### 1AC – Refusal v1

#### Antitrust laws forge a narrative that monopolization is a process confined to the bounds of the market. The resolutional requirement of increasing prohibitions on “anticompetitive business practices by the private sector” intrinsically restricts queer people’s ability to discuss the nature of violence against them – it has predetermined that the legitimate avenue for remedying violence resides in legal fights with corporations with one goal: promote competition. But it is the doctrine of competition that makes queerness fungible – the generative nature of queerness becomes flattened in order to maximize market potential.

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‘When neoliberalism takes root as a social ontology, this economic calculation of end less self-enhancement becomes the primary mode of self-reflection and, in Foucault's terms of pleasures’ relation to freedom and truth, we begin to see the ethical bankruptcy of neo- liberalism. When the social rationality of neoliberalism transforms the subject into an endlessly self-enhancing circuit of interests, the notion of “freedom” is severed from any concern with the other—much less, the Other—as a meaningful site of relationality. Turned ‘wholly towards the pleasure of maximizing one’s interests, the neoliberal subject only registers a concern with others who are “outside” of oneself insofar as they present opportunities or obstacles to that endless self-enhancement. While this kind of socially cultivated and encouraged solipsism already endangers the possibility of ethics as a meaningful relation to others, a further look at the mechanisms of that economic calculation shows that the neoliberal self-enhancing enterprise of non teleological pleasures turns on the erasure of difference itself. For post-Hegelian understandings of ethics, this erasure of difference en- tails the erasure of the very possibility of ethics.

‘The kind of calculation that Foucault locates in the neoliberal theorists is purely formal. That is, we neoliberal selves begin to determine all social values through the singular barometer of that economic calculation: fungibility. To be fungible is to have all character and content hollowed-out. It is a relationship of equity that requires purely formal semblance. In economic terms, fungibility refers to those goods and products on the market that are substitutable for one another. For example, a bushel of wheat from Nebraska is, fungible with a bushel of wheat from lowa, assuming the quality and grade of wheat is the same. Fungibility undergirds the monetary system, since it is the formal quality of bank rotes that allows them to be fully substitutable: the $5 bill in my wallet is the same as the ‘one in your wallet. This is different from exchangeable goods, which must be related to a ‘common standard (such as money) in order to judge their differing or similar values.

While this may all make sense at the level of economics, the problematic neoliberal twist is translating it from a dynamic of capital to a dynamic of “human capital:” this is the ‘crucial site at which neoliberalism becomes ethically bankrupt. As the extensive work on the globalized disparities of wealth and poverty shows, the fungibility of human capital is rendering human labor precarious. Just as factory-workers in the Industrial Revolution were expendable, so too has a great deal of contemporary labor become formally inter- ‘changeable: assembling technological gadgets can happen here or there (or, in the veiled nationalist language of the market, “here or offshore”); but increasingly, so can more highly specialized activities, such as medical diagnoses, engineering solutions, and even market analyses. As the work of Aihwa Ong shows, the fungibility of human labor at all stratifications of socio-economic class—from factories in Malaysia and Indonesia to “cyber heroes” of Silicon Valley—is quickly rendering all human labor both migrant and precarious. Even the human voice is on its way to fungibility, as the training of telemarketers in Mum- bai to mimic the “flat accent” of the Midwestern American renders their human capital fully fungible with any other “unaccented” voice in the US.

‘This move towards fungibility, away from exchangeability, as the market’s barometer transforms the category of social difference in significant and startling ways. When the market outstrips the contract in neoliberalism, the truths produced by the market must be constantly and actively reproduced, over and over. Foucault emphasizes that, in the distancing from both Adam Smith and Marx neoliberals do not claim that competition is a natural human state; rather, it is constantly stimulated by the activity of the market as the site of veridiction In order to achieve this constant stimulation of competition, the neo- liberals (especially the ordoliberals in Germany) focus on “the formal properties of the competitive structure that assured, and could assure, economic regulation through the price ‘mechanism.” As McWhorter notes in her essay in this collection, Foucault specifies: “competition is a principle of formalization.” Arguing explicitly against a welfare economy, the ‘ordoliberals insisted that the fundamental objective of such policies to create and sustain the equalization of consumption across society was, actually, the death of economic growth, ‘They argue that this crucial price mechanism, which generates the truths of the market, ‘must “not [be] obtained through phenomena of equalization but through a game of differentiations.”\* Inequality is essential to stimulating market competition and, as such, experienced by all members of the society. It is not that from which government ought to protect us. To the contrary, if the neoliberal aim of rendering the market the site of veridiction—across all aspects of society —is to be achieved, then inequality must be intensified and multiplied until the social fabric becomes a conglomeration of diffuse, fungible differences.

Difference is thus not so much commodified, as bell hooks’ analysis from the 1990s argues; nor is it simply to be erased in the name of globalized homogeneity, as early critics ‘of neoliberalism have argued. Rather, difference must be intensified, multiplied and fractured in the ongoing stimulation of competition: “The society regulated by reference to the ‘market that the neoliberals are thinking about is a society in which the regulatory principle should not be so much the exchange of commodities as the mechanisms of competition." We are far beyond the politics of multiculturalism: diversity is the explicit aim of neoliberalism, as so many have argued (Duggan, Giroux). But because it is following out the logic of fungibility that the market demands, these differences are purely formal—they must be hollow, stripped of any historical residues, especially if those residues bring with them the ethical and political conflict of xenophobia.

#### The fungibility of queerness permeates into debates about institutions and can be supplanted by a reading of queerness through antiblackness. Challenging fungibility embraces an insurgent social life.

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The neoliberal imperium draws on fungibility as its major principle of ordering subjects, characterizing 'the worker' (and, thereby, 'the self') as an enterprise to be invested in (with nutrition, education, training and affection) and to discover new inventions as well (by endeavouring to produce surplus value) (Foucault [25]: 225). Winnubst argues: 'Neoliberalism [is] the formalising of social relations and difference into fungible units ... inequality is essential to stimulating market competition ... [it] must be intensified and multiplied until the social fabric becomes a conglomeration of diffuse, fungible differences' (2012: 93–4). In this view, sex becomes not sex, but a tool of social relations and difference to be operated on and deployed by markets – an 'erasure of history' of the sexuality (and pleasure) of sex (Winnubst [60]: 95). This argument becomes the foundation for a critique of the neoliberal order based on fungibility, where 'sexuality and sexual pleasures [appear] as exemplars of non-fungible limits to the enterprising rationality of neoliberalism' (Winnubst [60]: 97).

While sexual pleasure betrays the myth of fungibility, however, a critique of the current neoliberal order cannot stop here – it must also show the ways in which the myth of fungibility invisibilizes racialized and sexualized violences and pits 'sexual freedom' (which is, of course, not at all free) against those outside the limits, 'the uncreated source of creation' (Bourdieu cited in Barrett [ 5]: 29), of white supremacy's power and legal protections. It is not only 'the worker' and his/her/its 'sexuality' that are fungible; racialization is also employed as a signification of inferiority, colonization, the capitalist underclass and the lawless. Winnubst characterizes this as yet another of 'neoliberalism's structurally damaging effects' (2012: 97). In this view, the world is facing imminent 'rupture' that comes from a major tension in capital's infinite desire to expand everywhere, anywhere, and all the time all the while reasserting limits by articulating that its crises – sexual and otherwise – can be transcended through institutional and moral changes.

Rhetorical focus on institutions and morality evades the penetration of frontiers to constitute, capture and kill new spaces, sex and flesh for reconstructions and profit. Capital regimes require new forms of subjugation, centralizing sex and gendered technologies while sapping their erotic energies, capacities and life sources. Yet, any attempt to query this neoliberal imperium's series of events, discussions, and pushes from the vantage point of blackness (in Sexton's words, 'blackness as theory') reveals an anatomization of fungibility and accumulation as terror foundational to capitalist formations. More so, drawing on blackness as the analytical lens allows us to see the systematic ways that the generation of value is terror even when its ineluctable violence is sublimated by fetishizing boundaries (i.e., between queerness and race) all the while denying 'the original mechanism [terror and direct force] by means of which valuation initiates' (Barrett [ 5]: 28) as blackness and with 'flesh'. In conversation with Barrett and Sexton, I argue that the path to understanding sexuality as a commodification, as a resource of value and as an enslavement technology of blackness can provide a route to understanding the 'insurgent social life' as radical orientations that challenge and ruptures the neoliberal and white supremacist imperium's reproductive and generative approaches that embrace inheritance and trasubstantiation of death into heritage. To that end, I ask where (and how) does the generation of value in the form of queer sexual service capacity emerge? What is its value (if any) in the reproduction of a racialized global political order whose fundament is slaughter? What are the subjects, objects, the inert matter and processes that the order relies on for its reconstructions?

#### Resolutional debate requires one embrace static positions that embody queerness: on the affirmative, we defend breaking up corporations in service of a free market that will commodify queerness, and on the negative, we defend why the large corporations will be better for innovation while they are actively commodifying queerness. Switch-side debate is a ruse – it assumes the best-faith version of policy debaters who will actively include queer scholarship instead of rushing to “weigh the plan -- extinction outweighs!” while checking their backfiles for their “state is good for queer people” cards. Switch side debate is a marketing practice that makes queerness fungible by assuming that there is a good, legitimate way to inhabit queerness – that dogma is sold to queer people who are “making the game unfair” by inhabiting their identity – switch side debate is a privileged locale that assumes that one can tap in and out of their personal identity at will, which is a luxury only afforded to those embracing white, cis, heteronormativity.

#### That defense of the state only solidifies its monopoly on violence – the state is the arbiter of whether violence against others is justified -- that positions the trans/queer as near life – the negation of the rights-bearing subject that culiminates in overkill. The excessive damage done to individualized queers is indelibly associated with violence against queerness itself. Death is never enough, overkill becomes an iterative practice rationalized through the gay and trans panic defenses. After all, violence against that which is nothing is the foregone conclusion of “the double bind of inhabiting the place of both menace and void.” It is through the killing of trans/queer nothingness where the state must cohere itself.

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Surplus Violence

Overkill is a term used to indicate such excessive violence that it pushes a body beyond death. Overkill is often determined by the postmortem removal of body parts, as was the case with both Lauryn Paige and Rashawn Brazell. The temporality of violence, the biological time when the heart stops pushing and pulling blood, yet the killing is not finished, suggests the aim is not simply the end of a specific person but the ending of trans/queer life itself. This is the time of trans/queer death—when the utility of violence gives way to the pleasure in the other’s immortality. If trans/queers, along with others, approximate nothing, then the task of ending, of killing that which is constituted as already dead must go beyond normative times of life. In other words, if Lauryn Paige was dead after the first few stab wounds, then what do the remaining fifty wounds signify?

The legal theory that is offered to nullify the practice of overkill often functions under the name of the trans- or gay-panic defense. Both of these defense strategies argue that the murderer became so enraged after the “discovery” of either genitalia or someone’s sexuality they were forced to protect themselves from the threat of trans/queerness. Estanislao Martinez of Fresno, California, used the trans-panic defense and received a four-year prison sentence after admittedly stabbing J. Robles, a Latina trans woman, at least twenty times with a pair of scissors. Importantly, this defense is often used, as in the case of Gwen Araujo, J. Robles, and Lauryn Paige, after the murderer and victim had engaged in sex. The logic of the trans-panic defense as an explanation for overkill, in its gory semiotics, offers us a way of understanding the place of nothingness. Overkill names the technologies necessary for, and the epistemic commitment to, doing away with that which is already gone. Here, trans/queer life is a threat that is so unimaginable that one is forced to not simply murder but to push the dead backward out of time, out of history, and into that which comes before. Yet this overkill registers as little in the social—the double bind of inhabiting the place of both menace and void.36

In thinking the overkill of Lauryn Paige Fuller and Rashawn Brazell, I return to the ontopolitical category of nothingness—the shadow of liberal democracy. The place of nothingness reemerges in its elegant precision with each case I offer—the repetitious futility of bringing into representation that which escapes it but remains in a para-vitalist order. By resituating this question in the positive, the something more often than not translated as the human is made to appear. Here the category of the human assumes generality, yet is activated, or more precisely weaponized, in the specificity of history and politics. To this end, the human, the something of this query, names the rights-bearing subjects or those who can stand before the law—the beneficiary of equality. The human, then, makes the nothing not only possible but necessary. Following this logic, the work of death, of the death that is already nothing, not quite human, binds the categorical (mis)recognition of humanity. The human resides in the space of life, and under the domain of Man, whereas the trans/queer inhabits the place of compromised personhood and in the zone of death. As perpetual and axiomatic threat to the human, the trans/queer is the negation, through inclusive exclusion, of democracy’s proper subject.

Understanding the nothing as the unavoidable double of the human works to counter the arguments that suggest overkill and anti-trans/queer violence at large index a pathological break, and that the severe nature of these killings signals something extreme. In contrast, overkill is that which constitutes, via negation, equality’s form, which is lived by many as unfreedom. Or put another way, if the state is the enactment of a majoritarian collective unconscious, then its own intelligibility, or its own will to power, is rendered through the figure of the internal enemy and the mandatory forms of liquidation needed to face this inside/outside threat. Overkill, the calculated practice of gratuitous force, then, is the proper expression to the riddle of the trans/queer nothingness. However, the spectacular scene of overkill must not be singularly pathologized as this would, yet again, privatize violence’s epistemology under the individual while its structure remains intact. In the end, the killer never works alone. These vicious acts, therefore, must be held as an indictment of the very social worlds of which they are ambassadors. Overkill is what it means, what it must mean, to do violence to that which is nothing.37

#### There is no epidermal quality intrinsic to trans/queerness, rather its ontology is forwarded through a flexible semiotics that state power operationalizes through violent inclusion and exclusion that is unequally distributed – analytic theories like anti-Blackness cannot singularly explain the way anti-queer violence is levied. Nonidentity is not totalizing, but rather provides an analytic of the nature of trans/queer violence.

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Gay Shame’s insistence on thinking both these iterations of racialized anti-trans/queer violence together is also the methodological commitment of this book. Araujo’s tragic murder might be primarily understood to be that of intersubjective violence, the phobic eruption of a personal relationship that became unbearable, and Akbar’s might function as a generic expression of the violence of the state form, once again levied against Blackness. Bringing them together, then, builds an analysis that is attentive to the scale of direct attack that is always staged within the language of the state that demands it. By tracing these edges, not only does an analysis of anti-trans/queer violence appear, but these connections allow for, or more pointedly order, a reading of normative power—modernity’s common sense—where Enlightenment’s dreams become our nightmares.9

This antagonism melds the spectacular murders of Jihad Alim Akbar and Gwen Araujo with the quotidian desires for destruction, including the sterilizing glares that rob one of the ability to sink into comfort. Besieged, the threat of harm reverberates in the fleshiness of the everyday, producing a kind of death-in-waiting lived as what Frantz Fanon called a “feeling of nonexistence.” Catastrophically, this imminent danger constitutes for the trans/queer that which is the sign of vitality itself, as possibility and limit are collapsed into one.

What, then, becomes of trans/queer life, if it’s produced through the negativity of forced death and at the threshold of obliteration? Pushed further, if trans/queer life is constituted in the social as empty of meaning beyond the anonymity of bone, what kind of violence is done to that which is never properly here?10

In another time and place, “Tiens, un nègre!”11 (“Look, a Negro!”12) opened Frantz Fanon’s chapter 5 of Black Skin, White Masks, “The Lived Experience of the Black” (L’expérience vécue du Noir), infamously mistranslated as “The Fact of Blackness.” Fanon enters here, as he does throughout this text, against a logic of flattened substitution and toward a political commitment to nonmimetic friction—the messiness of history and that history’s reemergence. After all, the racialized phenomenology of Blackness under colonization that Fanon illustrates may be productive to read against and with a continuum of anti-trans/queer racialized violence in the settler colony that is the United States. The visual’s capacity to capture through the dialectics of recognition and the scopic must figure with such a reading of race, gender, and sexuality. It is argued, and rightfully so, that the instability of trans/queerness obscures it from the epidermalization that anchors the idea of race in the fields of the visual. When thinking about the difference between anti-Semitism and racism, which for Fanon was a question of the visuality of oppression, he similarly suggests, “the Jew can be unknown in his Jewishness.”13 However, here it may be useful to reread Fanon through an understanding of the visual that reminds us that Jewish people can sometimes not be unknown in their Jewishness (including Jews of color), evidenced by the endurance of anti-Semitism. Or, this is to suggest that domination always exists within and also in excess of the representational, which includes the sensorium of its arrival—the extra-diegesis of difference.14

Similarly, I ask why anti-trans/queer violence, more often than not, is correctly levied against us. In other words, the discursive aim of liberalism that subsists under the sign of equality argues that trans/queerness is indistinguishable under the social order. This misses, or more precisely disappears, in the name of its own coherence—differences it cannot endure, while also harnessing difference as its organizing principle. Against such claims, I suggest that there are moments of figuration where trans/queerness does in fact signify differently, not because of an innate ontological structure but because of the ways ontology is naturalized through one’s place in the world. I’m not suggesting that there is an always locatable trans/queerness that exists outside historicity, but such a fiercely flexible semiotics might conditionally offer a way of knowing this violence that can withstand the weight of generality.15

Indeed, not all who might identify as either trans and/or queer experience the same relationship to violence. Such differentiation is the underside of this book as the consolidation of LGBT politics operates, perhaps most vividly, through an endless drive toward recognition before the law. As I glossed in the introduction, this demand for inclusion through the architecture of formal equality solidifies the attachment to the state as the primary, if not exclusive, method of transformation. Beyond thinking that equality is a less effective tactic in the struggle for freedom, here I understand equality as that which ensures that anything other remains unthinkable. While at times strategically necessary, organizing movements under its banner solidifies the idea that the same system that has been built and maintained through deadly inclusive exclusion is also where relief can be found.16

The betrayal that is LGBT equality takes form in the grim fact that the overwhelming proportion of trans/queer people who are murdered in the United States are of color; specifically, Black trans women endure the most vicious forms of quotidian and spectacular attack.17 Similarly, Black, Brown, and/or Indigenous trans/queer people who are surviving in spaces of hyper-control, from jails and psych prisons to public housing and ICE detention centers, along with those whose labor is criminalized, including sex workers and drug dealers, experience the intensification of this structuring violence as the predisposition to interpersonal attack. In contrast, many LGBT people in the United States who otherwise exist within white cis normativity may in their daily lives know very little about either systematic or personal harm. The long history and magnified present of LGBT assimilation illustrates these varying degrees of life chances available to some, that under the democratic order come at the expense of others. In contrast, I am marking trans/queer as the horizon where identity crumbles and vitality is worked otherwise. Here, trans/queer might be a productive placeholder to name a nonidentity where force is made to live. This is not to suggest that the negativity of trans/queerness and methodologies of annihilation define the end of our sociality or that the parameters of opposition are sedimented as such. As is cataloged throughout this text, our legacies of wild revolt—fashioning a world without vertical genealogies—insists that trans/queerness remains as generativity’s future present.18

#### If debate has become the site of anti-queer violence, the response to debate must be refusal – a generative ethic of ungovernability which disrupts the coherence of the social that is grounded upon queer death. Ungovernability reclaims an independent, queer social world that embraces the non-sociality that prefigures trans/queer life. Reject static ways of debating the resolution – ungovernability allows us to iterate strategies of resistance within debate that escapes queer overkill. Debates residing in ungovernability provide a deliberative process that culminates in shared strategy for queer survival.

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Seditious Life

In defiance of both the liberal statist hypothesis that the social order would, given the direct power, equally distribute life chances, and a libertarian antistatism that believes all structures that do not directly benefit them are impediments to their free market of domination, is the protracted struggle of trans/queer sedition. While this might appear adjacent to a left melancholia or perhaps nihilistic edgeplay, the difference between reconsolidation and resistance, accommodation and refusal, is precisely how we inhabit impossibility. It is not that we have no tradition to look toward that offers beyond the cold desolation that insists, yet again, on democracy’s modification as our only chance. Grown through this boundless violence is also an ecstatic vitality, even in death, that builds a collective revolt beyond the reign of pragmatism and its armored logics.13

If the attempt to fashion a more perfect democracy is also the order under which its deadly force expands, then ungovernability becomes an abolitionist way of life. The charge of ungovernability, a behavior recast as being, disturbs not just the social but the social’s coherence that designates some existence as beautiful disruption. Sylvia Rivera’s 1973 climb to the top of a TERF-swarmed stage and her exasperated “Revolution now!” was not just another politic. It opened, by way of desecrating the political, toward a post-politic. In effect, she cleared a path through the resolve of brutality she knew as democracy’s nonchoice. Outvoted by the Gay Liberation Front and Gay Activist Alliance, silenced by the Gay Freedom Day’s vocal majority, she, along with her STAR sisters, knew there was no home to be found there. It was her unruliness, the inability of either normative culture or the lesbian and gay political order to contain her that she was deeply punished for. However, it was also her riotous theory in action.14

Ungovernability finds its legal application in the juvenile court system as a charge for youth who live in refusal. Not surprisingly, Black and Brown trans/queer youth are often judged as such for repudiating the authority of a parent or guardian. These “status offenses,” which include truancy, running away, and consuming alcohol, are actions that break the law only because the accused is under legal age. As wards, the legal category of youth produces numerically young people under the jurisdiction of others and who are to some degree also their legal responsibility. This unique relationship became nefariously clear when Kamala Harris chose to aggressively prosecute the parents of Black and Brown truant youth when she was the district attorney of San Francisco.15

The assumed protocol via federal guidelines is to keep young people with their legal guardians if they appear in youth courts under status offenses. Yet, for others it is a homophobic and/or transphobic parent who is petitioning to have them removed from their custody and placed in juvenile jail. The non-personhood of trans/queer youth is confirmed through the mark of ungovernability in an attempt to relinquish legal accountability. As is undeniable, trans/queer youth are habitually physically and emotionally terrorized in schools; then, in an attempt to survive, they often refuse to return. Truancy, for most young people, would not find them in juvenile jails, but if their parent or guardian is also invested in their desolation then the lockup is almost certain.

Along with truancy, the sexual practices (even as accusation) of trans/queer youth can find them beyond the governance of their parents’ projected cis heterosexuality. In deep Foucauldian realness the court performs its disgust by demanding every titillating detail. The state revels in its forced disclosure. These youth are rendered “incorrigible” because of consensual queer sex, while their straight peers escape the severity of such consequences. Moralism reappears in the *neutral* space of the court to reconfirm the court’s affinity to non-neutrality. Trans/queer youth are also sometimes held in contempt for presenting in a way that confirms their gender if that presentation contests the judge’s desire. Compounding the cycles of incarceration, if youth that are awaiting trial have been removed from their parents’ or guardians’ custody, they are often forced to remain incarcerated in pretrial detention. De facto sumptuary laws and sexual morality become relegislated as the conditions of captivity for youth who refuse to remain an “object in the midst of other objects.”16

“The child’s habitual disregard of the lawful and reasonable demands of his caretakes and that the child is beyond their control”: thus the Louisiana Children’s Code designates ungovernability as twinned evasion.17 Given the state’s foundational violence, being beyond the control of that same system is also an attempt to find safe passage out of it. Indeed, the practices of trans/queer youth, their ability to figure a social world out of the antisociality that envelops them, are not simply a survival strategy, although they are that. A life lived below the incessant charge of bad choices, for those without any good ones, scavenges a post-political plan of attack—youth liberation as guerrilla warfare to destitute the state.18

Such contemptuous living, even in the small space of habitual disregard, is countered by harm’s escalation, here in the form of youth imprisonment. Yet these practices of refusal also open possibility after anything that might resemble options has disappeared. While the state pathologizes and criminalizes young people’s ungovernability as yet another symptom of their unwillingness to adhere to white civil society, their methods persist as a rebellion against that which produces them as persons in waiting, at best, while practice relegating them to democracy’s negativity. Or, put another way, these acts stack together to reveal shared tactics of survival—a sociality of bad kids who know the goodness of group disruption.

#### The iterative, ongoing nature of debate ensures that we can make space for the queer Other in debate – only a discursive refusal of traditional norms of debate can challenge the commodified roles that constitute queer existence.

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QUEERING ANARCHIST PEDAGOGIES

Part of poststructuralist, queer, and gender theories' contributions to social theory are criticisms of binary thinking and understandings of our world(s). Queer and (some) gender theories critique the binaries of hetero/homo, man/woman, etc. (e.g., see Butler [11]; Halperin [38]; Sedgwick [74]; Queen and Schimel [68]; Warner [82]). We can likewise apply this project of unpacking and releasing borders of gender and sexuality to the project of dropping the walls around the roles of teacher and student" (in the academic world and beyond). In fact, breaking down this false binary of teacher/student is a necessary aspect of anarchist education if we are committed to non-hierarchical relationships and practicing prefigurative politics. For a consistent and ethical practice, we need to assume egalitarian social relations in our classrooms in contrast to the hierarchical relationships promoted through various mechanisms by academic institutions. Educational and pedagogical philosophers have written and spoken at length about the benefits of this (e.g., see DeLeon [18], [19], [20], [21]; Armaline [ 3]; DeLeon and Love 2009; Shukaitis [77]; Kahn [50]; Suissa [78]).

Queer theory offers us new theoretical bases from which we can deconstruct those kinds of binary understandings and create a social practice that tries to blur those distinctions in real time. Judith Butler has written at length on gender performativity—by which she means that gender is not only socially constructed, but that it is iterative of particular norms set in place by dominant and normative cultural status quos (Butler [ 8], [10]). Performativity does not mean that one merely performs their gender (or other identities) in the same way an actor takes on a role. This incorrect (yet often misunderstood as such) notion would assume that we have agency that allows us to choose any gender we desire to perform, and this, for obvious reasons, invisibilizes one of the more important angles of Butler's point: that we are iterating available social roles—we are pulling from already-constructed (and enforced) available gender identities (Butler [ 8], [10]). Her point here is more to illustrate that we don't freely choose roles to perform; rather, we are constituted by such roles, and in our iterations (our repetitions of such roles in our own localized contexts), we simultaneously buttress such cultural norms—or—we challenge such roles by our strategic and unfaithful iterations. This is where anarchist/queer vitality comes in. Instead of obediently reproducing our idea of what a particular role should be, we might play with what a role could be.

If we look at the roles of teacher and student as iterative performances in a similar light as Butler's notion of gender performativity, we can get an inkling as to where we can strategically challenge normative roles such as teacher and student and the relationship between the two. For instance, Butler theorizes that because gender is performative and iterative of cultural norms and status quos, that these roles simultaneously constitute us as social beings (in these particular roles) all the while caging us within their particular borders. The place, then, that we can look to subvert these status quos and norms is located within the act of iteration itself. We need to iterate roles (that are simultaneously reiterative) to become a social being—we will not be able to do away with (re)iterations because we cannot escape the world of discourse. But what we can do, as Butler ([ 8], [10]) notes, is subvert such status quos (teacher and student) by iterating in a fresh, lively way—by iterating differently. This is where Butler locates our agency(ies) within a discursive society (regime). We might uncover the genealogies that have created (and continue to create) socially viable ways of being and recognize how they encourage obedience to the status quo. As Claudia W. Ruitenberg ([72], 265) writes, "Discursive constitution is not discursive determinism." This is great news because it means we can be unfaithful to our expected repetitions and be subversive when we perform roles such as teacher and/or student; (Butler [10]; Heckert [42]). Instead, we might be faithful to what is alive within us.

It's important to note that when we are dreaming of ways that we can do the roles of teacher and student differently, that as important as our own strategic and playful iterations of status quos (gently allowing for the subversion of hierarchical roles and creating newer, freer, and more fluid roles) are, those of us in the situation will bring our body-memories of roles. We might find ourselves acting out teacher or student, even though we didn't mean to. Or others might be caught up in their own expectations and not understand that it's possible to do things differently. From my past experiences:

I was in a high school once, teaching sex education. As we went around the circle introducing ourselves, I came to realize that three of the young men were stoned. 'Oh, no!' I thought to myself. As I was explaining how this would be different from our school usually was, one of them asked me to slow down and repeat. He was confused, and I don't think it was just from cannabis. That might have simply made him more honest and less concerned about appearing confused. I knew that what I was doing was radically unschool-like because I had been iterating myself differently for some years. But for them, it was brand new and I couldn't simply tell them it would be different. Why should they believe me against the weight of their experience? I had to show them through my practice and give them time to adjust, to understand that another classroom was possible. I'm grateful to the young man for reminding me of this.

Norms are not individually created or iterated—they are co-created over time. What we mean here is that there is a "cumulative power of related speech, writing, and other discourse" (Ruitenberg [72], 263). Identity categories are "cumulatively produced" by such things as "advertising, school texts, sitcoms, legal discourse, and so on" (Ruitenberg [72], 263). Although we still feel excited about subverting the status quo of such roles in small places such as within our own classrooms—we understand our lively and subversive iterations as one strategy among many others that might be taken up to truly change the relationships and constitutions of the roles of teacher and student.

Johnston and Klandermans suggest "a performative view of culture stresses that social movements are not just shaped by culture; they also shape and reshape it" ([47], 9). If we both live within discursive regimes that constitute our identities, and also have access to a vital agency that allows us to iterate roles and identities differently and subversively, what might (or does) this look like in the classroom? What kind of behavior can we see when teachers and students iterate their roles differently, fluidly, and prefiguring the participatory and egalitarian (and creative!) world(s) in which we want to (and could) live?

Ruitenberg ([72], 265–266) writes "Educators must conceive of students, and students themselves, not as autonomous agents, nor as passive recipients of tradition, but rather as subjects whose actions and identities both depend on, and can make changes to, discourses that precede and exceed them." We argue that teachers, themselves, might well take this to heart in considering their own roles as subjects. From my experiences:

As a new graduate student, I am slowly discovering the little ways with which I can reorganize the physical architecture of the classroom I'm given. For instance, I prefer to have the classroom set up as a circle of chairs rather than a room that positions myself at the front with all the students facing me. However, I think it's most likely better practice to actually ask the students how they would prefer to have the room set up, although I like to explain the reasons why I prefer the classroom in this way.

We take heart from a long tradition in critical pedagogy questioning the relationship between teachers and students. As Paulo Freire ([32]) wrote, "Education must begin with the solution of the teacher–student contradiction, by reconciling the poles of the contradiction so that both are simultaneously students and teachers" (72). And as Luhmann ([56]) points out, undermining this false dichotomy in critical pedagogy is intertwined with the queer project of subverting the imaginary divisions of hetero/homo and man/woman. Because the role of student and teacher are embodied roles (Shapiro and Shapiro [76]), we need to be aware of our bodies and how they are being related to each other; to learn how we might release the postures of authority or submission. We can blur the distinction between the roles of teacher and student by committing ourselves to learning from each other in a dynamic and fluid way. How would we want classrooms to function in the worlds we desire to live in? We would like to see classrooms where participants are invited to honor their own experience (while questioning their stories about that experience) above and beyond ideas or practices offered by teachers. That is, we want to see practices of self-loving in the classroom. We also value the open-hearted honesty of teachers who are able to talk about what they/we learn from the experience of working with those labeled students. What mutuality exists without that acknowledgment, out of a desire to maintain clear identities, out of fear? As bell hooks ([45]) has argued, fear and love cannot occupy the same space. If the classroom can be a space of love, separations and hierarchies might unravel, creating space for something Other. "The meanings we make alongside those we love, particularly across lines of difference, allow us to remake our assumptions and widen our vision of the political field" (Carillo Rowe [12], 43). The key for the so-called teacher, then, is to learn to release fear, to be present with it without getting caught up in it. To let themselves be loving.

### 2AC

#### The perm is the process of doubleweaving which is a necessary intervention into the colonial legacy of the alt- they create a one size fits all approach to understanding gender that removes the rhetorical sovereignty of Natives crafting their own understandings of gender and sexuality outside of colonial control Driskill 16

(Qwo-Li. *Asegi stories: Cherokee queer and two-spirit memory*. University of Arizona Press, 2016. Pg(s). 29-31 DH)

Through the process of doubleweaving Two-Spirit critiques with queer critiques, I would like to invite an alliance between queer studies and Native studies that can intervene in this un-seeing of Native people, an un-seeing that serves to bolster the colonial project. Powell writes: We cannot separate scholarship in the United States from the “American tale.” We cannot separate the material exterminations of first-wave genocide in North America (beginning in 1492) from the intellectual and cultural exterminations of second-wave genocide, a process that has been ongoing since the Indian Removal Act of 1830. But we can begin, by consciously and explicitly positioning our work within this distasteful collection of narratives, to open space for the existing stories that might run counter to the imperial desires of traditional scholarship, stories that have been silenced by its hegemonic drone.23 In the process of doubleweaving this critique, I am choosing the term TwoSpirit, rather than other terms I could use such as Native queer or Native trans people, for several reasons. The term Two-Spirit is intentionally complex. It is meant to be an umbrella term for Native LGBTQ people as well as an umbrella term for people who use words and concepts from their national traditions in order to describe themselves. Like other umbrella terms—including queer—it risks erasing difference. But also like queer, it is meant to be inclusive, ambiguous, and fluid. Some Native LGBTQ folks have rejected the term Two-Spirit, while others have rejected terms such as Gay, Lesbian, Bi, Trans, and Queer in favor of Two-Spirit or tribally specific terms. Still others move between terms depending on the specific rhetorical context. The choice to use the term Two-Spirit, as well as the numerous tribally specific terms for those who fall outside of dominant Eurocentric constructions of gender and sexuality, employs what Scott Richard Lyons calls rhetorical sovereignty: “Rhetorical sovereignty is the inherent right of peoples to determine their own communicative needs and desires in this pursuit, to decide for themselves the goals, modes, styles, and languages of public discourse.”24 Further, contemporary Two-Spirit politics, arts, and movements are part of what Robert Warrior terms intellectual sovereignty, “a decision—a decision we make in our minds, in our hearts, and in our bodies—to be sovereign and to find out what that means in the process.”25 Two-Spirit is a word that itself is a critique. It’s a challenge to the field of anthropology’s use of the word berdache as well as to the white-dominated LGBTQ community’s labels and taxonomies. It claims Native traditions as precedent to understand gender and sexuality, and asserts that Two-Spirit people are vital to our tribal communities. Further, Two-Spirit asserts ceremonial and spiritual communities and traditions and relationships with medicine as central in constituting various identities, marking itself as distinct from dominant constructions of LGBTQ identities. This is not an essentialist move, but rather an assertion that Indigenous gender and sexual identities are intimately connected to land, community, and history.26 Two-Spirit is also useful because it recenters a discussion on gendered constructions, both from within and outside of Native traditions. While important work is being done around Transgender, Genderqueer, and other “gender nonconforming” people and communities, queer too often refers to sexualized practices and identities. Two-Spirit, on the other hand, places gendered identities and experiences at the center of discussion. Indeed, many of the traditions that scholars and activists have identified in Native communities as “Two-Spirit” are not necessarily about sexuality, they are about gendered experiences and identities that fall outside of dominant European gender constructions. No understanding of sexual and gender constructions on colonized and occupied land can take place without an understanding of the ways colonial projects continually police sexual and gender lines. Two-Spirit critiques, then, are necessary to an understanding of homophobia, misogyny, and transphobia in the Americas just as an analysis of queerphobia and sexism is necessary to understand colonial projects. Part and parcel of the colonial experience for Native people in the United States is that we are constantly disappeared and un-seen through the stories that non-Native people tell, or don’t tell, about us. Too often, other people of color are as complicit in acts of un-seeing Native people as Euro-Americans. Native studies poses a challenge to queer studies, including its most recent waves of scholarship, because it problematizes many of the theories that queer of color critique draws from.