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### Adv

#### The billionaire space race is shaped by societal conceptions of gender- we can’t understand space policy without understanding gender inequity

Willsky 21

(Kate, <https://www.inverse.com/science/billionaire-space-cowboys>, 12-5)

In the late 1970s, when Sally Ride was preparing to become the first American woman in space, that was the number NASA engineers estimated for something that was, apparently, more complex than rocket science: when sending a woman into outer space, how many tampons did she require? The number they settled on was 100 for a one-week flight. The incident has retroactively gone somewhat viral (including inspiring a TikTok I can’t stop watching and continues to blow minds many decades later. It has such staying power, in part, because it’s hilariously absurd. But it’s also a particularly striking example of the institutional sexism women have long experienced in the space industry — a long history of alienation, the repercussions of which are still being felt. The feelings women today have toward space travel are, of course, diverse and nuanced, but out of the people in my orbit, it’s my male friends who seemed to have the most interest in the latest space travel news. And it was male-helmed mega-companies that spurred this surge in space travel. In July, Richard Branson launched himself into suborbital flight on a Virgin Galactic spacecraft. A week later, Jeff Bezos followed suit on a Blue Origin rocket. Elon Musk’s SpaceX launched the first all-civilian space flight in mid-September. Then, Bezos brought sci-fi to life by sending Captain Kirk himself, William Shatner, on a suborbital flight in October. While women made their own history — as members of the first all-civilian space flight in September, and when Wang Yaping became the first Chinese woman astronaut to do a spacewalk on November 8 — men seemingly remain light years ahead in the gender space race. Space, inherently, should interest all of us. We are literally made of stardust. There is, very likely, intelligent life elsewhere in the universe. Yet, while space feels deeply compelling to some, for many others it is unrelatable, inaccessible, and irrelevant.

#### Billionaire space race papers over dramatic gender inequality – space policy has ripple effects throughout society

Carter 21

(Tom, <https://www.indiependent.co.uk/we-need-more-women-in-space-not-billionaires/>, 7-20)

As excitement goes, there are few things more thrilling than a space race. In fact the very idea of competing to conquer galaxies unknown is literally out of this world. Shuttle test flights, televised launches, never-before-seen technology — it’s a sci-fi movie unfolding before our eyes. And now, 52 years after man first set foot on the Moon, a new chapter is to be written into the history book of space travel. On Tuesday 20 July 2021, Amazon founder Jeff Bezos (along with his brother and two other crew members) will be launching into space aboard his company’s debut shuttle New Shepard, and in doing so staking his claim as one of space tourism’s major players. The maiden flight comes eight days after Sir Richard Branson and his brainchild Virgin Galactic had a voyage of their own, providing more competition to what has become known as the ‘billionaire space race’. Historically, the challenge of exploring beyond our atmosphere has been a state-run operation, with significant amounts of government (and taxpayer’s) money going to space organisations, and scientific motives at the forefront of priority. This new space race, however, is an entirely different affair. For the likes of Jeff Bezos, Sir Branson and Elon Musk (the third contender in the mix), the goal is purely commercial. Society has come a long way from the days of the USA and Soviet Union battling it out for space supremacy, with three billionaires (and titans of industry in their own right) now competing to convert outer-Earth travel into a tourist attraction. According to Branson, Virgin Galactic has already seen nearly 600 pre-order tickets for ‘trips to space’, with each ticket priced at $250,000 and celebrities such as Justin Bieber and Leonardo Di Caprio reportedly signed up to launch. However, while the idea of space tourism and some of the world’s richest people fighting to pioneer it is an undoubtedly exciting prospect, a fundamental problem has been overlooked in the whirl of anticipation — gender inequality. Of the 566 people that have gone to space, only 65 of them (around 11.5%) have been women, and this is a major issue not just for the current industry and modern society, but for future generations. A reason for this inequality is largely down to the fact women were unable to become astronauts during the initial prevalence of space flight, with NASA not having a female crew member aboard any spacecraft/mission until June 1983. Fast forward almost 40 years, and there has been nowhere near enough of a significant difference in the matter of gender disparity. Even in the case of Bezos’ Blue Origin launch, 82-year-old female American aviator Wally Funk being part of the crew is hard not to see as a tokenistic publicity stunt. While some progress has of course been made in tackling issues regarding diversity (the amount of female astronauts is on a gradual increase), the need to solve the problem is as important as ever. As has been the case since the inception of space exploration, astronauts and those involved with the operations have been role models in the society, on both a domestic and global level. Therefore this platform must be used to inspire the next generation of explorers, scientists and other jobs alike. The lack of female astronauts (and consequently role models) means less young girls are wanting to pursue a career in the STEM field, thus weakening our society as a whole. Space4Women, a program part of the United Nations Office of Outer Space Affairs, says that the reason for the gender gap in the sciences is because girls have “limited exposure to the creativity and contributions” of female workers in the industry, “making it difficult to picture themselves in STEM roles”. As mentioned, the ripple effect on the wider community could see devastating consequences, such as young people having less confidence in finding careers and one of the most valuable industries in the world being plagued by a lack of inclusivity. Additionally, microgravity and weightlessness environments means there are no physical barriers between the two genders, so there is no viable reason that further equality shouldn’t be achieved. With that said, let’s take the opportunity while we can and get more women into space. Let’s create a new generation of Sharmans, Jemisons and Tereshkovas, defying gender stereotypes in the industry. And crucially, let’s make the exploration of space about the size of one’s spirit, as opposed to their wallet.

#### Private space race is only possible because of gendered economics – the structure of patriarchy picks “mad male geniuses” to invest in

Marçal 21

(Katrine, Katrine works for the Swedish newspaper Dagens Nyheter. She has given keynotes at institutions such as Oxford University Business and Economics Programme, London School of Economics and The Royal School of Technology in Stockholm. In her role as a financial journalist she has interviewed many of the world's leading economic thinkers. Some of her interviews have been viewed more than a million times on YouTube. <https://www.katrinemarcal.com/blog/male-billionaires-go-to-space-women-are-left-on-the-ground>, 6-9)

The other day, over dinner, my friend told me a very familiar story. About how she needs to start thinking seriously about the prospect of her business failing next year. Not because she’s not selling a lot of products to a lot of customers. But because she has trouble securing funding. - If women can’t get capital in a capitalist society, we are kind of screwed, she sighed pretending to be cool about it. And I let her. Then we ate A LOT of cheese. When it comes to funding and women the facts are indeed BRUTAL: Less than 1 per cent of venture-capital funds in the UK go to start-ups founded by women. For every pound of venture-capital investment, all-female founder teams get less than 1 pence. The picture is starkest for Black female entrepreneurs, they receive 0.02% of the total amount invested. That’s the playing field. Women hardly even have a foot on it. (Maybe a very small toe.) Now, why does this matter? Isn’t this just an issue for a small group of relatively privileged female entrepreneurs? Like, why should I cry about you not getting funding for your organic turmeric latte startup? That’s a fair question. Let me put it like this: You should care because in the end these things end up determining who OWNS SPACE. Yes, THE INFINITE DARKNESS OF THE UNIVERSE. You have probably noticed that there’s a male billionaire space race going on. Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos has revealed he will launch to space on July 20 on the first human spaceflight for his company Blue Origin. This has then sparked reports that Richard Branson might try to beat Bezos to it and obviously Elon Musk has plans to move to Mars. The first space race was a competition between The US and the Soviet Union. We pitted capitalism and communism head to head, whoever reached the moon first would have proven their ideology superior. Space Race 2.0 on the other hand is a male missile measuring competition between a handful of billionaires. (please pause and REFLECT on what this says about our time) Elon Musk wants to colonise Mars. Jeff Bezos does NOT want to go to Mars (probably because he wants to stay as far away from Elon Musk as possible) instead he wants to move manufacturing into space and haul cargo to the moon. Richard Branson basically just thinks space is cool. Which is why if I had to vote I’m inclined to vote for Branson. We tend to think of these men as mad geniuses. Larger than life characters destined for greatness. But they all started with much more mundane things. Okay it wasn’t exactly organic turmeric latte but Bezos sold books, Branson sold records and Musk created a local app. Now they are colonising space. Investors often say women’s ideas are “too small”. And fine, go ahead and mock organic turmeric lattes and girlbosses as much as you like. But that nail salon or that new bike seat invention for children could have been the start of other businesses. The sale of them could have generated capital that could have been invested in other ventures. Now they die because 80 percent of female-owned businesses that need capital are thought to be underserved in the global economy. Who gets the money today determines what cars we will get to drive, what groundbreaking medical treatments we will receive, and what logic will guide the robots to whom we are yielding increasing power. And that’s capitalism, baby!

#### Space colonization relies on patriarchal values of domination. While Bezos and Musk fight over their rockets in space, feminized groups will be fighting for their lives on Earth.

Bianco, PhD, 18

(Marcie Bianco is a writer and the Editorial and Communications Manager of the Clayman Institute for Gender Research at Stanford University. <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/patriarchal-race-colonize-mars-just-another-example-male-entitlement-ncna849681>, 2-21)

What does a midlife crisis look like in the 21st century? Frittering away your life savings on a red sports car is so last century. Instead, today’s man who is grappling with the limitations of his mortality spends $90 million on a rocket to launch a $100,000 electric car, helmed by a robot by the name of “Starman,” into space. “We want a new space race,” SpaceX founder Elon Musk said in a press conference shortly after the launch of his company’s Falcon Heavy rocket — and his Tesla Roadster — into space earlier in February. Like a child, he gleefully continued, “Space races are exciting.” And Musk isn’t the only billionaire looking to enter the space race. Amazon’s Jeff Bezos has his private aerospace company, Blue Origin, while Virgin’s Richard Branson, a prominent adventurer, created Virgin Galactic back in 2004. These men, particularly Musk, are not only heavily invested in who can get their rocket into space first, but in colonizing Mars. The desire to colonize — to have unquestioned, unchallenged and automatic access to something, to any type of body, and to use it at will — is a patriarchal one. Indeed, there is no ethical consideration among these billionaires about whether this should be done; rather, the conversation is when it will be done. Because, in the eyes of these intrepid explorers, this is the only way to save humanity. It is the same instinctual and cultural force that teaches men that everything — and everyone — in their line of vision is theirs for the taking. You know, just like walking up to a woman and grabbing her by the pussy. It’s there, so just grab it because you can. “I want to be clear, I think we should be a multi-planet species, not a single planet species on another planet,” Musk said at the 2015 Vanity Fair New Establishment Summit. “What kind of future do you want to have? Do you want to have a future where we are forever confined to one planet…or…one where we are on many planets?” This Columbusing attitude — a strident business acumen laced with an imperialist ethos — comes with an air of benevolence: Musk doesn’t just want to colonize Mars to satisfy his ego. No, he wants to colonize Mars to help his fellow humans. “I really think there are two fundamental paths [for humans]: One path is we stay on Earth forever, and some eventual extinction event wipes us out,” he said. In this way, colonizing Mars is a “collective life insurance policy.” Although considering the last 500 years of colonization on this planet alone, one could wonder whose lives, according to Musk and other rich white men like himself, are worth being insured. But again, this impulse to enter the “space race” isn’t simply the embodiment of the American spirit of invention or forward-thinking entrepreneurship. Neither is it driven by the kind of nationalist Cold War fervor that inspired the creation of America’s space program in the 1950s. Rather, the impulse to colonize — to colonize lands, to colonize peoples, and, now that we may soon be technologically capable of doing so, colonizing space — has its origins in gendered power structures. Entitlement to power, control, domination and ownership. The presumed right to use and abuse something and then walk away to conquer and colonize something new. The Friday before SpaceX’s launch, legendary astronaut Buzz Aldrin reiterated to me over lunch that it is imperative that we talk about space exploration in terms of “migration,” rather than using words like “colonize” or “settle” when talking about going to Mars. Through a feminist lens, Aldrin’s deliberate word choice revealed an important reality of the space race: This 21st century form of imperialism is the direct result of men giving up on the planet they have all but destroyed. As if history hasn’t proven that men go from one land to the next, drunk on megalomania and the privilege of indifference. The raping and pillaging of the Earth, and the environmental chaos that doing so has unleashed, are integral to the process of colonization. And the connection of the treatment of Mother Earth to women is more than symbolic: Study after study has shown that climate change globally affects women more than men. “Women in developing countries are particularly vulnerable to climate change because they are highly dependent on local natural resources for their livelihood,” a 2013 United Nations report noted. “Women charged with securing water, food and fuel for cooking and heating face the greatest challenges. Women experience unequal access to resources and decision-making processes, with limited mobility in rural areas.” This means that while men compete with each other over whose rocket is the biggest, fastest, and best, and send playthings off to become flashy space junk, women around the world are fighting to stay alive against violent assaults on their personhood — and their planet.As r

eported by Marc Bain for Quartz, in seven separate studies “researchers found evidence that people perceive consumers who behave in eco-friendly ways as ‘more feminine,’ and that those consumers “‘perceive themselves as more feminine.’ Not only, according to researchers, do women generally have a greater environmental conscience when it comes to the planet we currently live on, but the same researchers have found a connection between men’s insecurity about their masculinity and their lack of environmental conscience. Apparently, caring for the planet is perceived to be a “feminine” quality and concern; the psychology of toxic masculinity spills over into the unethical disregard for the environment. This masculine insecurity is everywhere in American culture and, increasingly, American politics. Trump himself has spoken about making sure our nuclear bomb is “bigger and more powerful and can often be found “bragging about building a “beautiful,” “great, great wall.” Right now, there is a robot dummy propped up in the driver’s seat of a red Tesla convertible, flying through space, away from the manmade garbage fires devouring Earth. Houston, we have a problem. And it’s the patriarchy.

#### The desire to colonize space is not neutral. Colonization will necessitate gendered violence.

Robbins 15

(Martin Robbins, researcher and science journalist @ the Guardian; (05-06-2015) “How can our future Mars colonies be free of sexism and racism?”; [https://www.theguardian.com/science/the-lay-scientist/2015/may/06/how-can-our-future-mars-colonies-be-free-of-sexism-and-racism //](https://www.theguardian.com/science/the-lay-scientist/2015/may/06/how-can-our-future-mars-colonies-be-free-of-sexism-and-racism%20//) GirlsDebate)

\*TW: mentions of sexual violence + bracketed for offensive language

To paraphrase Douglas Adams: “Space is white. You just won’t believe how vastly, hugely, mind-bogglingly white it is.” It’s also very male and European. Women in space-colony fiction have generally been presented as sexy […], whose main purpose is to provide [for] the male astronauts […]. This being necessary in order to “ensure the survival of the species”. If you think that attitude doesn’t exist in the real world, it’s worth recalling [the comments](http://www.nbcnews.com/id/6955149/ns/technology_and_science-space/t/does-mars-need-women-russians-say-no/#.VUep51xjJho) of Prof Anatoly Grigoryev, a doctor and key figure in the Russian space programme. “Women are fragile and delicate creatures; that is why men should lead the way to distant planets and carry women there in their strong hands.” No wonder Lee [says](http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/urban-scientist/2015/03/26/when-discussing-humanitys-next-move-to-space-the-language-we-use-matters/), “I see only a very narrow invitation to this lifeboat.” The problem with Lee’s argument is that she’s fighting against possibly the most pernicious space myth in existence, a myth far worse than moon landing conspiracy theories. It’s a myth almost universally believed, that sits at the core of liberal technocratic thought, and has been embedded in practically every other work of speculative fiction for the last half century. You can sum it up like this: “When we go into space, we will all magically become nice.” We see this in coverage of the space programme, with its endless propaganda about “cooperation” between nations, and promotion of the idea that clever people in tough situations produce the best humanity has to offer. It’s rampant in fiction, where shows like Star Trek assume that three centuries of civil rights progress will inevitably turn us all into morally-centered middle-class rationalists. And it’s there, unspoken and unchallenged, at the heart of our current aspirations for space. There’s no room for discussion about social justice or equality when it comes to planning our future Mars colonies because we all just assume that decent educated scientists and engineers – the “right kind” of people – won’t have any problem with that sort of thing. Except every available single scrap of historical experience tells us that this is an incredibly naive and dangerous assumption to make. Colonies and outposts are portrayed as lights in the darkness; hot spots of progress, ingenuity and adventure. That may be true to some extent, but they’ve also been places of crime, vigilante justice, tyrants, rape, pillaging, abuse and war. It’s true that when things get hard we can see the best in people, but oftentimes we see the worst too. Meet three volunteers on the shortlist to be among four people on the Mars One programme, the first manned space flight to Mars Guardian In fact we’ve already seen this in a Mars mission simulation that took place in 1999 and ended in chaos, as [summarised by Helen Lewis](http://www.newstatesman.com/2014/02/death-mars%5d) in New Statesman: “…the Russian captain forcibly kissed the only female crew member, a 32-year-old Canadian health specialist called Judith Lapierre. “We should try kissing, I haven’t been smoking for six months,” he reportedly told her. “Then we can kiss after the mission and compare it. Let’s do the experiment now.” Two of her Russian crew mates then had a fight so violent that it left blood splattered on the walls, prompting another member of the team, a Japanese man, to quit. Lapierre stayed only after the astronauts were allowed to put locks on their bedroom doors.” The first woman to be raped in space has probably already been born. And if that last sentence makes you howl with protest or insist that such a thing just wouldn’t happen, then I’d stop a second and ask yourself why.

#### Private companies like Blue Origin foster a horrific culture of sexism and harassment, causing women to rapidly leave the field.

Kelly 21

(Emre Kelly (space reporter at Florida Today and USA TODAY); “From NASA to Blue Origin, the cutting-edge space industry has old problems: Sexism and harassment”, *USA Today*; October 30, 2021; [https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2021/10/30/nasa-blue-origin-space-industry-workplace-sexism-allegations/6179821001 //](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2021/10/30/nasa-blue-origin-space-industry-workplace-sexism-allegations/6179821001%20//) GirlsDebate)

In late September, Abrams and 20 other current and former employees published an essay that alleged sexism issues at Blue Origin. The former head of internal communications, Abrams' co-authored piece said the company was home to a sexist culture "stuck in a toxic past." The group of 21 said the environment at Blue Origin "sits on a foundation that ignores the plight of our planet, turns a blind eye to sexism, is not sufficiently attuned to safety concerns, and silences those who seek to correct wrongs." This included inappropriate comments, multiple reports of sexual harassment, and an environment that valued loyalty over "doing the right thing," they said. The company founded by Bezos in 2000 is one of the most prominent in today's "space race" betting on NASA contracts, space tourism, and winning lucrative Department of Defense missions. Blue is based in Washington, but operates launch sites and factories in Alabama, Florida and Texas with more than 4,000 employees nationwide. Florida state records show Blue Origin has at least 735 directly employed workers at Cape Canaveral Space Force Station and Kennedy Space Center along with investments totaling more than $1 billion to date. After the essay was published, Abrams told Florida Today many of Blue's goals were attractive to someone with a love for space and the ideals espoused in "Star Trek." She was employed there from mid-2017 to late 2019. "A lot of us got really interested in space because of things like 'Star Trek,'" she said, adding that a model of the USS Enterprise still sits in Blue Origin's main lobby. "Jeff (Bezos) loves 'Star Trek' and that seemed to very much be a part of the culture." "But it ends up looking like 'Star Wars,'" she said. "'Star Trek' was never just about how big your guns were or how many times you launched. It was about exploration and belonging and trust. It was about human social evolution, not just technological evolution." The essay points to several incidents as examples of sexism and harassment at Blue: An executive, reported multiple times to human resources for sexual harassment issues, was selected to be on the hiring committee for a senior HR position; A former executive called women inappropriate nicknames like "baby doll" and "baby girl" and asked about intimate details such as their dating lives; One executive, reported multiple times, wasn't fired until his infractions became physical and he groped a female subordinate; A pattern of better treatment toward men even when they were laid off; Stifling of dissenting opinions that influences not only morale, but also safety of products tasked with human spaceflight. In response to the essay, Blue Origin said it "has no tolerance for discrimination or harassment of any kind. We provide numerous avenues for employees, including a 24/7 anonymous hotline, and will promptly investigate any new claims of misconduct." Blue would not offer further comments beyond the original statement. Musk's SpaceX, meanwhile, did not respond to an inquiry about how it handles harassment issues. A Blue Origin New Shepard booster returns for landing at the company's launch site in West Texas after the NS-18 mission on Oct. 13, 2021. On top of confronting sexism and harassment issues, Abrams said an additional factor became her personal point of no return at Blue: the ability for employees to resolve issues in court or safely speak out about their experiences. According to a 2019 addition in employee contracts, employees could not band together and sue Blue Origin for almost any reason, a common arbitration tactic found in contracts today. There were no exemptions – even sexual harassment and assault were not listed originally. That meant if a group of employees said a colleague harassed them and wanted to file a lawsuit, they could not work together. Each of them would have to go to arbitration alone, a private process away from the courtroom. As the head of employee communications, Abrams saw the contracts' new language ahead of time – and took issue with it. Eventually, exclusions were added for sexual harassment, assault and a litany of other disputes. Abrams also said HR had difficulties getting CEO Bob Smith, hired from Honeywell in 2017 and a former space shuttle executive at United Space Alliance, to officially support employee resource groups, or ERGs. The groups involve employees with similar backgrounds teaming up to offer mentorships, improve careers, and recognize diversity. They are inexpensive and commonly found at many companies. In a statement to Florida Today, Blue Origin said there are now at least nine current ERGs, including for minorities, veterans, gender diversity, cultural exchanges, and disabilities. Ultimately, Blue Origin said Abrams in 2019 was "dismissed for cause two years ago after repeated warnings for issues involving federal export control regulations." In other words, Blue said it fired Abrams for violations related to the use of sensitive information laid out in the International Traffic in Arms Regulations. The rules essentially say certain types of information tied to U.S. national security cannot be made public. Aerospace communicators are trained to follow these rules and companies usually have multiple layers to catch potential ITAR violations. "I was never given any verbal or written warning of any kind," Abrams said. "I was always getting trained on what's ITAR and what's not and keeping a very close eye on things." Abrams was involved in an effort to build a company-wide communications app, but once a security flaw was found, the project was shut down. She then helped lead an investigation into how flawed software could have made it so far in the process, but said she was never told about any violations, breaches, or adverse effects. Halfway through the investigation, she was fired and told Smith could no longer trust her – a point she said is likely related to her pushing back on the arbitration agreements. "I knew it was because of the employment agreement from a while back," Abrams said. "I think they saw the software issue as a good excuse somehow even though that's not a reason they gave me in the termination meeting." Her departure arrangement with Blue Origin also contradicts the company's statements on why she was fired. In the "separation and release agreement," Abrams was paid a lump-sum severance in exchange for saying she left the company voluntarily. She even pre-wrote an email for HR to distribute. Abrams no longer works directly in the space industry, but she still has a passion for it and is concerned about the values people will take to space. "That's pretty scary if that's how we're starting out (in space)," Abrams said. "I tell myself we're doomed to repeat the past where we just push the technology in order to make a profit. And we leave people behind."

#### Sexism and harassment are all too common in private companies — extreme focus on “the mission” forces women to endure misogyny to be successful.

Kelly 21

Emre Kelly (space reporter at Florida Today and USA TODAY); “From NASA to Blue Origin, the cutting-edge space industry has old problems: Sexism and harassment”, *USA Today*; October 30, 2021; [https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2021/10/30/nasa-blue-origin-space-industry-workplace-sexism-allegations/6179821001 //](https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/nation/2021/10/30/nasa-blue-origin-space-industry-workplace-sexism-allegations/6179821001%20//) GirlsDebate)

The space industry, a cutting-edge field rife with romanticized goals of exploration, has an ancient problem: sexism and harassment. Organizations from private spaceflight companies to public agencies like NASA have been the subject of behavior accusations in recent months that range from the inappropriate to potentially criminal. A group of former and current Blue Origin employees published an essay last month calling out sexism at Jeff Bezos' spaceflight company. Dozens have joined a Facebook group dedicated to offering support in dealing with inappropriate behavior on the job, leading some to make their stories public. NASA even changed its code of conduct for members of the media, potentially giving officials more leeway in enforcing bans of people caught behaving badly. Florida Today, part of the USA TODAY Network, spoke with more than a dozen people for this report ranging from impacted women to public officials to academic experts. Some shared their stories off the record for fear of retribution or to avoid workplace frictions; all said sexism and harassment are ubiquitous in the space industry. According to experts and whistleblowers, the idealistic nature of space exploration and sharp focus on "the mission" adds to a dangerous dynamic in which women, already a minority in the high-tech workplace, might be willing to put up with unacceptable behaviors to achieve success. If this culture is left unresolved, insiders are concerned it could someday extend to astronauts on assignment or deep space colonization efforts. The space sector is still small and densely packed with countless public and private organizations. On top of gender disparities, it's not uncommon for issues to exist between people from different organizations, leading to frustrations when there's no singular place to turn to for help. That's led to new, women-founded groups that focus on support and empowerment as they try to prevent incidents from falling through the cracks. "So many of us entered into this industry thinking we were going to help usher in a better future where there's no more war or poverty or any of these things," said Alexandra Abrams, co-author of an essay that focused on sexism and harassment at Blue Origin. "Instead, companies are only focusing on technological advancement and leaving the social advancement opportunity in the dust." Lisa Steelman, a professor at Florida Tech and director of the university's industrial and organizational psychology program, said it leads to women having a "token status" in the workplace. "When women have a token status, there is greater pressure put on them and higher standards of performance," Steelman said. "Research shows that, especially in STEM and technology fields, when men and women have equal objective performance, women's performance is actually devalued more than men. Women have to perform even higher to be at equal footing with men. "These are some of the factors that lead to discrimination and harassment," she said.

### Solvency

#### Thus I affirm the resolution: the appropriation of outer space by private entitles is unjust. We should reject the norms of space law and adopt the position of a critical feminist international relations scholar to uproot the patriarchal norms that private companies are trying to carry over to space.

#### The OST is structurally flawed due to the gender imbalance in space law.

Steer, 21

(Cassandra Steer (Feb, 26, 2021) “The Province of all Humankind” – A Feminist Analysis of Space Law. In: de Zwart M., Henderson S. (eds) Commercial and Military Uses of Outer Space. Issues in Space. Springer, Singapore. Dr. Cassandra Steer is a Mission Specialist with the ANU Institute of Space (InSpace), and a Senior Lecturer at the ANU College of Law specialising in space law, space security and international law. Dr. Steer has more than a decade of international experience teaching at universities in Australia, Europe, North America and South America, and brings a comparative perspective to all her research and teaching. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8924-9\_12 //](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-8924-9_12%20//) GirlsDebate)

It is clear, therefore, that the pretenses of international law as being neutral, objective, and universal are false, and that space law is as much an expression of power dynamics as is any other area of law. There is no equality between countries, despite the notion of formal equality as a value underpinning international law, and the status quo is determined by interests of a small handful of countries which have managed to institutionalize the power they held at the close of the Second World War. There is no equal access to space, nor is there distribution of the benefits derived from space, despite this being a promise of the OST. Space is far from being the “province of all mankind”. Indeed, space is even further from being the province of all humankind. Access to, benefits from, and governance over space is the province of an elite few, and within those few there is a gender imbalance which mirrors the geographical imbalance. At the time that the OST was drafted, not only were there no women at the negotiating table, but under the U.S. programme, women were excluded from being able to become astronauts. To become an astronaut, one had to be a military test pilot, a profession from which women were banned (Koren, 2017). There was a strong lobbying campaign, led by highly qualified women pilots, to convince NASA and the White House to allow women to become astronauts (Klein, 2017), and a clandestine “Women in Space” program was bankrolled by the pioneering pilot Jackie Cochran (Weitekamp, 2004). In this program, a number of women were selected by Dr. Randolph Lovelace, a contractor to NASA who led the physical tests and training for astronauts, to undergo the exact same training as the men, because he suspected women would be better candidates for space travel, due to our generally lighter weights and lower need for oxygen. A higher percentage of women passed the tests than men, and many of the women performed better than the male trainee astronauts. However, despite the test results, the deeply engrained sexism of the time prevailed. Apparently Lovelace’s motives may have been focused on the need for women as secretaries and assistants in future long-term space habitations (Weitekamp, 2004). When “Women in Space” candidate Jerrie Cobb testified before a congressional subcommittee in 1962, she stated “we seek, only, a place in our nation’s space future without discrimination” (Klein, 2017), but astronaut John Glenn testified that creating a programme to train women astronauts would compromise the race to land on the Moon before the Soviets. Moreover, he argued “the men go off and fight the wars and fly the airplanes and come back and help design and build and test them. The fact that women are not in this field is a fact of our social order.” (Weitekamp, 2004; Klein, 2017). Ultimately the lobbying campaign failed, and the Women in Space program was shut down because NASA did not sponsor it. One year later, the first woman in space was a Soviet woman, Valentina Tereshkova, in March 1963. The Soviets had beaten the Americans in yet another milestone in the space race, ostensibly breaking the glass ceiling for women’s participation. However, she was not to be followed by another woman until 1982, when Svetlana Savitskaya flew on a mission to the Soviet Salyut Space Station. Upon her arrival, Savitskaya was handed an apron by her crewmates, who “joked” that she should get to work in the kitchen. Despite this rude welcome, she went on to perform a series of highly skilled engineering tasks for which she had been trained, including testing a tool for welding in space, and becoming the first woman to undertake a spacewalk (Lewis, 2018). Women are still vastly underrepresented in all STEM careers, and in the entire space sector generally, as well as at all international negotiating tables and in national law-making. It matters, then, a great deal, who has the power to determine the laws and norms applicable to human activity in space. If we are at all serious about the promises of the OST, then this power balance must shift. We must take into account the interests of many more players than just the most geopolitcally influential as we seek new space law and governance solutions to today’s and tomorrow’s space activities. It starts with making explicit that space is not at all “the province of all mankind”, let alone the province of all humanity.

#### Absent private companies, dystopian, militaristic visions would be replaced with educational, valiant ones. Space has the possibility to transform our society but must be vested from private hands.

Roberts 21

(Spencer Roberts is a science writer, musician, ecologist, and rooftop solar engineer from Colorado. <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2021/09/socialist-space-exploration-publicly-funded-nasa-education-futurism> , 9-8)

In 1961, Soviet cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin flew higher and orbited longer than Richard Branson and Jeff Bezos combined aboard Vostok 1, the world’s first piloted space flight. Upon his return to Earth, Gagarin became a global celebrity, traveling the world and recounting what it felt like to drift weightless and see the planet from above. For a brief moment, he transcended the boundaries of the Cold War, greeting cheering crowds in both Soviet and US-allied countries, capturing our collective fascination with the cosmos. The Vostok mission was meticulously planned and engineered, its cosmonauts trained for years. Its successor, Soyuz 1, was a different story. The 7K-OK spacecraft had been hastily constructed, its three unmanned flight tests all ending in failure. According to one account, Gagarin helped detail over two hundred structural concerns in a report urging the flight be called off. It’s rumored that he even tried to take his fellow cosmonaut Vladimir Komarov’s place piloting the doomed mission. In the end Komarov’s parachute failed to deploy and he burst into flames on reentry, plummeting at forty meters per second into the Earth. In aeronautics, the margin between triumph and tragedy is narrow. While hubris may have been Soyuz 1’s fatal flaw, the pursuit of profit has similarly incentivized corner cutting in the US space program. NASA, once the crown jewel of the public sector, has been slowly sold off to private contractors in the neoliberal era. Since 2020, NASA astronauts have ridden SpaceX Falcon 9 rockets into orbit, a model that has raised safety concerns among engineers and logged more failures since its debut in 2006 than the space shuttle did in thirty years. Recently, another NASA contractor, Virgin Galactic, was grounded for investigation by the Federal Aviation Administration after its pilots failed to notify the agency that its celebrated Unity flight was veering into commercial airspace. Mission objectives have changed as well. While perhaps always mythic, the once allegedly valiant aspirations of the space program have given way to openly touristic and militaristic goals. Corporations pursuing commercial space flight have received billions in public financing, and the US Space Force alone already has nearly three quarters the total budget of NASA. The true ethos of space exploration, however, is one of public works and education. Peering into the void of space inspires the deepest questions facing humanity: Who are we? Where do we come from? Where are we going? While a space program catering to the science fiction fantasies of billionaires is decidedly dystopian, conceptualizing space exploration as an educational mission to remotely probe the depths of the galaxy can help animate a more equitable vision of futurism. Space Exploration for the People How can space exploration serve society? Our first priority must be to decarbonize space flight. Without achieving this, the emissions that space flight generates are hardly justifiable given the state of our planet. Like the space blanket and cochlear implant, the applications of zero-carbon jet fuel would go far beyond the space program that developed it. Commercial aviation contributes an estimated 3.5 percent of effective radiative forcing — a figure that space tourism could skyrocket. Due to the weight of batteries and other logistical challenges, hydrogen fuel cells are considered one of the few viable pathways to decarbonizing long-distance flight. While some private space corporations have begun incorporating hydrogen, the fuel production is likely emissions-intensive and the technology remains proprietary. A publicly directed moonshot research program, coupled with tight restrictions on fossil-fueled rocket launches, could greatly accelerate the implementation of green hydrogen fuel cells in aviation and other difficult-to-decarbonize sectors. In addition to our atmosphere, we must respect the sanctity of orbital space, which we have littered with trash. The Defense Department’s Space Surveillance Network currently estimates there are more than twenty-seven thousand pieces of debris orbiting Earth. Yet even as their own ships run a gauntlet of garbage, billionaires are trashing space more than ever. While perhaps none match the vanity of the Tesla Roadster, competing commercial satellite networks like Musk’s Starlink and Bezos’ Project Kuiper actually pose a much greater collision threat and are also egregious sources of light pollution and electromagnetic interference. These redundant and dangerous monuments to the egos of oligarchs ought to be taken down from our skies along with other forms of space trash. Rather than granting billions in subsidies to enable this pollution, governments should instead collect the taxes that corporations like SpaceX, Blue Origin, and Virgin Galactic have evaded and use them to create public sector careers cleaning up their mess. To the extent that it is useful, publicly sponsored infrastructure in private hands should be nationalized and made accessible to all. The trade-offs between telecommunications infrastructure and preservation of dark skies highlight another core failure of NASA’s past: the lack of a planetary internationalism. In 2013, the Bolivian Space Agency and the China National Space Administration collaboratively launched the Túpac Katari 1 satellite (TKSat 1), demonstrating how easy it could be to close the space infrastructure gap between the Global North and South. The same year that the United States proposed to desecrate a Hawaiian sacred site for a telescope, Bolivia used space technology to bring internet and cell service for the first time to millions of Andean and Amazonian citizens. Since then, TKSat 1 has boosted education and development initiatives and even helped defend Bolivian democracy by relaying the transmissions of campesinos resisting the US-backed coup government in real time. Satellites can serve many other public interests, such as facilitating research that helps scientists monitor problems like climate change, deforestation, and forced labor. While today’s satellite infrastructure is used to commercialize communication and fuel mass surveillance, an international consensus to treat telecommunications and information access as public rights could instead provide free global broadband coverage with minimal infrastructure, balancing scientific advancement with our collective view of the stars. Finally, a socialist vision for space exploration could enable us to reach our full potential to venture into the unknown. History enshrines the intrepid explorers, but the true heroes of the space age are the workers at ground control. Yuri Gagarin made it home safely because of his command crews stationed from Baikonur to Khabarovsk. Apollo 13 famously called on Houston when they had a problem. Today, many of our brightest astrophysicists and aerospace engineers are swept up by military departments and weapons manufacturers. We should use their talents for science and education instead. That doesn’t mean, however, colonizing Mars. The Red Planet is a cosmic wonder, but a dreadful place for Earthlings. It has very little carbon dioxide, and no amount of terraforming will reinstate the magnetic dynamo that once deflected the solar winds now stripping away its depleted atmosphere. In fact, everything we have learned from researching Mars has reinforced the importance of protecting the fragile atmosphere of our home planet. While piloted space flights may be useful in some situations, we should place far more emphasis on collaboratively building robots like the ones that have taught us about our planetary neighbors. In today’s space race, these initiatives compete for funding. By prioritizing cooperation over colonization, however, we could pursue them all. We could attempt to retrieve raw materials for green energy infrastructure from decommissioned satellites and uninhabited asteroids instead of mines in the Global South. We could search the solar system for extraterrestrial life by flying rotorcrafts into the hydrocarbon-rich atmosphere of Titan and boring submarines into the icy subsurface ocean of Europa. We could strive for the first landing on Pluto, Eris, or even beyond — not to plant a flag, but seed a concept of what we can collectively achieve. Visions of Hopeful Futures In his final years of reflection on our Pale Blue Dot, astronomer Carl Sagan pondered, “Where are the cartographers of human purpose? Where are the visions of hopeful futures of technology as a tool for human betterment and not a gun on hair trigger pointed at our heads?” Sagan’s legacy — including the world’s first and only interstellar mission — offers a glimpse of this vision. We can choose to collaboratively probe into the depths of the cosmos, conveying collections of human knowledge, or to taxi billionaires to spend four minutes at the edge of space, indulging their fantasy of escaping the planet they’re poisoning with the very fuel propelling them. In either case, the financial, intellectual, and human costs will be borne by the public. Fortunately, if there’s one thing that space exploration has taught us, it’s that fate isn’t written in the stars. That happens down here on Earth.

#### Appropriation legitimizes the abusive treatment of nature by the patriarch which is juxtaposed onto feminized groups. Any attempt to “appropriate” space inevitably forces women to always be devalued, otherized, and erased

Plumwood 07

(Val Plumwood, philosopher and ecofeminist, BA University of Sydney, MA University of New England, PhD Australian National University; (11-08-2007) “Has democracy failed ecology? An Ecofeminist perspective”, Environmental Politics; <https://doi.org/10.1080/09644019508414231)//hwckd>

At the source of many of these exemptions and exclusions is a masculinist model of the citizen as independent (the 'man of property'), where the concept of independence incorporates various disavowed dependencies. Some of these denials are normalised in liberalism through the legitimation of forms of appropriation which deny the social Other by denying the dependence of property formation on collective forms of social life and infrastructure. These forms of appropriation also help constitute as less than full citizens specific groups of excluded Others whose contributory labour is denied and represented as background, as inessential and beneath recognition. For all these primary Others, there is a common pattern or 'logic' of oppression or exploitation which arises from their assimilation to the status of 'nature'.19 The primary Others who are exploited (that is, assumed but denied) in this master conception of property include, first of all, women, whose labour as 'nature' in the household is assumed but denied by the man of property as household head in his appropriation to himself of the wider social and economic rewards it makes possible [Waring, 1988; Okin, 1989]. Second, they include labouring, non-propertied citizens, and all those social Others whose contributions to production, and to the society and the infrastructure which makes this production and property possible, are assumed but denied in liberal forms of appropriation. Thirdly, these Others include the colonised, whose prior lands and prior and continuing labour are assumed but denied and appropriated in the formation and accumulation of the colonisers' property, often by assigning them the status of 'nature' [Shiva, 1994]. Fourthly, they include animals, nature and the earth itself, whose own prior agency and intentional organisation is denied and overridden in the foundation of property.20 The man of property assumes the contribution of nature in the form of a continuing support base for production, accumulation and renewal, but also denies it, not infrequently in even stronger terms than he denies these human Others, failing to recognise and allow, in his economic and cultural systems, for nature's reproduction and continuation.21 This denial establishes the basic ecological rationality characteristic of liberalism.22

#### Critical feminist policy analysis captures the benefits of policy making but avoids the epistemological pitfalls of exclusion – it’s goldilocks

Shaw 04

(associate professor of Urban Education, Temple University**.** Kathleen, Journal of Higher Education, 1/1, “Using feminist critical policy analysis in the realm of higher education; the case of welfare reform as gendered educational policy.”, lexis)

The Benefits of Critical Feminist Policy Analysis By nearly all accounts in the mainstream media, welfare reform is portrayed as a resounding success. Bill Clinton, who signed the legislation in 1996, has pointed to it as one of his greatest achievements, and current President George W. Bush is touting it as an American success story, eagerly embracing the "success" of the work-first ideology by attempting to increase the work requirements to forty hours a week. If such a bill is passed, forty states are likely to further cut access to postsecondary education and training to avoid financial penalties (Center for Law and Social Policy, 2002). Virtually no one is questioning this analysis of welfare reform, in large part because the only outcome that has received any real attention is the reduction in welfare rolls, which have dropped by as much as 60% in some states (Applied Research Center, 2001). When measured by this seemingly objective outcome, welfare reform can indeed be viewed as a success. Yet the picture is quite different when welfare reform is analyzed through the lens of feminist critical policy analysis. Economic self-sufficiency, rather than moving off the welfare rolls, is a more appropriate policy goal for poor women, and obtaining adequate educationand training is the surest route to long-term economic stability. Ifwelfare reform is measured against this standard, its success is surely called into question, since access to postsecondary education hasdropped dramatically, 1/4 of former welfare recipients live in poverty, and the poorest women became poorer following welfare reform (Sherman, 1998). Women who receive welfare are not, by and large, able topursue education and training, and those who do have a tenuous hold on the educational process. Moreover, the type of education availableto welfare recipients is short-term and nontransferable, a fact thatrenders it far less useful than more traditional forms of education. Using feminist critical policy analysis, I have engaged in an exercise to illustrate how policy formation and implementation can be understood as a series of disconnects between policymakers and mainstream analysts and the individuals whose lives are most affected by the policy. Utilizing welfare reform as a case study of broad social policy and its effects on access to higher education, this analytical lenshas clearly revealed the ways in which various elements of policy can create particularly onerous barriers to education and training for poor women. Elements of formal policy clearly create enormous barriers to education. Limits on the amount and type of education available,an emphasis on rapid employment, lifetime limits on the receipt of welfare, and lack of access to child care create barriers to educationso high that most women receiving welfare cannot overcome them. Yet equally important is the policy implementation process. The informal elements of policy in action, such as the ways in which case-workers, states and educational institutions respond to the policy with specific practices, can also erect enormous barriers to education. When combined, then, formal policy and informal elements of welfare policy implementation create a web of obstructions to education. In large part, these barriers are exacerbated because policymakers and implementers are blind to the unique context of the lives of poor, single mothers. And many of these barriers are simply not visible when welfare reform is examined using more conventional modes of policy analysis. This article utilizes welfare reform as a case study in employing feminist critical policy analysis to policy that affects access to postsecondary education. As I hope my analysis has illustrated, this methodological and analytical tool provides a potential corrective to more traditional analyses of policy in general, and higher education policy in particular. This framework is self-consciously anchored by questions of whether particular policies will empower and democratize women (Kahne, 1994). As such, it is an analytical perspective that allows policy researchers to place gender at the center of analyses, and it allows as well the development of democratizing solutions to current policy conundrums (Marshall, 1999). As the field of higher education continues to exhibit an increasedinterest in issues of power, representation, and social justice, feminist critical policy analysis can be utilized as an important tool with which to analyze emerging educational policies. This approach to policy analysis encourages us to understand the broader context in which policy is developed and enacted

and to understand as well the particularities of the lives of those most affected by policy. Thus, forexample, an examination of financial aid policy utilizing feminist critical policy analysis might focus on whether such policies disadvantage women, whose attendance patterns or ability to pay tuition may differ from those of men because of familial or childcare responsibilities. Similarly, this lens can be used to determine whether articulation agreements between two- and four-year institutions may be biased against particular areas of study in which women are frequently overrepresented; and the movement towards workforce development, contract training, and other nondegree-granting programs could be examined through the experiences of women to determine whether such programs present particular difficulties or benefits for women. Too, broader social policy can also be examined through a criticallens to develop a better understanding of how such policies may affect access to higher education generally, and for women in particular.Recent or potential changes in family leave and marital law, health care and insurance policies, and economic development policies may well be seen as unrelated to access to higher education, and as gender-neutral public policy. But, as this analysis of welfare reform has hopefully illustrated, such seemingly straightforward policies become much more complicated when examined from the perspective of women's lives. Moreover, because such policies affect important aspects of women's lives, they can affect the ability and willingness of women to pursue postsecondary education in a myriad of ways. Ultimately, policy analysis that poses as "neutral" in any sense of that word is not only inadequate in developing a full understandingof educational policy. In addition, it can also obscure and dismiss as unimportant the differential effects of such policies on our most vulnerable populations. For these reasons, it is important that the field of policy analysis employ methods and theories that move beyond seemingly "neutral" analyses to directly address issues of power, status, and context.

### Framing

#### Metrics and justifications for policies matter just as much as the ends – moves to resolve the aff by using masculine risk calculus are antithetical to the ethical demands of the plan. The role of the ballot is to interrogate the gendered nature of IR – vote for the side that best promotes feminist scholarship and deconstructs the patriarchy

Verloo 05

(Mieke, Senior Lecturer in Political Sciences and Gender Studies at Radboud University Nijmegen and Research Director of an EU-funded comparative research facility, “Displacement and Empowerment: Reflections on the Concept and Practice of the Council of Europe Approach to Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Equality”, Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society 12.3 (2005) 344-365)

Some studies that focus on assessing the success of gender mainstreaming practices at the level of the European Union point to a similar phenomenon of "adding other goals," as happened in the Message to the Committee of Ministers to Steering Committees of the Council of Europe on Gender Mainstreaming. In Hafner-Burton and Pollack's analysis (2000) of five areas (structural funds, employment and social affairs, development, competition and science, research and development), the accent is on explaining cross-sectional variety within the European Commission in the start and the implementation of gender mainstreaming. They show how important it has been that political opportunities in Europe have widened and increased over the course of the last decade, for instance as a result of the entrance of the Nordic countries. They also show how important lobbying and modernization have been, for instance the lobbying of WISE (the European organization for women's studies) in the case of gender mainstreaming in science, research, and development. In assessing the success of gender mainstreaming, they refer to classical power mechanisms that are at the heart of social movement theory: political opportunities and mobilizing. In the context of this article, the most interesting part of their analysis is their use of the concept of strategical framing, another power mechanism conceptualized in social movement theory. Strategical framing is a dynamic concept that enables us to see how different actors adapt existing policy frames to pursue their prospective goals. Strategical framing is defined as attempting to construct a fit between existing frames, or networks of meaning, and the frames of a change agent. Hafner-Burton and Pollack show that gender mainstreaming is "sold" as an effective means to the ends pursued by the European Commission, rather than as an overt challenge to those ends. They argue that the gender mainstreaming efforts, because of this strategical framing, might turn into an integrationist approach, integrating women and gender issues into specific regular policies rather than rethinking the fundamental aims of the European Union from a gender perspective. Especially since the European Union is one of the most successful implementers of gender mainstreaming so far, this threatens the transformative potential

of gender mainstreaming, they say. [End Page 358] Mary Braithwaite's work on gender mainstreaming in the structural funds (1999) corroborates these findings. She finds that because of the absence of precise objectives on reducing gender inequalities, gender is easily located within and has been subjected to other goals, such as employment creation, economic growth, or poverty reduction. This is not to say that these are abject goals, just to stress that they are not synonymous with gender equality. Braithwaite concludes that gender equity suffers from the dominance of efficiency and effectiveness in gender mainstreaming practices in the structural funds. Strategical Framing and Power The studies presented point out that "success," in the sense of starting a process of gender mainstreaming, seems to be connected to the "stretching" of the goal of gender equality, to strategical framing, and they also show that the actual goal of gender mainstreaming is not articulated clearly. In the last section of this article, I will therefore take a closer look at framing processes, at the politics of framing. What happens in processes of strategical framing? Why would it be that integration rather than transformation is the inevitable result of strategical framing processes? Strategical framing refers to a process of linking a feminist goal, such as gender equality, to some major goal of an organization that should engage or is engaging in gender mainstreaming, thereby securing the allegiance of these organizations to gender mainstreaming. In technical terms, this means that until now strategical framing in gender mainstreaming practices has usually involved framing bridging or frame extension6 (Benford and Snow 2000). The strategies chosen do not challenge the other, mainstream goals of policy makers, but provide for a link by "stretching" the gender equality goal. This means that the dual agenda that is mostly present in gender mainstreaming (of the feminist goal and some other goal) is presented as the possibility of a win-win situation. In such conceptualizations, power seems to evaporate; it is put between brackets. Gender mainstreaming is presented as a harmonious process, certainly in the Council of Europe report. The state is also mostly conceptualized as "friendly," probably connected to the fact that Sweden and the Netherlands have been among its pioneers, countries that to some extent have been "friendly" states in the past. Yet, if gender inequality is about power and privileges, then gender mainstreaming should be about abolishing privileges, and if gender mainstreaming is about eliminating gender bias in policy making, then the state should be problematized. Why then is a process of abolishing privileges and gender bias conceptualized as harmony? The answer provided in the studies discussed earlier is that it helps in organizing acceptance of gender mainstreaming, by making it less [End Page 359] threatening. The consequence of this avoidance of struggle is the exclusion of opposing voices, including radical feminist voices. The "Beyond Armchair Feminism" volume of Organization (2000) is one of the few studies analyzing the bad results of such a dual agenda: the disappearance of a gender focus altogether. Coleman and Rippin (2000) conclude, after having tried such a process of harmonious change, that there needs to be more challenge and less agreement in such change processes, even if trust is a crucial component. The presentation of harmony, used to help smooth the process of change, is counterproductive in the end. In Hearn's (2000) reflection on the project, not only organizations are gendered (in the Acker 1990 definition), but also models of organizational or societal change are gendered, as well as embodying other forms of social division and domination. Following this analysis, change processes and hence gender mainstreaming processes and activities should be conceptualized as necessarily riddled with power, subject to mechanisms of power, and best understood in terms of power. Looking at processes of strategical framing as connected to power relations through a Foucauldian lens shows the logic of the dual agenda as a mix of enabling and constraining processes. The main enabling part is the opening generated by the bridging of frames. Yet, in this logic that juxtaposes two sets of goals, some options are repressed. Exposing the "organization" goal as not neutral, but already gendered, or positioning the "feminist" goal as an organization goal in its own right, will be difficult. As organizations tend to have a self-image of gender neutrality, the gender bias in their existing goals will not easily be recognized. And as both goals will hardly ever be backed by equal power resources, the feminist goal will be watered down much more, or much more easily than the organization goal. Moreover, in the process of convincing organizations or people to start a process of gender mainstreaming, there will already be a tendency to select more "acceptable" feminist goals. Also, the feminists or femocrats involved in these efforts will necessarily have some kind of acceptance by the (gender-biased) organization, leading to further selection and exclusion of radical or marginalized voices. The logic of the dual agenda therefore leads first to an opening for a feminist agenda, and then to a narrowing down of the feminist focus and feminist voices, to eventually losing the focus on gender and gender equality altogether. This logic functions through mechanisms of power. Both goals are not equally powerful, as they have unequal support and resources within the regular organizations that are the relevant context of gender mainstreaming. Especially when gender mainstreaming is conceptualized in a technocratic way, less external pressure or mobilization of feminist groups is to be expected. [End Page 360] Moreover, this inequality of support and resources hinders a clear articulation of a feminist goal, or the expression of particular feminist goals that are seen as more radical, while such radical goals would be needed in view of the watering-down mechanisms. Mainstream liberal feminism hence has an advantage, while a goal that is articulated as a need to displace gender will meet resistance. Finally, within feminism there are hegemonic processes as well that are not recognized and that lead to the exclusion of certain feminist voices.

#### Reject their existential threats – drive to prevent extinction is a form of masculine survivalism where gendered bodies become the unwilling tools to sustain humanity. You should refuse their obsession with patriarchal reproduction.

Mitchell 15

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The reproduction of survival/ the survival of reproduction

Extinction is almost always understood against the horizon of survival and the imperative to sustain it – at least for life forms deemed to be of value to humans. In many cases, this imperative takes the form of deliberate strategies for enforcing existence. Donna Haraway’s influential book When Species Meet devotes considerable attention to the logics, practices and politics of Species Survival Plans. These plans monitor and enforce reproduction amongst ‘endangered’ species, not least by collecting data on populations, genetic profiles and genetic materials to enable selective breeding. This strategy assumes that all organisms can, should, and can be made to exercise their reproductive capacities in order to resist extinction, and it actively mobilizes members of ‘endangered species’ into this project. In so doing, it helps to entrench norms regarding gender, sexuality and reproductive labour that are deeply entrenched in modern, Western human cultures. Attention to these programmes highlights an important way in which extinction is gendered in dominant scientific and policy frameworks. Specifically, strategic breeding programmes share in the belief that reproduction is an imperative for those capable of reproducing if ‘the species’ is at risk’. This belief is directly related to Western norms of the reproductive imperative for women. Indeed, Haraway points out that it is precisely “‘woman’s’

putative self-defining responsibility to ‘the species’ as this singular and typological female is reduced to her reproductive function”. In a similar sense, within SSPs and other strategies of enforced survival, entire life forms are reduced to their reproductive capacities. Moreover, programmes of enforced survival can, in the context of sexual reproduction, disproportionately burden female organisms with the task of avoiding extinction. This logic is particularly fraught in discussions of the possibility of human extinction, in which female fertility (captured in the standard policy language of ‘births per woman’) is framed simultaneously as a threat to survival, and the only hope for escaping extinction (see, for instance, Alan Weisman’s comments on this). In these ways, the securitization of survival entrenches the intersectional categories of gender, species and race discussed above. Dominant discourses of extinction and conservation also entrench and privilege sexual reproduction, in ways that entrench heteronormative assumptions and norms. This is reflected in the way that the subjects of extinction and conservation are framed. The standard object of conservation is the biological ‘species’, a term which is defined by the ability of organisms to reproduce sexually. As Myra Hird has pointed out, this conception of ‘species’ makes it appear as if sexual reproduction is the ‘best’ means of sustaining the existence of a life form. However, Hird’s work demonstrates that Earthly life forms actually engage in myriad forms of reproduction, from the free exchange of DNA between bacteria to the hermaphroditic practices of some fish. The upshot of these arguments is that Earthly life is sustained through a huge variety of reproductive activities that do not conform to biological understandings of life processes or species. Crucially, Hird argues that there is no necessary hierarchy between forms of reproduction. In Darwinian terms, all species that manage to survive are equally successful. However, by conflating survival with sexual reproduction, existing discourses of extinction embed hetero-normative frameworks that devalue other forms of reproduction. They also reduce reproduction to the imperative to survive, ignoring the myriad cultural, political, aesthetic, sensual and other dimensions of reproduction.