# Speech 1NC Strake Rd 6 vs Northern Valley 12-18 1PM

## 1

#### Interp and violation – 1ACs must use the three-tier process to justify the plan – they haven’t

Reid-Brinkley 8[SHANARA ROSE REID-BRINKLEY- “THE HARSH REALITIES OF “ACTING BLACK”: HOW AFRICAN-AMERICAN POLICY DEBATERS NEGOTIATE REPRESENTATION THROUGH RACIAL PERFORMANCE AND STYLE” Under the Direction of CHRISTINE HAROLD <https://getd.libs.uga.edu/pdfs/reid-brinkley_shanara_r_200805_phd.pdf> 2008] VHS AI

In other words, those with social power within the debate community are able to produce and determine “legitimate” knowledge. These legitimating practices usually function to maintain the dominance of normative knowledgemaking practices, while crowding out or directly excluding alternative knowledge-making 83 practices. The Louisville “framework looks to the people who are oppressed by current constructions of power.”58 Jones and Green offer an alternative framework for drawing claims in debate speeches, they refer to it as a three-tier process: A way in which you can validate our claims, is through the three-tier process. And we talk about personal experience, organic intellectuals, and academic intellectuals. Let me give you an analogy. If you place an elephant in the room and send in three blind folded people into the room, and each of them are touching a different part of the elephant. And they come back outside and you ask each different person they gone have a different idea about what they was talking about. But, if you let those people converse and bring those three different people together then you can achieve a greater truth.59 Jones argues that without the three tier process debate claims are based on singular perspectives that privilege those with institutional and economic power. The Louisville debaters do not reject traditional evidence per se, instead they seek to augment or supplement what counts as evidence with other forms of knowledge produced outside of academia. As Green notes in the doubleocto-finals at CEDA Nationals, “Knowledge surrounds me in the streets, through my peers, through personal experiences, and everyday wars that I fight with my mind.”60 The thee-tier process: personal experience, organic intellectuals, and traditional evidence, provides a method of argumentation that taps into diverse forms of knowledge-making practices. With the Louisville method, personal experience and organic intellectuals are placed on par with traditional forms of evidence. While the Louisville debaters see the benefit of academic research, they are also critically aware of the normative practices that exclude racial and ethnic minorities from policy-oriented discussions because of their lack of training and expertise. Such exclusions 84 prevent radical solutions to racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia from being more permanently addressed. According to Green: bell hooks talks about how when we rely solely on one perspective to make our claims, radical liberatory theory becomes rootless. That’s the reason why we use a three-tiered process. That’s why we use alternative forms of discourse such as hip hop. That’s also how we use traditional evidence and our personal narratives so you don’t get just one perspective claiming to be the right way. Because it becomes a more meaningful and educational view as far as how we achieve our education.61 The use of hip hop and personal experience function as a check against the homogenizing function of academic and expert discourse. Note the reference to bell hooks. Green argues that without alternative perspectives, “radical libratory theory becomes rootless.” The term rootless seems to refer to a lack of grounded-ness in the material circumstances that academics or experts study. In other words, academics and experts by definition represent an intellectual population with a level of objective distance from that which they study. For the Louisville debaters, this distance is problematic as it prevents the development of a social politic that is rooted in the community of those most greatly affected by the status of oppression.

#### Vote for limits – there are an infinite amount of potential plans so you cherry-pick affs with no neg ground and I must prep all affs while they prep one which pigeonholes me to generics but there is a limited amount of ways bodies could affirm.

#### TVA – defend your advocacy but focus on the way the politics you defend are influenced by your identity

#### Accessibility – psychic violence is a prereq to being in debate

#### CI – brightlines are arbitrary and self-serving which doesn’t set good norms

#### DTD – we’ve indicted their advocacy

#### No RVI’s- a) chilling effect – people will be too scared to read theory because RVI’s encourage baiting theory b) clash – people go all in on theory which decks substance engagement c] logic – you shouldn’t win for being fair

## 2

#### Subjectivity is defined through self-reflection – the confrontation with disability leads to ego death, which culminating in ontological lash-out. Proven by 1AC Gautier 3 in “expectation that others will adhere to agreeements.” And proves they rely on conceptions of community and relationality to exist.

**Mollow 15**[Anna Mollow(Ph.D. in 2015 from the University of California, Berkeley, Andrew Vincent White and Florence Wales White Scholar, UC Dissertation-Year Fellow, coeditor of Sex and Disability and the co-editor of DSM-CRIP). “The Disability Drive.” University of California at Berkeley. Pg 85-88. Spring 2015. Accessed 3/6/20. <https://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/etd/ucb/text/Mollow_berkeley_0028E_15181.pdf> //Recut Xu from BL]

Much as the differentiation between the inseparable processes of primary and secondary narcissism rests on a distinction between building up and breaking down the ego, a similar heuristic distinction gives structure to my concepts of primary and secondary pity. To be clear, pity and narcissism are not the same thing: if narcissism can be understood as love of the self, pity involves a complex affective reaction to the suffering of someone else. Primary pity entails a response to the image of another person succumbing to what I have termed the “tragedy of disability.”121 Primary pity arises when one witnesses a fall of the self, a collapse of the ego; 74 such falling is at once painful and pleasurable to observe. In other words, primary pity could be described as a vicarious experience of the tragedy of disability. A great deal of the pain and pleasure of primary pity center on questions about what, or who, this fallen self is. When most people think about pity, we refer to an affect in which, to adopt Edelman‟s phrase, we purport to “feel for the other.” But as with primary narcissism, in which the self has not yet been constituted, and therefore cannot be said to enter into intersubjective relations with an “other,” primary pity entails a mixing up of self and other such that the ego, in becoming permeable to pain that may properly belong to “someone else,” is profoundly threatened in its integrity. Primary pity is that intense pain-pleasure complex that is provoked by the image of a suffering other who, it seems momentarily, both is and is not one‟s self. This affective response can feel unbearable, as seen in Siebers‟s formulation: one “cannot bear to look…but also cannot bear not to look.” Primary pity is difficult to bear because it involves a drive toward disability (one cannot bear not to look), which menaces the ego‟s investments in health, pleasure, and control—because to contemplate another person‟s suffering is to confront the question, “Could this happen to me?” Such a prospect, although frightening, may also be compelling; in this way, primary pity replicates the self-rupturing aspects of sexuality. Indeed, the unbearability of primary pity reflects its coextensiveness with sexuality. Sex, or the Unbearable, a book coauthored by Edelman and by Lauren Berlant, argues that sex “unleashes unbearable contradictions that we nonetheless struggle to bear” (back cover). This claim accords with Freud‟s account of sexuality as a “pleasurable” “unpleasure” that the ego can never fully master or control (Three 49,75). As Leo Bersani puts it in his reading of Freud, “the pleasurable unpleasurable tension of sexual enjoyment occurs when the body‟s „normal‟ range of sensation is exceeded, and when the organization of the self is momentarily disturbed”; thus, “sexuality would be that which is intolerable to the structured self” (Freudian 38). Primary pity is also intolerable to the structured self, because it entails a fascination with the fantasy of a self in a state of disintegration or disablement. Secondary pity is something else, although it cannot wholly be differentiated from primary pity. Secondary pity attempts to heal primary pity‟s self-rupturing effects by converting primary pity into a feeling that is bearable. As with secondary narcissism, secondary pity involves both an attempt to get back to that ego-shattering state of painfully pleasurable primary pity, and at the same time to defend against that threat to the ego by aggrandizing oneself at someone else‟s expense. Secondary pity refers to all those ego-bolstering behaviors that most people think of when they talk about pity. Disabled people are all too familiar with these behaviors: the saccharin sympathy, the telethon rituals of “conspicuous contribution,” the insistence that “they” (i.e., nondisabled people) could never endure such suffering. More commonly known in our culture simply as “pity,” secondary pity encompasses our culture‟s most clichéd reactions to disability: charity, tears, and calls for a cure. Correlatives of these commonplace manifestations of secondary pity are the obligatory claims that disabled people‟s suffering is “inspiring.” Indeed, the speed with which conventional cultural representations of disability segue from overt expressions of pity to celebrations of “the triumph of the human spirit” highlights the ways in which secondary pity, as a defense against primary pity‟s incursions, reinforces the ego‟s fantasy of sovereignty. Secondary pity, in other words, can be seen as a variation of secondary narcissism: these affects enlarge the ego of the pitier or the narcissist at the expense of someone else. But primary pity is not the same as either primary narcissism, secondary narcissism, or secondary pity. Unlike primary narcissism, a feeling that emerges out of a relation to the world in which notions of “self” and “other” do not obtain, primary pity does depend upon the constructs of self and other, although these constructions are unstable and are continually threatening to come undone. Primary pity can thus be envisioned as a threshold category occupying a liminal position between the total denial of the other that is inherent to primary narcissism and the rigid structure of (superior) self and (inferior) other that constitutes secondary narcissism and secondary pity. My concept of primary versus secondary pity also differs from Freud‟s primarysecondary narcissism distinction at the level of genealogy. Like Freud‟s account of primary and secondary narcissisms, my model of primary and secondary pities involves a temporal transition; but whereas Freud imagines the movement from primary to secondary narcissism as a passage from an earlier to a later stage of an individual‟s development, the temporal shift from primary to secondary pity happens much more quickly than this. It happens in an instant: that moment in which we feel primary pity and then, almost before we can blink, deny that we feel or have felt it. The denial is understandable: who wants to admit that one gets pleasure from the sight of another person‟s suffering—or, to make matters worse, that this pleasure derives in part from the specter of disability‟s transferability, the possibility that this suffering could be—and, fantasmatically, perhaps already is—an image of one‟s own self undone? Indeed, the model of primary pity that I have been constructing may sound a bit too close to sadism for some people‟s liking. Pity does come close to sadism, and at the same time, to masochism, which Freud theorizes as sadism‟s obverse. In “Mourning and Melancholia,” an essay that can be read as a sequel to “On Narcissism,” Freud approaches a distinction between primary and secondary masochism, which accords with my primary-secondary pity heuristic.122 If the story that I traced in “On Narcissism” could be summarized as “child gets breast; child loses breast; child gets breast back, albeit in a secondary, adulterated form,” the tale that Freud tells about masochism takes much the same form. In this story, subject loves object; subject loses object; and subject tries to get object back by becoming object, that is, by identifying with the object in such a way that object starts to seem—and perhaps in some ways is—part of subject‟s self. This last phase is a dysfunctional and disabling form of identification, Freud makes clear. Subject is still angry at object for having left it, and it takes out that anger on the object that is now part of itself. This is the reason that people suffering from melancholia are so hard on themselves, Freud says; the “diminution in…self-regard” that typically accompanies melancholia results from the subject‟s attacks on the loved-and-lost object that the subject has incorporated into its ego (“Mourning” 246). Freud had not wanted there to be such a thing as primary masochism; for a long time, he had insisted that sadism, or “aggression,” was the primary instinct, and that masochism was only a turning-inward of this originary aggression. But in “Mourning and Melancholia,” although Freud does not yet use the term “primary masochism,” he nonetheless gets at this concept. The problem of suicide, Freud notes in this essay, raises the possibility that the ego “can treat itself as an object” that it wants to destroy (252). When it comes to such an extreme act as suicide, the possibility of carrying “such a purpose through to execution” must, Freud surmises, involve more than a sadistic wish to punish others. Perhaps, then, there is an innate desire to destroy one‟s own self, Freud hypothesizes. If so, this self would not be a single thing: it would be “me” and at the same time, the lost object whose image “I” have internalized. Freud‟s notion of a primary masochism is tied very closely to his conceptualization of the drive. Beyond the Pleasure Principle, the text in which Freud first used the term “death drive,” was published three years after “Mourning and Melancholia.” In the later text, Freud‟s speculations about the death drive lead him to acknowledge that “there might be such a thing as primary masochism” (66). After all, Freud points out, the idea that either sadism or masochism definitively takes precedence over the other does not ultimately make much sense, as “there is no difference in principle between an instinct turning from the object to the ego and its turning from the ego to an object” (66). If sadism and masochism are ultimately indistinguishable obverses of each other, then pity, in both its primary and its secondary forms, would have to be both sadistic and masochistic. This is a deeply troubling possibility, but I suggest that trying to overcome pity will only make matters worse. There are many ways of trying to overcome primary pity, and each one ultimately aggravates the violence of primary pity. One way is the “pitiless” refusal of compassion that Edelman advocates (70). Another is the disability activist “No pity” injunction. A third example is secondary pity, as in the query, commonly addressed to disabled people, “Have you ever thought of killing yourself?”123 In this question, disabled people correctly hear the wish, “I‟d like to kill you.” Indeed, primary pity is so unsettling that our culture has been driven to “mercifully” kill people in the name of secondary pity. We have also been driven to lock people in institutions, to let them languish on the streets, to stare, to punish, and to sentimentalize—all, I would suggest, in the interest of not owning, not naming, not acknowledging that self-shattering, ego-dissolving, instantaneous and intolerable moment of primary pity. Because primary pity is tied up with the disability drive, it must, like the drive itself, be regarded as unrepresentable.

#### **The world relies on the fundamental opposition to disability to exist – disabled bodies are modeled as the inverse reflection to the normate which drives the internal ableism and desire to eliminate disabled bodies. Proven by their meta ethic about** “a majority of people with the capacity for reason” – they don’t account for disabled bodies and proves the constant marginaziaotn

**Hughes 12** [Bill Hughes (professor of Sociology at Glasgow Caledonian University, BA in sociology from the University of Stirling, PhD in political philosophy from the University of Aberdeen). 2012. Accessed 8/9/20. “Civilising Modernity and the Ontological Invalidation of Disabled People.” <https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1057/9781137023001_2> //Xu]

The stratifying binary of disability/non-disability and the antagonism of the latter towards the former is mediated and maintained, principally, by the emotion of disgust. Disgust is the bile carried in a discursive complex that Campbell (2008: 153) calls ‘ableism’: ‘a network of beliefs, processes and practices that produces a particular kind of self and body (the corporeal standard) that is projected as perfect, species-typical and therefore essential and fully human’. The body produced by ableism is equivalent to what Kristeva (1982: 71) calls the ‘clean and proper body’. It is the body of the ‘normate’, the name that Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (1997) gives to the body that thinks of itself as invulnerable and definitive. It is the hygienic, aspirational body of civilising modernity. It is cast from the increasingly stringent norms and rules about emotional behaviour and bodily display that mark mundane social relations in the lebenswelt (lifeworld). This curious non-disabled body/self has no empirical existence per se. On the contrary, the body of ableism is a normative construct, an invulnerable ideal of being manifest in the imaginary of ‘modernist ontology, epistemology and ethics’ as something ‘secure, distinct, closed and autonomous’ (Shildrick, 2002: 51). It embraces ‘human perfectibility as a normative physical or psychological standard’ and involves ‘a curious disavowal of variation and mortality’ (Kaplan, 2000: 303). It is what we are supposed to aspire to, to learn to be but can never become. It has no grounding in the material world. It is a ‘body schema, a psychic construction of wholeness that … belies its own precariousness and vulnerability’ (Shildrick, 2002: 79). It is a ‘body divorced from time and space; a thoroughly artificial affair’ (Mitchell and Snyder, 2000: 7), the epitome of civilisation, closed off from any connection with the animal side of humanity and from the ways in which our bodily nature wallows in its carnal improprieties. It is a body aghast at the messiness of existence. Disability is the opposite of this ideal body, its ‘inverse reflection’ (Deutsch and Nussbaum, 2000: 13). The disabled body is or has the propensity to be unruly. In the kingdom of the ‘clean and proper body’, disability is the epitome of ‘what not to be’. As a consequence the disabled body can be easily excluded from the mainstream ‘psychic habitus’ (Elias, 2000: 167). The ‘clean and proper’ – a normative body of delicacy, refinement and selfdiscipline – has powerful social consequences most manifest in its normalising dynamics. It is the standard of judgement against which disabled bodies are invalidated and transformed into repellent objects. It is the emblem of purity that by comparison creates existential unease. It apportions the shame and repugnance that underwrite the civilising process (Elias, 2000: 114–19, 414–21). Through ableism, modernity has been able to structure disability as uncivilised, outside or on the margins of humanity. One of the great books of the science of natural history published under the title Systema Naturae by Linnaeus in 1735 distinguishes between homo sapiens and homo monstrosus. In this classification impairment – at its extreme and highly visible end – is excluded from the human family. The distinction is, in itself, an act of violence and invalidation, an object lesson in transforming difference and ‘defect’ into the abominable. The distinction mobilises the aversive emotions of fear and disgust. Ableism is a cruel teacher. It embodies violence at many levels: ‘epistemic, psychic, ontological and physical’ (Campbell, 2008: 159). It is at its most bellicose when it is mediated by disgust: a mediation invoked mostly in the social fabrication of taboo and most compellingly in a context when the human/animal boundary is under threat. Ableism rests on the effort to eliminate from awareness, chaos, abjection, animality and death: all that civilisation seeks to repress. It encourages us to live in the false hope that we will not suffer and die, to adopt a perspective of invulnerability, to confuse morality with beauty and to see death, pain and disability as the repulsive woes of mortality rather than as the existen- tial basis for community and communication. Kolnai (2004: 74) reminds us that, ‘in its full intention, it is death ... that announces itself to us in the phenomenon of disgust’. Disability, in modernity, has been produced in the ontological household of the abject, as the antithesis of communica- tion and community, in a place that we might on occasion peer into only to ‘choke’ on the unsavoury sights that greet us. Disability is put out, put away, hidden, segregated or transformed into its opposite, covered up by whatever medical or aesthetic techniques are available to achieve this end. Any opportunity that disability might have to take its place at the heart of communication and community is thwarted by the ablest sensibilities that push it back down among the disgusting, the sick, the dead and the dying. In fact, as Elias (2000) suggested, the making of ‘civilised’ community and communication in modernity proceeds by exclusion and interdiction, by cutting out and hiding away whatever causes or might come to inspire angar (choking) or anguista (tightness).

#### 1AC Gautier 3 theorizatio of “deliberative justification” is structured to exclude disabled bodies- speech has come to constitute the boundary of Humanism, to which disability forms the constitutive negative as a disruption of such networks. Informational assemblages are inaccessible to disabled bodies which form the instability that threatens the humanist circle.

**St. Pierre 15** [Bracketed for crip to disabled. Joshua St. Pierre (BA in humanities from Briercrest College, Master of Arts in philosophy from the University of Alberta). “Cripping Communication: Speech, Disability, and Exclusion in Liberal Humanist and Posthumanist Discourse.” Communication Theory. Vol 25, Issue 3. Pages 330-348. 3/31/15. Accessed 8/29/20. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/comt.12054> // Xu]

John Durham Peters has argued that “communication” is a modern invention, stirred by the late 19th century anxieties of isolation and longings for unmediated connection (2000). But while the elusive dream of forging minds together through signs and semantics may be an endemically modern problem, speech has long been a human problem. In particular, performing speech, like performing “the human,” is a risky affair with exclusionary consequences. Oral speech has occupied a dignified position within the humanist lineage, shaping central questions of what it means to be human, imbued with the power to persuade others, serve human affairs, and articulate truth; yet, this pedigree has come at a high cost: the exclusion of voices not deemed rational and intelligible. I propose bringing a disabled, or a crip, analysis to bear on speech communication within humanism and posthumanism. Focusing on the disabled speaker, I accordingly argue that the exclusion of nonnormative voices within liberal humanism results from a tension between the conception of speech as rational and universal, and its embodied particularity that erodes any claim to universality. As the sine qua non of rational human subjectivity, speech is an esteemed, yet volatile, performance that can easily go wrong. Rather than owning up to the necessarily embodied and unstable mediation of human identity, liberal humanism defers the tension immanent within speech by excluding nonnormative and disabled voices, judging them against what I term the “universal speaker,” in a Sisyphean attempt to shore up and contain the boundaries of the human. The ultimately futile movement to free rational discourse from the body entirely is reapproached through the posthumanist shift to text as the principle mode of communication. Pursuing the stuttered trajectory of “rational discourse” in liberal humanism to its disembodied form of “information” in posthumanism, I suggest that speech is largely absent in posthumanist discourse not only because of the incongruity of speech with emerging models of information seemingly free from context, but perhaps more importantly because these discourses assume autoaffectivity and preclude [disabled]crip voices from analysis. Like its humanist predecessor, and contrary to much of its rhetoric, posthumanism shows signs of structural exclusion dependent on having the right sort of informational body: malleable and flexible. Tony Davis insists that “All humanisms, until now, have been imperial. . . . Their embrace suffocates those it does not ignore” (2008, p. 141). While this may ultimately place disabled voices within good company, it remains worrisome that the silencing itself has been largely underrepresented and untheorized. Even disciplines such as communication studies and disability studies, devoted to unearthing genealogies, articulating phenomenological structures, and exploring subaltern modes of existing together, have not paid enough attention to disabled speech. While these disciplines have had very little, if any, contact so far, they have much to offer each other. By bringing these two disciplines into dialogue and writing from disability, I propose that the disabled speaker is perhaps the cyborg par excellence, eschewing communicative purity, autonomy, and self-mastery. The disabled speaker can be employed to critique the latent ableism within humanist and posthumanist discourse, and communication theory more generally, while offering new modes of thinking about posthuman communication as an embodied activity based on noise, relationality, and reciprocity.1 Liberal humanism and speech Liberal humanism is a broad-based political and intellectual emergence within the Enlightenment, which gained full ascendency in the 19th and 20th centuries, valuing “open and undogmatic inquiry, freedom of the individual conscience” and aiming for a “respect for social justice, social and psychological utility, decency, [and] liberality” (Coates & White, 1970, p. 447). At its center, liberal humanism is a marriage between the long humanist tradition and liberal ideals: a dual commitment to “man” and “freedom.” However, in its effort to secure “man” as a completely autonomous being, liberal humanism must first transcend group differences and generalize attributes of humanity in a movement of essentialization. What defines a human in this tradition is accordingly not accidental attributes— for example race, gender, age—but the possession of rationality. The liberal subject, as Katherine Hayles has observed, identifies the self with the rational mind merely in possession of a body (1999, p. 4).This move is unquestionably overdetermined, yet can in large measure be traced back through Cartesian rationalism to the Discourse on the Method. Asserting the cogito, Descartes writes: from this I knew I was a substance whose whole essence or nature is solely to think, and which does not require any place, or depend on any material thing, in order to exist. Accordingly this ‘I’— that is, the soul by which I am what I am—is entirely distinct from the body, and indeed is easier to know than the body, and would not fail to be whatever it is, even if the body did not exist (2009, p. 36, emphasis added). Distinct from the body and free from context, the existence of the rational “I” stands above the historical moment. While Descartes himself is not the brash dualist so often presumed, the methodological distinction between res extensa and res cogitans nevertheless sets the stage for the humanist erasure of embodiment that carries through into posthumanism. Compared to the axiomatically derived self-evidence of the rational self, the body is deemed epistemically untrustworthy, accidental, and historical. Transcribed through liberal humanism, this binary conceives the subject as an inner and universal rationality possessing an external and particular body. The liberal subject emerges as autonomous and unitary, yet as interior, in need of externalizing his/her social and political nature. It is here that speech takes on a significant, yet surprisingly underrepresented, role within liberal humanist discourse. In 1923, H. Wildon Carr, a former president of the Aristotelian Society, argued that the very idea of reason requires discourse because reason is an activity directed outwards. “The origin of speech,” said Carr, “is in the nature of human mentality. Reason in its human form would not and could not exist without speech” (1923–1924, p. 97). A similar position is taken up more recently by Frank E. X. Dance and Carl E. Larson who have contended that speech communication is a pedagogical initiation into humanity. “Speech communication,” they write, “functions so importantly in the life of a human being that the understanding and study of speech communication are at the very core of a liberal education” (1972, p. 6). Toeing the party line, Dance and Larson have maintained that speech communication has three functions: (a) linking the individual with his environment, (b) developing higher mental processes, and (c) regulating behavior (1972, p. 64). Speech is an enactment of reason and therefore of human identity, since “evolutionarily speaking, the hand is shaped by the labor in which it engages, man’s interiority simultaneously shapes and is shaped by speech communication” (1972, p. 71). For Carr, Dance, and Larson, then, speech is an extension of rationality, belonging not to the body, but to the articulation and formation of reason. The liberal humanist assessment of speech exemplified by Carr, Dance, and Larson relies on an ambiguity and slippage between the rational interior and embodied exterior. Speech is given in liberal humanism as a mode of rationality, yet the body is also needed for the enactment of speech. This duality raises troubling questions regarding the boundaries of reason and the self. Does speech modulate from a form of rationality to a conditional act as it passes through the lips? Where does the universal reason stop and contingent embodiment begin? While speech, mediating the threshold between the public and private and the universal and accidental, can be understood as the sine qua non of the liberal humanist subject, it simultaneously occupies an ambiguous position. This ambiguity translates as a fundamental instability in the rational self’s identity and boundary that can be detailed through the voice, chiastically hinging language and the body. The voice is dually constituted by the phonological and the phonetic: the meaning laden, immaterial aspect of the phoneme and its material, auditory support. While the existence of the phonological depends upon the phonetic (however short-lived its existence), the logic of phonocentrism permeating liberal humanism systematically obscures the phonetic as the trace of embodiment. “Requiring the intervention of no determinate surface in the world, being produced in the world as pure auto-affection, [the voice],” explains Derrida, “is a signifying substance completely at our disposition. For the voice meets no obstacle to its emission in the world precisely because it is produced as pure auto-affection” (1973, p. 79). This dominant tradition understands the phonetic, embodied aspect of the voice to be utterly passive and invisible, and thus “the voice” comes from within, circumventing the body, and directly expresses interiority. Yet, tying the signifier to the body, the voice is not so easily divorced from its embodied source. Somewhat overstated by the dysfluent speaker, the phonetic aspect of the voice often does not self-effacingly recede once the phonological function has been dutifully carried out, but rather lingers and stretches, drawing attention to itself and threatening to subvert its linguistic purpose. The voice of one who has cerebral palsy, for example, is decidedly not at his/her complete disposition precisely because the body obtrudes its continuous emission into the world. The conception of the voice as pure auto-affection can be maintained only by abstracting speech from lived experience. I accordingly argue that the rational human materializes himself through the voice precariously; the slippage is manifested both phonetically and affectively. Mladen Dolar (2006) contends that even though the phonetic voice does not contribute to meaning and is therefore inconspicuous when the semantic operation of speech is “properly” carried out, there is always something leftover, whether accent, individuality, or other tonal qualia. The role assigned to the remainder of the voice by Dolar is somewhat peculiar. On the one hand, the remainder is an obstruction overcome when one becomes adjusted to a different accent, for example, and can focus simply upon the intended meaning. The voice in this regard is simply an impediment to the communicative operation of language. Yet on the other hand, Dolar notes that a voice devoid of any remainder would conflate with mechanical iterability and thus lose its human characteristic: Paradoxically, it is the mechanical voice which confronts us with the object voice, its disturbing and uncanny nature, whereas the human touch helps us keep it at bay. The obstacle it appears to present actually enhances the sense-making effect; the seeming distraction contributes to the better fulfillment of the goal (2006, p. 22). The phonetic side effect of the voice enables its recognizability and identification as a human voice. Implicit here is the narrow phonetic line sheltering the human voice in between the mechanical and noise—between merely iterating signifiers and chaotic distraction. At far ends of the spectrum, voices of intellectually disabled people are often read as subhuman at best, while voices with no inflection can be read as eerily mechanical or computerized. Depicting the former phenomenon, a vitriolic letter was recently sent to the caretaker of an autistic boy, in which the anonymous author complained, “You selfishly put your kid outside every day and let him be nothing but a nuisance and a problem to everyone else with that noise polluting whaling [sic] he constantly makes! That noise he makes when he is outside is DREADFUL [sic] . . . It scares the hell out of my normal children! . . . Do the right thing and move or euthanize him!” (“Hateful Letter,” 2013). This instance is repugnant and likely not representative in degree. However, inasmuch as speech and reason are tightly correlated through the linguistic function of the voice, performing the voice in any way that strays beyond codified vocalic boundaries and unsettles the effortless production of meaning calls into question the rationality of the performer “behind” the voice. More moderately disabled voices, like the stuttering voice, are in this regard not outright rejected as a signifying voice like the voices of the (presumed) intellectually disabled. However, recognition can nevertheless be denied in degree. The failure to signify in a quotidian manner results in a desperate struggle for the disabled voice to maintain a uniform performance of reason if the speaker wishes to be afforded the privileges of full participation given to those deemed rational. Speaking as a rational human is a delicate performance that can easily go sideways. The knife-edge of human vocality is honed even finer by taking into account normalized vocal affectivity. Joshua Gunn (2010) has argued that the affective power of the voice is culturally policed because it is fundamentally public; the phonetic aspect of the voice generates “public feelings” that communicate on their own accord. Rhetorical training aims to tame this affective power to match, support, and enliven the semiotic character of the voice. However, citing the public anxiety around “uncontrolled speech” that transgresses vocal norms, Gunn points out how easily the affective force can go awry, so much that he claims “within speech is always a tacit threat of the loss of control” (2010, p. 189). Gunn references the grunting of female tennis players and the unintentional yelps of politicians; yet, it would be helpful here to widen his observation of uncontrolled speech to include such voices as those belonging to the transgendered and the disabled.These voices accentuate the volatile affective power of the voice and the tenuous hold we possess over our bodies. As I have argued elsewhere, “In failing to live up to the ideals set by liberal individualism and capitalism, [dysfluent voices] act as a reminder of the fragile mastery we have of our bodies and of the social downturn that quickly follows the failure to uphold and project this ideal of mastery.” (2012, p. 16). The anxiety-riddled demand for control in public speech arises precisely because the affective power of speech exists in a metastable relation to the body. Rational speech, dispassioned, and disembodied, may at any moment be ruptured and must thus be constantly surveilled and managed. Articulating and simultaneously threatening to occlude rational human identity, the voice thus bears the full weight of the humanist anxiety concerning borders and membership. The “proper” performance of speech is accordingly strongly patrolled within liberal humanist discourse. The universal speaker Iris Young casts the liberal subject in his/her political context, arguing for a conception of “universal citizenship.” In her assessment, the liberal subject transcends his/her self-interested particularity through public discussion and decision making by which private interests can agree on a common good (1989, p. 253). The universal citizen is therefore homogenized, as “citizenship is an expression of the universality of human life; it is a realm of rationality and freedom as opposed to the heteronomous realm of particular need, interest, and desire” (1989, p. 253). The universal citizen transcends differences threatening impartiality and equality by essentializing himself or herself and projecting that self into the politicized public sphere. If to be truly human in liberal humanist discourse is to exercise autonomous reason, and if speaking realizes oneself as a rational and social agent within the public sphere, then having a voice has direct bearing on the universal citizen—so much so that I believe it possible to conceive of what might be termed a “universal speaker.” Because speech plays a pivotal role in the realization of the self as a rational agent, then if one is to speak, he/she must speak in a way that defends the universality of autonomous reason against embodied and historical particularity. Furthermore, the universal speaker, like the universal citizen, must be marked by impartiality. As stated by Young, “impartial reason aims to adopt a point of view outside concrete situations of action, a transcendental ‘view from nowhere’ that carries the perspective, attributes, character, and interests of no particular subject or set of subjects” (1990, p. 100). From this façade of impartiality, it is only a small step to judge who does and does not speak impartially and thereby qualifies as rational and human. To speak as a truly rational agent requires that one speak from nowhere and everywhere, becoming an invisible medium for communication. The universal speaker is a powerful homogenizing trope, for it defines what type of speech production is natural, who gets the right to speak, what speech needs to be taken seriously, and what speech gets to be heard at all. If one is to speak with agency or efficacy, one must speak in the right way; hence the burden within this tradition is to find and retain the “right voice.” In Better Than Well: American Medicine Meets the American Dream, for example, Carl Elliott (2004) notes an anxiety in the struggle of transgendered people to match gendered vocal norms, the accent-reduction clinics in the American south, and the difficult adjustment of disabled speakers to voice synthesizers. At the heart of liberal humanism’s claim to universality and equality, an ugly structure of exclusion of those who are not “universal” shows itself, an exclusion that I argue results from the tension between (a) the desire to conceive of oral communication as rational/universal and (b) the embodied particularity of speech that threatens to undermine its universality. For while speech is peddled as a rational, universal, and nonspatial medium within liberal humanism, the particularity of embodied speech casts a threatening shadow over this claim. Returning to the example of the stuttering voice, Marc Shell argues that having the “right voice” is a necessary sign of membership to a particular group of persons. If you cannot speak, he wryly explains, you are likely not human. If you can somewhat speak you may be human, and if you cannot speak in my particular way, you do not belong to my tribe (2005, p. 50). For the stutterer, however, “all words are test words, passwords, or catchphrases whereby one gains or loses social acceptance or credibility. . . . The concern is not his inability to pronounce some word or phrase fast enough; it is one’s ability to say any word fluently in any language” (2005, p. 51). Shell is quite clearly stating the boundary conditions of the universal speaker. However, just as the vocal markers of ethnic boundaries are contingent, historical, and laden with colonial power, so can the supposed universality of rational human speech be unraveled. Disability studies convincingly challenge the pathologization of individual bodies by articulating the sociocultural structures of ableism that normalize and exclude certain forms of human variation.2 “Disability” is no more self-evident, natural, or stable a concept than “able-bodiedness”: Both are understood through disability studies as a function of contingent sociocultural anxieties and oppressions. Disability circumscribes the human by negation. Following in this vein, we might likewise fray the boundaries of the universal speaker by deterritorializing disabled speech. Consider again Gunn’s claim that “within speech is always a tacit threat of the loss of control” (2010, p. 189). Ubiquitous stutters and vocalic gaffes occur to everyone on a daily basis precisely because communication is fundamentally unstable: the act of carving out meaning from indeterminacy and noise as opposed to a pure and rational articulation of Being. The so-called disabled speech permeates all speech. The delimitation of the disabled speaker is thus necessarily arbitrary: the construction of a deviant and pathologized Other to prop up the universal speaker. More specifically, pathologization individuates “nonrational” speech production and thereby maintains and polices the public/private divide. Disabled speech is conceived as a private affair marked by particularity and embodiedness, while the rational speech of the universal citizen belongs to the public realm. Yet, resituating disability as a distinctly public structure of oppression unmasks “universality” as simply the norms of unmarked and dominant groups. What counts as a particular and impartial voice is a function of conglomerate sexist, classist, racist, and ableist determinations obscured by their dominant positions within society. Vocally passing as universal is a stacked game favoring those who discursively control the boundaries of rationality and the human. To transgress norms of unmarked dominant groups is to risk great social punishment and exclusion. To speak “in the wrong way” not only reveals the speaker to be connected to his/her body, particularity, and context, but also risks blurting out that the emperor is naked— the emperor speaks from a body. In rupturing the mythos of speech, the disabled speaker thus throws darkness within the humanist circle, threatening the ostensibly stable conditions of a generalized and “universal” identity and provoking violence in attempts to shore up the boundaries of the human. Excluding “hyperembodied voices” is thus a dogged mechanism of deferring the tension inherent in liberal humanist speech between universality and particularity, rational autonomy, and embodiment. The (failed) movement to free communication as rational discourse from the body entirely is reapproached through the posthumanist shift to text as the principal mode of communication. Cripping posthumanism There is no single bridge spanning humanism to posthumanism. There are certainly stories to tell about the antihumanism of the 1960s and 1970s, of feminism, cybernetics, Hans Moravec, late capitalism, and of the cascading death of God, man, and the author. Yet, as Donna Haraway duly reminds us, the cyborg is a bastard. Any attempt to pin down its origins is always already a fabrication, a sanitation, an attempt to tell a crooked story straight. Neil Badmington further muddies the water, adapting for posthumanism the Lyotardian-Derridean line that a system always contains the conditions for its critique. Rather than construing humanism and posthumanism as distinct entities in a linear, temporal relation, Badmington argues—akin to Lyotard’s reading of modernism and postmodernism— that “the writing of the posthumanist condition should . . . take the form of a critical practice that occurs inside humanism, consisting not of the wake but the working-through of humanist discourse” (2003, p. 22). Posthumanism has always ghosted humanism, and posthumanism is never a clean break (if it can be called a break at all) from humanism. Just as there is no single nor a complete shift from humanism to posthumanism, so are there many posthumanisms. My affinity toward posthumanism as a generative source for rethinking disabled speech does not extend to them all, insofar as some remain bedded with humanism more than others. For example, early cybernetics remained fixated on defining and maintaining borders of an autonomous and autopoietic subject. In a related vein, transhumanists hoist the banner of human progress with pride. Often conflated with posthumanism, transhumanism has wormed its way into the cultural imaginary with grand ameliorative visions of biotechnology improving the human condition through augmentation and newgenics. Transhumanism, as Cary Wolfe defines it, is simply an “intensification of humanism” (2009, p. xv), a technological extension of the dream of perfectibility that sees bodily limitations as a hurdle to transcend. Disabled speech (and disability more broadly) is accordingly irksome problem for transhumanists to fix, in time, through technology. The posthumanism I intend to redeploy takes its cue from Nayar, who defines what he terms critical posthumanism as “the radical decentering of the traditional sovereign, coherent and autonomous human in order to demonstrate how the human is always already evolving with, constituted by and constitutive of multiple forms of life and machines” (2014, p. 2). The posthuman under this reading cannot be understood in terms of a single locus or a unitary ontology of presence. Rather, he/she is dynamically coconstituted within ecological, technological, and informational networks—a congealing of “heterogeneous components, a material-informational entity whose boundaries undergo continuous construction and reconstruction” (Hayles, 1999, p. 3). Subjectivity is an emergent feature of sympoietic systems (Haraway, 2014), necessarily constrained by and dispersed within the exchanges between systems and environments. “The Human” thus cedes its transcendental status long enjoyed within the Anthropocene. Yet, at the same time, in relinquishing this status, the (post)human no longer needs to frantically police the borders within which it (ostensibly) ruled autonomously. Rather, critical posthumanism recognizes that the borders of the human have always been porous. Owning up to our sympoietic constitution produces a vantage from which the ableist construction and policing of human borders, bodies, and communicative practices can be politicized and critiqued. With the cyborg bastard fully in mind, I suggest that the disabled body is useful in parsing a necessarily crooked and partial transition to posthuman communication. Interrogating the familial tradition of rhetoric from the perspective of disability, Jay Dolmage is here instructive: The body of history has been shaped to look like an idealized human body: proportional, inviolable, autonomous, upright, forward facing (white and masculine). But if you find the rhetorical body, you find tension, trial, and trouble. . . . [W]riting from bodies we would do history differently, not just be recognizing ‘other’ bodies, but also because our histories and rhetorics might more closely represent the difference and diversity of our bodies themselves (2014, p. 16). Reading posthumanism and posthuman communication through disability is accordingly a means of not only recognizing bodies that are often excluded in communication theory (relegated, e.g., to the insulated domain of speech-pathology) but also cripping communication itself. Like the stuttering body, there is perhaps much to gain from resisting the straight and most direct communicative and discursive path. Consider in this regard that for disability theorist Alison Kafer, the cyborg is appealing not in spite of but because of its “multiple, and often contradictory, deployments” (2013, p. 116). To look for and expect disability in posthumanism and communication theory is to invoke a heuristic of instability and indeterminacy that generates multiple meanings and relations. Conscious of the multivariate affinity and inconsonance between humanism and posthumanism, I wish to pull on a few threads to (a) appreciate the transition and reconstitution of the humanist logic excluding disabled speech within posthumanism and (b) redeploy posthumanism to imagine the disabled speaker otherwise. One thin place between humanism and posthumanism that provides an early historical reference point for the cripped movement to posthuman communication is the abstraction of “information” from context and the body by cybernetics and information theory. The work of cybernetic and informational theorists Norbert Wiener and Claude Shannon famously recast communication in terms of pattern/randomness rather than presence/absence. Within this paradigm, similar to within both structuralism and poststructuralism, information is not the one-to-one correlation of a signifier and signified, but, following Saussure, is rather the differentiation between arbitrary relations. By extracting information from the presence/absence binary, immateriality can be constructed on the basis of pattern/randomness. Hayles argues that because a universal informational code can be recognized as underwriting everything that exists, information and materiality can be conceived of as discrete entities, with information occupying the dominant role (1999, p. 11). In this configuration, information is differential insofar as the probabilities of a message alone determine its content. The “meaning” of a message is self-contained and its value is therefore unaffected by situation and context outside the closed information system. “Shannon and Wiener,” remarks Hayles, “wanted information to have a stable value as it moved from one context to another. If it was tied to meaning, it would potentially have to change values every time it was embedded in a new context, because context affects meaning” (1999, p. 53). As such, in “information,” the liberal humanist subject finds a release from the constraints of the body and the context of its production. In Hayles estimation, early cybernetics was thus a means to extend, not subvert, humanist conceptions of man as autopoietic, autonomous, and self-directed. This was accomplished by demonstrating that machines could function like a man and correspondingly that man is essentially an information-processing entity akin to intelligent machines (1999, p. 7). One might argue more specifically, in relation to communication theory, that the effort by Shannon and Weiner to distill information from context resonates with the liberal humanist desire to free rational discourse from the body. By disentangling information from materiality and context, cybernetics somewhat ironically remains tethered to humanist anxieties. Yet, it is worth noting that at the same historical moment, even poststructuralism, putatively motivated by a wariness of immediacy characteristic of humanism, blots out speech in favor of writing. While Derrida and his progeny favor writing inasmuch as speech ostensibly bypasses any impediment to self-presence, the fact that both cybernetics and poststructuralism converge in the erasure of speech is telling. That is, these divergent projects take as their starting point an idealized communicative body; an idealization that adopts the humanist assumption of vocal autoaffectivity. In an ironic twist, even Derrida effaces bodies in the effort to highlight the trace, the body. Working in the poststructuralist lineage, Haraway similarly brackets speech in her articulation of dirty, noisy, posthuman communication. “Cyborg politics,” she writes, “is the struggle for language and the struggle against perfect communication, against the one code that translates all meaning perfectly, the central dogma of phallogocentrism. That is why cyborg politics insist on noise and advocate pollution.” (1990, p. 176).This support for the embodied disruption of communication is curiously prefaced by an insistence that “writing is pre-eminently the technology of cyborgs” (1990, p. 176; my emphasis). For all her rhetoric of embodiment and insistence on the centrality of communication, Haraway seems not to consider speech as an intimate form of embodied communication that resists perfect translation. Hayles as well, setting her sights on theorists such as Wiener and Shannon, intends to reinstitute embodiment in posthumanism, yet never discusses speech as a creative source of noise in the evolution of material-informational systems. Even if interpreted as vestigial poststructuralist anxiety, this puzzling lacuna in posthumanist discourse around speech betrays an ableist presumption of self-presence and resonates with the exclusionary logic of the universal speaker. Yet, if one follows Dolmage in writing from bodies in their diversity, (post) humanism can be read against the grain. Thinking from the perspective of disability not only highlights the points of tension in the stuttered movement toward posthuman communication (as evidenced by both Haraway and Hayles) but also suggests new ways of thinking about speech as embodied and affective, and the relation between communication and the posthuman. Posthumanism and communication Reimagining the stuttering cyborg requires a more nuanced articulation of posthumanism’s relation with both disability and communication. Starting with the former, in decentering the human subject from its position as the transcendental explanans, posthumanism renders “ability” as an emergent aspect of human situatedness within politicized networks. Able-bodiedness is accordingly not an immanent feature of “the body” (as if it could be decoupled from its environment) but is a dynamic index of architectural, economic, industrial, biomedical, discursive, material, informational, affective, political, and sociocultural assemblages. More specifically, able-bodiedness identifies the congruence of these networks with putatively “normal” bodies. As Nayar helpfully points out, networks are inherently political, put in place, and optimized “for certain kinds of bodies to tap into and connect with—and this is what en-ables these bodies.” Bodies marked as disabled are accordingly, and conversely, those “that do not fit into available systems and institutionally created structures” (2014, p. 107). Put simply, disabled bodies are for Nayar those for which networks do not exist. While Nayar’s analysis is helpful, it is perhaps better to say that disabled bodies occupy subaltern networks, because deworlding (to put the phenomenon in Heideggerian parlance) is rarely, if ever, absolute.3 Disability is not a simple aggregate of network conditions, but is constituted in part by feedback loops. That is, disabled people—edged out of, or exploited by, dominant systems—regularly produce new networks that rewire connections between each other and their environments in politically subversive and generative ways. Disabled communities often supplant the neoliberal and meritocratic ideals of productivity, individualism, and self-sufficiency with an ethos of care, interdependency, and slowness. Cripping communication might likewise be understood as a criticoethical practice of reimagining the relations between informational bodies and systems, remapping disabled speech in ways that privilege noise, indeterminacy, affectivity, and sympoiesis.

#### Their focus on the humanist and rational subject pathologizes incapacity and ignores the lived conditions of the disabled body.

**Mitchell and Snyder ‘17**

[David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, Disability and Human Development at the University of Illinois-Chicago. 2017. “Memorializing Disability: Contemplating Less Capacitated Alternative Citizenries,” <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13534645.2017.1374512>] pat

Theorizing low-level agency allows for a more serious approach to thinking what we have called ‘peripheral embodiment’ at the level of subjective, embodied experience. **What this means is that even in the most progressive works of political theory there exists an overemphasis on the agency of ‘politically sturdy citizens’ who**, although experiencing significant levels of marginality, **continue to exert a degree of claims-based effort in pursuit of attaining equal rights**. In part, this argument is based on a critique of liberalism’s overdetermination of the concept of ‘agency’. **What do we do with people who do not, or cannot, perform in the role of the robust, sturdy, minority, rights-seeking citizen?** Is there not, even in disability activist and academic circles, a preferential treatment given to those lives that exhibit the correct level of resistance as a matter of course? Are we not all culpable of privileging (to one degree or another) those who openly and actively challenge a discriminatory political system? **What of those who do not perform their opposition openly or even with a working knowledge of themselves as oppressed?** How might we get to the significant question of identifying how disabled and other minority citizens effectively navigate their embodied lives without only finding ways to expose a discriminatory, oppressive politics? Is there anything out there to be learned from those whose lives involve suffering, but do not appear to qualify at the basic level of regard we give to our idealization of the ‘sturdy political citizen’?

Following Abbas, **we argue that our vocabulary of suffering is limited because we do not seek out the experiences of those who undergo the labour of low-level agency**. **We ask nothing of those who experience suffering because the point is to usher them into recognizable categories of harm in order to move on to the next case with as little interaction as possible**. By taking up some matters of property damage, liberalism effectively silences the ways in which the experience of suffering might bring us new knowledge. There is a decided over-emphasis on perpetrators’ motives, interests, and practices without a significant effort to access how those subject to the effects of harmful actions undertake the experience of harm and the creativity of navigating such circumstances.

In his book What is Posthumanism?, Cary Wolfe makes a further critique relevant to the theorization of low-level agency by drawing on Paola Cavalieri’s distinction between ‘moral agents’ and ‘moral patients’. If liberal humanist formulas posit only those who are rational and autonomous as responsible (moral agents), **only interventions** performed on agential citizens (by the state, for instance) have moral weight. **This explicitly leaves out groups such as disabled people in psychiatric institutions as well as nonhuman animals (moral patients) in that what is done to them occurs without a need for moral reflection or evaluation**. **They only possess a body from which things are to be extracted and thus are defined as static**, passive, **non-agential actors as a result of their status as those experiencing low level agency**. **They cannot act within the terms of moral recognizability within liberal humanist conceptions of moral agents (i.e. robust political citizens)**.

#### Link wall – this all Gautier 2

#### “ability to create preferences and interests is constitutive of being a rational agent”

#### “we show ourselves to be rational agents”

#### “we unify our beliefs”- not one unified identity for those w multipersonality disorder

#### The 1AC is a form of loco parentis – their action of governing the actions of other nations through Ilawcreates a distinction between ourselves as “full and smart subjects” versus the other “irrational and crazy nations” who will engage in bad actions.

**Mills and Lefrançois 18** [China Mills( [The University of Sheffield](https://sheffield.academia.edu/), [School of Education](https://sheffield.academia.edu/Departments/School_of_Education/Documents), Faculty Member) and Brenda A. Lefrançois(Professor @ School of Social Work for [Memorial University of Newfoundland](https://scholar.google.com/citations?view_op=view_org&hl=en&org=17452456186544668394)). “Child As Metaphor: Colonialism, Psy-Governance, and Epistemicide.” The Journal of New Paradigm Research. Volume 74, 2018 - [Issue 7-8: Transdisciplinary Child and Youth Studies](https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/gwof20/74/7-8). Pages 503-524. 17 Dec 2018. Accessed 3/18/20. [https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02604027.2018.1485438 //](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02604027.2018.1485438%20//) Recut Xu from BL]

For Ashis Nandy (2007), the Western worldview of childhood as an imperfect transitional state on the way to adulthood is embedded in ideologies of colonialism and modernity, meaning “the use of the metaphor of childhood [is] a major justification of all exploitation” (p. 59). Accordingly, parentification – or even in loco parentis – has been used to justify, and to deem benevolent, interventions used by the powerful to “protect” those who are “childlike”. Not so hidden from the surface are the vested capitalist interests as well as the social, political, and psychological agendas of power and control taken on by those in the parental role within these socially constructed and contrived “parent-child” relations. The developmental logic that underlies these power relations legitimizes various regimes of ruling that promote the subordination of certain groups in the name of benevolence. In this article, we demonstrate the ways in which these forced paternalistic encounters, and the infantilization that characterize them, serve not only to debase and erase racialized/colonized, psychiatrized and/or disabled adults and children as knowers, but also serve to reinscribe children themselves as incompetent and inferior. Colonial logics intersect with medical and psychiatric logics that enable not just the marking of certain individual bodies as sub-human but also the global categorizing of whole groups of people as being undeveloped, underdeveloped and/or wrongly developed. Correspondingly, we understand the importance placed within mainstream corporate academia upon the subfields of developmental studies within political science, international development, international relations, economics, geography, child psychology, and medicine, all which serve the same function of maintaining the status quo of (white) supremacy whilst (re)producing majority world people, children, psychiatrized and/or disabled people as childlike (Blaut, 1993). We expose and contest such debasement whilst also disputing the essentialized and adultist meanings contained within the very concept of childlike, a concept which emanates from dominant Eurowestern and adult-centric constructions of childhood. Metaphor is “pervasive in everyday life”, and is classically understood as structuring the way we think and act, and enabling us to understand and experience “one kind of thing in terms of another” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, pp. 3–5). Yet many concepts may not be separate as such, and may be historically entangled with one another. Metaphors are contextually bound and have a performative aspect in that they structure what action we can take (Kövecses, 2015). Understanding something through metaphor may hide aspects of a concept that are not consistent with that metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980), and thus metaphors can be used to do political and ideological work. We are interested in how certain groups of peoples (colonized, racialized, mad and crip)2 come to be understood, talked about and acted upon through the metaphor of childhood. Specifically, the pervasive, entangled and co-constitutive nature of metaphors of the child, colony/“savage”, mad and crip are explored. The intersections of these metaphors call for an approach attuned to overlaps and not constricted by disciplinary boundaries. We engage in this analysis through a creative transdisciplinary inquiry that is not discipline-specific but instead brings together knowledges that are rarely understood to coexist and that may at times be in tension with each other (Augsburg, 2014; Leavy, 2006; Mitchell & Moore, 2015; Montuori, 2013). Transdisciplinarity – as contingent and non-essentialized – alerts us to and rejects the politics of differentiation and exclusion, key to the bordering and disciplining practices of social scientific knowledge and their beginnings in the codification of Enlightenment rationality used to justify slavery, colonialism and apartheid (Sehume, 2013). Following Nicolescu (2008), we understand transdisciplinary inquiry to be a form of meaning-making that breaks down the academic hierarchy of epistemological relationships, that is open to different forms of logic including that which is unknown (Augsburg, 2014), and that strives to eliminate epistemic injustice (Leblanc & Kinsella, 2016) or epistemicide (Santos, 2014). Further, our inquiry is informed by mad studies, critical disability studies, critical childhood studies, as well as critical race, transnational and post-colonial theories. Mad studies transgresses the academy and its disciplines, with its beginnings being located outside the academy and within mad social movements (Gorman & LeFrançois, 2017; LeFrançois et al., 2013; Russo & Sweeney, 2016). A transdisciplinarity lens is consistent with Mad studies, in that it is not only inquiry based but also questions the logics and the very form in which that inquiry may take (Augsburg, 2014), whilst Mad studies may further rebelliously challenging enlightenment and eurocentric notions of rationality (Blaut 1993) which underpins and structures knowledge emanating from academic disciplines (Sehume 2013). That is, at times, Mad studies may be at odds with rationalism as the basis of knowledge production and as the basis of the formation of the academy. As Bruce (2017) notes, “(r)ationalist readers may fear that such a mad study…detrimentally reinforces myths of black savagery and subrationality. Such investment in rationalism presumes that Reason is paramount for fully realized modern personhood” (p. 307). Like Bruce (2017), we reject such investments and presumptions, and our work instead interrogates the adultist, disableist, saneist, colonial and racist logics that often underpin the conventional academic imaginary. However, debasement of mad people’s knowledges does not just occur within the academy but also within the general public (Leblanc & Kinsella, 2016). Mad studies produces knowledge where the meaning-making of mad people is centred, but where other meanings emanating from other sources – academic or otherwise – also can be considered and deconstructed, incorporated or rejected. So too do we argue that critical childhood studies should also be seen as not only transdisciplinary (Mitchell & Moore, 2015) and as a direct challenge on ‘Reason’ as key for children’s entrance into a fully realized personhood, given the ways adultist notions of children’s inherent irrationality, lack of reason, rule by passion, animism (Scott and Chrisjohn, forthcoming), and their supposed lack of contribution as productive members of (capitalist) society is conventionally inscribed on their bodies and minds in the West. According to Rollo (2018, 61) this denigration and subordination of children – misopedy –was in ancient Greece a “form of social and political hierarchy”. Here the child functions as the ontological other to reason and politics; children as a group for whom there was seen to be a moral obligation to assist but for whom political claims were seen as impossible. It was this that made possible the framing of violence as necessary and legitimated as being in children’s ‘best interests’. As these dominant notions of children and childhood not only exist but also shut down discussions of the social construction of childhood within most academic disciplines (child psychology, sociology, social work, medicine, psychiatry, etc), understanding (critical) childhood studies as a direct challenge to this denotes the desire to disrupt and break away from “the governing strictures found within academic modes of dominant knowledge production that both center and reproduce privileged and constraining notions of reason and productivity” (LeFranc¸ois and Voronka forthcoming). For the most part, the academy neither acknowledges the existence of nor includes knowledge production emanating from children themselves, whether such contributions mirror dominant (adult) discourses or not, as the concept of “children’s contributions” is read through an adultist lens. This is not to imply that the heterogeneous accounts of children and/or mad people are innocent; it is instead about radically calling into question what the academy counts as knowledge. For those contributions deemed childlike, whether they emanate from children, colonized and racialized peoples, psychiatrized or disabled people, transdisciplinarity coupled with Mad studies may provide a platform for ensuring epistemic justice through both the deconstruction of dominant, racist, sanist and ableist strictures but also by opening up a wider space for meaning-making beyond such adultist and Euro-western positivism. We argue that the use of child as metaphor operates as a form of epistemicide – what Santos (2014) terms, a “failure to recognise the different ways of knowing by which people across the globe provide meaning to their existence” (p. 111), including different ways of knowing children. This operates as a form “cognitive injustice” often followed by attempts to destroy epistemological diversity with a single story that claims to be universal (Santos, 2014), including a single developmental story about children and those deemed childlike. These concepts are mostly used by Santos in reference to the violent eradication of Indigenous knowledge systems enabled through a colonial framing of irrationality. Yet cognitive injustice is also at work in the dismissal of alternative experiences of reality and alternative cognitions that are classified as ‘mad’ and intellectually disabled respectively, and hence, marked as incompetency and irrationality. We are interested in how the child functions as a metaphor for colonized, racialized, psychiatrized and disabled peoples. Literature on the iconography of childhood usually makes a distinction between metaphorical or symbolic and actual “flesh and blood” children (Burman, 2016; Morrigan, 2017). We also make this distinction here by exploring the performative nature of “child as metaphor” for those deemed childlike, and for actual children. However, in making this distinction we do not seek to reify a naturalized and essentialized developmental child. Sánchez-Eppler (2005) notes the entanglement of “childhood as a discourse and childhood as persons”, particularly in Euro-western affective deployments of childhood (p. xxiii). Furthermore, we recognize that given the “societally as well as intrapsychically invested character of childhood, arguably all appeals to ‘the child’ are metaphorical” (Burman, 2016, p. 2; Stainton Rogers & Stainton Rogers, 1992). Our point of departure, then, is the analytic task outlined by Burman (2016) to render “explicit the work done by the rhetorical appeal to childhood” (p. 2), and the task in this article is to trace the work done by the metaphorical appeal to childhood, specifically in relation to colonialism, madness and disability. While we are concerned with the effects of metaphor, we are cognizant that the conceptual basis on which “child as metaphor” functions is largely a Euro-western construction of childhood as an early rung on a linear developmental ladder and a stage marked by a lack of intellectual capacity, dependency, irrationality, animism, emotionality, – or “rule by passion”, and economic unproductivity (Blaut, 1993). This is an evolutionary and developmentalist narrative globalized by the West as a universal standard (Nieuwenhuys, 2009) and, as we shall see, a narrative that is deeply entangled with colonialism (Blaut, 1993) and epistemicide (Santos, 2014).

#### The 1AC’s political project defining unjust as “legally correct “is structured against disabled bodies- legal domains distorts and renders disabled bodies calculable that is underpinned by the figure of the normative citizen that enacts a regime of truth that disabled bodies are forced to strive towards.

**Campbell 05** [Fiona Kumari Campbell (Adjunct Professor in the Department of Disability Studies at Griffith University). “Legislating Disability: Negative Ontologies and the Government of Legal Identities” in “Foucault and Government of Disability” edited by Shelley Termain, University of Michigan Press, Pg 108-120. 2005. Accessed 9/3/20. <https://www.press.umich.edu/8265343/foucault_and_the_government_of_disability> //Xu]

Sociological inquiry and legal investigation into disability must at some point implicitly return to, and negotiate, matters of “disability” at an ontological level. I say “implicitly” because the predominant forms of sociotherapeutic analysis of disability adopt a reductionist approach, which situates “the problem” of disability at the level of attitudes or bias that lead to devaluation. Seldom is the matter of ontology—in particular, negative ontology—regarded as a paramount focal concern in unpacking disability subjectification. In what follows, I seek to redress this imbalance. In order to do so, I foreground the ontology question. In particular, I discuss disability-negative ontologies and the ways in which these ontologies are inflected in the practices and effects of law. Ontology Wars and the “Unthinkability” of Disability A system of thought . . . is founded on a series of acts of partition whose ambiguity, here as elsewhere, is to open up the terrain of their transgression at the very moment when they mark off a limit. To discover the complete horizon of a society’s symbolic values, it is also necessary to map out its transgressions, its deviants. —marcel detienne, Dionysos Slain Activists with disabilities have placed great trust in the legal system to deliver freedoms in the form of equality rights and protections against discrimination. While these equalization initiatives have provided remedies in the lives of some individuals with disabilities, their subtext of disability as negative ontology has remained substantially unchallenged. It is crucial, however, that we persistently and continually return to the matter of disability as negative ontology, as a malignancy, that is, as the property of a body constituted by what Michael Oliver refers to as “the personal tragedy theory of disability,” a conception in whose terms disability cannot be spoken as anything other than an anathema. On the personal tragedy theory, Oliver notes, “disability is some terrible chance event which occurs at random to unfortunate individuals” (1996, 32). In the terms of the “tragedy theory,” disability is assumed to be ontologically intolerable, that is, inherently negative. This conception of disability underpins most of the claims of disability discrimination that are juridically sanctioned within the welfare state and is imbricated in compensatory initiatives and the compulsion toward therapeutic interventions. Insofar as this conception of disability is assumed, the presence of disability upsets the modernist craving for ontological security. The conundrum of disability/impairment is not a mere fear of the unknown, nor an apprehensiveness toward that which is foreign or strange (the subaltern). Disability and disabled bodies are effectively positioned in the nether regions of “unthought.” For the ongoing stability of ableism,2 a diffuse network of thought, depends upon the capacity of that network to “shut away,” to exteriorize, and unthink disability and its resemblance to the essential (ableist) human self. As Foucault explains: The unthought (whatever name we give it) is not lodged in man [sic] like a shriveled up nature or a stratified history; it is in relation to man, the Other: the Other that is not only a brother but a twin, born not of man, nor in man, but beside him and at the same time, in an identical newness, in an unavoidable duality. (1994, 326) In order for the notion of “ableness” to exist and to transmogrify into the sovereign subject of liberalism it must have a constitutive outside—that is, it must participate in a logic of supplementarity. Although we can speak in ontological terms of the history of disability as a history of that which is unthought, this figuring should not be confused with erasure that occurs due to total absence or complete exclusion. On the contrary, disability is always present (despite its seeming absence) in the ableist talk of normalcy, normalization, and humanness. Indeed, the truth claims that surround disability are dependent upon discourses of ableism for their very legitimation. The logic of supplementarity, which is infused within modernism’s unitary subject and which produces the Other in a liminal space, deploys what we might call a “compulsion toward terror”: a terror, ontological and actual, of “falling away” and “crossing over” into an uncertain void of disease. Such effects of terror may produce instances of disability hate crimes, disability vilification, and disability panic. The manifestations of this terror rarely enter judicial domains, but rather are excluded from law’s permissible inquiry and codification. In short, this erasure forecloses the possibility of pursuing legal remedies through the refusal of law’s power to name and countenance oppositional disability discourses. Disability “harms” and “injuries” are only deemed bonafide within a framework of scaled-down disability definitions (read: fictions) elevated to indisputable truth-claims and rendered viable in law. Law’s collusion with biomedical discourse informs us not only about modes of disability subjectification; in addition, and more importantly, that collusion informs us about what it means to be “human” under the rein/reign of ableism. Thus far, I have discussed (at the center, not the periphery) matters of an ontological character in order to introduce the notion of the ontological terror, that is, the unthought of disability, as a significant actor in the promulgation of ableism with law in liberal society. In the next section, I turn to consider practices of freedom as they are actualized within this ableist regime of law. Chasing Freedom and Autonomy—a Recapitulation of Ableist Subjectivity? An able-bodied and competent person is thus a body with a set of given functions, skills and properties, which are steered by a central command unit—the consciousness—which is situated in the head. Agency, mobility, the ability to communicate verbally, to make discretionary judgments, make decisions and implement them—is thus located in the body and in the self residing in that body. —ingunn moser, Against Normalization Within contemporary Western, neoliberal societies, freedom is held to be an inalienable and inherent right of the atomistic individual citizen. Indeed, the ethos of freedom is a foundation of the politics of our present, a mark and effect of justice and the other virtues of practiced democracy—that is, a measure of a society’s true worth, of the degree to which it is “civilized,” and the extent to which it is “advanced.” People who live in Western neoliberal democracies are seduced into freedom, the utopic dream that holds within itself a promise, that is, the vision of an alternative way of living. For disability activists, in particular, and for many of the other folk who live on the underside of liberalism, the ethos of freedom has performed as a source of emancipation that contains a promise to address “social injury.” As Wendy Brown (1995, 7) reminds us, however, there is a paradox inherent to freedom: the incitement of freedom requires the very structures of oppression that freedom emerges to oppose. In recent times, the practices of freedom have been molded and codified into the apparatus of the welfare state, citizenship, and legal personality. In the terms of this apparatus, freedom is represented as autonomy, where this ideal encompasses the drive toward potential maximization, which invokes the performance of a choosing, desiring, and consuming subject (cf. Foucault 1997). Furthermore, the subject of the neoliberal welfare state is assumed to be an independent center of self-consciousness, who holds autonomy to be intrinsically valuable. In the words of C. B. Macpherson (1964), neoliberalism’s normative citizen is a nominal “possessive individual.” The nominal individual is free in as much as he [sic] is proprietor of his person and capacities. The human essence is freedom from dependence on the will of others, and freedom is a function of possession. . . . Society consists of relations of exchange between proprietors. (Macpherson 1964, 3; emphasis added) Macpherson’s description of the neoliberal subject implies that all people must fit with a regulatory ideal; however, it is probably more correct to say that the thrust of shaping identity under neoliberalism aims for a “best fit,” that is, a normalizing, or morphed approach. The tool of comparison, the arbiter of normativity, is the “benchmark man.” As Margaret Thornton explains it, the paradigmatic incarnation of legality—the normative citizen—represents the standard against whom all others are measured and is invariably white, heterosexual, able-bodied, politically conservative, and middle class (1996, 2). Despite Thornton’s suggestion, techniques of self are usually sought, not imposed, for each of us is enrolled in the task of self-appropriation and selfdesignation. The “free” citizen is one who can take charge of herself, that is, act as her own command center. When the citizen of neoliberal society is defined in terms of self-mastery, it may not be possible for some disabled people to be truly “free” in these contexts, unless some protectionist (i.e., paternalist) strategy or ethics of “care” is employed. In any case, the sovereign liberal subject will not be destabilized until, and unless, we refute “autonomy” as the basis for normative legal theory and revise the meaning of “humanness” in terms of relationality. Until we accomplish these theoretical and political tasks, we will be required to manage or govern “disability” in ways that ensure its presence only minimally disrupts the truth claims of legal discourse and its systematization. Under liberalism, the production and government of disability is facilitated, in part, through its taming into a mere logical and discrete etiological classification and ensuing ontological space. The performative acts of a “logic of identity” reduce the disparity and difference of disabled bodies to an unity (see Foucault 1980b, 117). In law, we find this logic of identity expressed in the ideal of impartiality, which is predicated upon the benchmark legal subject. Although a great deal of feminist literature (Cheah, Fraser, and Grbich 1996; Grbich 1992; Howe 1994; O’Donovan 1997) has critiqued this allegedly impartial figuring of the legal subject, that work has not addressed the ableist underpinnings of that subject. A more thoroughgoing analysis of “legal man” would extend the reasoning of those feminist critiques to incorporate ableism as a key characteristic of rampant masculinist subjectivity. Without ableism, masculinist figurings would (we might say) “lose their balls.” The implications of classifying practices go even deeper than this sort of critique suggests. For the unruly, monstrous, and boundary-breaching qualities of disability must be tamed in ways that distinguish that category from other fluid and leaky categories (such as illness, poverty, and ageing) with which it is associated (see Wendell 1996; Shildrick 1997). Corporeal slippages of the disability kind need containment, a civilized workability for procedural justice, a regulated liberty that produces practices of normality, rationality, and pathology. This regulated liberty is exemplified in the continued use of intelligence tests to separate the “eligible” from the “ineligible” within international and national disability legislation (despite serious concerns about the validity of such tests).4 Nevertheless, disability is not only catachrestic, but it is also contestable. Thus, I submit that matters that should be regarded as ontological in character are inextricably bound up with the politics of inclusion. Linton adds weight to this conclusion when she suggests that insofar as “the term ‘disability’ is a linchpin in a complex web of social ideals, institutional structures, and government policies,” many people have a vested interest in maintaining a tenacious hold on its current meaning, which is “consistent with the practice and policies that are central to their livelihood or their ideologies” (1998, 10). Let us consider what the embeddedness of disability implies for understandings of that category and the ways in which disability figurations are mediated in law. The working model of inclusion is really only successful to the extent that people with disabilities are able to “opt in” or be assimilated (normalized). This model of inclusion assumes that the people who cannot, do not, or otherwise refuse to “opt in,” will developmentally progress toward autonomy over time. Indeed, the governing of liberal unfreedom responds to the problem of what should be done with “governing the remainder,” that is, those who are identified as “less than fully autonomous” (Hindess 2000, 11). Hindess identifies three approaches that are taken to governing “the remainder.” They are (1) a clearing away;5 (2) the compulsion toward disciplinary techniques (such as the normalization principle); and (3) targeting external causes by creating welfare safety nets. In order to institute these sorts of “dividing practices” (Foucault 1983, 208) of subjectivity, the aberrant subject may be extinguished (either before or after birth); be “reappraised” (for instance, fabricated as a “rehabilitated person”); become nearly able-bodied (via a morphed passing); or become benevolently transfigured into a “deserving” welfare recipient supra the economy. Law plays an exacting and explicit role in this subjectifying activity of government. Legal intersections/interventions facilitate this subjectifi- cation by allocating and regulating populations into fixed and discrete ontological categories (such as disability, gender, sex, and race) in order that the subjects assigned to these categories can be rendered visible and calculable (Foucault 1976, especially 135–59; 1994). The fixity of disability (which is assumed to be a pregiven property of human bodies) within both legislative and case law not only establishes the boundaries of permissible inquiry; in addition, it establishes the legal fiction of “disability” in the first place. It is this reification of disability (which is based more often than not on biomedical technologies and ascriptions) that reinforces the centrality of the ableist body and the terms of its negotiation. The formulations of disability that disability activists often engage, and which are enshrined in disability related law, in effect discursively entrench and thus reinscribe the very oppressive ontological figurings of disability that many of us would like to escape. Alternative renderings of disability, if they are not able to “fit” such prescribed “fictions,” are barred from entry into legal and other discourses. Consider, for instance, the instructions given in a recent staff survey produced by the Equity Section of Queensland University of Technology (2000). You should answer “yes” to question 2 only if you are a person with a disability which is likely to last, or has lasted two or more years. Please note that if you use spectacles, contact lenses or other aids to fully correct your vision or hearing, you do not need to indicate that you are a person with a disability, and would answer “no.” (Emphasis added) As we can see, defining disability in terms of what it “is” and “is not” performs an emblematic function that re-cognizes the relationships between impairment and disability and civil society. I will consider these relationships further in later sections of this chapter. For the moment, let us turn our attention to the matter of legal remedies, in general, and “social injury” claims (strategies), in particular. Social Injury—a Transgressive or Recuperative Tool? Freedom is neither a philosophical absolute nor a tangible entity but a relational and contextual practice that takes shape in opposition to whatever is locally and ideologically conceived as unfreedom. —wendy brown, States of Injury Feminist legal scholars have attempted to rework and engage with liberalism, that is, to move away from a focus on procedural rights that do not effect substantive change. One feminist strategy that has gained currency is mobilization of the concept of “social injury,” a theoretical device that translates once privatized injuries into collectivist raced, sexed, and disabilized domains from which to make claims to social and legal remedies (Howe 1990; Brown 1995; Howe 1997; Thornton 2000). In this section, I consider the arguments that Wendy Brown and Margaret Thornton have advanced with respect to these oppositional strategies of legal engagement. In order to motivate their arguments in this context, Brown and Thornton variously draw upon Nietzsche’s concept of ressentiment (see Nietzsche 1969, 20, 36, and passim). In the opening pages of States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity, Brown asks: “What kinds of domination are enacted by practices of freedom?” (1995, 6). With respect to the social injury project, we can ask: what kinds of domination does the social injury project (as a practice of freedom) enact? The evolution of antidiscrimination law has in fact led to the codification of injury, victimhood, and dependency within an overall context of docile subject positions. An analysis of social injury involves the development of a righteous critique of power from the perspective of the injured. Such an analysis delimits a specific site of blame by constituting certain sovereign subjects (and events) as responsible for the “injury” of social subordination that other subjects experience (Brown 1995, 27). As Brown notes, the “social injury” project establishes certain harms as “morally heinous in the law.” Exactly which “harms” does the social injury project recognize? That is, what kinds of “harm” have legitimacy before the law? I would argue that with respect to disability an uncritical approach to social injury has (at best) established certain authenticated sites and specific instances of “disability discrimination” as harm.6 The discovery of these “harms” has not, however, been extended to the identification of “ableism” as their very font.7 In short, disability discrimination is an outcome of the practices of ableism, not their cause. The conditions of engagement within the emancipatory project require that “the injured” relinquish their investment in a harmed politicized identity in order to be free. But does it work that way? What kinds of ontologies of disability does the social injury project require disabled people to trade in, renegotiate, and maintain? I contend that the use of legal mechanisms to structure political demands is an act of self-subversion that enforces an internalized ableism. The political identity of disability (i.e., “the disabled citizen”) within law not only contributes to an essentialized and exteriorized ontology; in addition, it normalizes and delimits “disability” in order to make it regulative. Following Brown, we can say that the language of (disability) recognition in law “becomes the language of unfreedom,” that is, “a vehicle of subordination through individualization, normalization, and regulation, even as it strives to produce visibility and acceptance” (1995, 66). In other words, the inscription of certain figurations of legal disability requires that disabled people’s “experiences” be regulated within the confines of juridical formations, which ultimately foreclose any alternative perspectives. Furthermore, this form of procedural justice conveys the message that in order to be free within neoliberal societies, disabled people must submit to the strictures of ableist renderings of disability in law, that is, renderings of disability as a personal tragedy. Thornton (2000) offers an optimistic reading of a politics of ressentiment. Although the picture of a politics of ressentiment that Thornton paints might at ‹rst appear attractive in its treatment of disability subjectification, she fails to adequately consider the impact of negative ontologies of disability upon the formations of disability subjectivities in law. In a critical review of Australia’s Disability Discrimination Act of 1992 (DDA), Thornton concludes that neoliberalism and its shift from equal opportunities to equal responsibilities provides evidence that disabled people can only be assimilated (accommodated) if they replicate their benchmark confreres and do not make too many economic demands on the system. As Thornton puts it: “Neo-liberalism is discomforted by prophylactic measures that are perceived as impediments to the freedom to pursue profits” (2000, 19). Indeed, the tensions that arise due to the necessity to work on the “unproductive” disabled body in order to make it “productive” in a recessionist economy grow increasingly evident. Despite this rather disastrous situation, Thornton maintains that not all is lost because a politics of ressentiment allows people with disabilities to “come out” about disability discrimination and thereby enact positive images of disability. Thornton claims that the focus of ressentiment produces a groundswell of dissatisfaction on the part of people with disabilities, where such sentiment can be deployed as a positive force. Thornton recognizes that ressentiment can produce emotions (such as passivity and fear) other than righteous anger; however, she suggests that these other emotions can be attributed to, and are a consequence of, the vulnerability of a person who speaks from an institutionalized context (2000, 20). I am not convinced by this argument. Disabled people who are confined by an institutional location are not the only ones to display emotions of antipathy, ambivalence, and fear. I would argue that all people with disabilities confront the daily challenges of internalized ableism when negotiating daily existence in a world that erases our value, though these challenges always vary in their degree and form.8 Contra Thornton, I am inclined to propose that neoliberalism’s engagement with minority identities provokes a politics of ressentiment on behalf of the “majority.” We need only remind ourselves of the cries of “special rights,”9 legislative rollbacks, and reactive campaigns, both in Australia and the United States. We might find that there are limits to securing equalization protections within the law and social policy, especially in a political climate where the mantras of selfreliance and mutual obligation are increasingly invoked, and complaints about “compassion exhaustion” are often articulated. Although well intentioned, the promotion of social injury strategies may easily result in unintended consequences, such as an increase in disability resentment and hate crimes. The growing number of appeals made to disability-related antidiscrimination legislation might, as Thornton suggests, contribute to the emergence of a new way to think about citizenship, a new way in which disabled people have “the tenacity and conviction” to believe that they are justified in complaining about discrimination (2000, 22). Yet, disabled people’s complaints must be funneled into the denunciatory processes of reductionist and single-cause classifications, which are interpreted both within and outside law through a paradigm of ableism. To be sure, possibilities for resistance to this bureaucratic machinery always exist; however, there is also the threat that a positive politics of ressentiment will be chipped away and unraveled by legal prescriptions of disability and foregoing remedies, which foreclose oppositional renderings of disability and play into (provoke) the internalized ableism of the complainant. Is the concept of “social injury” (allegedly a device of social change) actually recuperative of the structures of liberalism? Or does that concept transgress those structures? As a tool of opposition, the “social injury” approach appears to offer a way out of the loop of discriminatory practices. One ought, however, to be suspicious of a practice that contributes to the elasticity and inclusiveness of the liberal polis. The enduring strength of liberalism lies in its capacity to rewrite and repair the edge of its domain and recuperate any flaws that may expose its fundamentalist and ableist basis/bias. Thus far, I have attempted to problematize the uncritical insertion of “disability” into the neoliberalist project of freedom claims prior to an examination of the benchmark legal subject and the relationship of that subject to disability as negative ontology. In addition, I have considered the strategy of advancing complaints on the basis of claims to “social injury,” as well as the limitations of that approach given the overwhelming deployment of internalized ableism. The fact remains that disability is not regarded as a neutral category. To the contrary, it is value laden and underpinned by a theory of tragedy that makes possibilities of “pride” difficult (if not impossible) to generate. Disability as Inherently Negative? Deafness is increasingly an outlaw ontology, a hunted existence, an experience or way of being that, by definition, evades the biopolitics of the new eugenics. Some believe that deafness has always been an outlaw ontology, but whose fugitive status was generally ignored. How long this fugitive will keep evading the capture is increasingly in question. —owen wrigley, The Politics of Deafness In A Fragment on Government (1776), utilitarian philosopher Jeremy Bentham coined the term legal fiction to refer to the fables and willful falsehoods committed for the purpose of “stealing legislative power, by and for hands, which could not, or durst not, openly claim it,—and, but for the delusion thus produced, could not exercise it” (1990, 118; emphasis added). For Bentham, in other words, the effects of these “legal fictions” are illusions that produce a sense of debility in the very subjection of individuals, as well as the sense of trust and faith that they put in law to deliver “justice.” Thus, Bentham concludes: [F]or the more prostrate that debility, the more flagrant the ulterior degree of depredation and oppression, to which they might thus be brought to submit. Of the degree of debility produced, no better measure need be given, than the fact of men’s being in this way made to regard falsehood, as an instrument, not only serviceable but necessary to justice. (1990, 18; emphasis added) With respect to disability, it would seem that such “legal fictions” give rise to a false or distorted ontology, which is formulated on the basis of biomedical realism, and in whose terms disability is construed as a lack or negative valence. The “fiction” in this case is the suggestion that a negative ontology of disability coupled with a biomedical orientation toward disability prescriptions and evaluative rankings is necessary (i.e., a prerequisite) for the efficient administrative management and legal delimitation of “disability.” A poignant example of the continuing recitation of this kind of legal fiction of disability can be found in the introduction to a special journal issue guest-edited by Melinda Jones and Lee Ann Basser Marks (2000). According to these authors, Most people with disabilities would share the view that being disabled is not a desirable state to be in, and even agree that disability should, where possible, be prevented. However, the suggestion that this carries negative implications about the entitlement to rights, or the values, respect and dignity of people with disabilities, should be resisted. While it may seem paradoxical, it is essential to meet the challenge of truly valuing those who are disabled at the same time as taking action to prevent or limit disability. (2000, 2; emphasis added) The pursuit of legal liberal rights discourse that Jones and Basser Marks encourage is deployed within the context of a negative ontological framework of disability and an assumed permissibility to performatively enact injurious speech. Insofar as Jones and Basser Marks ground their arguments in this context on an a priori assumption that disability is not to be countenanced, they bear testimony to the pervasive and normalizing effects of such negative formulations as key to the maintenance of ableist rationalities; in addition, these authors reveal the recuperative and totalizing tendencies and tensions in the flawed logic of ableist liberalism (see Foucault 1980a, 98). This logic allows the rhetoric of rights to “have it both ways,” that is, to simultaneously hold out the promise of equalization and to reinscribe negative ontologies of disability that continually produce and effect subordination. The very inclusiveness of the neoliberal conception of “citizenship” hinges upon governing disability according to an ethics of normalization and minimization. The individual of Western neoliberalism is an increasingly commodified entity. Within neoliberal societies, individuals are increasingly packaged and marketed (like inanimate objects) in terms of their respective “use-values” that become a measure of their respective worth. 10 Recent technological “advancements” hold out the possibilities of “elevating” the bodies (and minds) of individuals designated as disabled to the level of “nearly able.” Thus, we could argue that “enhancing” and “perfecting” technologies are really means with which to assimilate by way of morphing ableism. 11 A technological dynamic of morphing creates the illusion (that is, an appearance) that the “disabled” body transmogrifies into the “normal” body, effecting a corporeal recomposition and re-formation of subjectivity. Though this sort of fantastic reimaging occurs at an ontological level, the violence of some technological applications is profoundly direct and immediate. Robert Carver writes: Footbinding was a method to attract a good husband and secure a happier life. At the speech and hearing clinic, I was trained to bind the mind of my daughter. Like the twisting of feet into lotus hooks, I was encouraged to force her deaf mind into a hearing shape. I must withhold recognition of her most eloquent gestures until she makes a sound, any sound. I must force her to wear hearing aids no matter how she struggles against them. The shape of a hearing mind is so much more attractive. (1990, n.p.) In fact, an inducement to cooperate with treatments, surgery, and fittings may not be necessary due to the enduring hegemonic compulsion toward ableist normativity. Individuals with disabilities (and, in many cases, their families) develop a sense of responsibilization, a sense of correct ethical conduct, that is, a “regime of truth” about what it is to be a “proper” citizen. These judgments about the “correct” way in which to conduct oneself are often shaped by (or, despite) one’s awareness of the ontological, epistemological, and political effects of resistance or transgression against such prescriptions (cf. Foucault 1988, 1997). In this regard, let us briefly consider a juridical move made within the U.S. context, but which could easily be replicated in the Australian context in which I am writing, namely, the introduction of the legal category of voluntary/elective/chosen disability.

#### The impact is internalized ableism and psychological violence Campbell 2008 (Fiona Kumari Campbell, disability author and professor at Griffith University, “Exploring internalized ableism using critical race theory” Disability and Society, Vol. 23, No. 2, March 2008, 151–162 some words are edited within []) DR 16

**Foucault’s (1976; 1980) theorisation of power as productive may provide some offerings from which to build a conversation about internalised ableism**. I am not so much interested in the ‘external’ effects of that power, but for the moment wish to concentrate on what Judith Butler aptly refers to as **the ‘psychic life’ of power.** She describes this dimension: … an account of subjection, it seems, must be traced in the turns of psychic life. More specifically, **it must be traced in the peculiar turning of a subject against itself that takes place in acts of self-reproach, conscience, and melancholia that work in tandem with processes of social regulation** (Butler, 1997b, p.19). In other words, **the processes of subject formation cannot be separated from the subject** him/**herself who is brought into being though those very subjectifying processes**. **The consequences of taking into oneself negative subjectivities not only regulate and continually form identity (the disabled citizen) but can transcend and surpass the strictures of ableist authorizations.** Judith **Butler describes this process of the “carrying of a mnemic trace**”: One need only consider the way in which **the history of having been called an injurious name is embodied, how the words enter the limbs, craft the gesture, bend the spine …how these slurs accumulate over time, dissimulating their history, taking on the semblance of the natural, configuring and restricting** the doxa that counts as “**reality**”. (Butler, 1997b, p. 159) The work of Williams and Williams-Morris (2000) links racism experienced by African Americans to the effects of hurtful words and negative cultural symbols on mental health, especially when **marginalized groups embrace negative societal beliefs about themselves.** They cite an international study by Fischer et al (1996) which inter alia links poor academic performance with poor social status. Although using different disciplinary language Wolfensberger (1972) in his seven core themes of SRV, identified role circularity as a significant obstacle to be overcome by disabled people wanting socially valued roles. **Philosopher** **Linda Purdy contends** it is important to resist conflating disability with the disabled person. She writes **My disability is not me**, no matter how much it may affect my choices. With this point firmly in mind, **it should be possible mentally to separate my existences from the existence of my disability**. (Purdy, 1996, p. 68). The problem with **Purdy’s conclusion** is that it is psychically untenable, not only because it **is posited around a type of Cartesian dualism that simply separates being-ness from embodiment**, **but also because this kind of reasoning disregards the dynamics of subjectivity formation** to which Butler (1997a; 1997b) has referred. **Whilst the ‘outputs’ of subjectivity are variable the experience of impairment within an ableist context can and does effect formation of self – in other words ‘disability is me’, but that ‘me’ does not need to be enfleshed with negative ontologies of subjectivity**. **Purdy’s ~~bodily~~ [fleshly] detachment appears locked into a loop that is filled with internalised ableism, a state with negative views of impairment, from which the only escape is ~~disembodiment~~; the penalty of denial is a flight** 12 **from her [flesh] ~~body~~.** **This finds agreement in the reasoning of** Jean **Baudrillard** (1983) **who posits that it is the simulation, the appearance (**representation) **that matters. The subject simulates what it is to be ‘disabled’ and by inference ‘abled’ and whilst morphing ableist imperatives, in effect performs a new hyper reality of be-ing disabled. By unwittingly performing ableism disabled people become complicit in their own demise – reinforcing impairment as an outlaw ontology.**

#### The alternative is to embrace crip failure as a method of rupturing abled temporalities and mapping crip horizons.

**Kolářová 14** [Brackets Original. Kateřina Kolářová (Assistant Professor of Cultural Studies in the Department of Gender Studies at Charles University in Prague, PhD in Anglo-American Literary Studies and an MA in History and English and American Studies and History from Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague). “The Inarticulate Post-Socialist Crip: On the Cruel Optimism of Neoliberal Transformations in the Czech Republic.” [Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies](https://muse.jhu.edu/journal/456). [Liverpool University Press](https://muse.jhu.edu/search?action=browse&limit=publisher_id:105). Volume 8, Issue 3, pp 257-274. 2014. Accessed 8/13/20. <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/558367/pdf> //Xu]

The impossibility of seeing and envisioning crip(topias) in the situation of (post-)shameful identity illustrates not only the harmful and utterly disabling work of certain affective attachments, it also and as vividly illustrates the equally harmful impacts/effects of attachments to affects, in particular attachments to affects of positivity, affects that seemingly are necessary to foster self-embracing identity and subjectivity. In other words, the post-socialist crip challenges Western-developed theories of (disabled) identity that argue that positive affects are necessary to foster self-embracing and affirmative understandings of disability and disabled subjectivity. The symbolic violence embedded in recuperative positivity offers us the opportunity to think about crip failure and crip negativity. The violence also points toward conditions that (could) make (some forms of) failure useful for cripistemologies and that (could) map crip horizons. Cripness is already rich with failure; cripness is infused with negativity that sustains. The crip negativity I plead for is a critical strategy rupturing ideologies of cure, rehabilitation and overcoming, ideologies that inflict hurt and violence (not only) on crips. I wish to initiate a discussion about crip negativity as a political practice working towards (if never reaching) crip utopian horizons. Still, the post-socialist crip opens other and new questions about what crip failure would mean if it were to foster and sustain life, what forms of crip negative energies would allow for crip utopias and make possible the desire for crip survival. J. Jack Halberstam’s theory of failure elucidates how the compulsory positive nature of optimism, hope, pride, and success precludes the realisation that failure can be a form of sustenance and strategy of critique/survival. In failing the normative prescriptions of compulsory heterosexuality (and ablebodiedness), failure “imagines other goals for life, for love, for art, and for being” (Halberstam 88). And coming back to the image of the women failing/ surviving with AIDS at the post-socialist Odessa hospice, failure also imagines signs of crip solidarity and sustenance where the visions of an optimistic future create spaces of abandonment for subjects who will never be offered a fantasy of the ‘good life.’ Despite its lack of substantial attention to cripness that would surpass the level of metaphorics, Halberstam’s The Queer Art of Failure does offer some lines along which to also think crip failures. The most helpful to my current analysis of post-socialist affects would seem to be Halberstam’s discussion of the failure to remember. Forgetting, losing, looping between past and future are the techniques of resistance to normative temporalities. Such failures at temporalities of progressive and curative futurity, I argue, could offer forms of sustenance (for the post-socialist crip). The failure to remember would produce a rupture into the dominant narratives of shame (of a failed socialism) and the futurity of ‘getting better.’ It would forget visions of pride based on overcoming the failed socialist crip, and it would loosen/lose the compulsory vision of optimism of (neoliberal) humanism. It would forget the ideologies that we have seen to hurt and violate crips and our futures. Cripping, disjointing the normative forms of (linear) knowing about the past-present-future, could offer resistance to the cruel hope that directs our desires into (an evacuated) future, while foreclosing the negotiation of difficult yet important relationships past and the present. The rejection of the curative and always already deferred future opens up a space for developing a more complicated relationship with failed pasts. Queer theorist Heather Love devises the politics of ‘feeling backwards/backwards feelings’ as an affective strategy of resistance to liberal understandings of the repressive hypothesis and emancipation (see Love). Her concept is both a corrective to the deeply problematic progressivism of ‘gay pragmatism’ with its compulsorily positive futurity of ‘getting better’, as well as an affective reaching backwards to legacies of difficult pasts. As she puts it, “[b]ackward feelings serve as an index to the ruined state of the social world; they indicate continuities between the bad gay past and the present; and they show up the inadequacy of queer narratives of progress” (Love 27); I wish to add, they show up continuities between crip pasts and presents obscured by the undisputedly “good intentions” of rehabilitation (McRuer, Crip 110). Halberstam for his part appreciates the strategies of backward feeling as a way of recovering the past of queer and racially marked subjects erased in the tidy versions of the past, “[w]hile liberal histories build triumphant political narratives with progressive stories of improvement and success, radical histories must content with a less tidy past, one that passes on legacies of failure and loneliness as the consequence of [ableist] homophobia and racism and xenophobia” (Halberstam 98). To retrieve lives undone by ideologies of ableism, homophobia, racism and xenophobia, and practices of institutionalisation, forced sterilisation, ethnic segregation, and on and on, we need backward-feelings. The project of “reformulated histories” (see Kafer’s discussion of Halberstam 42-44) feels backwards to past forms of crip survivals and past experiences that have been erased. Alongside this move, I also want to ‘feel backwards’ to the hurt caused by the shame of the bad past itself. This is not a naïve reclamation of the idealised communist past ignorant of the violence committed by the communist regime (violence and hurt inflicted on disabled people still remains mostly undocumented, unspoken, and unanalysed). What I argue is that the notion of the bad and failed past is too comfortable and too tidy and serves only the ideology of capitalist recovery that prescribes only one version of futurity, a futurity – I argue – that is constructed upon abjection of cripness. To open critical discussion I propose that we need to continue to produce untidy, crooked, queer, twisted, bent, crip versions of pasts. Only they will provide for more generous horizons of the present and future.

#### No perms in a methods debate – a] its about orientation b] fiat is illusory c] severance

#### Debate mandates endless ability checks, internalized ableism and psychic violence – the ROB is to vote for the method that best disrupts structures of ableism.

Richter 15. Zahari Richter is a Policy Debate Coach, is a Ph.D. Candidate in Communications and has a Master’s in Disability Studies. <https://stimstammersandwinks.blogspot.com/2015/01/conditions-of-judgment-ableist-ranking.html> “[Conditions of Judgment: Ableist ranking structures in educational and political environments](https://stimstammersandwinks.blogspot.com/2015/01/conditions-of-judgment-ableist-ranking.html)” “///” indicates paragraphs Language edited NT 17

While **rhetorical arenas are** commonly **cast as equalizing playing fields**, there is a way in which even the socratic can **yield to the authoritarian**. If we think of disability as a relationship defined in part by the terrain of normativity and in part by individual traits, one must recognize how **the entrance of an impaired body into an elitist highly competitive academic space necessarily entails the focusing of micro-aggressions onto such a body**, both in the structure of normative communications and in the framing of intellectual worth by efficiency. /// If one considers the design of political and scholarly competitive environments, one imagines two gazes through which players are evaluated. The first type of evaluation considers the intellectual performance of the player. The second evaluation monitors interpersonal conduct. /// I will call the first evaluative frame "pedagogical judgment" to reference how performance of ability as well as intellect are measured according to valuable and worthlessness. /// The second frame will be called "interpersonal judgment" to reference how performances of normative sociality are graded according to their closeness to pregiven notions of how the social should be played in various instances. /// The dual conditions of pedagogical and interpersonal judgment, as a **grids of meaning that are projected across bodies** as a function of a designed organizational structure, cooperate in the production of educational spaces as gesturally normative as well as intellectually normative. /// **Gestural as well as intellectual normativities** act as a net around which **atypical** or disruptive **embodiments are captured and disciplined**. On a social level, the truth of intellect is captured in good habits and appearances, but the multiplicity of types of intelligence may be forgotten about. Similarly, the standardization of gestural economies is a well known falsity, as different cultures require different emotional responses to situations. /// Conditions of **judgment set a value to bodies**, based on their ability to pass an inspection or to fulfill a given criteria. A condition of judgment can thus only isolate one aspect or strand of the complexity of human functioning. A condition of judgment is necessary to grade someone accord to hierarchies, but it is also a condition of peril. Competitions thrive on failure: the loss of a debater feeds **debate as an elite culture**. **To exist in debate is to constantly answer numerous ability checks positively**. /// It may thus be possible to view [understand] conditions of judgment as an **ableist emanation from the origin of professionalism**, which raised the rank of professionals whose bureaucratic trials achieved apparent value. In a condition of judgment, the body becomes paralyzed **[incapacitated] by** two sets of **institutional limitations**. Disablement is not merely a spatial or economic process but is a process in teaching limbs and lips and bodies to move properly. **Disabled bodies must labor** **to** ensure that their voices, their bodies, their words will **not fall out of synch.** To **suppress the wildness that hides in the body**, in such instances, the containment of the self is an additional extra labor and **the appearance of** **disability connotes a debt**. **Self-containment is** thus an additional **endless debt that disables impaired bodies**. In having to pay penance for our burdensome conditions, we learn to accept less than ideal circumstances. /// Multiple modes of subversion exist. One of such normative ways of rebelling is disaffiliation. In abandoning and repatriating from the intellectual or interpersonal standards, it may be possible to self-represent in the opposite standards or unevenly distribute resources to gain an advantage. **The most resistant option is to** endeavor to **change the terms of the standards themselves**, the bars that **force a representation of ableness for entrance into normativities**. In the speech or **invocation of other possible worlds**, if it can be heard, others may gather. The establishment of a communal stake in a new group identity upsets the apparatus by which integration appears as the only option. **Upsetting ableist assimilation** will bring many others who resigned to hermetically life in opposition into a possible alliance with you. ///

## 3

#### Their scholarship is hateful and a reason to lose the round—Searle has sexually harassed multiple people – vote neg to reject their scholarship.

**Weinberg 19**[ Brackets Original. Justin Weinberg (associate professor in philosophy at University of South Carolina). “Searle Found to Have Violated Sexual Harassment Policies (Updated with further details and statement from Berkeley).” Daily Nous. 6/21/19. Accessed 5/29/20. <http://dailynous.com/2019/06/21/searle-found-violated-sexual-harassment-policies/> //Houston Memorial DX]

Well-known philosopher [John Searle](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Searle), who began teaching at the University of California, Berkeley in 1959, has been stripped of his emeritus status there owing to the finding that he violated the university’s sexual harassment policies. Searle was [sued for sexual harassment in 2017](http://dailynous.com/2017/03/23/sexual-harassment-assault-retaliation-lawsuit-john-searle/), and the university had received [prior complaints](http://dailynous.com/2017/04/11/uc-berkeley-knew-prior-complaints-searle/) about him of sexual harassment. A recent email to graduate students in Berkeley’s Department of Philosophy states: [A]s of June 19th 2019, John Searle is no longer affiliated with UC Berkeley. Following a determination that he violated university policies against sexual harassment, President Napolitano has ended his emeritus status. This means, among other things, that he is no longer eligible to teach or advise students, nor will he have access to the campus beyond what is afforded to any member of the general public. It is not clear whether this determination is related to the 2017 lawsuit or some other instance(s) of sexual harassment. [Added: see the update, below, according to which: “Campus disciplinary proceedings determined that Searle engaged in sexual harassment and retaliation against a former student and employee who worked with him in his campus office after graduating. These violations occurred between July and September of 2016 and were reported to the campus Office for the Prevention of Harassment and Discrimination (OPHD)—the Title IX office—in November 2016.” So it appears to be about [this case](http://dailynous.com/2017/03/23/sexual-harassment-assault-retaliation-lawsuit-john-searle/).] **UPDATE** (6/21/19, 2:00 EST): A spokesperson for UC Berkeley sent along the following statement: John Searle, formerly a professor emeritus in UC Berkeley’s Department of Philosophy, has had his emeritus status revoked, along with all the privileges of that title, following a determination that he violated university policies against sexual harassment and retaliation.  This action permanently removes him from the university community. He will not be eligible to teach, work with graduate students, maintain office space or have special access to campus libraries, parking, etc. His access to the campus will be no different than those of any member of the general public. Campus disciplinary proceedings determined that Searle engaged in sexual harassment and retaliation against a former student and employee who worked with him in his campus office after graduating. These violations occurred between July and September of 2016 and were reported to the campus Office for the Prevention of Harassment and Discrimination (OPHD)—the Title IX office—in November 2016.  Only the president of the University of California can approve the removal of a faculty member’s emeritus title and privileges following the full disciplinary process. UC Berkeley Chancellor Carol Christ made the recommendation for removal and UC President Janet Napolitano approved the recommendation, which was effective June 19. The action follows a finding by the campus Title IX Office that Searle violated university policy. Ultimately the case proceeded to a confidential evidentiary hearing before the Privilege & Tenure Committee of the Berkeley Division of the Academic Senate. The Chancellor reviewed the committee’s findings and documents pertinent to the case in making her recommendation to the UC President. During the investigation and disciplinary process, a number of interim steps were taken in light of the disturbing nature of the allegations at the time and the seriousness of those allegations. Throughout the disciplinary proceedings, Searle was not teaching, or advising Berkeley students. He did not engage in recruiting or hiring university employees, was barred from participating in departmental activities while the case was pending, and did not maintain an office on campus. None of these interim measures implied any judgment about the ultimate outcome of the investigation but were taken as precautionary measures. The disciplinary decision announced today means that Searle permanently loses the title and all privileges that may come with emeritus status. Under University policy, the only disciplinary action that may be taken against an emeritus professor (i.e.,  a retired professor), is temporary or permanent removal of the emeritus title and corresponding privileges.Emeritus status is automatically conferred on tenured Senate faculty members upon retirement and can include numerous privileges, including that the title itself carries the prestige of continued association with the university. Emeritus faculty also are sometimes recalled to teach  and, depending on the department, may be involved in department matters. More information on those privileges is available here: <http://ofew.berkeley.edu/welfare/retirement/privileges-and-benefits-conferred-upon-all-emeriti>.