

# Notes

## Preface

- 1 <http://storycorps.org/listen/storm-reyes/Acknowledgments>.
- 2 Story Corp says that its purpose is “. . . to remind one another of our shared humanity, to strengthen and build the connections between people, to teach the value of listening, and to weave into the fabric of our culture the understanding that everyone’s story matters.” INS says that its mission is to “*give a voice to the voiceless*”—*acting* as a communication channel that privileges the voices and the concerns of the poorest, and that creates a climate of understanding, accountability, and participation around development, promoting a new international information order between the South and the North. As I will discuss in chapter five, these are not projects and interventions that I argue against. Rather, I am interested in how recuperating and circulating voices through affective human-interest stories deflects attention away from the political economic intentions and operations of neoliberalism.
- 3 My work is inspired by Chandra Mohanty’s transnational feminist project of “deconstructing and dismantling . . . [and] building and constructing Third World feminisms in order to disrupt Western hegemony and at the same time create alliances with differently situated women” (2003, 17).
- 4 Affects, as Encanacion Guitierrez Rodriguez (2014) argues, play a significant role in the production of value. For example, the energies and sensations attributed to labor are part of a complex web of social relationships and cultural scripts that are situated within local and geopolitical contexts. As she argues, “It is only through its relation to other commodities and their producers that value is produced, attributed, performed, expressed, impressed, transmitted and experienced. . . .”

## Chapter 1

- 1 Discussions of discursive indeterminacy and open-endedness can be found throughout Jacques Derrida’s (1974) work on deconstruction. See *Of Grammatology*, “Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences” and other seminal work.
- 2 This approach is aligned with a Marxist feminist project developed by Spivak and others who consider value differently than does a traditional Marxist approach. For Spivak, value is not “the material expression of human labor expended to produce a commodity” as it is for orthodox Marxism. Rather, focusing on value explores the back and forth between cultural meaning, rhetorical process, and political economy—how authority is achieved by displacing the complexity of human activity into what Spivak (2012) calls “‘natural’ readability” (59) (Navad 2007, Joseph (2014), Jakobsen 2002). Value therefore opens up into a discussion of power as it explores how rhetorics

- are deployed to weave a particular set of relationships that bolster and justify economic systems and the nation-states and systems of governmentality that support them. As I will discuss, systems of value designate some bodies and subjects as contributing to social life (and they can therefore be recognized and represented) while some bodies and subjects are outside this system of representation and therefore outside the protections of the powerful institutions of state, civil society, and family (Spivak 1987; Naved 2007, 78; Hong 2011). This is a feminist rhetorical approach to value—a transnational feminist literacy of value—that I will develop throughout the book.
- 3 Another example is the human-interest story about women agave growers in Mexico who, with the support of NGOs, have supplemented their income with this new crop. The story mentions that in 1995, changing markets led indigenous communities to look for new crops. It does not provide a political-economic discussion of the North American Free Trade Agreement that precipitated changes in agricultural markets and in production in Mexico during the mid-1990s. See “Agave Sweetens Livelihoods for Indigenous Women,” <http://ourworld.unu.edu/en/agave-sweetens-livelihoods-indigenous-women>.
  - 4 In her analysis of human-interest stories about African-American youth in the United States, Shamara Rose Reid-Brinkley argues that maintaining an ideology in which some black subjects are seen as worthy of redemption requires news stories that repeat similar scripts. Like the human-interest stories that I analyze here, Reid-Brinkley argues that a narrative of the journey from poverty to redemption because of exceptional qualities “depends upon a recirculation of race, class, and gender norms in order to make the transformance tale [from impoverished subject to redeemable subject] intelligible” (2012, 94).
  - 5 See Kate Bedford’s (2009) work for a discussion of explicit efforts by World Bank leaders and policymakers to soften and modify neoliberalism post-IMF/World Bank protests of the late 1990s and early 2000s.
  - 6 Brown (2003) argues that neoliberalism’s project of remaking can be tracked through “dissemination of neoliberal economization as a governing form of reason, not just a power grab by capital” (Shenk 2015). While I agree with Brown that neoliberalism can be tracked through circulation of reason, I also argue that this economization of everything can be tracked affectively through the narratives that are circulated about previously marginalized individuals and groups.
  - 7 <http://www.out.com/news-opinion/2013/08/02/men-who-want-aids-bronx-new-york>.
  - 8 Miller (1984, 165).
  - 9 Grace Hong argues that contemporary capitalism has shifted from production to circulation, where finance capital “act[s] in and of itself rather than anchored to production.” (2011, 92). In this context, value for capital is produced through the circulation of affective stories that shore up values that support the neoliberal political economy. On the production end, news stories can effectively report on events that speak to current contexts. For example, a brief story published by the South African Health News Service about schools in the Western Cape of South Africa that are “going green” in order to address hunger might distribute important information locally.

- My concern is that when this story gets circulated, it can be detached from an understanding of the contexts in which it is produced. See <http://www.health-e.org.za/2015/04/02/schools-go-green-to-beat-hunger/> accessed on April 2, 2015.
- 10 Hardt and Negri (2000) are working from Michel Foucault's notion of biopower, power that works on and differentiates among bodies. In "Two Lectures," Foucault explains biopower in the following way: "Studying power at the point where its intention, if it has one, is completely invested in its real and effective practices. What is needed is a study of power in its external visage, at the point where it is in direct and immediate relationship with that we can provisionally call its object, its target, its field of application, there—that is to say—where it installs itself and produces its real effect" (1980, 97). Foucault, Michel. "Two Lectures." *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1980, 78–108.
  - 11 Human-interest stories set up a homogenous category of women: they do not differentiate between uneven and material conditions that shape the lives of women in different global and local contexts. As Chandra Mohanty argues in her well-known essay, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourse," a discursive move that "sets up its own authorial subjects as the implicit yardstick by which to encode and represent cultural others" is vested in hegemonic power (26). In using an undifferentiated category of "productive" women as their subjects, human-interest stories deny the historical specificity of women as a subordinate group (in Mohanty 2003, 26). The presumed status of women is subordinated subject who is "assumed to be a coherent group or category prior to their entry into representation" (30). The problem with this discourse, as Mohanty points out, is that it reinstates "Third World women" as oppressed others who are in need of saving and situates first-world women as subjects who can do this saving.
  - 12 Duggan (2004) argues that economics and culture are seen as distinct and separate within neoliberalism.
  - 13 As I discuss in chapters two and five, representations of those who are not value-producing may have a brief circulation. This brief circulation, however, offers what I will call "thin recognition": a quick gesture of charity that does not mobilize further curiosity or inquiry.
  - 14 As Lisa Duggan discusses, the rhetorical strategies that shape and enable neoliberalism rely on the separation of the economic from the cultural. As she argues, "The most successful ruse of neoliberal dominance in both global and domestic affairs is the definition of economic policy as primarily a matter of neutral, technical expertise. This expertise is then presented as separate from politics and culture, and not properly subject to specifically political accountability or cultural critique. . . . Once economics is understood as primarily a technical realm, the trickle-upward effects of neoliberal policies can be framed as due to performance rather than design, reflecting the greater merit of those reaping larger rewards. But, despite their over rhetoric of separation between economic policy on the one hand, and political and cultural life on the other, neoliberal politicians and policymakers have never actually separated these domains in practice. In the real world, class and racial hierarchies, gender and sexual institutions, religious and ethnic boundaries are the channels through which money, political power, cultural resources, and

- social organization flow. The economy cannot be transparently abstracted from the state or the family, from the practices of racial apartheid, gender segmentation, or sexual regulation" (2004, viii).
- 15 In her well-known essay, "Genre as Social Action," Carolyn Miller (1984) argues that "homely" or everyday genres enable audiences to interpret "by means of conventions," establishing settled-upon ways of "acting together" (161, 163). In Miller's argument, everyday genres shape the actions and feelings available at a given point in history and culture. As they tell us about the available means for rhetorical action, genres show us how to "participate in the actions of a community" (165). Human-interest stories, in my analysis, are a homely genre; short, everyday, familiar texts that show readers how to act, feel, and participate in social life. Miller's discussion of genre does not explore the limitations of the current moment. Her work does not suggest ways that genres and individual texts, while clearly impacted by the limitations and pressures of neoliberal discourse, could be read to identify "breaks" from the current historical and cultural moment (Williams 1983, 114). In this book, I argue that the rhetorical genre of the human-interest story is an opportunity to analyze how the lives of individuals and populations are correlated with dominant values that are shaped by neoliberalism, and to explore how the genre orients readers to conventional ways of feeling and acting within neoliberal context. As I will go on to discuss, the "most active elements" of these texts could suggest departures from "semantic values" and "syntactic values" of these everyday genres (Miller 1984, 159). These texts could suggest ways to expand the "available means for rhetorical action" rather than referring us back to the cultural and historical moment or orienting us to conventional ways of feeling and acting in neoliberalism. I will come back to a discussion of Miller's essay in my final chapter.
  - 16 For a discussion of how poor women are most impacted by removal of state resources, see Patty Kelly, *Lydia's Open Door* (2003).
  - 17 For an example of how the management of life works in Foucault's work, see the chapter "The Birth of Social Medicine" in *Power* (1994).
  - 18 Mmembe's work does not account for how people and populations that are marked for death are created through categories of gender, race, ability, citizenship or other social categories. This absence in this work has been noted by feminist scholars who point out that power always works through social categories. See Wright, Melissa. 2011. "Necropolitics, Narcopolitics, and Femicide: Gendered Violence on the Mexico-US Border," *Signs* 36, 3: 709–31.

## Chapter 2

- 1 I did not discover Celeste Monfoton because we work at the same institution. Our jobs and lives are structurally separated. We work in different divisions of the university and teach different students, and our scholarship is located in different fields. Yet, we shared a curiosity and a responsibility about Mr. Montano's death as a local event, even though we had never met each other before. I will talk about this curiosity as political responsibility in the final section of this essay. We tried to track down Mr. Montano's family through connections in the northern Virginia area but were unsuccessful.

- 2 Celeste Monfoton tried to track down his family via community networks (conversation with author, October 14, 2009).
- 3 Derrida's work on mourning points to both its violence and affective capacity: "Is the most distressing, or even the most deadly infidelity that of a *possible mourning* which would interiorize within us the image, idol, or idea of the other who is dead and lives only in us? Or is it that of the impossible mourning, which, leaving the other his alterity, respecting thus his infinite remove, either refuses to take or is incapable of taking the other within oneself, as in the tomb or the vault of some narcissism?" (1997, 6).
- 4 The national mall can be thought of as a complex national space that marginalized groups have used to demand access to the rights and privileges of the public sphere, and equal access to the protections and privileges of the nation-state and sovereign power (read Marion Anderson and Martin Luther King on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial). The national mall is also a space where ethically marginalized groups are excluded through structures of feeling and geographies of access. Walk through the mall on a beautiful spring day and you will see mostly white tourists. The mall, the city, and its suburbs are the places where the national, the international, and the local come together. It is a place of work and community for educated professionals, and a space of work and community for many immigrant workers employed by the federal government and by downtown businesses, or who support federal workers/business as nannies, construction workers, and service workers in the outlying suburbs.
- 5 For a discussion of the strategic role of cities as command points, centers of persuasion, and centers of knowledge production, see Saskia Sassen's *The Global City* (2001) and her subsequent work.
- 6 Avery Gordon argues that after 9/11, universities (following the directives of the US Department of Homeland Security) tightened access to students from specific countries. Gordon, Avery. 2006. "Abu Ghraib: Imprisonment and the War on Terror." *Race and Class* 48: 42–59.
- 7 This depends upon global economic conditions, sometimes vibrant and certainly less vulnerable to fluctuations of the global marketplace. The area was not hit hard by the 2008 economic crisis.
- 8 In 2005, when immigrant protests occurred in many large US cities, protests in Washington, DC were populated by workers from El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, and many other Central and South American countries. There are specific histories of migrants from El Salvador, for example, who settled in the district and in Maryland suburbs. The metropolitan area also has large numbers of migrants from Vietnam, Korea, and Ethiopia.
- 9 I am indebted to Jacques Derrida's work on friendship in *Politics of Friendship*.
- 10 See Michael Foucault's *Society Must be Defended*, 243–45, and "The Birth of Social Medicine," 142–56.
- 11 Elsewhere I have written about thick connections between students and cafeteria workers who are employed directly by the university. Students come in direct contact with service workers through interactions in dining and residence halls. Through these contacts, they have aligned with cafeteria workers around labor conditions. Unlike cafeteria and other service workers who work directly for the university and inside its buildings, Mr. Montano was a subcontracted worker who was installing windows (literally, outside of a university building looking in). See "Strategies of Containment," *the minnesota review* 61–62 (Spring 2004),

- 233–37, and “Where Are the Women? Rhetoric of Gendered Labor in University Communities,” *Literacy and Composition Studies* (2015): 122–30.
- 12 For a related discussion of the limits of empathy, see Saidya Hartman’s chapter “Innocent Amusements” in *Scenes of Subjection*.
  - 13 Sara Ahmed “Absence presence” (“Declaration of Whiteness” 2004, 45)
  - 14 Japir Puar, *Terrorist Assemblages*, 2007.
  - 15 As Jennifer Wingard argues in *Branded Bodies, Rhetoric, and the Neoliberal Nation-State*, such assemblages that target “illegal” immigrants as threats to the nation work through the association and combination of tropes and identities that heighten the affective intensity of a threat. Assemblages where rapists, child molesters, and immigrants are all “attached onto [the same] particular bodies” create a continuity between violent felons and people who cross national borders. The figure of the illegal immigrant is thus “at the limits of intelligibility,” making it “uncanny” and “inexplicable,” a queer figure that is a “pervasive threat to home and nation.” As the tropes of assemblages become more diffuse, where bodies that are not recognizably connected are sutured together, “the categories of identity become flexible, fluid, and even harder to decipher” (14). As Robert McRuer argues, Puar’s notion of assemblage describes a double move where “gay and lesbian subjects are targeted for life and rescue, while other modes of being and relationality are seen as excessive or archaic, and necessarily in need of elimination.” Charity discourse does not publicly target those whose modes of being and relationality are in need of elimination (either in the prison or through more direct modes of annihilation), but it effectively erases structural arrangements, historical forces, and social relationships, and creates and delineates the threshold of life and death.
  - 16 For a philosophical discussion in which ghosts—absent presences—haunt an ontological system with difference, see Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx*.
  - 17 For a discussion of the cultural range of dominant-residual-emergent-pre-emergent, see Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, 121–27. Mr. Montano’s abandonment is similar to the public and legal marking of knowable, disabled, impoverished, and immigrant bodies (rather than immigrants as terrorists who, as Jennifer Wingard describes them in *Branded Bodies*, are “eminent and ephemeral” at the same time. Susan Schweick evacuates these traces in *Ugly Laws: Disability in Public* through her work on legal statutes that banned disabled, poor people from self-employment in the subsistence economy of urban city streets. Schweick opens *Ugly Laws* with an image of a handsome young man who was prohibited from selling newspapers on the street because of his visible disability. In the story of the ugly laws, poor, disabled, and immigrant bodies (and mixes of these categories) are prohibited from orderly, genteel public spaces. This prohibition means they cannot produce the economic means by which to survive. The disabled young man is marked by the law, banned from city streets, forbidden to create a living for himself, and *abandoned* by the institutions of civil society. He then disappears from the archive not because he is marked like a prisoner (although some disabled are imprisoned), but because he is cast outside of the protections of civil society, the protections of the state and its institutions, and the formal, and informal, economy. The economy, in this sense, can be populated only by the able-bodied. Those who are not able-bodied, whose citizenship status is tenuous, or who are impoverished are outside the economy—and what

- constitutes the legitimate economy, which is defined by those in positions of power—and therefore outside the responsibilities of civil society and the state. As Schweik argues, the marking of the disabled population for removal from the public sphere is intimately connected to the need to control the economic resources and abilities of an underclass that is banned from the spaces in which it could produce a livelihood (188).
- 18 This process is grounded in citizenship and ethnicity, and intersects with an old separation between mental and manual labor that Marx famously described in his critiques of industrial capitalism. It is clear from the story of the mourning of Mr. Montano's death that this separation between manual and mental labor is still one of the points through which abandonment is written in neoliberalism.
  - 19 David Harvey (2003) argues that territorial and capitalist logics intertwine but are often distinct and even opposed to each other. The difficulty for analysis is to keep these logics separate but to see how they at times work together. As he comments, "the difficulty for concrete analysis of the action situation is to keep the two sides of this dialectic simultaneously in motion and not to lapse into either a solely political or predominantly economic mode of argumentation" (30).
  - 20 As Harvey, referencing Hannah Arendt, observes, "A never-ending accumulation of property must be based on a never-ending accumulation of power . . . The limitless process of capital accumulation needs the political structure of so 'unlimited a Power' that it can protect growing property by constantly growing more powerful." (First cited in Harvey 2003, 34.)
  - 21 David Harvey discusses the constant adjustments between capital and nation-state power in *The New Imperialism* (2003).
  - 22 These stories can also be used to imply that dependency or aid from international agencies is no longer needed because participation in the market can solve social and economic deficiencies.
  - 23 I will talk more extensively about normalized violence in chapter three.
  - 24 Kevin Mahoney and I have described neoliberalism as the economic, political, and rhetorical practices of upward redistribution on a global scale and at the local level—a "greater concentration [of wealth and power] among fewer hands at the very top of an increasingly steep pyramid" (Duggan x). As a political economy, neoliberalism promotes the unrestricted flow of capital and the cultural logics, policies, and rhetorics that promote the further incursion of capital into the social field as a means of gaining control over markets that had previously been part of informal economies. As Robert McRuer argues, international finance institutions, neoliberal states, and the institutions that support neoliberal states "work toward the privatization of public services, the deregulation of trade barriers and other restrictions on investment and development, and the downsizing or elimination (or, more insidiously, the transformation into target markets) of vibrant public and democratic cultures that might constrain or limit the interests of global capital" (2006, 3). Neoliberalism is a historically produced social relation that secures an exploitable labor force for capital. It produces meanings within economic structures, processes, and relations that clear capital's path.
  - 25 My research in this section is based on two data searches I did in early December 2009. The first was on Google; I wrote "Mike Thacher and Un-

- ocal” in the search box. The second was on GWU’s internal search engine, which pulls up official university documents, course syllabi, links, etc. I wrote “Unocal” in the search box.
- 26 There has been significant scholarship on how discourses of multiculturalism that circulate in disciplinary locations have allowed neoliberal universities to assimilate cultural differences through curricula, syllabi, and other forms of knowledge production. As these arguments go, this incorporation allows the university to activate, create, and disseminate an identification with globalized power as a means of building cultural hegemony. The university’s hegemonic function is linked to the capitalization on academic knowledge as a catalyst for global capitalism (Mohanty 2003, 173), the production of consumer-citizens (Mohanty 2003, 174), and the forging of links between cultural differences and hegemony (Ferguson 2004). Such analysis of universities as products of hegemony is directed at political critique of the ability or inability of people to participate in public life, and of the consolidation of the public sphere in the age of global capital. A focus on hegemony does not capture what happens to those who are not recognized as doing the intellectual labor of the university— those who, because of labor status, class, citizenship status, or markers of ethnicity and difference, are not part of the exceptional community of the university. Hegemony does not address what happens to those who are not recognizable—not created by institutional affiliation, relationship to labor, and kinship that is based on “solid and firm affinity stemming from birth, from native community” (Derrida 1997, 92).
- 27 In “After Neoliberalism,” Stuart Hall, Doreen Massey, and Raskin (2013) talk about different modes of implementation across borders of neoliberal capital.
- 28 There are similarities between disappearance of villagers and Avery Gordon’s discussion of how prisoners in the United States are made to disappear. See Gordon, 2006.
- 29 Not surprisingly, the “productive” destruction of spaces and livelihoods often targets those who are socially vulnerable, the poor, women, racialized others, and refugees. For example, Patty Kelly describes police raids and incarceration of female sex workers in contemporary Tuxtla, Mexico, where “cleaning up” urban environments and managing surplus populations is ostensibly in the interest of creating “security.” This is a conjunction of private and public patriarchies that work together to constrain the agency of women and to exploit their (sexual) labor. Poor Mexican women, indigenous Mexican women (who are also poor), and migrant women from Central America who are fleeing political violence are vulnerable to violence from the state and from individual men in the private sphere because of their economic and ethnic marginal status. Sex workers—including migrant women from Guatemala and other areas of Central America, indigenous women, and transvestites—increasingly are surveilled, harassed, arrested, and paraded about town in pickup trucks by local and state officials and by the police. In a neoliberal political economy, the conjunction of local practices of gender and of state and police power works together to further constrain the economic and social options and agency of women. In this context, the murder of women sex workers “become mundane[s]” (72). The everyday, local lives of women, Kelly argues, “. . . conspire[s]—whether through routine, ritual, or, as is more commonly the case, the hard surfaces of life – to constrain agency”

- (5). Reports of the destruction of housing in Cape Town, South Africa to clear the way for World Cup venues and events and the historical organized destruction of Haitian subsistence agriculture are some of the many examples of the “productive” destruction of livelihoods and of housing in the name of progress (or, in South Africa, entertainment and regional recognition).
- 30 David Harvey (2008) argues that capital has a “perpetual need” to find locations in which to expand accumulation. In liberal democratic nation-states where labor is scarce and wages are high, capital needs to get around these obstacles or to find exploitable labor forces through immigration. At the same time, Harvey argues, capitalists must seek out new terrains for the production of surplus value, including those for raw-material extraction, which, as Harvey points out, are “often the objective of imperialist and neo-colonial endeavours.”
- 31 The production of these identifications through institution with place and kin occurs in a context where, in the persuasive rhetoric of neoliberalism, identities are seen as autonomous, self-sufficient, and possessing “essential character[s] prior to social interaction” (Massey 2004, 5).
- 32 The success of neoliberal rhetoric has a particularly detrimental effect in the city space of Washington, DC. DC has had a historical and contemporary struggle for autonomy that is closely tied to racial and class divisions. (There are also specific problems of addressing how women are at the nexus of these issues). One brief local example will demonstrate this point. There was a national debate about creating a Washington, DC-area baseball team. This debate focused on the national benefits of having a fun, neutral place in which politicians and government workers could gather and, perhaps because they would be enjoying the national pastime, reconcile their differences. These reconciliations, the discourse went, could help maintain the consensus that allows the United States to play a dominant global role. Completely missing from this debate was any discussion of where local funding for a multimillion-dollar baseball stadium would come from and of how local individuals and populations would be affected by the new stadium. There was little participation by the local population in the decision although it was approved by the DC city council. In this context, global capitalism is so embedded in place that it erases the specificity of place (“Geographies of Responsibility,” 14). Local place is overwritten by empire. Moreover, local- and state-level responsibility is complicated by direct federal involvement in matters of governance. There is a struggle for state autonomy around issues such as gun control (lost), abortion (tentatively dormant), and medical marijuana usage (emergent but probably lost). There has been a longstanding struggle in the courts and in the legislature, so far unsuccessful, to have DC named a state to grant residents representation in the federal government (this struggle is visually symbolized by DC license plates that proclaim, tongue in cheek, “Taxation without Representation”). In addition to autonomy, there are issues of funding, management, and communication around issues such as adequate child protective services and schooling. In part because it is a weak local state, the efforts of DC to address endemic problems such as poverty, health problems related to HIV, and other preventable public health issues have been ineffective. In DC, local state government has been *unable* to address these issues because of federal interference, lack of funding, or infrastructural problems.

- 33 Robert McRuer's work addresses the death of the disabled in Washington, DC homes.
- 34 Iris Marion Young takes up the problem of identification through proximity when she argues for a shift in the ethics of responsibility from membership in a class and national community to transnational relations of production that connect people to each other in relations of dependence, even though these relations might not be visible as such. Young argues for the notion of political responsibility, which would be derived from affiliation across places of global capital rather than that restricted to the local level. As Young argues: ". . . political responsibilities derive . . . not from the contingent fact of membership in common political institutions. Instead, the political responsibilities derive from the social and economic structures in which they act and mutually affect one another, and political institutions are an important means of their discharging those responsibilities" (376).
- 35 As I discussed earlier, Mr. Montano was installing windows. He was literally looking into a GWU building, an apt metaphor for his inside/outside status. Thanks for pointing out this metaphor goes to an audience member at the "Communication, Postcoloniality, and Social Justice: Decolonizing Imaginations" conference. Jacques Derrida argues that the right to the city begins with hospitality—by which he means the right to asylum and refuge that would supersede national and international law (*On Cosmopolitanism*). His work suggests that hospitality is not created via a visibility/literacy of power, a capital production (although both of these are useful), or "a closing in gap of representation" (*JAC*) to finally create an ethics that would include everyone. Hospitality begins with an "experience of something to be done" (Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 205) in the mode of "to come," without knowing in advance what exactly should be done.<sup>1</sup> For Derrida, hospitality means political responsibilities for strangers, the stranger within the city gates. My effort here has been to connect the problem of the stranger within to the problem of the stranger without (Massey, Young).
- 36 Affective and textual traces in the archive of human-interest stories distinguish it from the archive of the middle passage that Saidya Hartman describes, where there are neither discursive nor affective traces that can be tapped into.

### Chapter 3

- 1 As a quick review, neoliberalism, as many scholars have argued, is an economic and political system that is written into the social fabric and that extends market relations even more deeply into the social realm (*Democracies to Come*, 19). For further discussion, see the work of David Harvey (2005), Lisa Duggan (2004), Aiwha Ong (2007), Robert McRuer (2006), and David Eng (2010). Most broadly, neoliberalism concerns the upward redistribution of wealth that, in the United States, was a response to the downward redistribution of wealth in the 1960s and 1970s. Globally, neoliberal policies extend capitalist interests, both expanding the reach of markets and policies into untapped "resources" and broadening the influence of neoliberal ideologies and rhetorics. To accomplish this upward redistribution of wealth, both in the United States and globally, neoliberal economic policies are supported

- and adopted by nation-states that—whether through policy or through social influence—supported these economic policies. Nation-states offer not just political support but also help to create cultural conditions in which people and populations identify with neoliberal policies.
- 2 I use the term “overdetermined” in its cultural Marxist sense as an attempt to capture the multiple forces that work together rather than isolated forces and events. Over-determination, as Raymond Williams (1977, 8) explains, is a way of “understanding historically lived situations and the authentic complexities of practice.”
  - 3 I’m referring here to Nicolas Kristoff and Sheryl WuDunn’s book, *Half the Sky: Turning Oppression into Opportunity for Women Worldwide*, which was excerpted in the *New York Times* magazine in the summer of 2009. (New York, NY: Vintage, 2010).
  - 4 Literacy includes reading and writing practices that are used to interpret and evaluate knowledge (Schell 2006, 3).
  - 5 This line of inquiry, in which third-world women are used to shore up the authority of first-world feminism, was explored by Chandra Mohanty in her well-known essay, “Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism” (2003). Indeed, Mohanty’s interventions and those of others in the late 1980s and early 1990s opened up a broad discussion of representational politics of feminism. During this period, Spivak famously observed in “Can the Subaltern Speak?” that women are absent in the rhetoric of modernity and in cultural patriarchy: “Between patriarchy and imperialism, subject-constitution and object-formation, the figure of woman disappears, not into pristine nothingness, but into a violent shutting that is the displaced figuration of the “third-world woman” caught between tradition and modernity, culturalism, and development.” See *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 304.
  - 6 Thanks to Dolsy Smith for suggesting this phrasing.
  - 7 Cynthia Enloe’s (1990) *Bananas, Beaches, and Bases* and *Maneuvers* remain seminal texts for discussions of the intersection of ideologies of masculinity and femininity with nationality and national security.
  - 8 The centrality of women to the art of governing is implicit in Foucault’s text. This discussion is explicit in the work of feminist anthropologists such as Aiwha Ong (2007) and Patty Kelly (2003), feminist philosophers such as Judith Butler (1990), and many other works in cultural studies, in feminism, and in queer theory.
  - 9 As Foucault notes, “Governing a household, a family, does not essentially mean safeguarding the family property; what it concerns is the individuals who compose the family, their wealth and prosperity. It means reckoning with all the possible events that may intervene, such as births and deaths, and with all the things that can be done, such as possible alliances with other families; it is this general form of management that is characteristic of government” (1994, *Governmentality*, 208–09).
  - 10 Sunder Rajan argues that disabled women in India who are institutionalized disappear into underfunded homes, where they are vulnerable to abuse, neglect, and other forms of gender-based violence. In Sunder Rajan’s discussion, the institutionalization of women who are not wanted or who cannot be cared for by their families in points to the slippage from biopolitics (the manage-

- ment of subjects who do not fit with social norms) to necropolitics (the abandonment to violence and death of those who do not fit with social norms).
- 11 Gayatri Spivak, "Thinking Cultural Questions in Pure Literary Terms," makes a similar claim through her reading of Jamaica Kincaid's novel, *Lucy* (336).
  - 12 As Cynthia Enloe (1990) points out, there have been efforts by women in Kenya and in the Philippines to create networks of women in countries that host American military bases. This is a step toward addressing and dismantling the global gender structures on which military bases depend. There are other transnational and local efforts, including those that support the daily work of survival by: growing gardens, recycling waste, organizing gender forum, occupying leftist organizations that do not address gender and gendered labor; fighting back through state institutions and on the streets; union organizing; reporting that reframes issues as women's issues; reporting that reframes issues as more than just women's issues; story telling; the telling to women from the people around, "enough," and many other activities for that support dignity and well-being.
  - 13 In her research on women who migrate in search of work in the sex industry, Laura Agustín points out that there are discursive histories and relations of power that shape how women are represented and positioned in policy, in public documents, by agencies, and in the social sector, as well as gaps in representation. Social helpers and the discourse of social help that works with migrants, Agustín argues, often "den[ies] the agency of large numbers of working class migrants, in a range of theoretical and practical moves whose object is management and control: the exercise of governmentality" (8). Yet power is not just location of constraint; it can also be enabling. As Agustín explains in a discussion of a woman who had purchased fake papers, "she was a victim, but she had made choices and felt responsible, and I would not want to take this ethical capacity away from her. She was caught in global forces, but she also wanted to be" (41).
  - 14 If we look closely, we see women actively participating in public life. Women are at the forefront of resistance movements in places like Honduras and South Africa; women protest the failure of the state to investigate the systematic murder of women in Vancouver, Canada, and Ciudad Juárez, Mexico; women challenge the meaning of public space and public mourning in Argentina and Iran; and women organize feminist media in Costa Rica. And there is the quieter, everyday work of women to improve the daily conditions and work to enable themselves and their families to survive in the face of everyday poverty or 'natural' disasters. This activity, we could say, happens just about everywhere and has different contexts, but let us point to Port-a-Prince, Haiti, as one place where women struggle to survive.
  - 15 In a similar vein, Doreen Massey (2004) talks about an ethics of place that acknowledges responsibility for reading words, stories, and images that arrive via culturally authorized networks.

## Chapter 4

- 1 Economist Susan George characterizes the neoliberal economy in the following way: "the State . . . reduce[s] its role in the economy . . . and citizens [are]

- given much less rather than much more social protection" (cited in Dingo 2012, 9). There is a large body of literature on neoliberalism as a system and on the specific effects of neoliberalism. For example, see Lisa Duggan's (2004), *Twilight of Equality*; Naomi Klein's (2007) *The Shock Doctrine*; and Neil Smith's (1984) *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*.
- 2 A diligent thick description of place that could lead outward to a more extensive cultural explanation of the conjunction of the social, economic, geographical, and political is not my objective. My approach is not based on what Cindy Katz calls "topographical knowledge," described as intimate and detailed knowledge of a local place (2001, 1215). Katz's article describes a rural community in the Sudan that effectively organizes to ensure that more girls have access to secondary education. This feminist approach is valuable to counter dominant narratives (where women are saved by outside aid) as it maps, with careful attention, the local, "engagement . . . with material forms and practices of situated knowledge" (1214). In this book, my purpose is to excavate women's productive activities and capacities that circulate via global networks from news articles.
  - 3 In a strict Marxist sense, value describes how capitalist economic systems accumulate wealth. The term "value" describes economic worth in a capitalist system: how surplus value is extracted from use value so that capital can be accumulated. In Marx's well-known argument, capitalist accumulation relies upon relations made between unlike things in order for exchange value to take place, and in order to create surplus for capital accumulation. Surplus value is made possible by cultural interactions (Spivak 1987). Unlike things can be exchanged because of shared cultural values. This insight is crucial to understanding how capitalism works as an economic system and to understanding capital as a cultural process, as part of a relationship, and as a rhetorical system.
  - 4 As Rajeswari Sunder Rajan argues in *The Scandal of the State*, the state is "not a unitary or monolithic structure: it consists of different arms that do not necessarily work in tandem . . . the ideologies of political leaders and regimes, the different styles and attributes of individual bureaucrats and officials . . . these are frequently marked by contradiction, cross-purposes, and confusion. Any understanding of state-citizen relations requires, therefore, attention to the microlevel workings of the state regimes . . ." (2003, 5–6).
  - 5 In *Stuffed and Starved*, Raj Patel (2007) documents the super-marketization of South African cities in the post-apartheid era. He describes policies that have brought in large companies, displaced local producers, and reduced access to food by local people. Deborah Mindry in "Neoliberalism, Activism, and HIV/AIDS in Post-Apartheid South Africa," argues that the privatization of water and of electricity has not only increased costs but has diverted local and national government time to the disconnection of services, cholera outbreaks, and civic protests about these practices (2008, 80). Recent displacement of housing to clear the way for World Cup soccer is another example of neoliberal policies.
  - 6 Pitthouse's (2009) critique can be described as part of what Doreen Massey in *World City*, calls "a battle over representation," (2007, 38) a vibrant, critical language that raises political questions and critique, that notes absences, that historicizes, and that tells a different story. Pitthouse provides a strong analysis of space, power, inequality, and racism under apartheid, and in the post-apartheid period contextualizes power relations that go to

the center of the neoliberal project and the rhetoric of “development” in South Africa. The relationship between the organization of space and the rhetorics of hygiene as shaped by the authority of the nation-state gives us a good idea of how nation-states achieve and produce power. The invocation of the work of ordinary people to undo apartheid spatial divisions and to undo, in their daily lives and practices, racism gestures to the rhetorical and political work that was made part of everyday lives. The critique of “development” as a measurement of services from state to citizens rather than as a point of discussion between community and state points to how communication is reduced to technocratic exchange of services in the neoliberal political economy. Pitthouse’s purpose is to intervene in the political imaginary. He makes this intervention by drawing attention to the disciplining processes through which subjects are given social meaning, and by linking these processes to the extraction of wealth. As he argues, state-sponsored apartheid was “undone from below,” by activists who demanded different relationships between state and civil society. Apartheid was undone by multi-scaled activity—including activities that were legible as protest and action. This includes direct action, public performance, community organizing, and alternative knowledge production. Some of those who were involved with legible protest and action were those who, as members of the post-apartheid ANC government, facilitated the transition from apartheid to neoliberalism. Yet, what would it look like to talk about current and past struggles between the state and citizens in South Africa and to include a discussion women’s reproductive activity as political struggle and economic capacity?

- 7 In *Walking on Fire*, Beverly Bell (2001) argues that resistance can be seen in “multilayered negotiations with power,” not just from those who are overtly political or in positions of leadership. Bell argues that resistance might be invisible as it is located in quotidian life, not in the public sphere (5–6).
- 8 See Krista Johnson “The Politics of AIDS Policy Development and Implementation in Post-Apartheid South Africa” (n.d.) Johnson documents the failed response of the South African government to AIDS, arguing that “by narrowly defining the pandemic as a health issue (rather than a developmental or human-security issue), individualizing responses to the pandemic (rather than focusing on communities), and hindering diverse and broad sectors of society to come together around a common vision to combat AIDS, have inhibited the development of an effective response (108).
- 9 Sunder Rajan addresses problems with the category of labor for women and with work generally (work as a site of class exploitation and of domestic oppression), problems in the workplace (where women are vulnerable to violence, exploitation, and oppression), problems with the autonomy of women as workers (which is threatened by patriarchy), difficulties of organizing women, problems of women as workers in globalization (which includes failure of state protections and intervention), all of which challenge the “emancipatory potential” of work (2003, 172). Sunder-Rajan does not seek to refute these problems. However, in the context we are talking about, feminist praxis is difficult because “women” as a coherent identification and location of politics is complex, if not impossible, because of differences among women (14).

## Chapter 5

- 1 In a recent interview, Wendy Brown makes a similar argument when she describes neoliberalism as shifting “democratic values from a political to an economic register. Liberty is disconnected from either political participation or existential freedom, and is reduced to market freedom unimpeded by regulation or any other form of government restriction . . . business models and metrics come to irrigate every crevice of society, circulating from investment banks to schools, from corporations to universities, from public agencies to the individual” (Shenk 2015).
- 2 As an example of this technocratic rhetoric, see Rob Nixon’s description of then-World Bank President Lawrence Summers’s scheme to export garbage and waste to Africa. Nixon describes Summers’s tone as “the calm voice of managerial reasoning” (1). Summers’s proposal was to export toxins to Africa to appease first-world environmentalists.
- 3 It was pointed out that Semenya had already been cleared of drug violations.
- 4 For further discussion of colonial and contemporary history of anxiety and of distrust of women of color’s gender and sexuality, see Tavia Nyong’o’s (2010) comparison of Semenya with Sarah Bartman in “Unforgivable Transgression of Being Caster Semenya.” There is a wealth of scholarship in this area, including Patricia Hill Collins’s seminal work *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*.
- 5 “Spectacle” refers to Guy Debord’s (1994) society of the spectacle, which discusses how spectacle has become part of everyday life. In this vein, Wendy Hesford’s *Spectacular Rhetorics* explores how human rights discourse constructs itself through the deployment of spectacular rhetorics that “activates [sic] certain cultural and national narratives and social and political relations, consolidates identities through the politics of recognition, and configures material relations of power and difference to produce and ultimately to govern human rights subjects” (2011, 9).
- 6 Hesford (2001) investigates how governments and NGOs activate spectacle to shore up human-rights discourse.
- 7 Similarly, Sara Ahmed (2004) notes that capitalist structures have infiltrated intimate understandings of the world by making readers *reactive*, in the sense that decisions are made based on ideological and economic “cues” (to use Wendy Hesford’s (2011) term).
- 8 In the Semenya example, crisis of gendered behavior and normativity is not orchestrated by a nation-state as it is with the sex workers discussed in chapter three, and as it was in South Africa’s colonial past. Nor is it linked to proper gender behavior within the private space of the family. This is a public crisis where a global institution adjudicates proper public gendered behavior and performance as a means of monitoring who can legitimately participate in sport, and therefore who belongs to the public global community. This public crisis is an example and spectacle of “pervasive gendering of the public sphere” as a means of asserting organized patriarchal authority that I will discuss later in the chapter (Landes 1988, cited in Wright 2011, 710). This public spectacle of patriarchal authority is borne out in questions about Semenya’s gender that are framed as issues of “fairness” by white men in an international sports federation. The IAAF sees its role to categorize and

- authorize who can be authentically designated as female. In their viewpoint, to mis-categorize gender would presumably give the athlete a competitive advantage in regard to who can authentically participate in global public sphere. This issue of gender authenticity, it should be noted, does not arise with male athletes.
- 9 Black women's failure to fit into norms of gender and sexuality has been critiqued by many black feminist scholars, including Patricia Hill Collins's *Black Feminist Thought*. Jennifer Nash's work takes up these ideas in context of a critique of intersectionality. See *Social Text* 118 (2014): 45–65.
  - 10 Scott (2007) argues that discussion of gender oppression in French society is occluded in this rhetoric.
  - 11 As Anne Fausto-Sterling (2012) points out, the IAAF did not release Semenya's gender tests because they (rightly) "maintained that these contain Semenya's personal and private health information" (2). As a result, it was never made public what a gender test actually is, and how or what test results led to the IAAF's decision to allow Semenya to re-enter the international competition.
  - 12 Theorists of citizenship, of the nation-state, and of global civil society argue that even as citizens are imagined as universal, abstracted from specific bodily attributes, this imagination refers to a white, male, heterosexual, and propertied subject (Hesford 2011, Grewal and Kaplan 2001; Ong 2007; Puar 2008).
  - 13 The scandal around Semenya did not end distrust of women of color in sport. There have been other cases where women were required to prove that they were not men. For example, Genoveva Anonma, a soccer player from Equatorial New Guinea, was required to strip in front of sports officials from the Confederation of African Football to prove she was a woman.
  - 14 In South Africa, there were comparisons made between Semenya and Saartjie or Sarah Baartman, also known as the Hottentot Venus, who was exhibited on European stages in the nineteenth century and dissected after her death.
  - 15 This story first came to my attention from the work of Chiara Corso (n.d.).
  - 16 In a related discussion of photos of a woman from Afghanistan, Wendy Hesford argues that the "visualization of suffering" through human rights spectacle, can activate inclusion into global civil society (2011, 35).
  - 17 Citizenship is a contested category for feminists as it gives women access to the protection of law, yet this protection, as many feminist critiques have pointed out, is often ineffective and limited. In other words, citizenship as an ideal is absolutely something that women and other minorities want access to, but feminists are critical of the limitations of citizenship. See Joan Scott's (1995, 1996) work on the possibilities and limitations of citizenship. See Rajewari Sunder Rajan's summary of the limitations of citizenship, "insufficiency, inefficiency, and exclusion" (2003, 20).
  - 18 For a discussion of supplement that fill [UNCLEAR]so that authority can claim inclusion and presence, see Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, (1974, 144–45). Gayatri Spivak comments that in the "law of supplementarity . . . what seems a rupture is also a repetition" (1999, 221).
  - 19 Like Semenya, Malala Yousafai is a complex figure. As I have argued elsewhere, she has been deployed as a symbol to sensationalize violence against

- women and girls in Islam, and used as a spectacular example of how gendered violence can and has been addressed by global civil society. Malala herself, in her public speech and her writing, has a complex analysis of gendered violence. She points out that both imperial violence and gendered violence have a detrimental impact on women's and girls' lives. She analyzes the economic constraints that contribute to women's and girls' lack of agency. See "Global Feminisms" *Malala Resource Guide*. Ed. Michele Clark. Little, Brown, and Company. (fall 2014) (online and print publication). Also see Phyllis Mentzell Ryder (2015, 175–87).
- 20 The current conjuncture is a moment where people are expelled from national, social, and economic systems, denied the protections of the nation-state, forcibly removed from civil society, and denied the possibility of economic livelihood (Sassen 2014). In this moment, not only is economics rhetorically separated from politics and culture but the idea of economics itself has narrowed. Saskia Sassen points out that where growth "was . . . a means of advancing the public interest, or increasing a prosperity in which many would share, [even if] some far more than others. Today . . . our institutions and assumptions are increasingly geared to serve corporate economic growth" (2014, 213). It is important to keep in mind that the failure of the IAFF to exclude Semenya, and the subsequent celebration of Semenya's perseverance, success, and freedom from the colonial, eugenic past, can *justify* and *shore up* the neoliberal system of valuation where the story that is told about inclusion occurs at the same time as the expulsion of non-valued workers and populations from the public sphere. This is part of the story of Mr. Montano, Mr. Fortner, and the Burmese villagers I discussed in chapter two. As Sassen argues, "Anything or anybody, whether a law or civic effort, that gets in the way of profit risks being pushed aside – expelled" (2014, 213).
- 21 For an example of the lack of attention to migrants crossing between Mexico and the United States, see Jason de Leon (2013).
- 22 For a discussion of strategies that migrants use for camouflaging themselves, see Jason de Leon (2013).
- 23 Saskia Sassen (2014).
- 24 Spivak's (1987) warning that I cited earlier, "a 'culturalism' that disavows the economic in its global operations cannot get a grip on the concomitant production of barbarism" (168) must be taken seriously as inclusion of a coherent, articulate, good woman whose interests are formulated only through her gender identity (class and ethnicity are not part of the equation). A woman who speaks, acts, or runs well can (violently) divert attention from a larger enterprise that celebrates exemplary women as it distributes abandonment, death, and violence.

## Afterword

- 1 Similarly, Raymond Williams calls for a critical "sense of edge," as he says, an active "shaping and reshaping in real circumstances and from profoundly different and important points of view: a vocabulary to use, to find our own way in, to change as we find it necessary to change it, as we go on making our own language and history" (1983,24–25).

- 2 My work focuses on the preemergent by looking within hegemonic texts of locations of potential mobilization. There is an emergent body of scholarship on communication studies that explores the mobilization of new media to intervene in the narrow political field and in violence of the state. These forms are active and present in the current moment, for example, tracking down social-media sites that archive gender violence, or retrieving surveillance video to document police violence.

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