systems of oppression—instead of their actions, our alternative is to QUARE the academy. Quare studies is a theory in the flesh, studies both performativity and performance, and uses disidentification to allow room for radical racial subjectivity to exist

Johnson – ‘1 – Assistant Professor of Performance Studies, Northwestern University (E. Patrick Johnson, Jan. 2001, “Quare” Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know About Queer Studies I Learned from My Grandmother,” Text and Performance Quarterly 21.1, jstor.org, p. 9-14)

"Quaring" the Queer: Troping the Trope / Queer studies has rightfully problematized identity politics by elaborating on the processes by which agents and subjects come into being; however, there is a critical gap in queer studies between theory and practice, performance and performativity. Quare studies can narrow that gap to the extent that it pursues an epistemology rooted in the body. As a "theory in the flesh" quare necessarily engenders a kind of identity politics, one that acknowledges difference within and between particular groups. Thus, identity politics does not necessarily mean the reduction of multiple identities into a monolithic identity or narrow cultural nationalism. Rather, quare studies moves beyond simply theorizing subjectivity and agency as discursively mediated to theorizing how that mediation may propel material bodies into action. As Shane Phelan reminds us, the maintenance of a progressive identity politics asks "not whether we share a given position but whether we share a commitment to improve it, and whether we can commit to the pain of embarrassment and confrontation as we disagree" (156). / Quare studies would reinstate the subject and the identity around which the subject circulates that queer theory so easily dismisses. By refocusing our attention on the racialized bodies, experiences, and knowledges of transgendered people, lesbians, gays, and bisexuals of color, quare studies grounds the discursive process of mediated identification and subjectivity in a political praxis that speaks to the material existence of "colored" bodies. While strategically galvanized around identity, quare studies should be committed to interrogating identity claims that exclude rather than include. I am thinking here of black nationalist claims of "black authenticity" that exclude, categorically, homosexual identities. Blind allegiance to "isms" of any kind is one of the fears of queer theorists who critique identity politics. Cognizant of that risk, quare studies must not deploy a totalizing and homogeneous formulation of identity. Rather, it must foster contingent, fragile coalitions as it struggles against common oppressive forms. / A number of queer theorists have proposed potential strategies (albeit limited ones) that may be deployed in the service of dismanding oppressive systems. Most significantly, Judith Butler's formulation of performativity has had an important impact not only on gender and sexuality studies, but on queer studies as well. While I am swayed by Butler's formulation of gender performativity, I am disturbed by her theory's failure to articulate a meatier politics of resistance. For example, what are the implications of dismanding subjectivity and social will to ground zero within oppressive regimes? Does an emphasis on the discursive constitution of subjects propel us beyond a state of quietism to address the very real injustices in the world? The body, I believe, has to be theorized in ways that not only describe the ways in which it is brought into being, but what it does once it is constituted and the relationship between it and the other bodies around it. In other words, I desire a rejoinder to performativity that allows a space for subjectivity, for agency (however momentary and discursively fraught), and, ultimately, for change. / Therefore, to complement notions of performativity, quare studies also deploys theories of performance. Performance theory not only highlights the discursive effects of acts, it also points to how these acts are historically situated. Butler herself acknowledges that the conflation of "performativity to performance would be a mistake" (Bodies 234). Indeed, the focus on performativity alone may problematically reduce performativity and performance to one interpretative frame to theorize human experience. On the other hand, focusing on both may bring together two interpretative frames whose relationship is more dialogical and dialectical. / In her introduction to Performance and Cultural Politics, Elin Diamond proposes such a relationship between performance and performativity: When being is de-essentialized, when gender and even race are understood as fictional ontologies, modes of expression without true substance, the idea of performance comes to the fore. But performance both affirms and denies this evacuation of substance. In the sense that the "I" has no interior secure ego or core identity, "I" must always enunciate itself: there is only performance of a self, not an external representation of an interior truth. But in the sense that I do my performance in public, for spectators who are interpreting and/or performing with me, there are real effects, meanings solicited or imposed that produce relations in the real. Can performance make a difference? A performance, whether it inspires love or loathing, often consolidates cultural or subcultural affiliations, and these affiliations, might be as regressive as they are progressive. The point is, as soon as performativity comes to rest on a performance, questions of embodiment and political effects, all become discussible. / Performance [...] is precisely the site in which concealed or dissimulated conventions might be investigated. When performativity materializes as performance in that risky and dangerous negotiation between doing (a reiteration of norms) and a thing done (discursive conventions that frame our interpretations), between somebody's body and the conventions of embodiment, we have access to cultural meanings and critique. Performativity [...] must be rooted in the materiality and historical density of performance. (5, emphasis in original) / I quote Diamond at length here because of the implications her construals of performance and performativity have for reinstating subjectivity and agency through the performance of identity. Although fleeting and ephemeral, these performances may activate a politics of subjectivity. / The performance of self is not only a performance/construction of identity for/toward an "out there" or merely an attachment or "taking up" (Butler, Gender 145) of a predetermined, discursively contingent identity. It is also a performance of self for the self in a moment of self-reflexivity that has the potential to transform one's view of self in relation to the world. People have a need to exercise control over the production of their images so that they feel empowered. For the disenfranchised, the recognition, construction and maintenance of self-image and cultural identity function to sustain, even when social systems fail to do so. Granted, formations/performances of identity may simply reify oppressive systems, but they may also contest and subvert dominant meaning systems. When gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people of color "talk back," whether using the "tools of the master" (Lorde 110) or the vernacular on the street, their voices, singularly or collectively, do not exist in some vacuous wasteland of discursively. As symbolic anthropologist Victor Turner suggests, their performances "are not simple reflectors or expressions of culture or even of changing culture but may themselves be active agencies of change, representing the eye by which culture sees itself and the drawing board on which creative actors sketch out what they believe to be more apt or interesting "designs for living."

[...] Performative reflexivity is a condition in which a sociocultural group, or its most perceptive members, acting representatively, turn, bend, or reflect back upon themselves, upon the relations, actions, symbols, meanings, codes, roles, statuses, social structures, ethical and legal rules, and other sociocultural components which make up their public selves." (24, my emphasis) / Turner's theory of performative cultural reflexivity suggests a transgressive aspect of performative identity that neither dissolves identity into a fixed "I" nor presumes a monolithic "we." Rather, Turner's assertions suggest that social beings "look back" and "look forward" in a manner that wrestles with the ways in which that community exists in the world and theorizes that existence. As Cindy Patton warns, not everyone who claims an identity does so in the ways critics of essentialist identity claim they do (181). / Theories of performance, as opposed to theories of performativity, also take into account the context and historical moment of performance (Strine 7). We need to account for the temporal and spatial specificity of performance not only to frame its existence, but also to name the ways in which it signifies. Such an analysis would acknowledge the discursivity of subjects, but it would also "unfix" the discursively constituted subject as always already a pawn of power. Although many queer theorists appropriate Foucault to substantiate the imperialism of power, Foucault himself acknowledges that discourse has the potential to disrupt power: / Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it, any more than silences are. We must make allowances tor the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. (100-101, my emphasis) / Although people of color may not have theorized our lives in Foucault's terms, we have used discourse in subversive ways because it was necessary for our survival. Failure to ground discourse in materiality is to privilege the position of those whose subjectivity and agency, outside the realm of gender and sexuality, have never been subjugated. The tendency of many lesbians, bisexuals, gays, and transgendered people of color is to unite around a racial identity at a moment when their subjectivity is already under erasure. / Elaborating more extensively on the notion of performance as a site of agency for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgendered people of color. Latino performance theorist Jose Munoz proposes a theory of "disidentification" whereby queers of color work within and against dominant ideology to effect change: / Disidentification is the third mode of dealing with dominant ideology, one that neither opts to assimilate within such a structure nor strictly opposes it; rather, disidentification is a strategy that works on and against dominant ideology. Instead of buckling under the pressures of dominant ideology (identification, assimilation) or attempting to break free of its inescapable sphere (countenderidentification, utopianism), this "working on and against" is a strategy that tries to transform a cultural logic from within, always laboring to enact permanent structural change while at the same time valuing the importance of local and everyday struggles of resistance. (11-12) / Murioz's concept of "disidentification" reflects the process through which people of color have always managed to survive in a white supremacist society: by "working on and against" oppressive institutional structures. / The performance strategies of African Americans who labored and struggled under human bondage exemplify this disidentificatory practice. For instance, vernacular traditions that emerged among enslaved Africans-including folktales, spirituals, and the blues-provided the foundation for social and political empowerment. These discursively mediated forms, spoken and filtered through black bodies, enabled survival. The point here is that the inheritance of hegemonic discourses does not preclude one from "disidentifying," from putting those discourses in the service of resistance. Although they had no institutional power, enslaved blacks refused to become helpless victims and instead enacted their agency by cultivating discursive weapons based on an identity as oppressed people. The result was the creation of folktales about the "bottom rail becoming the top riser" (i.e., a metaphor for the slave rising out of slavery) or spirituals that called folks to "Gather At the River" (i.e., to plan an escape). / These resistant vernacular performances did not disappear with slavery. Gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people of color continued to enact performative agency to work on and against oppressive systems. Quare singers such as Bessie Smith and Ma Rainey, for instance, used the blues to challenge the notion of inferior black female subjectivity and covertly brought the image of the black lesbian into the American imaginary.18 Later, through his flamboyant style and campy costumes, Little Richard not only fashioned himself as the "emancipator" and "originator" of rock-n-roll, he also offered a critique of hegemonic black and white masculinity in the music industry. Later still, the black transgendered singer Sylvester transformed disco with his high soaring falsetto voice and gospel riffs. Indeed, Sylvester's music transcended the boundary drawn between the church and the world, between the sacred and profane, creating a space for other quare singers, like Blackberri, who would come after him. Even RuPaul’s drag of many flavors demonstrates the resourcefulness of quares of color to reinvent themselves in ways that transform their material conditions. Quare vernacular tools operate outside the realm of musical and theatrical performance as well. Performance practices such as vogueing, snapping, "throwing shade," and "reading" attest to the ways in which gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and transgendered people of color devise technologies of self-assertion and summon the agency to resist.19 / Taken together, performance and quare theories alert us to the ways in which these disidentificatory performances serve material ends, and they do this work by accounting for the context in which these performances occur. The stage, for instance, is not confined solely to the theater, the dance club, or the concert hall. Streets, social services lines, picket lines, loan offices, and emergency rooms, among others, may also serve as useful staging grounds for disidentificatory performances. Theorizing the social context of performance sutures the gap between discourse and lived experience by examining how quares use performance as a strategy of survival in their day-to-day experiences. Such an analysis requires that we, like Robin Kelley, reconceptualize "play" (performance) as "work." Moreover, quare theory focuses attention on the social consequences of those performances. It is one thing to do drag on the club stage but quite another to embody a drag queen identity on the street. Bodies are sites of discursive effects, but they are sites of social ones as well. / I do not wish to suggest that quare vernacular performances do not, at times, collude with sexist, misogynist, racist, and even homophobic ideologies. Lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transgendered people of color must always realize that we cannot transgress for transgression's sake lest our work end up romanticizing and prolonging our state of struggle and that of others. In other words, while we may occasionally enjoy the pleasures of transgressive performance, we must transgress responsibly or run the risk of creating and sustaining representations of ourselves that are anti-gay, anti-woman, anti-transgender, anti-working class, and anti-black. Despite this risk, we must not retreat to the position that changes within the system are impossible. The social movements of the past century are testament that change is possible. / Ultimately, quare studies offers a more utilitarian theory of identity politics, focusing not just on performers and effects, but also on contexts and historical situatedness. It does not, as bell hooks warns, separate the "politics of difference from the politics of racism" (26). Quare studies grants space for marginalized individuals to enact "radical black subjectivity" (hooks 26) by adopting the both/and posture of "disidentification." Quare studies proposes a theory grounded in a critique of naive essentialism and an enactment of political praxis. Such theorizing may strategically embrace identity politics while also acknowledging the contingency of identity, a double move that Angelia Wilson adroitly describes as "politically necessary and politically dangerous" (107).

### Undercommons

#### Their argument that reading their aff in a debate round actually changes something ignores the coordinates of academic power/knowledge at play in the debate tournament itself which will always commodify their activism to justify the institutional and depoliticizing structure of the activity

Occupied UC Berkeley ‘9. <http://anticapitalprojects.wordpress.com/2009/11/19/the-necrosocial/>, the necrosocial: civic life, social death, and the UC, nov. 19

In the university we prostrate ourselves before a value of separation, which in reality translates to a value of domination.  We spend money and energy trying to convince ourselves we’re brighter than everyone else.  Somehow, we think, we possess some trait that means we deserve more than everyone else.  We have measured ourselves and we have measured others.  It should never feel terrible ordering others around, right? It should never feel terrible to diagnose people as an expert, manage them as a bureaucrat, test them as a professor, extract value from their capital as a businessman.  It should feel good, gratifying, completing.  It is our private wet dream for the future; everywhere, in everyone this same dream of domination.  After all, we are intelligent, studious, young. We worked hard to be here, we deserve this. We are convinced, owned, broken.  We know their values better than they do: life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. This triumvirate of sacred values are ours of course, and in this moment of practiced theater—the fight between the university and its own students—we have used their words on their stages: Save public education! When those values are violated by the very institutions which are created to protect them, the veneer fades, the tired set collapses: and we call it injustice, we get indignant.  We demand justice from them, for them to adhere to their values.  What many have learned again and again is that these institutions don’t care for those values, not at all, not for all. And we are only beginning to understand that those values are not even our own. The values create popular images and ideals (healthcare, democracy, equality, happiness, individuality, pulling yourself up by your bootstraps, public education) while they mean in practice the selling of commodified identities, the state’s monopoly on violence, the expansion of markets and capital accumulation, the rule of property, the rule of exclusions based on race, gender, class, and domination and humiliation in general.  They sell the practice through the image.  We’re taught we’ll live the images once we accept the practice. In this crisis the Chancellors and Presidents, the Regents and the British Petroleums, the politicians and the managers, they all intend to be true to their values and capitalize on the university economically and socially—which is to say, nothing has changed, it is only an escalation, a provocation.  Their most recent attempt to reorganize wealth and capital is called a crisis so that we are more willing to accept their new terms as well as what was always dead in the university, to see just how dead we are willing to play, how non-existent, how compliant, how desirous. Every institution has of course our best interest in mind, so much so that we’re willing to pay, to enter debt contracts, to strike a submissive pose in the classroom, in the lab, in the seminar, in the dorm, and eventually or simultaneously in the workplace to pay back those debts.  Each bulging institutional value longing to become more than its sentiment through us, each of our empty gestures of feigned-anxiety to appear under pressure, or of cool-ambivalence to appear accustomed to horror, every moment of student life, is the management of our consent to social death. Social death is our banal acceptance of an institution’s meaning for our own lack of meaning.  It’s the positions we thoughtlessly enact.  It’s the particular nature of being owned.

#### Academia is an inevitable form of labor force production, creating clash that never escapes its sole purpose of reproducing hierarchies of power.

Anti-Capital Projects, 11-19-09 (“Anti-Capital Projects: Questions & Answers”, http://anticapitalprojects.wordpress.com/2009/11/19/anti-capital-projects/ :)

We want students to see this increase for what it is: a form of exploitation, a pay cut from future wages at a time when widespread unemployment already puts those wages in jeopardy. Let’s be honest: aside from all its decorations, university study is a form of job training. We pay now in order to attain a better wage in the future. It is an investment. But the crisis of the university and the crisis of employment means that, for many, the amount they pay for a degree will far exceed the benefits accrued. We could, at the very least, conclude that it is a bad investment. But stepping back for a minute, what would it mean to restore the public university to its former glory as an engine of class mobility, as a sound investment in the future? It would mean the restoration of a system which, while ensuring that some individuals, here and there, ascend the rungs, also ensures that the rungs themselves remain immovable. The best we can hope for is that different people will get fucked next time. There is no escape from this fact. The university can’t be made accessible to all without the absolute devaluation of a university degree. To save the university means to save poverty, pure and simple. It means to save a system in which some people study and some people clean the floors. . . The same goes for the entirety of the education system – there is no way to reduce the inequality in K-12 education without a total transformation of society. The schools are designed to produce this inequality. If they were equally funded and equally administered and we still lived in a class society, then the education received there would be meaningless as a claim on future livelihood. There has to be an underclass. This is the truth of education. And it is the one thing we are supposed to never learn in school, the one thing which, despite all the gestures of solidarity, divides the campus student movement from the most exploited university workers. This is why we must seize these spaces – spaces that were never ours – and put them to new uses. If there is any value to the university it is its centrality as a point of transmission, an instrument of contagion, in which struggle is broadcast, amplified, and communicated to the society at large. If we achieve this or that reform along the way – save wages and salaries, lower fees – this will make us happy. We understand how meaningful such achievements are for the people who work and study here. But we also understand how meaningless they are for the society at large. Sometimes saving the university is a stop on the way to destroying it. There is no insoluble contradiction, then, between us and the larger movement. We are one face of it.

#### **The alternative is to embrace the Undercommons. The aff’s strategy is to burn down the status quo academy – the alternative is to adopt a strategy of stealing from the current academy and causing it to implode from the inside out**

Harney and Moten 13. Stefano Harney, Professor of Strategic Management Education at the Lee Kong Chian School of Business, Singapore Management University and a co-founder of the School for Study and Fred Moten, Helen L. Bevington Professor of Moden Poetry, “Politics Surrounded,” The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study, pg. 29

Introducing this labor upon labor, and providing the space for its de- velopment, creates risks. Like the colonial police force recruited un- wittingly from guerrilla neighborhoods, university labor may harbor refugees, fugitives, renegades, and castaways. But there are good rea- sons for the university to be confident that such elements will be ex- posed or forced underground. Precautions have been taken, book lists have been drawn up, teaching observations conducted, invitations to contribute made. Yet against these precautions stands the immanence of transcendence, the necessary deregulation and the possibilities of criminality and fugitivity that labor upon labor requires. Maroon communities of composition teachers, mentorless graduate students, adjunct Marxist historians, out or queer management professors, state college ethnic studies departments, closed-down film programs, visa- expired Yemeni student newspaper editors, historically black college sociologists, and feminist engineers. And what will the university say of them? It will say they are unprofessional. This is not an arbitrary charge. It is the charge against the more than professional. How do those who exceed the profession, who exceed and by exceeding es- cape, how do those maroons problematize themselves, problematize the university, force the university to consider them a problem, a dan- ger? The undercommons is not, in short, the kind of fanciful com- munities of whimsy invoked by Bill Readings at the end of his book. The undercommons, its maroons, are always at war, always in hiding.

The maroons know something about possibility. They are the condi- tion of possibility of the production of knowledge in the university – the singularities against the writers of singularity, the writers who write, publish, travel, and speak. It is not merely a matter of the secret labor upon which such space is lifted, though of course such space is lifted from collective labor and by it. It is rather that to be a critical academic in the university is to be against the university, and to be against the university is always to recognize it and be recognized by it, and to institute the negligence of that internal outside, that unas- similated underground, a negligence of it that is precisely, we must insist, the basis of the professions. And this act of being against al- ways already excludes the unrecognized modes of politics, the beyond of politics already in motion, the discredited criminal para-organiza- tion, what Robin Kelley might refer to as the infrapolitical field (and its music). It is not just the labor of the maroons but their prophetic organization that is negated by the idea of intellectual space in an organization called the university. This is why the negligence of the critical academic is always at the same time an assertion of bourgeois individualism.

Such negligence is the essence of professionalization where it turns out professionalization is not the opposite of negligence but its mode of politics in the United States. It takes the form of a choice that excludes the prophetic organization of the undercommons – to be against, to put into question the knowledge object, let us say in this case the university, not so much without touching its founda- tion, as without touching one’s own condition of possibility, with- out admitting the Undercommons and being admitted to it. From this, a general negligence of condition is the only coherent position. Not so much an antifoundationalism or foundationalism, as both are used against each other to avoid contact with the undercom- mons. This always-negligent act is what leads us to say there is no distinction between the university in the United States and profes- sionalization. There is no point in trying to hold out the university against its professionalization. They are the same. Yet the maroons refuse to refuse professionalization, that is, to be against the uni- versity. The university will not recognize this indecision, and thus professionalization is shaped precisely by what it cannot acknowl- edge, its internal antagonism, its wayward labor, its surplus. Against this wayward labor it sends the critical, sends its claim that what is left beyond the critical is waste.

But in fact, critical education only attempts to perfect professional education. The professions constitute themselves in an opposition to the unregulated and the ignorant without acknowledging the unreg- ulated, ignorant, unprofessional labor that goes on not opposite them but within them. But if professional education ever slips in its labor, ever reveals its condition of possibility to the professions it supports and reconstitutes, critical education is there to pick it up, and to tell it, never mind – it was just a bad dream, the ravings, the drawings of the mad. Because critical education is precisely there to tell professional education to rethink its relationship to its opposite – by which criti- cal education means both itself and the unregulated, against which professional education is deployed. In other words, critical education arrives to support any faltering negligence, to be vigilant in its negli- gence, to be critically engaged in its negligence. It is more than an ally of professional education, it is its attempted completion.

A professional education has become a critical education. But one should not applaud this fact. It should be taken for what it is, not pro- gress in the professional schools, not cohabitation with the Univer- sitas, but counterinsurgency, the refounding terrorism of law, coming for the discredited, coming for those who refuse to write off or write up the undercommons.

#### Our heteronormativity arguments are a net benefit to our counter-method—silence is often a survival strategy for transgender persons, the aff’s calls to burn down the academy guns ablazing forces these individuals to reveal themselves, rendering themselves exposed to violence

Pusch – ‘4 – Ph.D. in Instructional Design, Development, and Evaluation from Syracuse University (Rob S. Pusch, 2004, “(Trans)Gendering the Classroom,” Interrupting Heteronormativity, http://www.syr.edu/gradschool/pdf/resourcebooksvideos/Heteronormativity.pdf, p. 92-93)

Since transgender persons are at a greater risk of violence,4 invisibility brings a measure of safety. This often leads transgender people to maintain their silence. As someone who is often invisible, I am able to witness how oblivious others are to the presence of transgender persons and about how gender works in general. For example, last year I was observing a class in which students were responding to a talk on LGBT issues. One young woman summarized the talk saying “it was about lesbians, gays, bisexuals and ... what was that other thing?” Someone else had to say “transgender.” While within the LGBT community many have at least heard about transgender persons, this young woman’s comment was a reminder that not only do many people not understand transgender issues, they don’t even know the word. This level of ignorance makes coming out in classrooms even more daunting. / While some of us are out about being transgender and try to educate others on transgender issues

many prefer the anonymity of passing. Within the classroom, faculty can, and should, work to create an environment that allows transgender students to feel safe no matter how they choose to present themselves. As more and more students begin to transition while in college, faculty will need to be aware of the steps they can take to help create an accepting environment. Faculty should be respectful of student requests such as using a name other than the one that appears on the class list, and using students’ desired pronouns. Also, do not assume the student is openly transgender. While some students might come out to a faculty member, they may not be out to other students. Many students are concerned about the reactions of those around them as they go through the process of transitioning from one gender to another.5

# 2NC

## Quare

### QUARE COOKIN’

#### Quare is the best cookin’

Johnson – ‘1 – Assistant Professor of Performance Studies, Northwestern University (E. Patrick Johnson, Jan. 2001, “Quare” Studies, or (Almost) Everything I Know About Queer Studies I Learned from My Grandmother,” Text and Performance Quarterly 21.1, jstor.org, p. 18)

Unlike queer theory, quare theory fixes our attention on the discursive constitution of the recipe even as it celebrates the improvisational aspects of the gumbo and the materiality of the pot. While queer theory has opened up new possibilities for theorizing gender and sexuality, like a pot of gumbo cooked too quickly, it has failed to live up to its full critical potential by refusing to accommodate all the queer ingredients contained inside its theoretical pot. Quare theory, on the other hand, promises to reduce the spillage, allowing the various and multiple flavors to co-exist-those different flavors that make it spicy, hot, unique and sumptuously brown.

### Offense

#### 2NC RHETORICAL SILENCE LINK XT – uncritical acceptance of the contemporary social landscape reproduces and perpetuates hetero-privilege

Luthra – ‘4 – Departments of Geography and Public Administration, Syracuse University (Aman Luthra, 2004, “(Un)Straightening the Syracuse University Landscape,” Interrupting Heteronormativity, http://www.syr.edu/gradschool/pdf/resourcebooksvideos/Heteronormativity.pdf, p. 46)

Why should you be interested in reading this essay? Why does the landscape matter to anybody? For graduate students, faculty, and administrators who might not otherwise engage with these issues intellectually, I suggest the following reasons for reading this essay. First, drawing upon a lively literature on the landscape (both in its representations and its material form) within cultural geography, I suggest that it is important to not view the visible landscape at face value. The landscape necessarily needs to be understood as a product of the social relations that it embodies and reproduces (Mitchell, 2000). In other words, normative understandings of the landscape can lead to the reproduction of heteronormative discourses that continually make the landscape an inhospitable space for those who do not conform to its assumptions, i.e. the queer community. If we view the landscape at face value, not only do we uncritically accept its assumptions but we also play a part in reproducing and perpetuating its privilege. Therefore we, as teachers of a wide range of students, need to be cognizant of and perceptive about how these embedded discourses relate to their lives, and our own. Second, once we recognize the importance of the visible landscape in embodying and reproducing heterosexual privilege, we can be active in creating spaces for the articulation of alternative discourses. These ‘safe spaces’ that allow for the existence of alternative sexualities are critical to the successful maintenance of a diverse campus community.

### Afropessimism Link

#### Afropessimism is gender neutral---doesn’t take into account the differential effects of sexuality—their Wilderson, Sexton evidence is essentialism which proves that

Hodges 2012 – Asia Hodges University of California Irvine, African American Studies, [*Mama’s Baby & the Black Gender Problematic*](http://www.academia.edu/2027925/Mamas_Baby_and_the_Black_Gender_Problematic)

http://www.academia.edu/2027925/Mamas\_Baby\_and\_the\_Black\_Gender\_Problematic

Asia Nichole Hodges Undergraduate Critical Theory Conference 2012 Mentor: Tamara Beauchamp Mama’s Baby & the Black Gender Problematic For me, this paper represents an opportunity to bring focus to the ungendered black subject of afropessimist thought, a concept I was first introduced to in winter quarter of 2011, which was the most theoretically rich coursework I have ever undertaken. In retrospect, the work of Frank Wilderson, III also appeared at a very critical moment in my development, both as a thinker and as a black woman engaged in organizing around issues affecting the black community on campus as well as back home. Afropessimist thought resonated deeply because it spoke to the terrifying truths of antiblack racism, black structural positionality and black life, corroborating my own experience but more importantly providing the language and a framework through which to approach a more thorough explanation of this experience theoretically. Further, when I use the term ‘’black” I mean it in the sense closest to the truth of the paradigm of afropessimist thought as described by Wilderson in Red, White & Black: Cinema & the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms. It is my intent to critique Wilderson’s argument for an ungendered black subject using the work of black feminist scholar, Hortense Spillers, and explore the categories she protects in her work. She is indispensible here not only because she was an impetus for Wilderson’s project, but also because it was her thought that mothered my own. In conversation with the seminal article of Hortense Spillers, Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe: An American Grammar Book, Wilderson explains that, for him, antiblackness functions as a prohibition on gender, thus the black subject is inherently genderless. He writes, “Gratuitous violence relegates the Slave to the taxonomy, the list of things. That is, it reduces the Slave to an object. Motherhood, fatherhood, and gender differentiations can only be sustained in the taxonomy of subjects.”1 While this framework has helped me to understand of the structuring properties of violence, and grasp its role in subject formation more generally, this explanation features an ungendered black subject and cannot be extended to the truth of my life as a black and as a female. This is not to say that afropessimism does not hold the potential to speak to the effect of antiblackness on gender. To the contrary, it was Spillers who first argued that such work was fruitful, writing that in “undressing these conflations of meaning, as they appear under the rule of dominance… we would gain… the potential for gender differentiation as it might express itself along a range of stress points, including human biology in its intersection with the project of culture.”2 Both Wilderson and Spillers take the dereliction of the black from civil society as their point of departure, but in many ways, Spillers has offered us a great deal more than we know what to do with on Wilderson, III, Frank B., Red, White & Black: Cinema and the Structure of U.S. Antagonisms. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010, 136. 2 Spillers, Hortense. "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe."Diacritics. (1987): 66. Print. 1 matters of gender and antiblackness. In Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe she theorizes that there is a profundity to the particularities of the position of the female black that is exemplified through regimes of naming. In the spirit of black feminism, though its ensemble of questions cannot help me here, I must occasion an explanation of black positionality that accounts for the manner of existential negation and the modes of violence which position me, moving beyond the concerns with black patriarchy. Theoretically, antiblackness does not only lend itself to an argument against a gendered understanding of my condition, it also offers an opportunity for a more nuanced understanding of gender itself. This begs the question, what does a genderless black subject help us to understand that a more complicated rendering [or gendering] of the black subject would obscure? In my view, black political thought lags here, unable to describe its condition without relegating the particularities of the female black to the abyss. Moreover, it seems the black female labors in service of civil society in ways we have yet to fully understand. Spillers supports an argument for the necessity of this work in building a more robust theoretical foundation for black political thought, and afropessimism could be our point of departure. For Wilderson, there is a line of recognition and incorporation. Above it are human beings, civil society made up of white men and women, and below it is the black in absolute dereliction, a concept he draws from Frantz Fanon writings on the black condition. I mean to suggest that the distinction we’re looking for under the line of recognition and incorporation is not “man” and “woman”, which Wilderson would reject, but that is not to say there is no distinction to be made whatsoever. It seems we may too hastily disregard the possibility for distinction for three reasons, described loosely as outlined by Spillers: 1) there was no distinction made between male and female slaves on the ships, 2) men and women performed the same hard, physical labor and lastly, 3) gender is a category requiring the symbolic integrity from which the black is barred. I am unable to go into each in detail here, but the validity of these points of contention is not what is in question for Spillers. The distinctions made on ships or on fields are not the only sites we should scourer for insight into the black gender problematic, and evidence that captives are not regarded as “men” and “women,” like their captors, is elucidating but not explanatory. In Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe, Spillers uses naming as a point of entry into black gender problematic. She revisits Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s report on the state of the black community in America during the late 1960s, and meditates on the significance of black women emerging as the locus of black pathology. She writes that for Moynihan, “the ‘Negro Family’ has no Father to speak of—his Name, his Symbolic function mark the impressive missing agencies in the essential life of the black community… and it is, surprisingly, the fault of the Daughter, or the female line”. Thus, it is the “displacing [of] the Name and the Law of the father to the territory of the Mother and Daughter [that] becomes an aspect of the African-American female’s misnaming.”3 The black is without the gendered symbolic integrity that the subjects of civil society enjoy; the black performs to both genders, as well as anything in between and beyond, and is not granted the protections of motherhood or the entitlements of fatherhood for example. Moynihan observes the behavior of the black family and concludes that it is a manifestation of the backwardness of blackness generally, and the pathology of black women in particular. But a structural analysis would include a discussion of historical context, relations to power and positionality, with an understanding of the black as positioned through the violence of captivity. Moreover, the emergence of the female black marks the divergence between chattel slavery and racial slavery. Peter Wood, professor of history at Duke University, explains that partus sequitir ventrem, “that which is brought forth follows the womb”, is a legal doctrine which mandates that the child follows the status of the mother, or rather in the case of the female black, her child is doomed to captivity. Woods notes that there was a “shift from indentured servitude to lifelong slavery to heredity slavery, where not only am I enslaved but my children as well” and emphasizes that it was indeed “a remarkable shift”4. However, the problem is not that we do not know this history, but rather we have not dealt with it theoretically, and even in the most likely 3 4 Ibid, 66. of discourses, particularity on the basis of sex is not explored. In chapter 11 of Red, White and Black, Wilderson takes up the issue of gender and sex under captivity, but largely leaves the work Spillers does in Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe untouched. Earlier in the chapter, she is employed as support for Wilderson’s claim that the position of white women and black females are made distinct as a direct consequence of captivity. However, when Wilderson addresses blackness and gender, specifically gender ontology and the reification of gender, Spillers absence is haunting. Moreover, the effect of captivity on gender is not simply a reversal of power between the categories of “man” and “woman” as suggested by Moynihan, but rather that these categories are in fact eviscerated entirely where the black is concerned. Though the black does not hold the symbolic integrity for gender normativity, as argued by both Wilderson and Spillers, the categories of male and female are still apt here; “man” and “woman” representing the body and the latter, eviscerated categories, representing Spillers’ notion of the flesh. She writes: Before there is the ‘body’ there is the ‘flesh,’ that zero degree of social conceptualization that does not escape concealment under the brush of discourse, or the reflexes of iconography. Even though the European hegemonies stole bodies—some of them female… we regard this human and social irreparability as high crimes against the flesh, as a person of African females and African males registered the wounding. 5 Here, Spillers shows that the violence of captivity registers on multiple levels, and of course that the violence can be understood from multiple registers, however the flesh that registers the wounding is sexed, the violence at times sexualized. So how, then, does the female black function within the structure, positioned through regimes of sexualized violence? My project is to seek answers to the questions developed here by acquiescing to the chasms in our understanding. I do not aim to fill the chasm here, but only to make the conceptual leap and let the matter remain unresolved so that we might titter on the edge and engage further with the black gender problematic. To conclude, the closing thoughts of Spillers in Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe, “The female breaks in upon the imagination with a forcefulness that marks both a denial and an ‘illegitimacy’… In this play of paradox, only the female stands in the flesh, both mother and mother-dispossessed. This problematizing of gender places her, in my view, out of the traditional symbolics of female gender, and it is our task to make a place for this different social subject.“ 5 Spillers, 67.

### Academy Link

#### AT: FW – classroom is inherently political, all disciplines of study are inherently heteronormative – means our imperative is unthinking and rethinking hegemony.

SIERRA-ZARELLA – ‘4 (ELIZABETH SIERRA-ZARELLA, 2004, “Constant Queerying,” Interrupting Heteronormativity, http://www.syr.edu/gradschool/pdf/resourcebooksvideos/Heteronormativity.pdf, p. 114-116)

Our faculty respondents do agree that LGBT issues are most easily engaged in the social sciences and humanities, and that these issues are more difficult to envision as “relevant” to other disciplines, especially the “hard” sciences or “technical” disciplines. Linda Carty (African American Studies) reminds us, “The literature has shown that in higher education, particularly in the natural sciences, issues of race, gender, sexuality and difference are not adequately addressed.” This finding reflects a problem with the way that the content of these disciplines remains unchallenged, not that issues and ideologies pertaining to social differences are irrelevant. In treating LGBT issues as simply a matter of subject content in the curriculum, we fail to adequately take into consideration the deeper issue of heteronormativity, which is ever present in all disciplines and in every classroom. / As Beth Ferri (Teaching and Leadership and Cultural Foundations of Education) asserts, “I can’t think of a discipline that does not deal with difference, binaries, or normative assumptions. Classrooms are inherently political spaces—who speaks, who listens, whose worldview is taken as universal and natural? Whose knowledge counts and who counts as a knower? These are all reflective of power.” In this sense, LGBT issues are relevant to all disciplines, because of the inherent heteronomativity that prevails in most socio-cultural contexts. / Paul Butler (Writing Program) points out that the sciences are prone to viewing “societal institutions and practices through a heteronormative lens” without considering examples that include LGBT persons. Butler goes on to argue, “Most instructors feel they don’t have the knowledge or ability [to do so]. They may feel it’s important, but they don’t have the resources or examples of creative ways in which it has been brought into other courses.” Linda Alcoff (Philosophy) adds, “What is interesting is that students are often inclined and committed to issues of equality and fairness but they have not had an opportunity to do any systematic thinking about heterosexism and homophobia.” In addition, Vivian May (Women’s Studies) asserts: “Classrooms are not free of dominant social paradigms or power dynamics—they are sites of nation building and normalizing. And, although many of us struggle against these imperatives in our work, we are still working within sets of assumptions about education as a neutral, liberal democratic endeavor but not necessarily as the practice of freedom and overtly politicized space of unthinking/rethinking hegemony.” / May argues that all disciplines do touch upon sexuality issues at some point, listing such disparate fields as economics, history, law, policy studies, art, athletics, and religion. Lauren Eastwood (Sociology) offers an interesting example of institutionalized heteronormativity in the natural sciences contained within a physics textbook. Within the text, an illustration depicts “attraction of molecules” in terms of a plus/minus binary. The illustration shows a picture of a woman under the plus sign and a picture of a man under the minus symbol. The next frame depicts “contraction” and shows two men as the minus/minus relationship of contraction, the opposite of attraction. Here, the assumption of heterosexuality illustrates this physics concept, while also reinforcing heteronormative understandings of the world.

### Hutchinson

#### IMPACTS – heteronormativity destroys anti-racist advocacy

Hutchinson – ‘99 – Assistant Professor, Southern Methodist University School of Law (Darren Lenard Hutchinson, Winter, 1999, “Ignoring the Sexualization of Race: Heteronormativity, Critical Race Theory and Anti-Racist Politics,” 47 Buffalo L. Rev. 1, lexis)

III. Reconstructing Anti-Racism: From Heteronormativity to Multidimensionality / A. Possible Reasons for Heteronormativity in Anti-Racist Discourse / Although "raw homophobia" provides a simple explanation for the heternormative nature of anti-racist discourse, such a reductionist response fails to account for the complex (and subtle) historical and cultural dimensions of the problem of heterosexism within anti-racist communities and in communities of color. While there are several possible reasons for the marginalization and omission of gay and lesbian politics in anti-racist discourse, including homophobia, none of these explanations validates the hegemonic construction of anti-racist discourse centered around heterosexual identity. Engaging and confronting these reasons, nevertheless, will likely serve as a necessary element of any successful effort to move anti-racist discourse toward a more inclusive model of racial justice. / The exclusion of gay and lesbian politics from anti-racist discourse may reflect the relative "newness" of the categories gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered people of color n386 and the newly emergent nature of literature detailing the needs of these communities. Despite the recent arrival of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered person of color statuses to the topography of socially constructed identities, scholars, activists and artists have already painstakingly demonstrated the existence of homophobic racial oppression, n387 which implicates issues as diverse as health care delivery, n388 oppressive violence n389 and employment discrimination. n390 The compelling testimony of these commentators makes a formidable case for the inclusion of pro-gay politics in anti-racist discourse. n391 / Anti-racist theorists may also ignore homophobic racism because they doubt its existence. For instance, one might easily understand how a society that has a "phobia" n392 of black heterosexual males will respond violently to them, but in a society where gay men are considered "weak," the use of violent subordination may seem questionable. n393 This argument, however, ignores the often inconsistent and dynamic nature of racism and centralizes black heterosexual male experience. While society has created the construct of a sexually threatening black heterosexual male to justify the control and violent domination of all black men, it has also used sexual stereotypes that "differ" from the menacing black heterosexual male construct in order to justify the oppression of people of color.

Women of color and Asian men, for example, have not typically been portrayed as sexually threatening; nevertheless, a legacy of sexualized racial violence has been administered against these individuals. In addition, the sexual stereotypes of each particular group of people of color have themselves been inconsistent: black heterosexual males have been seen as sexually threatening and as harmless "Uncle Toms"; n394 black women have been considered sultry "Jezebels" and venerable "mammies"; n395 Latinas have been constructed as passionate and promiscuous and religious and passive; n396 Latinos have been constructed as "macho" and passionate, n397 yet indolent and docile; n398 Asian American males have been perceived as conniving and competitive yet asexual and effeminate; n399 finally, Asian American women have been portrayed as difficult "Dragon Ladies" and as soft and compliant "lotus blossoms." n400 Therefore, the possibility that homophobic racism might not "resemble" other forms of sexualized racism should neither preclude nor deter the examination and countering of homophobic racism by anti-racist theorists. / Heteronormativity in anti-racism may also reflect the fact that homophobic stereotypes describing gays, lesbians, bisexuals and the transgendered of color do not seem as developed as those applied to heterosexuals of color. In fact many "gay" stereotypes conflict with "racial" stereotypes, n401 implying an "absence" of stereotypes that apply to gays, lesbians, bisexuals and the transgendered of color. Although there is some legitimacy to this basis for the inattention to heterosexism in anti-racist discourse, it ultimately fails as a justification for marginalizing gay and lesbian politics. First, "heterosexual" racial stereotypes are often generalized, justifying a host of harms against communities of color irrespective of the sexual identity of the victims. For instance, the construction of Latino men as "macho" and aggressive has been invoked in the context of oppressive homophobic violence to excuse police inattention to crimes committed against gay people of color. This process is revealed in the slaying of Julio Rivera - a poor, Puerto Rican gay male - by a gang of white supremacist and homophobic youth. n402 After Rivera's killing, gay rights activists pressed the police to investigate the crime more vigorously and to classify it as a "hate crime." Police, however, denied that Rivera was a victim of a "hate crime" and instead attempted to portray Rivera as responsible for his own victimization - labeling the crime as "drug-related," a characterization reflective of the stereotypification of poor Latinos as "criminal." n403 Because Rivera was a Latino male - and therefore "macho" and aggressive - the police could not perceive him as gay (and a victim of homophobic violence). On the contrary, because he was Latino, male and poor, Rivera's victimization was more easily dismissed by the police as a drug offense, a crime undeserving of publicity and heightened investigatory efforts. n404 Thus, hetero-sexual stereotypes of people of color may serve as a prophylactic justification for racist acts regardless of the sexual identity of the victim and may contribute to the perpetuation of homophobic racism. n405 Indeed, while specific racial stereotypes of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered persons of color may not be sharply transcribed into the social structure, statistical data and numerous reports vividly demonstrate that racism and homophobia interact to create patterns of particularized victimization for people of color. Fighting these "patterns" of discrimination is entirely consistent with prevailing anti-racist thought which focuses extensively on challenging subtle, implicit, de facto and hidden forms of oppression. n406 Thus, the absence of clearly articulated racist-homophobic stereo-types should not deter anti-racists from combating the racial effects of heterosexist subordination. n407 / Finally, heteronormativity and intolerance of sexual diversity among anti-racists and in communities of color may reflect an attempt by people of color to combat the painful history of sexualized racial stigmatization and other forms of discrimination. As Cathy Cohen (looking specifically at black experiences) has argued, the "systematic degradation, stereotyping and stigmatization of Black Americans has all but dictated that attempts at incorporation, integration and assimilation on the part of black people generally include some degree of proving ourselves to be "just as nice as those white folks.'" n408 Similarly, in Asian American and Latino and Latina communities, intolerance of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identity may result from the construction of these communities as "foreign." n409 In order to overcome this stereotype heterosexual Asian Americans and Latinos and Latinas may conservatively police sexuality within their communities, stigmatizing gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender identity as undesirable and as inconsistent with a goal of being accepted by white American society. n410 / Although white supremacy provides a context for understanding some of the intolerance of transgressive sexual identities in communities of color and perhaps for explaining, in part, the heteronormative nature of anti-racist discourse, it ultimately fails as a justification for the exclusion of pro-gay politics in communities of color and anti-racism. / First, allowing white supremacy to dictate sexual expression in communities of color and the composition of anti-racist political agendas and legal theories is inconsistent with the goals of anti-racist struggle. Indeed, such a situation actually inscribes white supremacist ideology into anti-racist discourse and in the culture of communities of color. n411 Anti-racist politics should seek to resist, rather than embrace, white supremacist ideologies. / In addition, even if heteronormativity in anti-racism represents a response to a history of racist sexual stigmatization and exclusion, anti-racists should balance the "gains" (if any) from this heterosexist response against the problems caused by essentialism. These problems undoubtedly outweigh any "benefit" that anti-racism could obtain from a heteronormative "compromise" with white supremacy and white homophobia. /

# 1NR

## Undercommons

### UC

#### Debate’s the graveyard where movements go to die – The 1AC produces discourse about their movement in academia, producing discourse about their discourse that leads to more discourse about discourse. Academia expands and consumes their movement, commodifying and co-opting any radical potential.

Occupy UC Berkeley, November 18, 2009 (Occupied UC Berkeley, “Civic Life, Social Death, and the UC.”, http://anticapitalprojects.wordpress.com/2009/11/19/the-necrosocial/ :)

Totally managed death. A machine for administering death, for the proliferation of technologies of death. As elsewhere, things rule. Dead objects rule. In this sense, it matters little what face one puts on the university—whether Yudof or some other lackey. These are merely the personifications of the rule of the dead, the pools of investments, the buildings, the flows of materials into and out of the physical space of the university—each one the product of some exploitation—which seek to absorb more of our work, more tuition, more energy. The university is a machine which wants to grow, to accumulate, to expand, to absorb more and more of the living into its peculiar and perverse machinery: high-tech research centers, new stadiums and office complexes. And at this critical juncture the only way it can continue to grow is by more intense exploitation, higher tuition, austerity measures for the departments that fail to pass the test of ‘relevancy.’ But the ‘irrelevant’ departments also have their place. With their ‘pure’ motives of knowledge for its own sake, they perpetuate the blind inertia of meaning ostensibly detached from its social context. As the university cultivates its cozy relationship with capital, war and power, these discourses and research programs play their own role, co-opting and containing radical potential. And so we attend lecture after lecture about how ‘discourse’ produces ‘subjects,’ ignoring the most obvious fact that we ourselves are produced by this discourse about discourse which leaves us believing that it is only words which matter, words about words which matter. The university gladly permits the precautionary lectures on biopower; on the production of race and gender; on the reification and the fetishization of commodities. A taste of the poison serves well to inoculate us against any confrontational radicalism. And all the while power weaves the invisible nets which contain and neutralize all thought and action, that bind revolution inside books, lecture halls. There is no need to speak truth to power when power already speaks the truth. The university is a graveyard– así es. The graveyard of liberal good intentions, of meritocracy, opportunity, equality, democracy. Here the tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. We graft our flesh, our labor, our debt to the skeletons of this or that social cliché. In seminars and lectures and essays, we pay tribute to the university’s ghosts, the ghosts of all those it has excluded—the immiserated, the incarcerated, the just-plain-fucked. They are summoned forth and banished by a few well-meaning phrases and research programs, given their book titles, their citations. This is our gothic—we are so morbidly aware, we are so practiced at stomaching horror that the horror is thoughtless. In this graveyard our actions will never touch, will never become the conduits of a movement, if we remain permanently barricaded within prescribed identity categories—our force will be dependent on the limited spaces of recognition built between us. Here we are at odds with one another socially, each of us: students, faculty, staff, homebums, activists, police, chancellors, administrators, bureaucrats, investors, politicians, faculty/ staff/ homebums/ activists/ police/ chancellors/ administrators/ bureaucrats/ investors/ politicians-to-be. That is, we are students, or students of color, or queer students of color, or faculty, or Philosophy Faculty, or Gender and Women Studies faculty, or we are custodians, or we are shift leaders—each with our own office, place, time, and given meaning. We form teams, clubs, fraternities, majors, departments, schools, unions, ideologies, identities, and subcultures—and thankfully each group gets its own designated burial plot. Who doesn’t participate in this graveyard?

### AT: Undercommons for Blacks Only

#### It’s accessible to everybody

Stevphen Shukaitis, Lecturer in Work & Organization @ Essex University, 2009, “Infrapolitics & the Nomadic Educational Machine,” http://beneaththeu.org/infrapolitics\_and\_the\_nomadic.pdf

Anarchism has an ambivalent relationship to the academy.(1) This is, when one takes a second to reflect, not so surprising. How can one maintain any sense of ethical commitment to non-hierarchal, non- exploitative relationships in a space that operates against many of these political ideals? And how to do so without creating a space or knowledge that can be turned against these political goals themselves? As Marc Bousquet and Tiziana Terranova remind us,(2) the institutional setting of the university is not a location outside the workings of the economy (i.e., it is not a bubble nor an ivory tower), but is very much a part of it, existing within the social factory and producing multifarious forms of value creation and the socialization of labor (the development of ?human capital? and the ability to brandish forth credentials to obtain employment, practices of knowledge, information, and organization that are used throughout the entire social field).(3) This is the case, broadly speaking, both for the classical university, which played an important role in the process of state building and the creation of national culture, and for the neoliberal university, which is more geared to the development of new forms innovation and creativity. That is to say, of course, innovation and creativity understood primarily as those forms that can be translated into new intellectual property rights, patents, and commodifiable forms of knowledge and skills. Thus, there is no ?golden age? of the university that one can refer to or attempt to go back to; it is not a ?university in ruins? that can be rebuilt to return to its former glory precisely because it is a space that has always played a role in creating and maintaining questionable forms of power.(4) Anarchism, except for perhaps a few strains of individualist orientations, cannot find a home in such a space without betraying itself. But the realization that anarchism can never really be of the university does not preclude finding ways to be in the university and to utilize its space, resources, skills, and knowledges as part of articulating and elaborating a larger political project. As Noam Chomsky argues, ?It would be criminal to overlook the serious flaws and inadequacies in our institutions, or to fail to utilize the substantial degree of freedom that most of us enjoy, within the framework of these flawed institutions, to modify or even replace them by a better social order. (5) While the extent of this ?substantial degree of freedom? might very be debatable within the current political climate of the university and more generally, the point nevertheless remains: that one can find ways to use the institutional space without being of the institution, without taking on the institution?s goals as one?s own. It is this dynamic of being within but not of an institutional space,

 to not institute itself as the hegemonic or representative form, that characterizes the workings of the nomadic educational machine.(6) It is an exodus that does not need to leave in order to find a line of flight. This essay argues against the creation of a distinct area of anarchist studies within the academy in favor of an approach to education based on creating undercommons and enclaves within multiple disciplines and spaces. In other words, to disavow anarchism as object of anarchist studies in favor of a politics of knowledge constantly elaborated within a terrain of struggle. The impossibility of anarchism qua ?Anarchist Studies? proper, far from closing the question of the politics of knowledge from an anarchist perspective, opens the matter precisely from the perspective that more often than not this occurs in the infrapolitical space of what James Scott and Robin D.G. Kelley call the ?hidden transcript of resistance,? the space of minor knowledges and experiences that do not seek to become a major or representative form, instead forming tools from discarded refuse and remains. If there is one thing that can be gleaned from the history of autonomist political thought, it is that the social energies of insurgency and resistance to capitalism, when turned against themselves and re-incorporated into the workings of state and capital, determine the course of capitalist development. That is to say that capitalism develops not according to its own internal structural logic, but according to how it manages to deal with and utilize the social energies of its attempted negation. Similarly, if one heeds the recent analysis that many people, drawing from this tradition, have made of the university (the edu-factory project being perhaps the best example of this (7)), one can see how the university has come to play an increasingly important role in the social field as a space for economic production and struggle. This is why it would be absurd to assert a space in the university for the continued development of anarchist thought in an institutionalized way, for instance as a department of anarchist studies or similar form. What at first might seem as if it could be quite a victory for subversion could just as easily be turned into another profit-making mechanism for the university, creating the image of subversion while raking in tuition fees. There are numerous programs as well as institutions (to remain nameless for the moment) who constantly turn their ?radical image? into an improved bottom line while all the while operating on a solidly neoliberal basis, strangely enough without this seeming to sully the luster of their radical credentials. Meanwhile, institutions that have attempted to run their operations in line with their stated politics have endured a whole host of other pressures and dynamics leading to many difficulties including programs closing down.(8) This makes the position of the subversive intellectual in the academy quite odd, precisely because the finding of space might be the very act of delivering capital its future. But in other sense, given capital?s dehumanizing tendencies, no one is ever in a comfortable relationship to it. As argued by Stefano Harney and Fred Moten, the role of the subversive intellectual in (but not of) the university, is like a thief who steals what she can from it, using the space to form a ?collective orientation to the knowledge object as future project.?(9) This would be to utilize the space provided by the university, not as a goal in itself, nor to assert one?s right to such a space, but to accomplish something within this space. In other words the fact that one has managed to create a space to discuss anarchist politics does not mean that one has accomplished anything just by that in terms of creating a more ?radical? university. It is what one does with this space that is the core politics within the university more so necessarily than the specific content. In this way at times an engaged but tepid liberal politics can very well yield material effects and outcomes that are more radical in their effect than a radical politics without means of its own realization. It is a politics based more on process and ethics of transformation rather than the claiming of territory. However, radical knowledge production does not form itself as a fixed object and space, but one that constantly moves and morphs across disciplines, frontiers, ideas, and spaces. It is a form of knowledge production that comes not from a perspective of separation but rather constant self-institution and questioning of the foundations that support it. Rather than necessarily assert and affirm an identity or space, these forms of knowledge production develop in exodus, in the maroons and hidden alcoves of the university, in the constantly moving spaces that James Scott and Robin D.G. Kelley call the hidden transcript. (10) This hidden social transcript encompasses not just speech but also an array of practices bound to the particular location?which is both mediated and created by those practices?and so is marked between such and the public transcript often through ongoing struggle and contestation. Between the hidden and public transcripts exists a third realm of politics, ?a politics of disguise and anonymity that takes place in public view but is designed to have a double meaning or to shield the identity of the actor.?(11) Arguably, the overlooking of this space might in many ways suit the needs of the social actors who articulate their freedom dreams by constantly reinventing and reinterpreting their cultural practices as a part of this third realm of politics, of the infrapolitics of resistance that creates a space for dreams of transcendence and autonomy to exist in a seen (yet unseen) manner. Radical academics, when they find a space in the academy, can use their position to create room and possibilities for organizers to use it for their ends, to orient their work towards the needs and desires of organizing, rather than fixing them as objects of study. This it to think about the autonomous institution of the nomadic educational machine as a process of subjectivation, on constant becoming, which avoids fixed institutionalization: as the constant movement of constituent power through the undercommons, as one more instance of creating a transformation machine for the development of radical subjectivity exterior to capital?s appropriation without needing necessary to find a physical exteriority to capital. The undercommons exist as the forms of self-organization developed by the despised and discounted who no longer seek to develop a form through which their marginalization be can countered by a recognized form of being in public. In other words the undercommons are the spaces in which forms of self-organization exist that no longer seek the approval or recognition of their existence but more often than not get along much better without it.(12) This is not an institution in any sort of Habermasian sense with clearly defined speech acts and reasonable debate. The nomadic educational machine rather is a transformation machine;(13) it is a process for structuring an exteriority of knowledge production to the dynamics of capitalist valorization through educational labor and production, an exteriority that is not necessarily physical but often temporal, intensive, and affective in its nature. This is the problem (or one of them) that confronts ?anarchist studies.? What might seem at first a relatively straightforward phrase quickly becomes more complicated. What does anarchist studies mean and who will benefit from establishing this field of study? All too easily, anarchist studies become nothing more than the study of anarchism and anarchists by anarchists, weaving a strange web of self- referentiality and endless rehashing of the deeds and ideas of bearded 19th century European males. This is perhaps a bit too harsh, but is in general an accurate observation. That of course is not to deny or denigrate the importance and value of movement histories and studies, as they often provide a wealth of insight and information. The problem is when seemingly all other forms of knowledge production that could be encompassed within the framework of anarchist studies become forgotten within the endless repetition of the same histories and ideas. By too easily slipping ?anarchist studies? into the ?study of anarchism,? the of has constructed anarchism as a pre-given object that one stands outside as object of knowledge that can be examined, probed, and prodded, rather than as a common space of political elaboration and the development of new ideas and knowledge as a part of this politics. In other words what is lost is the sense of anarchist studies as the elaboration of ideas and knowledges useful to further developing anarchist politics, such as studying the workings of healthcare to financial markets, from the movement of emboli to the movement of the social, approached from a way that is deeply connected to questions posed by social movement and struggles. In either case it is an approach to knowledge production geared toward the twin imperatives of creating blockages in circuits of oppressive forms of power as well as prefiguring liberatory forms of sociality. There is also a tendency in this dynamic to reduce anarchism to its linguistic instantiation that then further reduces it to only a specific kind of politics.(14) In other words, we cannot reduce anarchism to the mere use of the word ?anarchism,? but rather might highlight and propose social relations based on cooperation, self-determination, and negating hierarchal roles. From this perspective, one can find a much richer and more global tradition of social and political thought and organization that while not raising a black flag in the air is very useful for expanding the scope of human possibilities in a liberatory direction. The conjunction of anarchism and anthropology has been quite useful in this regard.(15) There is also much to learn from postcolonial thought, queer studies, black and Chicano studies, cultural studies, and feminism. Some of the most interesting anarchist thought to emerge within recent years has explored these conjunctions and connections with great success.(16) The workings of the nomadic educational machine are closer to the operations of a diffuse cultural politics than what would be commonly recognized as an educational project. David Weir makes the intriguing argument that anarchism?s great success as a form of cultural politics (particularly within the spheres of art, music, and in creative fields generally) is because of the inability to realize anarchism?s political goals in other ways.(17) But there is more to it than an inability to realize political goals, particularly when the realization of these goals is almost always understood to be the creation of a hegemonic space or situation, such as replacing a particular territorial nation-state with a newly created anarchist non-state. Rather than seeing the success of anarchist cultural politics as connected to a failure to create hegemonic forms, one can see it rather as based on a continued refusal of institutionalizing forms that contradict the nature of anarchist politics. It is seeing the educational dynamics that exist within the hidden configurations of knowledge production circulating in the undercommons, a process that is just as much about the articulation of ideas through the arts and culture. The nomadic educational machine is a fish that swims in the secret drift of history that connects medieval heresy to punk rock, from Surrealism to Tom Waits; and it is this submerged history from which insurgent movements draw theoretical and imaginal substance and inspiration from, to forge tools and weapons for resistance.(18) The nomadic educational machine exists as a diasporic process of knowledge creation within the undercommons. But more than existing within a diasporic configuration, the workings of the nomadic educational machine are necessary for the articulation of this space itself. That is to say that there are forms of knowledge and interaction that constitute a particular space and an approach to education such that it is not clear or perhaps even possible within such to clearly delineate where education and life are different. Paul Gilroy, in his description of the black Atlantic as a transnational, transversal space created by the movement of blacks across the Atlantic, suggests the idea of a partially hidden public sphere.(19) The black Atlantic, constituted by the movement of black people both as objects of slavery, colonialism, and oppressive forces as well as in motion seeking autonomy and freedom through real and imaginary border crossing, can be considered part of this space. While the space described is certainly visible in the physical sense, it is nonetheless a space of history, politics, and social interaction that has often been overlooked as a site of cultural production and analysis. There are a variety of reasons for the overlooking of spaces such as the black Atlantic as a site of cultural analysis and production. In addition to longstanding racism and conceptions of displaced people as having no history or culture (or at least not one that deserves the same level of analysis of others forms of culture or history) that preclude a serious consideration of such a space, are factors created by the relative inability of the social sciences (sociology in particular) to analyze social forms outside the nation- state. The social sciences, having evolved concomitantly with the rise of the modern rationalized nation-state, tacitly assume that social and cultural phenomena correspond to national and state boundaries, and are often read as if it were the case even when it is not so. The continued existence of ethnic absolutism and cultural nationalism also creates difficulties in analyzing forms of cultural production that violate these clearly defined political, racial, and cultural boundaries which are assumed to constitute natural pre- existing fixed and immutable categories. The creativity of what the nomadic educational machine is the articulation, preservation, and reinterpretation of cultural and social forms as part of this partially hidden public sphere, as a part of the hidden transcript. The public transcript, or the self- representation of power, more often than not totally excludes and often denies the existence of the social forms developed in this partially hidden public sphere. But this exclusion from the gaze of power, in the blackness of the undercommons, is not necessarily something to be decried or banished, but could very well provide the basis upon which to build a radical cultural politics not instantly subsumed within the optic of the spectacle and the mechanisms of governance. Indeed, there is often a great effort put forth in what Roger Farr (building on Alice Becker-Ho?s work on gypsy slang) describes as a strategy of concealment, one which builds affective and intense bonds and politics around the refuge of the opaque space, the indecipherable gesture.(20) Jack Bratich has also done very interesting work on the panics that secrecy, or even just the appearance of secrecy, has caused within the left and more broadly. While some concern is valid around closed circles (perhaps to avoid the emergence of informal hierarchies, as Jo Freeman has famously argued), one cannot forget how much of the history of revolts and insurrections are founded upon conspiracies both open and not, with the ability to cloak such plans oftentimes quite important to their success or even mere survival.(21) It would be arguable that in a sense the overlooking of this space in many ways suits the needs of the social actors who articulate their freedom dreams. Constantly reinventing and reinterpreting their cultural practices as a part of this third realm of politics, the infrapolitics of resistance creates a space for dreams of transcendence and autonomy to exist in a seen yet unseen manner. This corresponds well with the two notions of politics that Gilroy poses: the politics of fulfillment (?the notion that a future society will be able to realize the social and political promise that present society has left unaccomplished. It creates a medium in which demands for goals like non-racialized justice and rational organization of the productive processes can be expressed?) and the politics of transfiguration (which ?emphasizes the emergence of new desires, social relations, and modes of association?. and resistance between that group and its erstwhile oppressors?).(22) While he describes the politics of fulfillment as much more willing to play along with western rationality and the dynamics of the state political process (and thus to exist in full view), the politics of transfiguration has a profoundly different character that makes such unlikely. The politics of transfiguration focuses on the sublime and the creation of new forms of social relations and realities. Thus while the politics of fulfillment can show its designs in full view (for the most part), the politics of transfiguration have a more subversive character, that which expresses itself in the partial concealment of double coded articulations and the infrapolitics of the partially hidden public sphere. It is in this space that the arts figure so prominently. The formation of the space itself, as a site for interaction, can itself be considered a form of social sculpture or aesthetic activity. And in so far as it also creates channels for the development and articulation of knowledge through social interaction, also a form of education. From folk songs to tap dancing, theater, tales, and more recently movies, are all involved in creating what Gilroy describes as ?a new topography of loyalty and identity in which the structures and presuppositions of the nation-state have been left behind because they are seen to be outmoded.?(23) This is the space, as much as it isn?t a space at all, where the freedom dreams that Kelley explores come to be and are retold, reinterpreted, and re-dreamt in a million new combinations. Although Kelley laments that in a world where getting paid and living ostentatiously seem to be held as the ends of the black freedom movement, this is the space where to build radically democratic public cultures, to acknowledge and foster the social force of creativity and imagination.(24) In its transmutable, transversal form created and maintained by these articulations that enable there to be discussion about creating a radically democratic public culture even if the existing political context or situation prevents such conversations from happening openly. The diasporic aesthetic, which characterizes the form of appearance of the nomadic educational machine (as well as its partial non- appearance), is the social function and creativity displayed by the articulations of those who through displacement and marginalization must partially hide or conceal sections of their expression, often times in plain view, so that they may continue to exist under marginalizing or oppressive conditions. It is the voice, to borrow from the ideas of the Zapatistas, which must hide itself in order to be seen. It is the expression of those who bow before the master during the day in order to pilfer the grain warehouse at night. It is the space created by, containing, and sustained by the articulations and dreams of those who dream out loud in semi-opaque manners. It is not the will be misunderstood, but rather a question of who wants to be understood by, and who wants to remain an incomprehensible glyph towards. As Nietzsche once observed, the only thing worse than being misunderstood is being totally understood, for that is indeed truly the end. There is an odd parallel between social scientists that have difficulty understanding and theorizing liminal and recombinant spaces as those in diasporas and the of-going failure of well intentioned, largely white progressive political forces to appreciated forms of resistance and subversion that occur within displaced communities in an on going manner. As traditionally sociologists have seem stymied by non-state forms of social analysis, the left in general often fails to appreciate politics aside from marches, rallies, and other visible manifestations. But the result is similar: the failure to understand a large segment of social reality because it is does not jive with existing conceptual and analytical frames of reference. And if there is anywhere that an actual anarchist educational project can find a home, it is here within these spaces and enclaves, rather than in the brightly lit halls of academia or in the company of polite conversation. It is this task of the constant renewal of the grounds of politics, of finding a way to create a space for subversion, sabotage, and learning within social movement, that is the task of the nomadic educational machine. It is also the same process engaged in by people drawing from the history of militant inquiry and research within autonomist politics.(25) This is a constantly renewing process, not a onetime thing but rather an orientation towards tracing out the development of the grounds on which struggles occur and constantly rethinking on those shifting grounds. It becomes the task of continuing in the tradition of nomadic thought, of embodying and working with philosophy as described by Deleuze and Guattari, which is to say in the creation of concepts through processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. Calling forth ?not the one who claims to be pure but rather an oppressed, bastard, lower, anarchical, nomadic, and irremediably minor race? it is this double becoming that constitutes the people to come and the new earth.?(26)