Pride Politics: A Socio-Affective Analysis

by

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Abstract:

This dissertation explores the affective politics of pride in the context of neoliberalism and the multitude of way that proud feelings map onto issues of social justice. Since pride is so varied in both its individual and political manifestations, I draw on numerous instances of collective pride to attend to the relational, structural and historical contours of proud feelings. Given the methodological challenges posed by affect, I use a mixed-method approach that includes interviews, participant observation, and discourse analysis, while being keenly attuned to the tension between bodily materiality and discursivity. Each chapter attends to an "event" of pride, exploring its emergence during particular encounters with collective difference. The project fills a gap in affect theory by attending to the way that proud feelings play a vital role in both igniting the political intensity necessary to bring about change (through Pride politics), and blocking or extinguishing possibilities of respectful dialogue and solidarity across gendered, sexual, and racial difference.

Across the chapters, pride is used as a conduit through which the complexity of affective politics can be examined. The proud events around and through which each chapter is structured expose paths of affect and its politics. Taken together, the chapters provide an initial blueprint for navigating contemporary affective politics. Through an examination of the discursive rendering of pride, I find that, across several literatures, two key characteristics of pride are its deep relationality between individuals and collectives, and the way it circulates, is managed, and emerges in relation to social hierarches and the value attached to political categories (race, class, gender, ability). Because of the dynamic

variability of pride as it moves across and through individuals, collectives, political categories and signs, I develop four analytical modes—normative pride, pride from below, wounded pride, and neoliberal pride—through which pride circulates and can be expressed. The modes are explored throughout the chapters, specifically the relationship between pride from below and neoliberal pride in the context of Gay Pride and Black Pride politics.

I argue that, at the level of the individual, pride from below is a mechanism by which pain in the body that results from the tension between lived experience and dominant discursive realities can be expelled from the body. However, in that individual experience can be isolating and often disconnected from structural realities, I argue that activist and political writing are crucial (events) to the process of suturing the individual to the collective through the use of the language of pride as a galvanizing political force. Critical to my argument is the acknowledgment that pride is one way to name or articulate the wildness of individual and collective affect. The process of translating affect into language, most often emotions such as pride, is tenuous, ambivalent, and always-already incomplete. I explore the ambivalence of collective feeling through an examination of Gay Pride events, particularly the tension between pride from below and neoliberal pride, and suggest that a) collective pride is simultaneously enhancing and diminishing to bodies, and that b) the inherent wildness of affect forecloses possibilities of completely governing collective feeling, such as pride.

Given the dynamism and unpredictability of affect, I suggest that attention to strategy in the realm of affective politics is of utmost importance. I read the event of Beyoncé's Superbowl 2016 performance through the lens of affective political strategy, arguing that such a reading demonstrates the importance of timing and dosage to maximize affective and political impact. Key to Beyoncé's success, I argue, is her movement through and simultaneous expressions of pride from below and neoliberal pride. Lastly, by staging an encounter between pride and laughter in a particular space—a safe house for inner-city street level sex workers—I show how affective-political encounters are simultaneously individual, collective, and structural. I offer a vision of what pride and its politics can look like when detached from a stable identity category and attached instead to a politics sensitive to the immanence of encounters. This ethico-political sensitivity is the basis upon which a model of assessing claims at the level of affective transmission can be offered, as I do in the conclusion.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Randi Nixon. The research project, of which this thesis is a part, received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, Project Name "Affective Orientations: An Analysis of Pride Politics," No. 0003427, 08/15/2014.

Chapter 5 of this thesis has been published as R. Nixon, "You Beat 'Em, We Feed 'Em! Enfolding Laughter and Pride," Emotion, Space and Society, vol. 23, 33-39. I was responsible for data collection and analysis as well as the manuscript composition.

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Introduction

"Pride goes before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall." – Proverbs 16:18

"Trump's defining personal and public characteristic is pride. In making America great again, he offers not a set of political ideals or policies but he himself. He, he says, is better, smarter and tougher than our corrupt and stupid leaders. Pride is his platform." – Michael Gerson, The Washington Post

"Pride isn't about any single identity or community but rather about all of who we are—disabled people of color, disabled lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people, disabled women, disabled poor and working-class people, disabled immigrants, disabled transgender and transsexual people, psych survivors, people with intellectual disabilities, people with chronic illness, people with nonapparent disabilities. Pride asks uncomfortable questions and demands honest answers. It dances, sings, protests, loves, cries, fights, rolls, limps, laughs, stutters. Pride invites us to make home in our bodies and with each other." – Eli Clare, "Disability Pride"

This project explores the affective politics of pride in the context of neoliberalism, and its relationship to debates around issues of social justice. The rhetoric of individual choice and responsibility that characterizes neoliberalism works to obscure the collective and historical conditions through which claims to individual pride emerge. As a result, norms of political engagement have shifted in favour of the individual and individual feeling to the extent that we are left with few tools to ethically assess heightening social antagonisms that can and do erupt violently. The project proceeds along two primary lines of inquiry: First, I explore the political and experiential implications of affective experience being "imperfectly housed" (Anderson, 2009: 77) in pride, the labour of calibrating one's own feelings to those of the collective to feel at home in that house, and how the unpredictability of affect transforms the supposed straightforwardness of collective "Pride"[1]. I am interested in the gaps and slippages that occur between

[1] For clarity, I will henceforth make a distinction between small "p" and big "P" pride. Pride will be capitalized when referring to its collective, political manifestations (e.g. Black Pride). Otherwise, small "p" pride indicates pride as an emotion. Importantly, there are times when the slippage between the feeling and the collective politic given that pride is inherently collective. In these cases I have also capitalized pride to draw attention to the relational and collective components of individual proud feelings.
Since white nationalist and white supremacist organizations have taken up the capitalization of "White" as a political category, I do not capitalize white unless I am referring to instances of organized White Pride or the actions and proclamations of official organizations affiliated with white nationalism (e.g. the KKK). As such, when referring to white people disconnected from either organizations affiliated with White Pride or white nationalist organizations, it will remain lowercase (e.g. "white people in the crowd"). The capitalization of white is intended to capture the explicit politicization of whiteness in these contexts rather than to recognize or bolster conceptions of whiteness as a homogenous ethnic identity that can be politicized in the same way "Black" identity can. Given this, and in spite of the distinction that can be made between politicized Black people and everyday black people (e.g.

individual sensation and collective political claims to pride. Secondly, given the multitude of collectives claiming a right to pride (e.g. Gay Pride, Black Pride, Disability Pride), I seek a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the relationship between clashing, competing, or alternately, harmonious manifestations of collective Pride.

This project asks questions such as: to what extent are feelings of pride shaped through discursively available identity categories through which we are able to proudly identify? How do individual and collective histories shape the intensities from which pride emerges, and what are the political implications of such historical structures of feeling? Can pride simultaneously enhance and diminish the capacity of an individual or collective? How can a sustained engagement with the affective politics of pride open up possibilities for contemporary social justice struggles? What are the social conditions by which particular kinds of collective (and by extension, individual) prides are accepted, rejected, embraced, or recognized as legitimate sites of pride? Put differently, what are the conditions by which particular prides move us (to tears, into fits of rage)? A deeper look at pride reveals the intensely personal and affective nature of politics. To begin answering these questions, I look to the ways in which proud identifications are linked to movements for justice or social change across the political spectrum, and the ways pride allows individuals to identify what they are proud "to be" and in doing so become part of a collective.

In Western thought, the verb "to be" that is so often attached to pride indicates that the bodily feelings that accompany pride are inextricable from who one is and

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police violence against Black Lives Matter protesters vs. police violence against black people on the street), I follow scholars such as Kimberly Crenshaw (1993) and Catharine Mackinnon (1982) and have capitalized Black throughout the dissertation to point to the political, ethnic and cultural category of Black in Canada and the United States.

understands oneself to be[2]. Through claims of pride, group members assert and reinforce identity categories by stating who they are. These claims of pride organize bodies affectively, emotionally, and politically, creating bodily forms through which we identify and see likeness, and also through which we identify who are "not like" us. Thus, the feelings we have toward those we feel are "our own" rely on recognizing the feelings that emerge when we encounter those who are not "like us." For example, in *Undoing Gender* (2004), Judith Butler discusses being "undone" by others, exposing the relationality of subjectivity as it is continually brought into being and destroyed by our encounters. This raises the questions: How are we held together and kept intact through embodied encounters that reaffirm pieces of our identities? In what ways does refusing to feel particular identifications keep us from coming undone?

In *The Divine Comedy,* Dante describes pride as an effect of perverted love and as expressing the greatest degree of isolation from others (Robinson Shattuck, 1887: 28). For Darwin, and many who think affect in terms of evolutionary biology, pride is one of the five primary emotions (Damasio, 2003). Contemporary research on pride arises most often in psychology, including studies on the cross-cultural and/or non-verbal manifestations of pride (Lewis et al., 2010; Shariff and Tracy, 2009), the social functions of pride in self-other relations and status (Cooper, 2003; Nathanson, 1994; Oveis et al., 2010), and the role of pride in economic success (Lea and Webley, 1996). This project merges questions of affective politics and political affect with contemporary social justice issues, exploring the multiple and overlapping deployment of discourses on pride within the U.S. and Canada. Using pride as an entry point, I integrate concepts in affect theory

[2] Being proud "of" still indicates a kind of identificatory practice, however, I will be primarily discussing the socio-affective politics of being proud "to be", as it enables a series of utterances ("I am…" or "I am not…").

with the critical and political perspectives of feminist, queer and queer of colour, anti-racist, decolonial and disability scholarship to think through contemporary social justice struggles in a context of neoliberal hegemonies. While there is a growing literature on political affect (Connolly, 2002; Protevi, 2009; Westen, 2007) and neuroscientific literature on the relationship between affective cognition and identity is expanding (Damasio, 2003; LeDoux, 1998; Varela, 1991), my project merges work on affect with work on political collectives by exploring the complex relationship between individual pride and Pride politics. Despite the explosion of interest in affect and emotion over the past decade in the humanities and social sciences, there is a gap in affect theory on the complexity of pride, the deep sociality of its embodiment, and its strategic usefulness to political collectives. Researching pride as a political emotion with varying bodily intensities and political attachments, rather than as an individual feeling that is always-already discursively bound to shame (Probyn, 2005; Segwick, 2002), opens up analytical possibilities to create new forms of political engagement and community.

Outside of affect theory, queer, anti-racist, and disability scholars and activists have engaged critically with the (lack of) politics and inherent power hierarchies in contemporary, urban Gay Pride celebrations in the modern West (Chasin, 2000; Elia, 2012; Dryden & Lenon, 2016; Greyson, 2012; Peers & Eales, 2011; Weiss, 2008). Feminist scholars have discussed pride, but often in relation to an engagement with shame and its political possibilities, such as the potential usefulness of white shame (Shotwell, 2011), or what sitting with and feeling shame can offer that a (fat) Pride politics may not (Meagher, 2003). However, there is little scholarly work that has engaged with the specific social, affective, and embodied dimensions of different

versions of Pride politics. Despite being deeply social, the affective politics of pride has not been explored in its various manifestations. Pride is a politicized emotion that has been produced from a series of affective forces in the body (which is not to say that those intensities are individual given the historical and political organization of bodies). For methodological reasons, pride is analyzed in this work as an emotion, in that the affects that make it possible have already been qualified, managed and politicized within very specific sociohistorical and geographical contexts. Further, work on affect more generally has struggled to consider affect beyond its individual dimensions, leaving the way that pride is unevenly distributed (and ambivalently occupied) across those inside the group unexplored.

I understand pride as an embodied and affective sense of certainty—a sense that one has a right to be in the world, to exist as a being in the world. Understanding pride as ontological, as a set of embodied negotiations that are crucial to survival, is at the heart of this project. One has pride in what and who one is and one's place in the world. In many ways, pride in oneself, communities, collectives, and nation are what keep one together, coherent and organized. In one of my interviews I asked a woman who works with inner city women involved in sex work what the opposite of pride looks like. She said, "look around here, we see it everyday." What she pointed to in that moment was the connection between pride, bodily substance and vitality: A right to be. She spoke of the way many of the women there were wasting away, bodily, psychically. The history of colonialism and ongoing colonial practices in Canada, past and ongoing trauma and violence both personal and systemic, addiction that eats away at one's constitution, appetite, and mental and emotional acuity, coupled with and yet inextricable from the

abuses against their bodies and being that similarly weaken one's existence, all conglomerate to what my participant gestured toward—the production of sunken and deflated subjects, often slipping around and through spaces, unsure of who and what is safe, living from one day to the next. At the same time, the women in the space continually assert a sort of pride—the pride necessary to persist, to survive the harshness of street life and its stark hierarchies. These lives, which are systematically made difficult to keep living, provide important insights to the workings of pride. Pride in oneself, one's community, and one's body is not something of evenly abundant supply or that is equally accessible to all humans. Pride thus isn't something one either has or doesn't have; it isn't stable but rather is continually swelling and shrinking from moment to moment. The most puffed up pride is often followed by or precedes states of deflation. As such, pride must be historicized and examined within the sociopolitical landscape that facilitates or limits its emergence. The loss or lack of pride (whether momentary or over time) can be seen and felt. The pride of others moves us—depending on how we identify ourselves and feel about collectives of which we are not a part, pride might push us away, it might send us into a rage, it might draw us in like a magnetic force, or it might move us to tears.

Understanding the ontological implications of pride as issues of (literal, economic, social) survival and being in the world is not often how pride is thought about. Throughout my research on and conversations about pride, it seems to be a feeling that is taken for granted, assumed to be straightforward, and rarely questioned. Ironically, the façade of pride seems to have protected it from deep analyses of where it comes from, what it is composed of, why it is needed, and, the most important Deleuzian question, *what pride does*. Once the surface of pride has been cracked, what is the implicit,

unspoken, or un-thought of pride?

What I continually argue throughout the chapters that follow is that pride is not something a subject either has or does not have. Rather, it is contingent, deeply relational, and emerges from within established sociohistorical and political contexts. It is multiple and dynamic, contracting and expanding depending on the particular encounters, connections, rejections, and co-operations that structure the particularity of its emergence. That being said, in its deep relationality, pride is not somehow free floating and immanent. Its emergence is structured and thus cannot be separated from the materiality of bodies, histories, and social worlds.

In contrast to dominant understandings of pride as originating within an individual subject before being expressed outward, proud feelings are understood as conditioned by available sites of proud identities, political collectives, triggered by and within particular social milieus and contexts. As such, pride—like all feelings—is inherently political in that it is inextricable from claims of group pride, which both rely on and reproduce socially constructed power differentials between groups. For the purposes of this project, Pride politics is understood as stemming from a collective sense or recognition of pride's lack within a particular social world, a set of demands needed to alter the social, economic, and political conditions structuring this lack, and a vision that the world can be otherwise. Historically, Pride politics have often challenged dominant norms and hardened social hierarchies based on the political claim that the status quo benefits from an unequal distribution of pride to particular groups and bodies. This sort of Pride politics then is not a straightforward expression of pride as much as it is a claim to the right to pride – a right to exist. However, in a context of hyper-individualism where

we are expected to be "entrepreneurs of ourselves" (Gordon, 1991:43-45) this historical pride politic has been joined by a plethora of claims to pride from various groups—white people, vegetarians, fat people, straight people—all claiming that they, too, need pride. And some of them very well do. It is my contention that attentiveness to the historical and collective contours of these emergent claims to pride can shift how and on what basis these competing claims are assessed.

Politics, Pride politics in this case, then extend beyond electoral politics and through all spheres of life where one seeks support, community, and practices as a way to maintain and orient oneself. By orientations, I mean how we negotiate ourselves within worlds spatially, politically, and emotionally through movements of proximity and distance to and from different entities (people, spaces, objects, events, practices, ideas). Based on how my body has been politically organized (through personal experiences and collective histories) I might move toward people involved in certain community groups, away from people with a particular orientation to politics, toward certain kinds of relationships, away from certain modes of speaking to others, toward certain parts of the city, away from certain religious or spiritual practices. In other words, I understand politics broadly as the relationship between our personal views, beliefs, and orientations and our worldviews (how we perceive the world to "be" or function) and most importantly, how we live within or seek to mend or maintain that gap (or lack thereof).

It is important to note that Pride politics, as a corollary of identity politics, is, for the most part, a Western phenomenon. While some Pride movements, such as Gay Pride, do have international reach, it is significant that to be proud to be queer relies on an understanding of sexual identity as an essential part of one's identity. Such an

understanding of sexual identity is largely a Western construct, albeit one with particular social, political and economic influences. Pride movements have varying collective and organizational manifestations that may not necessarily be named "pride". Black Pride, for example, could be said to manifest in the negritude movement, or groups such as the Black Panthers or Black Lives Matter. While these groups may not be officially attached to pride in name, they are nonetheless sites through which Black Pride was and continues to be claimed, explicitly or implicitly. White Pride (white nationalism) emerges under various organizational umbrellas that do not have 'Pride' in their titles but speak the language of pride in their mission statements, and through their actions and orientations to engagement. Thus, proud collectives vary in their degree of explicitness and in their political visions, and it is these differences that I explore in subsequent chapters in order to deepen understandings of the relationship between affect and competing claims to pride across the political spectrum.

I. The Affective Turn

In 1665, Baruch Spinoza stated, "We do not know what the body can do" (Deleuze, 1978: 17). For Spinoza, the body surpasses what we know of it, and thought surpasses consciousness; thus, in moving to better understand what we do not know about the power of the body ("the unknown of the body") we gain knowledge about the power of the mind that escapes our consciousness ("the unconscious of thought") (18). For Spinoza, consciousness is the (felt) awareness of the rising and falling variations in intensity, which he distinguishes from thought, given that mere awareness of affective movement is passive and therefore confused and distorted in nature. However, in the

process of thinking through how we affect and are affected, we become more active and ethical thinkers, and have more agential awareness as we increase our understanding of how we are affected in moving consciousness into thought.

The scholars I draw on in this project, many of whom are informed by a Deleuzian conception of affect and embodiment, challenge work on the body that starts from the premise that human bodies are autonomous, contained, stable entities that can be theorized separately from historical, social and political forces. I follow a Spinozan definition of affect as the increase or decrease in the body's capacity to act and "at the same time the idea of the affection" (Massumi, 2002: 31). The term capacity here can refer to the sense of physiological change, being affected by an encounter with an object, as well as a "felt change in the power of the body" (Protevi, 2009: 49). This definition stresses the way affect is inextricable from power and exceeds human experience, agency and intention. Understood in this way, bodies, affects, and encounters do not solely refer to the human. Rather, the body expresses the relationship between forces, and is to be thought of in its broadest sense (a body of water, a political body, a chemical body, etc.) (Olkowski, 1999: 44).

Thinking about affect and affective encounters as inextricable from power and (individual, collective, structural) bodily capacities extends understandings of pride far beyond matters of individual expression. In doing so, it also opens up possibilities for thinking about contemporary Pride politics in relation to affective politics and ethical engagement with difference. While the scholarship on affect is vast, I take seriously Massumi's distinction between affect and emotion as a conceptual starting point from which to think about pride as an emotion that has been named through a capture of a set

of moving intensities. In what follows I briefly outline two strands of affect theory, and situate myself within this literature, explaining how it connects to my analysis of the affective politics of pride.

In *Ordinary Affects* (2007) Kathleen Stewart takes "the ordinary" as her object, stating that:

> Ordinary affects are the varied, surging capacities to affect and to be affected that give everyday life the quality of continual motion of relations, scenes, contingencies, and emergences. They're things that happen. They happen in impulses, sensations, expectations, daydreams, encounters, and habits of relating, in strategies and their failures, in forms of persuasion, contagion, and compulsion, in modes of attention, attachment, and agency, and in publics and social worlds of all kinds that catch people up in something that feels like *something*. (2)

The ordinary is like peripheral vision, perpetually moving past us as it infuses our experiences, sometimes acutely, sometimes without notice. At once public and intimate, "flighty and hardwired, shifty and unsteady but palpable too," ordinary affects are always already present regardless of whether or not they reach explicit consciousness (3). Stewart notes their similarity to Raymond Williams' "structures of feeling," in that they "do not have to await definition, classification, or rationalization before they exert palpable pressures" (3). What this orientation to affect emphasizes is the sense that affect cannot be fully explained, felt, or put into neat categories.

Scholars such as Brian Massumi and Nigel Thrift are explicitly influenced by a Deleuzean rendering of Spinoza, and thus emphasize the unknowablity, unpredicatability, and prelinguistic movement of affect as it constantly escapes conscious perception and

only is peripherally or retrospectively registered by subjects. These thinkers, whom Wetherell (2013) refers to as the "non-representationalists," emphasize processes that occur beyond, below, or past discourse, and an understanding of affect as that which "perhaps escapes or remains in excess of the practices of the "speaking subject" (Blackman and Venn, 2010: 9). This approach to affect is generally marked by a turning away from discourse methods in an effort to be more attentive to embodied states (Wetherell, 2013: 352). Emotion is merely "domesticated" affect after the wildness and unpredictability of its intensity has been captured and managed by consciousness and discourse. Thus, affect does not refer to a personal feeling, but rather to a "pre-personal intensity corresponding to the passage from one experiential state of the body to another and implies an augmentation or diminution in that body's capacity to act" (Massumi 2004: xvii). Like Massumi, for Thrift there is an emphasis on the pre-cognitive and pre-individual dimensions of affects as "rolling mass[es] of nerve volleys [which] prepare the body for action in such a way that intentions or decisions are made before the conscious self is even aware of them" (Thrift, 2007: 7). Thus, for both Massumi and Thrift, attention to affect acknowledges the subject as a mediator but ultimately works to decenter the intentionality of the speaking subject in stressing the inability of language and discourse to capture and exhaust the complexity of bodily intensities.

In contrast to non-representationalists are affect scholars who diagnose the historical present through the attentive tracing of named collective sensations. Sara Ahmed's work is exemplary in this regard, as she tends to use specific emotions as entry points into her critical and political analyses of how feelings are collective and inextricable from social norms and states of inequality. For example, each chapter of *The*

Cultural Politics of Emotion (2004) focuses on a particular feeling (e.g. rage, hope, melancholy) and examines its affective circulation. Similarly, in her subsequent books, *The Promise of Happiness* (2010) and *Willful Subjects* (2014), she follows the paths of happiness and willfulness[3] respectively to their social and political root and back to the present implications of such histories of feeling. Despite Ahmed's seeming emphasis on the emotional, her work nevertheless incorporates elements of a Spinozan theory of affect as collective and implicated in ethics, particularly in her understanding of "affective economies" (2004b) which takes affect as a deeply social and political force circulating above, through and alongside subjective understandings, working to shape "figures" that carry historically specific emotional and political value.

What I take from each of these approaches to affect combined is an understanding of affect as *both constituted by and constitutive of discourse*. That is, while I take experience to be socially constructed (e.g. experience can only be understood through discursively available categories) I am adamant that there are aspects of experience that cannot be captured in language. If social and political forces could organize individual affect completely, individuals would be unable to question and challenge norms, change would never occur, and language and meaning would remain static. Constant affective escapes and the impossibility of complete discursive capture of experience is a condition of possibility for change. At the same time, in that our bodily forces are organized politically, our affective patterns, triggers, and thresholds are shaped by the social milieu in which we are immersed. I find the idea of affect as unrepresentable, uncategorizable, and as exceeding the speaking subject theoretically compelling and politically hopeful.

[3] While "the will" may not be as straightforward of an emotion as happiness, it is nevertheless a capture of a set of bodily intensities (in the Massumian sense) and as such keeps Ahmed in the "emotionalist" camp.

Affect as the palpable sense of something that consistently presses on bodies and collectives, that shapes our memories and experiences of moments and years but cannot be quite named is, I think, not only interesting, but accurate. However, exploring a prelinguistic, asubjective sense of something is a methodological nightmare. Further, if we hold a firm grip on the idea that once affect is "named" or "captured" in language it is no longer affect, it becomes virtually impossible to talk about affect at all, which renders its political potentiality a matter of faith rather than practical study. Given that my interest in affective politics is grounded in my commitment to social justice struggles, affect must, at some point, even if imperfectly and provisionally, become representable. Following scholars like Ahmed, I focus on an emotion, pride, but maintain an understanding of 'pride' as a complicated and varied linguistic capture of a series of bodily intensities (affect).

II. Emergence, Encounters, Events

This project seeks to develop a robust understanding of the affective politics of pride with the aim of expanding possibilities for social justice in the context of neoliberalism. A number of theoretical tools help to link affect, power, and political transformation (or stasis). In this section I outline an ontology of transformation that, by centering affect and emergence, destabilizes understandings of Pride politics that are grounded in understandings of pride as straightforwardly individual; the emergence of individual and collective pride from below (chapter two), the tension between neoliberal pride and pride from below (chapter three), disrupting proud economies (chapter four), and the affective political potential of laughter (chapter five).

Throughout his career, Foucault analyzed the historically contingent play and struggle of institutional, personal, political, economic and social forces, seeking to render visible the emergence of particular objects of study (e.g. the homosexual, the "neurological body") (Foucault, 1978; 2003b). One of the aims of Foucault's work was to undo the presumed naturality, fixity, and Truth of dominant ways of being and knowing. In "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," Foucault explores his approach to the genealogical method through the concept of emergence (*Entstehung*)--
"the moment of arising"—as "always produced in a particular state of forces" (Foucault, 2003: 357). By analyzing the "manner of the struggle that these forces wage against each other" Foucault sought to expose the processes that circulated beneath and prior to the moment of arising (355). While Foucault began with the moment of emergence and worked retrospectively to understand how it is that a particular object was produced (the discursive conditions of emergence), Deleuze sought to understand the mechanisms of process and emergence themselves[4]. The concept of emergence and its relationship to the notion of the event is made clear in the work of John Protevi, who pulls these ideas (and others) together to demonstrate how thinking bodies and encounters as simultaneously individual, collective, and structural has deep implications for understanding contemporary sociopolitical realities.

Understanding the significance of the concept of emergence is key to Protevi's notion of "political physiology" which enables a nuanced thinking of the multiple, mutually constitutive, and dynamic bodies politic at the civic (political states), somatic

[4] Both thinkers were interested in the (historical, personal, political, material) conditions of transformation, and I would argue that their differences were, for the most part, methodological. Foucault's work was largely empirical, seeking to understand emergence through concrete historical realities, while Deleuze was a philosopher who speculated on the conditions of emergence and the nature of transformation itself. An example of this methodological difference can be seen in their respective work on the body: while Foucault focused primarily on the effect external forces (i.e. disciplinary power) had *on* the body and its practices, Deleuze emphasized the ongoing struggle of forces *within* the body (i.e. the body without organs).

(politically constituted individuals), and evental (political encounter) scales (2009: 94). In what follows I draw heavily on Protevi to outline my understanding of emergence and its importance in thinking about political physiology, or put differently, the dynamic relationship between individuals, collectives, and societies. What I find useful about Protevi's political physiology is the way it resists understandings of affective encounters as between two socially and politically neutral bodies, and instead demands that we think of affective encounters as individually embodied, implicated in the logics of collectives, and historically structured.

Political encounters combine the logics of many bodies politic (individual, collective, structural) that occur above, below, and alongside a subject. As Protevi writes:

> such encounters enfold all levels of political physiology, as a concrete encounter occurs in a short-term social context between embodied subjects formed by long term social and developmental processes. More precisely - since "context" is too static - a political encounter, like all the emergent functional structures of political physiology, is the resolute of the differential relations of a dynamic field, in this case, one operating at multiple levels: civic, somatic, and eventual. (Protevi, 96)

Protevi's concept of political physiology, emphasizing the individual, collective, and structural components of political encounters is key to understanding my approach to Pride politics. Pride is an individual phenomenon that is inextricable from collective identity, and collectives cultivate their patterns of sense-making within broader structural and historical contexts. For example, the emergence of my claim to queer or feminist pride is conditioned by my sense of each of those collectives, as well as their political relationship to broader historical and contemporary political structures. How I encounter

other expressions of pride (Black Pride, fat Pride, Indigenous Pride, national Pride) is a result of my collective identities in relation to other collective identities, all of which cannot be evacuated from structural meanings. When I encounter a person or collective expressing White Pride (either explicitly or through particular racist beliefs), the encounter is one that is between that individual and me, but mediated through the political categories to which we belong (race, class, gender, ability, etc.), the collectives we each understand ourselves to belong to, and the histories of those categories and collectives. Protevi's political physiology forces an understanding of political encounters—encounters with pride in this case—as an encounter between multiple bodies that affect and are being affected. Understanding the systemic conditions of different forms of emergence is thus helpful in assessing political encounters and their potential outcomes, because emergence is structured in and through the sense-making patterns of the encountering bodies. Examining the particular state of forces within or beneath the moment of arising (emergence) can be deployed to explain why it is that some encounters with pride (or proud encounters) result in violence, while others result in acceptance, and others in neutrality. Put differently, emergence demands an interrogation of the histories and patterns of bodies or systems (how these bodies or systems are organized) and therefore can be a means to better understand, assess, or explore what transpires in an encounter. Given the relative variation in how bodies or systems can be organized, there are three types of emergence (synchronic, diachronic, and transversal) that correspond with kinds of structures/bodies/systems; what emerges is dependent on what "choice" is made given the kind of structure in question. Since a comprehensive discussion of emergence is beyond the scope of this project, I will briefly outline each of these kinds of

emergence to the extent necessary for understanding how it relates to my understanding of pride and Pride politics as emergent, relational, and collective.

Synchronically emergent structures are characterized by focused systematic behaviour oriented toward order and stability. Synchronically emergent systems coincide with what Deleuze and Guattari term the "organism" (2004: 158) or the body whose patterns are rigid and productive. These systems seek homeostatic stability, maintenance, and are autopoietic. The concept of autopoiesis was invented by Chilean biologist Francisco Varela, who studied the cellular production of organizationally closed living systems. Autopoietic systems can respond a few ways to fluctuations that cannot be recuperated back into dominant patterns; the system can be pushed into a different familiar pattern in "its fixed repertoire," into a "death zone where there are no patterns but only static or chaos," or, in some cases, the system's defensive and comfortable patterns are overwhelmed, opening up the possibility for the creation of novel patterns (Protevi, 2006: 23). While these patterns can be rewritings of old patterns, Protevi states that there are times when "this learning is truly creation" (23). Thus, the second type of emergence, diachronic emergence, occurs when a system that is pushed beyond its comfort zones spontaneously creates new patterns and thresholds of behaviour. In Deleuzian terms, this kind of emergence is an "event," defined by the novel re-patterning of a system that causes a restructuring of the virtual space of a particular system.

The third type of emergence, transversal, further challenges the possibilities and benefits of autopoietic systems with the Deleuzian concept of assemblages. Transversal emergence is paralleled in Varela's late work on "radical embodiment." What Varela's radical embodiment and Deleuze and Guattari's transversal emergence share is the

analysis of brain-body-environment assemblages, enabling an understanding of the multiple levels active during a political encounter—the dynamic relationship between the historicity of bodily processes, cognition, and environment. I understand pride as simultaneously individual, collective, and societal, and emergent in encounters between people and social groups in a particular historical moment. While Protevi's political physiology may appear on the surface as unnecessarily scientistic, what it captures is the multiplicity of meanings present in every political encounter. As such, this model is key to my conceptualization of competing and clashing prides.

Importantly, Protevi emphasizes Varela's rejection of using autopoiesis for thinking social systems, as he notes the way biological holism "has always had a dark side" and "slippages toward fascism, toward authoritarian impositions, eugenics" (Varela, 2002). In contrast, the careful elucidation of Deleuzian emergence by Protevi (with the aid of DeLanda) emphasizes (diachronic and transversal) emergence as a way to destabilize the valorization of synchronically emergent or autopoietic systems and the destruction that can occur when the rigid bodily patterns that accompany identity are violently defended. As Protevi writes:

> The danger lies not in using autopoiesis as a means of understanding the social, but in using autopoiesis as a model in enacting a way of social being. An autopoietic social being is one focused on boundary maintenance, and this focus can create a fratricidal polarity. (2009: 102)

Given this warning, I am not seeking to apply autopoiesis to social contexts, but rather use it as a heuristic that can be used to better understand a form of identity and political engagement that is gaining dominance; one that is increasingly characterized by hostile

encounters between individuals and groups, as a result of political categories and affective triggers associated with particular categories. Autopoiesis is not the goal – it is the danger. In the next section I discuss the affective politics of pride using Protevi's political physiology as a way to highlight the way political encounters are simultaneously individual, collective, and structural.

III. Affective Politics: The Political Organization of the Body, Micropolitics, and Political Encounters

Protevi's political physiology enables an understanding of political encounters as multiple: individual, collective, structural, or, to use Protevi's terminology, somatic, civic and evental. In this section, I expand a conception of political encounters through an exploration of the political organization of the body and micropolitics. My aim here is to piece together a set of interrelated concepts that, when assembled, establish my approach to affective politics.

Bodily patterns are political. From what we eat and drink, to whom we desire, how we have sex, how affectionate we are with our friends and family, how we breathe, how often we go for walks, how often we stretch, to how we react to food, violence, queers, immigrants, the disabled, fat, or "trashy" people - all of these phenomena are intimately embodied and absolutely shaped by political categories and histories. For most organisms (human and non-human) these embodied actions or reactions fall into patterns and structures that can be difficult to shift and re-route because they compose who we are. In that pride is usually attached to an identity, it is a particularly useful entry point into thinking about affective patterns, triggers and thresholds (the political organization of the body), and political encounters.

For Spinoza, the body (whether it be a mind, idea, object, or text) is constituted by the relations that compose its parts (Deleuze, 1978: 21). When two bodies encounter one another, they either decompose or augment the composite parts of the other, enhancing or decreasing the capacity of each body to act. How I am affected by an encounter, to what extent it agrees or disagrees with my composition, is experienced as joy (increasing my power to act) or sadness (decreasing my power to act) (Deleuze, 1978: 19). Thus, how happy or sad one feels during any given encounter, for Spinoza, depends on how the component parts of the affecting body relate to its own. A "bad" encounter is one that decomposes my parts – whether it be an encounter with food, people, objects, weather, noise - thus reducing my capacity (Deleuze, 1978: 21). A "good" encounter, on the other hand, is the feeling of joy that accompanies an agreeable relation to my body, increasing my power to act.

In this understanding of encounters, capacity and power are essentially interchangeable. One's power or capacity either rises or falls in each affective encounter between two bodies. Power here is not solely a negative, repressive force (*potestas/pouvoir*) but affirmative (*potentia/puissance*) and productive of identities and social practices. This understanding of power resonates with Foucault's understanding of power as an immanent, embodied relation, as exemplified in statements such as: "what is essential in all power is that ultimately its point of application is always the body. All power is physical, and there is a direct connection between the body and political power" (2003: 14). Extending this formulation in *Foucault*, Deleuze connects Foucault's analytic of power to affect: "An exercise of power shows up as an affect, since force defines itself by its very power to affect other forces (to which it is related) and to be affected by other

forces" (Deleuze, 1988: 71).

What this passage points to is the way affect is the manifestation of a relation of power, drawing together power relations, affect and political encounters. However, what this account is missing is an explicit and sustained recognition of the ways political encounters are already power-laden and affect-imbued as a result of existing political categories. Scholars such as Tolia-Kelly (2006) and Ahmed have emphasized the ways that affective encounters are not neutral or existing in a relation of structural equivalence, but, crucially, encounters are asymmetrical, laden with preconceptions and persistent power differentials: "*bodies are touched by some bodies differently from other bodies"* (Ahmed, 2000: 48).

As a force that is both constituted by and constitutive of discourse, affect is fundamental to processes of mis/dis/identification. That is, we identify with whom and what we feel we are part of, share commonality, affinity and connection. To say we "identify" indicates that there is a part of that being, experience or event that we feel that we share. What does it feel like to identify with something? How subtly or sharply can it flow (or shock) through us? What is happening politically when someone feels completely overtaken with proud identification?

When pride is felt, some part of that body is lifted, enabled, has increased in its capacity. It registers, sometimes against our will, varying in intensity, across and through our bodies. Feeling proud brings to our bodily surface different aspects of our personalities and histories, some of which are articulable and knowable, others of which are not. What are the conditions by which we have pride in some things but not others? What is particular about the relationship between my identity or sense of self, and the

thing that I am proud to be (or that part of me in which I am finding pride). Is it possible that pride, as a feeling of alliance or agreement, simultaneously decreases our capacity and power to act in the same movement that it composes or enhances certain parts? How can we think of pride as a multiplicity of movements and processes that can be both enabling and constraining?

When I am moved by something in a bad way, and feel that the encounter does not agree with the most dominant parts of me, what is the effect on my identity? What does disidentification and/or misidentification feel like as it moves through the body, and what does it do (what are its functions, effects and implications)? To give an example of what I mean by this: I have a visceral reaction to White Pride; my guts twist and my muscles tighten, and I feel my head get lighter and my breathing heavier. While I can easily intellectualize these sensations, and explain how and why my politics, ethics and vision of the world clash with theirs, I still wonder about the extent to which I am kept together through my adamant disavowal of the movement, which provides me with a way to narrativize my own bodily intensity in particular ways. The rhetoric and words of White Pride are familiar—they resonate with aspects of my rural, working class upbringing. These are deep-seated racist ideas—jokes, phrases, overheard childhood conversations—that were ubiquitous and inculcated into my bodily patterns (consciously or unconsciously) during my formative years, and much of these same insidious ideas continue to circulate and be reinforced by current power structures and dominant cultural and institutional systems. Parts of my body, my past, and my present are literally struck by the intensity of White Pride. While I don't *agree*, there are parts of my body – twinges and flickers - that *understand*. I grapple with the affective resonance, or deny it altogether

because of what admitting it means for who I am. To avoid confronting the fear of being what I *must* not be (racist) I may reject or disavow people whom I love deeply, or fly into fits of defensive rage and self-righteous fury. Is there something in them that is in me that sparks my rage? What does this affective reflection mean politically and ethically for thinking about pride and whiteness? What are the political and ethical implications of working with this simultaneous disagreement and understanding? What does it look like to oscillate between adamant disidentification (a sort of self-preservation) and attempts at careful and strategic identifications and engagements? The "understanding" is more difficult to work through, however, as it requires me to think through my own complicities in upholding systems of oppression. Anti-racist work requires an active "undoing" and working through of deeply embedded racisms—or what Foucault refers to as "the fascism in us all, the fascism in our heads and in our everyday behavior, the fascism that causes us to love power, to desire the very thing that dominates and exploits" (2004: xiv-xv). Exploring the multiplicity and combinations of different proud identifications is not about either affirming or denying the similarities across pride movements or types of pride. The distinction between "us" and "them" is at the heart of pride; exposing the complexity of pride enables a clearer understanding of the affective-political mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, which are mediated through practices of identification and disidentification. Mapping some of the complex and contradictory ways that affective intensity links to political content or vision is crucial in deepening understandings of affective politics in a neoliberal context.

In *Strange Encounters: Embodied Others in Post-Coloniality* (2000), Ahmed gives ontological priority to the encounter, since identity is not given or fixed, but rather

is constituted through a series of (socially-mediated) affective encounters throughout one's lifespan (7). She uses encounters as entry points into understanding processes such as "inclusion and exclusion," and "incorporation and expulsion," highlighting the way that encounters are structured according to social norms and realities but are not fully determined (6). Referring to both face-to-face encounters which involve an "economy of recognition" through reading bodies as signs (or signs on the body), and skin-to-skin encounters which involve an "economy of touch," Ahmed opens up possibilities for understanding encounters with difference as both emotional and affective. When she states that "the strange encounter is played out *on* the body, and is played out *with* the emotions," she is making a subtle differentiation between what is communicated between bodies and how what passes between bodies is interpreted (38). Importantly, the encounter Ahmed uses to demonstrate this point is one that is racially charged: a memory described by Audre Lorde in *Sister Outsider* where Lorde recalls riding the subway to Harlem as a child. On the train, a "leather-gloved" white woman with "a fur hat" is sitting beside the young Lorde, clearly agitated by the proximity of a Black child's body to her own. After "jerking" her fur coat closer to her in an effort to make stark the boundary between herself and Lorde, the woman stands up and continues to stare. As a child, this encounter bewilders and deeply affects Lorde as she attempts to locate the source of the problem—"probably a roach," she guesses—at the same time that she endures the white woman's vitriol, which she interprets as "her horror" (1984: 147-148). Still however, what occurred between these two bodies – one Black and one white – on the train was not communicated in language, thus heightening the jarring intensity of the encounter:

> No word has been spoken. I'm afraid to say anything to my mother because I don't know what I've done. I look at the side of my snow pants secretly. Is there something on them? Something's going on here I do not understand, but I will never forget it. Her eyes. The flared nostrils. The hate. (Lorde, 1984: 148)

In part, what makes Lorde's description of this event so impactful is the affective vividness with which she describes the scene; the weight of the shopping bags, "christmas-heavy," the familiar "wet smell of winter clothes," the movement of the train "lurching" ahead. But what is even more striking is Lorde's attempt to capture and name what has occurred between the two bodies. Even as a child, she knows—senses—that something significant has happened. The woman's expressions and gestures, nostrils flared and huge-eyed, glowering down at the child following her refusal to share space—or dare touch—Lorde, said something that she will "never forget". Perhaps not forgetting is a choice, an unspoken refusal to forget something that permanently marks someone. Or, perhaps this encounter resurfaced again and again for Lorde, in different forms, with subtle variations, foreclosing the possibility of forgetting, forcing on Lorde what she could not possibly have absorbed as a child, but worked fiercely and tirelessly to understand and dismantle in her adult life: systemic racism, injustice, and "the hate."

I want to meditate for a moment on the significance of this encounter for Lorde. Undoubtedly, I am interpreting its significance based on Lorde's oeuvre, the detail of the recollection, and her own claim that she would "never forget." What is the difference between an encounter and an event? According to Ahmed, an encounter suggests a meeting between two elements (human or non-human, including texts and objects), which "involves surprise, and conflict" (6). The intensity and content of this surprise and

conflict varies depending on the particularities of the encountering bodies. Inserting Ahmed's "encounter" back into Protevi's Deleuzean understanding of emergence, the result of an encounter may be one that is stereotypical, disruptive, or altogether shocking. How an encounter is experienced is not only an individual matter, but is interwoven with recent and distant collective histories. Both what constitutes an affective trigger and the intensity of that trigger varies individually, collectively, and across populations.

In *Political Affect* (2009), Protevi addresses the way social groups develop their own affective patterns, thresholds and triggers over time. For example, the bodies of men in the American South respond differently (both in quality and intensity) than men in the northern U.S. when insulted (Nisbett & Cohen, 1996). In Deleuzian terms, this affective disorientation occurs when "the actual [is] knocked off of its tracks" into the realm of the intensive (Protevi, 2009: 11). When our stereotypical patterns of action and reaction are disrupted and move into the intensive, the possibility to respond non-stereotypically arises, as does the potential to constitute new patterns of action-reaction, for diachronic emergence or an event. However, while the possibility for an event exists, so too does the possibility for the disruption to be overcoded, recuperated, or reterritorialized by the already existing and dominant ways of thinking, feeling and moving. In other words, if the disruption can be absorbed by stereotypical patterns, that pattern becomes further entrenched into the system, making it more resilient to disruption, less likely to change. At both the level of the individual and collective, this can explain how and why disruptive encounters do not necessarily (or even probably) lead to the "new," or to change, but often to defensive backlash or the eruption of violence. Shotwell (2011) parallels this sentiment when, in discussing moments disruptive to whiteness in the

classroom, she says that more often than not moments of affective shock freeze us into a state where the initial disorientation passes and old patterns take-over (xx). Disruptions to whiteness (as a political category) through, say, assertions of Black pride or discussions of the benefits of white privilege, may not result in individuals interrogating their own whiteness and shifting their patterns of thinking-feeling, but actually may re-entrench those patterns. How a system, individual or collective, is organized and learns to respond during these disruptive encounters is indispensible to understanding possibilities for individual and collective transformation.

Returning to the distinction between encounter and event, we might say that while the encounter is disorienting, surprising, and involves conflict, an event occurs when the encounter completely overwhelms, forcing the creation of alternative responses. For example, if one is walking and encounters a sidewalk closure, one may be disoriented. To be disoriented indicates not having one's bearings, a temporary loss of where one stands in relation to one's surroundings, and as such, a question of which is the "right" way to go (or, perhaps, questioning of what in fact, is the right way). In the face of a sidewalk closure that momentarily interrupts one's flow of movement, someone may merely go around the closure and continue on one's regular route. This would not be an event. However, if when surprised by the blockade, one chooses another street, another route, or even ends up at an entirely different destination as a result of this new route, this has been an event. While this example may seem trite, what I seek to do here is to make clear the way an encounter is a condition of possibility for an event, wherein a restructuring of a body or system occur.

Given the theoretical frame through which pride and its politics are being analyzed in this project, I ask after these moments of disorientation, surprise, and shock, and pay attention to the responses and aftermath of encounters, remaining open to the possibility of an event. In what contexts is pride (the pride of others, pride in politics, one's own pride) disorienting? What encounters surprise or disorient pride, knocking it off of its tracks? In the remainder of this Introduction I first discuss my methodological approach and then provide summaries of the chapters to follow.

IV. A Note on Method

In *Ordinary Affects*, Kathleen Stewart describes her experience of writing the book as "a continuous, often maddening, effort to approach the intensities of the ordinary through a close ethnographic attention to pressure points and forms of attention and attachment" (5). The process of writing this dissertation has been characterized by several years of apprehending and working through the points of pressure and forms of attention and attachment of the intensities surrounding pride. Stewart's text is written as a series of stunningly evocative vignettes, an "assemblage of disparate scenes" that begin to form the contours of ordinary affects in all of their multiplicities (7). What *Ordinary Affects* taught me is the cumulative power of an "assemblage of disparate scenes," for when they are taken together, the resonances and points of connection joining the seemingly disparate begin to emerge.

Reflecting on the future of affect studies, Clough (2010) states that researching affect requires "experimentation in methodology" (228). This project uses pride as an analytic through which questions surrounding the connectedness between individual

feeling, collective feeling, and affective politics can be examined. Given the aims of the project, I employed a number of overlapping and complimentary methodologies keen to both the material and discursive components of political affect, including discourse analysis, participant observation, and interviews. Throughout the research and writing phases of this project, I have continued to grapple with the methodological challenges posed by the tension between affect and discourse. As such, the lens through which the different data sets were analyzed and read became more nuanced, clear, and specific to the each method. Whether I was choosing documents based on their articulation of the gap between lived experience and dominant discourses in chapter two, to the affective lens through which interview transcripts were attuned in chapter four, to the reading of the posters in chapter five, each mode of data collection (and analysis) was attentive to that which exceeded the purely textual.

Chapters two to five are structured around an event, both colloquially and in the Deleuzean sense, that highlights a particular element of pride and its (affective) politics. These events clearly show the complexity of the affective politics of pride as it incorporates individual experience, collective sense-making and histories, and structural realities. As such, various methods were deployed appropriate to the specificities of each event.

Chapter two traces pride from below as emerging from the gap between lived experience and dominant discourse. Feminist Foucauldian scholar Johanna Oksala (2011) has explored the tension between experience and discourse as one of political potentiality. As such, I looked to the role in political and activist writing in attempting to articulate this gap, thus moving affect out of the body and into the discursive realm.

Given my focus on Black pride from below and queer pride from below, I gathered documents specific to each of these collective identities. In the case of Black pride from below I analyzed the writings of Frantz Fanon and then selected texts from Black political activists in the U.S. including Robert Williams, whose work influenced the Black Panthers. To trace an emergence of queer pride from below I focused on the content of the first national lesbian publication, *The Ladder*, which circulated between 1956-1970. For each case, particular texts were chosen for the way they attempted to articulate the tension between lived experiences of oppression and dominant understandings.

For chapter three, which explores Beyoncé's 2016 Superbowl performance, I looked to various ethnographic sites, including activist blogs, new articles, and websites. I read the event through an affective-political lens, asking after the role affect plays in these texts, and the way they "emerge from, and play a role in, the changing historical, political, and social context" (Saukko, 2003: 99). However, this is not a straightforward cultural reading. My emphasis on political affect and the Deleuzian event shifted how I apprehended the Superbowl performance and its effects. Dyke (2013) describes this shift as moving "from that which occurs… towards the inside of what occurs—the event" (152). Looking to the inside of what occurs led me to ask what histories and encounters conditioned the event, as well as how it affected audiences.

In that chapter four is structured around an actual event, a combination of theoretical and empirical data was drawn on, including blogs, YouTube video responses, and news articles. Interviews were conducted with members of Edmonton's and Toronto's queer communities who would have either a unique or expert perspective on

Gay Pride politics (both historical and contemporary). I attended several Pride events, including the Toronto's Gay Pride Parades and Trans March during World Pride in 2014, Edmonton's Gay Pride Parade between 2010-2016 with the exception of 2015. Drawing on Rachel Riedner's exploration of human-interest stories as a "particular affective representation... that is oriented to a neoliberal political economy" provides theoretical as well as methodological insights into my reading of Pride events (2015:4). Riedner's method of reading "the fragments of insubstantial, affective texts" parallels Taguchi's (2012) diffractive and Deleuzian approach to analyzing interview data through "becoming-minoritarian," which emphasizes reading beyond and past dominant identity categories and ways of meaning. Taken together, these two thinkers inform how I approach data from two textual sites in different geographical locations: 1) interview data from involved members of Edmonton's gay and queer communities and; 2) a series of texts (blogs, news stories, policy documents) revolving around the inclusions and exclusions of Toronto's trans communities from Pride Toronto. Because neoliberalism celebrates the values of inclusivity, diversity, and tolerance, the "rules" of exclusion become more covert, insidious, and evasive.

Since I am interested in the way pride is shaped and occurs outside of dominant or official Pride events and discourses, I underwent participant observation in queer and non-queer spaces that were not explicitly about Pride (coffee shops, academic talks, bars, etc.). One such space is an inner-city drop-in centre for sex workers. What began as casual employment transformed into chapter five, centering on the "event" of laughter in this space – a space that may not typically be associated with pride. To supplement the participant observation in this space I also conducted semi-structured interviews as well

as an arts-based method. Because I wanted my role as "researcher" to be as least disruptive as possible to the clients so as to not interfere with my role as support worker, I placed poster boards with prompts about their feelings on and understandings of pride on the bathroom wall.

Discussing research practice, Barad conceptualizes objectivity as a "responsibility to the entanglements of which we are a part" and recognition of what it means to be part of and close to our research in multiple ways that are potentially uncomfortable (quoted in Dolphijn & van der Tuin, 2012: 52). The responsibility to the entanglements of which we are part is particularly "fraught with moral and logistical problems" when doing work with individuals involved in street-level sex work, as researchers become inserted "into a complex constellation of ethical and political issues" (Hubbard and Sanders, 2003: 27; Hubbard, 1999: 235). What follows will be a brief explanation and description of how I tentatively became engaged in research with sex workers, and how I ethically negotiated, and continue to negotiate, these entanglements.

While working as a client-support worker at the house, I found that my work on pride was being heavily influenced by my time there, which, after informal discussions with staff and clients, prompted me to formally incorporate what was happening in the space into my work[5]. I used a mixed-method approach attuned to the affective (non-linguistic, vibrational, collective) components of laughter as a means to become more attuned to the embodied and relational aspects of proud feelings. These methods were not only theoretically appropriate to the research, but more importantly, to what was ethically appropriate in the space.

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[5] All fieldwork that occurred in the house was approved by the Review Ethics Board (REB) at the University of Alberta, and all identifying characteristics of clients have been omitted.

Both staff and clients were aware of the fieldwork occurring in the house, and since my interest was not sex work but how pride functioned in the space, it was collectively agreed that potential harms were minimal. I chose not to interview clients so as to not disrupt the rhythm of the space, and to ensure that my role in the space as a support worker and my relationships with clients were not put at risk. Additionally, Hubbard has questioned "the appropriateness of in-depth interviewing as the pragmatic 'critical' method" when doing research with sex work, as his "belief that conversations are necessarily equitable and empowering was quickly exposed as naïve" (Hubbard, 1999: 232-233). Instead, I relied predominantly on participant observation and an arts-based method of data collection by placing blank poster boards in the washroom.

V. Chapter Outlines

The following chapters seek to emphasize the points of connection between pride and Pride politics, through emphasis on particular encounters and events with pride. The project, admittedly, "does not find magical closure or even seek it, perhaps only because it's too busy just trying to imagine what's going on" (Stewart, 2011: 5). Across the chapters, pride is used as an entry point into examining contemporary affective politics and the sociality of affect and its transmission. The events around and through which the chapters are structured are thus used to expose paths of affect and its politics. Taken together, the chapters provide an initial blueprint for navigating contemporary affective politics.

The first chapter begins with an exploration of various discursive understandings of pride, emphasizing the importance of dosages to expressions of pride. Across nearly

all writings on pride, there is a sense that it must be kept in check, neither becoming excessive or deficient. Of course, what is missing from these accounts is the role of context, and an acknowledgement that pride waxes and wanes in particular social situations depending on the bodies and histories in question. As such, the second section of the chapter discusses Ancient Greek hubris to argue that how pride is experienced and perceived is inextricable from social norms and hierarchies, specifically those of gender, sexuality and race. The chapter ends with a discussion of the "modes" of pride that I use to keep hold of some of the affective and political variability of prides, including normative pride, pride from below, wounded pride, and neoliberal pride.

My understanding of what I am calling "normative pride" is rooted in the versions of pride reliant on Enlightenment tenets. Enlightenment understandings of pride in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stem from a privileging of the tenets of reason, objectivity, self-mastery, and Truth. If defined as an overestimation of the self, and such an overestimation is understood as vice rather than virtue, then we can see how Enlightenment understandings of pride are extensions of many religious understandings of pride. Pride is wrong because it is an insufficiently reasoned, and thus false, assessment of self (inversely, as would be self-debasement or an undervaluation of the self). When I refer to pride "from below," I'm imagining a modality of pride that emerges in response to a visceral incoherence between lived experience and dominant understandings of reality. Pride from below is imagined as springing from experiences of everyday suffering that result from a gap between body and world, lived experience and discursively constructed reality. Unlike pride from below, which emerges in response to embodied experiences (pain, suffering) that manifest in the *gap* between lived experience

and discourse (discourse understood here as networks of meaning structuring "reality"), the third mode, "neoliberal pride," gains its embodied and affective legitimacy from *a sense of coherence* with living in tune with dominant conceptions of reality. In this sense, part of the tension between pride from below and neoliberal pride stems from competing lived experiences of what constitutes "reality". Lastly, "wounded pride" generally emerges as a response to pride from below, and is usually expressed by individuals or collectives belonging to a dominant social group (e.g. Donald Trump and many Trump supporters, White Pride/white nationalism, claims to Christian Pride, men's rights, straight pride)[6]. Wounded pride stems from a sense that pride from below is an impingement on freedom and equality and therefore emphasizes sameness at the expense of historical analysis, and often claims to be the target of persecution. Taken together, these modes are useful analytically, and begin to highlight some historical and affective variations on pride and proud feeling that are discussed in subsequent chapters, specifically the modes of pride from below and neoliberal pride to Gay Pride and Black Pride.

[6] In the chapters to follow, the bulk of the analysis is indeed on the relationship between pride from below and neoliberal pride, often discussed through Gay Pride and Black Pride. A substantive analysis of wounded pride, which would most intuitively be discussed through White Pride is underdeveloped in the thesis. Since the beginning of my fieldwork in 2013, the face of white nationalism has shifted significantly. My initial attempts at contacting white supremacist groups, whether through the attendance of events or online solicitation, were unsuccessful. Information on the times and locations of White Pride rallies were unclear and difficult to trace, which I think speaks to the uncertainty, paranoia, and fear within white nationalist collectives during this period. While online discussions were relatively abundant and active, such as on the Storm Front forums, it was clear that even in the anonymous space of online forums, many of the conversations that included details about events or in-depth conversations about ideas moved from the public forum to private messaging and emailing. During this time, I started a thread on the Storm Front forum about White Pride stating that I was a researcher studying the relationship between feelings of pride, collective identity, and political beliefs and that I would be interested in further discussions with anyone who was interested. I did not receive a single response. In contrast to the access to the communities, events, and data sets (blogs, websites, YouTube videos) that I was finding in my research on Gay Pride and Black Pride, the in-roads to my analysis of White Pride seemed to lead only to dead ends.

That being said, were I to start my fieldwork now, in 2017, I have no doubts that my experience would be different. Events such as the election of Donald Trump in 2016 and the concurrent rise of the "alt-right" movement have certainly emboldened and intensified both explicit White Pride proclamations and everyday white supremacist beliefs and attitudes. This emboldening, unfortunately, has dramatically increased both the quality and quantity of available White Pride research avenues. So while an in-depth analysis of feelings of White Pride through the mode of wounded pride is currently absent from the dissertation, it is an area of strong interest for continued research on pride.

Chapter two focuses on the affective political mode of pride from below. I argue that the incoherence between lived experience and dominant discourses manifests as pain in the body, when there is incoherence between that which is within the individual and the transmission of affect that comes from without. Using the memoir of Herculine Barbin (1989), a nineteenth-century intersexed individual, I show how the disparity between meaning and (bodily) matter is felt as affective anxiety, fear, grief, and physical pain and suffering. I chose Barbin in part because this aspect of their writing has not been explored in depth, and because Barbin so clearly expresses the suffering that results from their bodily difference. In the second part of the chapter, I trace select moments of pride to demonstrate the emergence of pride from below at the level of collective identity.

The third chapter explores the affective politics of Gay Pride events to deepen understandings of neoliberal pride and its relationship to pride from below. In the first section I emphasize how the management of pride in the context of neoliberalism is constitutive of particular kinds of subjects, and that this form of proud subjectivity is often in tension with the subject of pride from below in its differing affective relationship with the political, as well as with understandings of what constitutes reality itself. The second part of the chapter examines the fraught and disruptive tendencies of pride from below to challenge and provoke dominant neoliberal understandings of pride. Pride organizations play a crucial role in the production of a particular kind of collective feeling - affective value - that aids in "aligning racialized, gendered, and sexualized life with the interest of the neoliberal political economy" (Riedner, 2015: 14). Understood as an active participant in the shaping of affective atmospheres and affect-imbued values supportive of neoliberal rationality and the state, Pride organizations deploy a series of

techniques of power to ensure a desired emotional outcome. I analyze two sites of contestation to neoliberal forms of biopower in the context of Gay Pride events: 1) interviews with members of Edmonton's queer communities variously involved with and related to the Edmonton Pride Festival Society; 2) gathered documents surrounding the ongoing tensions between Pride Toronto and Toronto's trans communities demonstrates an actualized line of flight[7] that can emerge from affective ambivalence about Pride.

In chapter four I read Beyoncé's "Formation" video and Superbowl 50 performance as an affective-political event. Drawing predominantly on Sara Ahmed's (2004) understanding of affective economies and Paula Ioanide's (2015) work on how gendered and racialized aspects of emotional economies are central to the constitution of macroeconomic interests and politics, I outline my understanding of proud economies. The article then moves into the realm of strategy, using Beyoncé's career trajectory, the "Formation" event, and the lyrics of "Formation" to exemplify the demand for the proud body to be strategic when expressing an investment in an identity and history threatening to the dominant order. To conclude, I suggest that the event's strategic disruption of proud economies triggered a temporary affective disorientation to white identities. I argue that in effect if not intent, Beyoncé's Superbowl 50 performance and release of "Formation" provides a means to better understand the importance of affective-political strategy to expressions of pride from below and to social justice struggles more generally.

Chapter five integrates a politics of laughter into a critical politics of Pride, arguing that the intensity of laughter in an inner-city safe house for street-level sex workers offers a rethinking of Pride politics at the level of the body and affect. Exploring

[7] In *A Thousand Plateaus* (2004) Deleuze and Guattari discuss lines of flight as "a rupture in the rhizome whenever segmentary lines explode" (9). As a rupture, lines of flight occur when one order or logic is abandoned for another. In *Demystifying Deleuze* (2012), Shields states that Deleuze and Guattari use the concept of lines of flight "to emphasize the power of experimentation and creativity over the static and stratified" (100).

the encounter of laughter and pride in this space provides vital insight into affective politics in general, and the affective politics of pride in particular. I use the political possibilities of laughter's multiplicity as a lens to think through the affective sociality of pride, examined through three modalities of Gilles Deleuze's conceptualization of the fold (Deleuze, 1993; 1998). Through laughter the affective component of foldings are emphasized as a means to think through the way vibrational pulls, pushes, tenors, and tones work to move individual bodies toward or away from other bodies, spaces, politics, ideas, relationships, and ways of living. The affective force of laughter works to attract and repel bodies into and out of collective folds, and is hence intimately wrapped up in processes of inclusion and exclusion. In addition to exposing sociopolitical characteristics of individuals and collectives, laughter always exists in relation to historical structures and dominant norms. Given the multiple layers of laughter, I argue that thinking through the affective politics of laughter not only has resonances with pride in its embodied, ethical, and relational functions, but that the affective politics of laughter this space offers Pride politics crucial lessons for moving forward more attuned to the ethical and practical implications of political affect[8]. Attention to the politics of laughter extends my ongoing claim that understanding the contemporary political landscape requires as much attention to bodily forces, vibrations, shocks, and spatial negotiations as to language and discourse (e.g. policy, law, explicit forms of political representation).

The project concludes by posing the question: Do Pride politics matter? To answer this question, I propose a way to clear through the thicket of affective politics and

[8] In *Political Affect: Connecting the Social and the Somatic (2009)*, John Protevi uses the term political affect to refer to the way bodies politic (individual, collective, or civic) cognize situations within historically and socially embedded contexts. He says, "the differential relations of our autonomous reactions and their approving or disapproving reception by others form patterns of acculturation by which we are gendered and racialized as well as attuned to gender, race, and other politically relevant categories. Put another way, we make our worlds in making sense of situations, but we do so only on the basis of the world in which we find ourselves" (35). It is my contention that attentiveness to this understanding of political affect, which points to the dynamism between sense-making capacities and environmental constraints, is crucial to ethical political strategies, actions, and goals across difference.

assess the variety of political deployments of pride. Drawing primarily on Teresa Brennan's understanding of affective transmission and its long-term political implications, I examine the disruption of the 2016 PRIDE Toronto parade by the political collective Black Lives Matter Toronto. By emphasizing the affective-discursive space from which pride from below emerges, I suggest that attention to the past and present circulation and dumping of negative affect is crucial to discerning contemporary political antagonisms.

Chapter One: From Pride to Pride Politics

Whether in meetings with colleagues and mentors, or conversations with friends and family, what often, if not always, comes up when discussing pride is its deep-seated religious connotations. As the deadliest of the seven deadly sins, Christian doctrine warns against pride as the gateway sin, "the essential vice, the utmost evil" and "the complete anti-God state of mind" (Lewis, 1980, 121-122). The inflated sense of self and belief in control over earthly matters are said to lead to (or follow from) a lack of faith in God. The Bible goes so far as to assert that, "Everyone that is proud in heart is an abomination to the Lorde" (Proverbs, 16:5). This sentiment is mirrored in Judaism, where "God and the proud man cannot reside together in the same world" (Jacobs, 1995). While this may seem like a rather explicit message, a closer look at pride in Judeo-Christian traditions indicates that the line between pride and self-debasement must be carefully balanced; it is not so much pride that is the issue but *how much* pride. But at what point does a series of pride moments accumulate into being prideful? Hasidic Rabbi Simcha Bunem teaches a lesson titled "Two Pockets," which is a story of how he carries two pieces of paper in each of his pockets. On one piece the words "I am but dust and ashes" are written, and on the other "For my sake the world was created" (Buber, 1991: 249-250). When the ego begins to swell, being reminded that we are nothing but dust and ashes tempers pride, but when I sink into feelings of insignificance, remembering that God created the world for me can rescue me from feelings of worthlessness. In Buddhist philosophies, pride is understood as a positive valuation of self that is often based on devaluing others; it is an attachment to self that can result in detachment from others (Aronson, 2004: 74-75). Thus, what the Buddhist wariness of pride points to is its consequences for social

connection. This is implicit in Christian texts as well; self-glorification can lead to the resentment of (social, economic, political) boundaries, real or perceived. Sands, for instance, who distinguishes pride from self-respect, says that "The proud, however, are too self-absorbed to empathize with other people" (2010: 45). If the consequences of pride include social disconnection, it is a problem of both quantity and quality.

Unsurprisingly, religious and philosophical understandings of pride bleed into one another, sharing several commonalities. However, while the sociality of pride is briefly acknowledged, what remains under-examined is the way individual feeling is shaped according to social and political realities, and in many cases, established social hierarchies. In this chapter, I explore the discursive rendering of pride in various historical, religious, and philosophical contexts, arguing that such an exploration exposes the deep relationality of pride, thus decentering ideas about pride as an individual trait accessible to all. The first section of the chapter examines Ancient Greek understandings of hubris. I begin here to set up a conception of pride as inextricably gendered, classed, and, implicated in issues of citizenship. As a means to examine the relationship between individual, collective and political pride, I've constructed different 'modes' through which pride operates: normative pride, pride from below, neoliberal pride, wounded pride. In the latter half of the chapter I outline these modes of pride and continue to work with them for the remainder of the project. In the chapters that follow I use the tensions between these modes of pride to think through contemporary affective politics in the context of shifting neoliberal hegemonies.

I. Ancient Greek Hubris

For Aristotle (350 BCE), "the underlying motivation of hubristic behaviour is the

affirmation of one's superiority by disgracing or humiliating another person" (Cohen, 1998: 9). In other words, what makes crimes of hubris distinct from crimes of sexual or physical assault is that it "involves conduct engaged in for the pleasure it brings" (Cohen, 1995: 145.). Unlike acts of anger, which can emerge from a plurality of causes and no clear desire, acts of hubris arise from an unrestrained desire for domination. Aristotle goes on to say that the most privileged ("monarchs, tyrants, and the wealthy") are the most likely to engage in acts of hubris, which raises questions surrounding the relationship between the amount of power one holds and the propensity to desire the feeling of pleasure that accompanies domination. In the *Politics*, Aristotle advises rulers to avoid two acts of hubris in particular: 1) the corporal punishment of free men; 2) the sexual abuse of children (Cohen, 1998: 8). The reason to avoid these acts is not based on moral or ethical grounds, but on the fact that they are the most likely to incite public outcry and revenge. Further, and perhaps more problematically, he goes on to advise the ruler who has sexually assaulted children to claim to have been acting out of passion, indicating that hubris does not accompany other sex acts (lust is not hubris). Cohen states that someone "who comes to believe that he submitted to someone who was not motivated by passion regards himself as the object of hubris" (1991: 174). The gendered language of this sentence is not accidental - ancient crimes of hubris tended to occur between free men, or between a free man and a child (most often a boy child), while the rape of women was thought to be the result of lust.

In Cohen's (1991) article on the Athenian law of hubris, he argues that the connection between hubris, sexual acts, and the social context has not been fully recognized (171). He examines the usages of hubris by surveying the principle Athenian prose authors in

the fourth and fifth centuries, finding that nearly 20% of all usages refer to various kinds of sexual aggression, misconduct, or violations of sexual honour; just over half of the passages refer to hubris in a general way without naming the act in question, and just over 15% referred to physical assaults (Cohen, 1991: 173). For a citizen man to be penetrated was to "resign one's own standing as a citizen" (Dover, 1989: 104). Anal sex was not viewed as a possible expression of love, but an act of aggression and a demonstration of power by the active partner (104). As such, hubris could be committed against a man by "using men as women" or subjecting them to sexual passivity, which was always a dishonor (Cohen, 178). One could then be accused of committing hubris by "demeaning a citizen by treating him as only a woman or slave should be treated" (182). However, sexual assault was not the only act that could potentially result in a charge of hubris.

During antiquity, the crime of hubris included "any kind of behaviour in which one treats other people just as one pleases, with an arrogant confidence that one will escape paying any penalty for violating their rights and disobeying any law or moral rule accepted by society" (Dover, 1989: 34). In Athenian courts, the word and its various forms were used to describe any outrageous, arrogant or contemptuous behavior, and carried a "high emotive charge" (35). Ancient hubris was blasphemous - it flew in the face of the power and authority of the gods and goddesses. In *Greek Homosexuality*, Dover states that:

> This prosecution was not a private lawsuit for damages, but an indictment for an offence against the community as a whole…Indictments for hubris coexisted with private claims for damages arising out of simple assault, but to establish that an act of

> violence was hubris rather than assault it was necessary to persuade the jury that it proceeded from a certain attitude and disposition on the part of the accused: that is to say, from a wish on his part to establish a dominant position over his victim in the eyes of the community, or from a confidence that by reason of wealth, strength or influence he could afford to laugh at equality of rights under the law and treat other people as if they were chattels at his disposal. (1989: 35)

Thus, hubris was a prosecutable attitude that could be attached to another crime, such as theft, assault, or coercion. Significantly, hubris was a crime against the entire community, one that stemmed from a desire for dominance, and confidence that one was entitled to violate the principle of equality, and in doing so, make a mockery of it. Being on the receiving end of an act of hubris left a mark of dishonour on the victim, one that affected their social status until the act could be redressed either through lawful or unlawful retribution. Hubris was an abuse of power that one had to be held accountable for. What makes this period during which hubris was a criminal offense an interesting moment in the history of pride is that it is not the act itself that is criminal, but the way the community interprets the intent of said act according to dominant social norms. How an individual expression of pride is felt by the dominant group – how pride affects *others* – exposes its political content, and how bodies are *affected* by pride is contingent on political categories (race, class, gender, ability) and hierarchies. Unlike most legal definitions (in both ancient and contemporary legal systems) it appears that the specific meaning of hubris was intentionally kept ambiguous. In Athenian law, the jury was made up of a large body of lay jurors who were responsible for deciding a particular case; as such, the ambiguity of the legal definition of hubris both enabled and demanded a

plurality of subjective interpretations of each particular charge of hubris. Cohen aptly summarizes this situation by stating:

> The point to be emphasized, however, is that in Athenian law hubris was defined by the normative expectations of those citizens who represented the polis on a given day. Athenian orators, well aware of these facts, played upon the institutionalized ambiguity of concepts like hubris and upon the normative expectations of their audience. (1991: 179)

While crimes of hubris no longer exist, and contemporary pride is generally championed rather than met with suspicion, what this look at hubris tells us is that social responses to pride are inseparable from the very particular social norms of that time and place. That is, the extent to which pride is acceptable, and accepted, by the general public is dependent on the social location of the one expressing pride, those whom it is affecting, and the social context in which it is expressed. The emphasis on hubris as an insult to the community, and to the state, shifts understandings of pride as an innate quality or one that can be cultivated as a means to social survival and flourishing.

Throughout the literature on pride in several traditions, there is a recognition that pride swells and contracts, and as such, must be regulated accordingly. What is at stake - personally, politically, ethically - if this "art of dosages" (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004: 160) is mismanaged and swings out of balance, becoming either excessive or deficient? How is the notion of regulated/regulating pride deeply gendered, classed, and racialized? In the following section, I outline four modes of pride that are meant to capture the affective political registers of various expressions of pride and to complicate the straightforwardness of proud feelings. Given the proliferation of pride across historical,

experiential and political registers, these modes are used to provide some analytical clarity and argumentative coherence across the chapters that follow.

II. Modes of Pride

In that a "mode" can indicate a variety of something (e.g. modes of game play), a form or style of expression, or a way of doing something (e.g. work mode, party mode), the modes of pride I have developed draw attention to the many ways pride can be done, as well as to its deep relationality and historicity, often expressed along gendered, racial, and classed axes. I have constructed these modes as a means to decenter common sense understandings of pride as an individual trait, and to provide a springboard from which competing claims to collective pride can be assessed. The four modes differ from one another both affectively—the bodily intensities that are "captured" and productive of pride vary—and politically—since the affective capriciousness of pride leads to a plethora of political claims, relationships to the status quo, and imagined futures. Thus they are intended to truly be "affective-political" modes that resist the possibility of evacuating the affective from the political, or vice versa. The modes can be enacted by an individual or collective, and occur on micro- and/or macro-political levels. Further, these modes need not be explicitly connected to an identity movement to be enacted; White Pride, for example, is expressed in implicit ways on an ongoing basis without being recognized as such by the expressers. On the other hand, some queers face danger expressing pride in the wrong place at the wrong time (or, perhaps can only express pride safely in limited spaces). From the perspective of dominant white publics, Black Pride is perceived as inherently dangerous and violent. Whether or not pride is explicitly made

political (e.g. Gay Pride, Black Pride) its expression impacts others, and these impacts are entirely dependent on social hierarchies and one's location within them. They are neither discrete nor pure categories, nor are they permanent; an individual or group may move through multiple modes in a short period of time (as they move through several social spaces in a day), or even enact them simultaneously (as when moments of pride from below overlap or resonate with neoliberal pride). They also exist in relation to one another; pride from below is often a response to assertions of normative pride, wounded pride is triggered by pride from below, and neoliberal pride gains its legitimacy from strategically incorporating and rejecting elements of pride from below as well as wounded pride.

Normative pride

"...as folly is the foundation of Pride, the natural superstructure of it is madness" (Tatler no.27)

As is found in Ancient Greek understandings, Enlightenment thinkers similarly espouse a concern with pride upsetting the natural balance of equality. Expressing pride in an uncontrolled or unjust manner can foster a social state of disequilibrium whereby one individual or group thinks of themselves as above others (both through inflated importance and its attendant forms of devaluation of others). In the *Leviathan*, Hobbes discusses how pride breaches the moral law of equality (1090: 103). For Hume, pride is a violent passion, but one that can be managed—"the world naturally esteems a well-regulated pride" (1888: 603). Distinguishing between pride and hubris, Isenberg states:

> There is a "pride" which is identical with the possession of a certain gift - like the proud bearing of the race horse, which is nothing but vitality itself, or like the pride which the birds take in flight. Pride is immanent in the prance of health and

> of intelligence, as in the employment of any talent or skill… [It] is the reflex sentiment which accrues with the consciousness of what is already an advantage (1949: 1).

What this understanding of pride shares with a Spinozan conception is that the reflection on the quality that pride implies is pleasurable. Isenberg's understanding of "natural" pride is the same as Spinoza's self-satisfaction, which is a "just" estimation of one's powers. Further, Isenberg thinks that where this swings out of balance is when it reaches consciousness, thus altering the quality itself. The unself-conscious enactment of one's strong qualities or advantages is a "natural" expression of pride, an unabashed and unhindered expression of one's capacities and bodily vitality. Where pride becomes problematic is when one reflects on that good quality and considers the power granted by said advantage That is, it is not the expression of advantages or strong traits in themselves, but the way stewing in and fixating on those qualities transforms their very shape.

In contrast to a well-regulated, reasonable pride in one's natural abilities, or what I think of as normative pride, Enlightenment thinkers warn against pride as a form of insanity resulting from an extreme lack of reason. Hobbes thought pride led to insanity and a dejection of mind (1909: 59), and Spinoza similarly understood pride to be indicative of "the greatest weakness of mind" (EIV, lvi). Spinoza defined pride as "thinking more highly of oneself than is just, out of love for oneself" that could lead to contempt for others (EIV, lv). Spinozan pride is "a species of madness, wherein a man dreams with his eyes open" (EIII, xxvi). Indicative of "extreme ignorance of self," and "extreme infirmity of spirit," pride can have negative social consequences, including

underestimating others and only wanting to be in the company of those who do not disrupt the delusion of pride: those who "make him insane instead of merely foolish" (EIV, lv-lvi). Importantly, pride is pleasurable, whereas its opposite, self-abasement, is a painful feeling of thinking too meanly of oneself (EIII, xxviii). For Spinoza, a feeling can only be restrained or removed by way of a stronger affect (EIV). Again, the issue of quantity is crucial here. Thinking *too* highly of oneself is the problem; thinking appropriately highly of oneself, or having self-satisfaction (*acquiescentia*), is "the highest thing for which we can hope" (Den Uyl, 1989: 378).

Putting issues of cultural and/or geographical differences aside for a moment, there is a way in which it may seem like commonsense to point to a confident gait, eyes focused, shoulders back, chin up, as an enactment of a "natural" sort of pride. In contrast, one can imagine the difference between this gait and a swagger or strut, which oozes with awareness. This self-consciousness is both spurred by and productive of a different psychic and affective state than the "natural" proud walk. According to Isenberg's distinction, one kind of walk is more purely embodied, authentic, and regulated, while the other is perverted or distorted by the imposition of self-consciousness. But what happens to this distinction when complicated by deep-seated social difference and inequality? One doesn't have to push this idea too far to account for the ways it is easier for some bodies than others to enact unencumbered embodiment, or at least appear as such.

The swagger and strut, for instance, have very particular gendered, racial, and class connotations. The idea of the natural and self-assured proud walk is descriptively and symbolically coded as masculine; generally, men are socialized to relate to their bodies in ways different from women, specifically, to be less affected by the gaze of others. Ideal

modes of white feminine embodiment are characterized by its heightened affective attunement to the gaze and opinions of others. As Berger bluntly puts it, "men act and women appear" (2008: 47). In her famous 1980 essay, "Throwing Like A Girl," Iris Marion Young analyzes feminine bodily comportment, arguing that it is marked by an existential hesitation that comes from understanding oneself as both subject and object (when swinging a bat, for example, girls tend to exhibit a lack of flow and focus that manifests when they are simultaneously imagining themselves hitting the ball and how they look while swinging). The way a woman walks is consistently judged according to the extent to which she is assumed to be seeking out (hetero-cis-male) attention, usually either trying too hard or not hard enough, but never doing it *quite* right. In each instance, her walk, in its intentionality (or, inhibited intentionality, as Young might say) likely wouldn't past the test of normative pride.

We can also think about the racial and class connotations of styles of swaggers and struts (e.g. the Italian guido, the pimp, the flamboyant gay man, the jock), as well as the social conditions that produce different modes of self-consciousness that shift how proud one's walk is perceived to be. The masculinity of men of colour is consistently judged according to the norms of white heteromasculinity, including modes of embodiment, dress, and speech. Compared to white men, the guido is excessive in his gender expression, as is the feminine gay man. Returning to women's gait, pervasive rape culture cannot be somehow extracted from how women move through the world and are perceived as sexual objects. As is the case with (physical, sexual, institutional) violence in general, street harassment is more intense—quantitatively and qualitatively—for women of colour (Davis, 1994; INCITE; stoptellingwomentosmile.com). Walking in a

self-assured manner, puffing oneself up to ward off unwanted advances, is a conscious strategic defense. The social conditions that structure how, when, and if pride can be expressed trouble the idea that some prides are 'natural' while others are not.

Struts and swaggers are thus not only *different* in their racial and class associations, but valued as less than—less pure, less real—than the idea of a natural proud walk, coded as white heteromasculine. This idea(l) of the embodiment of ideal white hetermasculinity as "less affected" has implications for contemporary political engagement and belief, such as the devaluation (and dismissal) of being affected or emotional. One of my points here is that this notion of neutral, natural, or pure embodiment affect is itself a political construct with persistent political, ethical, and material implications. Another is the way that embodiment, affect, and politics are interwoven.

At the level of the collective, discourses of natural pride is understood as an individual trait, and the social world as inherently balanced. More often than not, expressions of pride that are deemed as "excessive" or superficial are those that deviate from the norm and/or challenge the status quo and entrenched social hierarchies. In the context of Ancient Greece it likely would have been viewed as unnatural for a woman to take more pride in how fast she can run than in being a mother, and for a slave to take more pride in the weight of a cart they could carry than their oratory gifts. While in theory all of these things are "natural" embodied acts, what is natural, balanced, and respectable is judged according to one's place in a social world; what is deemed hubristic for some is viewed as natural, balanced, and even expected for another.

Pride 'From Below'

Pride from below differs from normative pride in several ways. First, while normative pride is understood as balanced from the perspective of dominant society, pride from below is considered excessive and even dangerous. In the previous section I emphasized the implicit relationship between acceptable expressions of pride and norms of gender, race, and sexuality. Pride from below differs most starkly from normative pride in its explicit politicization. Whereas normative pride appears apolitical or as an expression of "just the way one is," pride from below is often experienced as not only radical in its political thrust, but also unjust, and as upsetting the natural state of things.

Affectively, pride from below is an outlet of negative, oppressive intensity from the body that is directed toward an aspect of dominant society. Prior to its release from the body, it is felt as a pain, suffering, fear, and anxiety that manifests from incoherence between one's experience and the status quo. In contrast to the apoliticism of normative pride in its faith in existing social norms and hierarchies, pride from below is a mode of affective politics that explicitly problematizes dominant norms and structures, seeking their transformation or dismantling. For example, the emergence of the feminist movement can be attributed in part to a visceral sense of women's oppression, from a gap between lived experience and patriarchal discourses that were created by and for men. Part of the work of this movement was to name these experiences and in doing so move the negative affect of inequality out of the body and into the political realm with the aim of bringing about change. Still today, women who express pride in being feminists – or a version of woman that does not cohere with dominant understandings of white femininity - is generally viewed as being extreme, political, and even hateful and divisive. It is a

political identity that, for the most part, clashes with common sense conceptions of gender (and, at its best, race, class, sexuality, ability, etc.) and as such is seen as unnatural, defective, or simply "too much." In the following chapter I explore the emergence of pride from below in detail, emphasizing the role of activist writing in moving oppressive affect out of the body and into the realm of the political.

Wounded Pride

As previously mentioned, wounded pride emerges in response to other modes of pride, most often pride from below. In that pride from below challenges the status quo on the basis of embodied pain that manifests from the gap between body and dominant discursive realities, it calls into question the presumed fairness and equality of normative pride. Wounded pride is triggered into being when pride from below is experienced as upsetting the natural balance of the social hierarchy. Those in the mode of wounded pride can outright deny or minimize structural inequality from which pride from below springs, and, as a result, react with hostility to discussions of structural privilege and oppression. Like pride from below, those who are in the wounded mode of pride desire social change, however, they have a very different set of political demands and vision of what transformation should look like than those in the mode of pride from below.

White Pride or white nationalist rhetoric, for example, is founded on the belief that, internationally, white people are not only superior, but, increasingly, oppressed. The idea of white oppression can only be "evidenced" through examples where other marginalized groups (people of colour, immigrants, queers, Jewish people) are supposedly given unfair advantages. Anti-immigration rhetoric continually claims that

the “hand outs” given to immigrants are unjust given the suffering of citizens. Those against Gay Pride events ask, “Where is my pride? There isn’t a parade for straight people or tall people or people with red hair, so why should there be a parade for queers?” Opponents of Black Lives Matter more often than not are accompanied by support of police, exemplified through hashtags such as #BlueLivesMatter. Each of these examples, as varied as they are, share a few commonalities: 1) they deny structural oppression (of immigrants, of queers, of Black folks); 2) they emerge in defense of a dominant group (citizens, heterosexuals, white people, police) and; 3) in defending political categories attached to dominance and power, there is a melancholic desire for things to either remain as they are and should be, or to return to a time when these identities were not challenged. So long as pride from below does not emerge, wounded pride remains dormant. It is only when pride from below becomes actualized, individually or collectively, that wounded pride is triggered into action. In chapter four I discuss the relationship between pride from below, wounded pride, and neoliberal pride through an affective political reading of Beyoncé’s Superbowl 2016 performance.

Neoliberal Pride

Unlike pride from below, which emerges in response to embodied experiences (pain, suffering, rage, fear) that manifest in the *gap* between lived experience and discourse, neoliberal pride is experienced as coherence or comfort with dominant discursive realities. Exploring the way neoliberalism targets subjects through affect cannot be fully understood outside of questions of biopower. Foucault emphasizes that way governmentality and biopower must be examined together: “it seems to me that the

analysis of biopolitics can only get under way when we have understood the general regime of this governmental reason" (Foucault, 2008: 21-22). That is, understanding how neoliberalism works exposes "what biopolitics is" (ibid. 22). Oksala (2013) has argued for an understanding of neoliberalism as the new hegemonic form of biopolitics, in that it powerfully mutates the techniques and methods by which the biopolitical end of maximal life (as well as "the right to one's body, to health, to happiness, to satisfaction of needs") can be achieved (61-62). The primary means to biopolitical ends is economic growth, or what Foucault calls "the one true and fundamental social policy" of neoliberalism (2008: 144). As such, any real or perceived limitation on or hesitation regarding the value of economic growth "is implicitly construed as a threat to human life, and thus to the exercise of biopower as well" (Fletcher, 2010).

Because economic growth is the end to which all means should be directed in neoliberalism, the spheres into which it seeps are historically unprecedented. One of the main distinctions that is often made between classical liberalism and neoliberalism is the way the latter penetrates into fields previously thought to be external to the market. The extent to which neoliberal processes affect subjectivity can be best explained through the theory of human capital. The theory of human capital, which Foucault refers to as the "essential epistemological transformation of these neo-liberal analyses" (2008: 222) emerged in the 1960s and early 1970s, primarily through the work of Chicago School scholars Gary Becker and Theodore Schultz. This theory breaks down the distinction between labour and capital through reconceptualizing the Marxist notion of labour-power as "capital-ability, which…receives a certain income that is a wage…so that the worker himself appears as a sort of enterprise of himself" (Foucault, 2008: 225). According to

this model, the worker no longer sells their labour power "to a capital invested in an enterprise" because they themselves become "enterprise-units" to invest in: "*Homo economicus* is an entrepreneur…of himself" (Foucault, 2008: 225- 226). Through the idea of human capital, "It became possible to generalize the economic form of the market throughout the social body, including relationships that were not conducted, and therefore not usually analyzed through monetary exchanges" (Oksala, 2013: 67). Market rationality thus expands into the realm of human relationships, where the quality and quantity of time and energy we choose to spend with our friends, family, partners, and colleagues become forms of "cost" calculated in terms of returns (68). Wendy Brown has emphasized the distinction between the "economization" of historically non-economic spheres and the "marketization" of those spheres, particularly as it relates to human capital, has significant implications for understanding neoliberal pride (2015: 31). The returns on human capital cannot be understood as money or income but instead as maximizing capital grown or appreciated (Feher, 2009: 26). The speculative nature of one's relationship to their own human capital, as opposed to the possessive relationship of the free labourer and their labour power (34), indicates the constant risk and instability of one's value, as well as its conjectural nature. Because one can never truly know the ways one's self-investments are affecting one's value or appreciation, one must consistently act in ways, and make choices based on the possibilities of attracting future investors:

> an investor in his or her human capital is concerned less with maximizing the returns on his or her investments – whether monetary or psychic – than with appreciating, that is, increasing the stock value of, the capital to which he or she is

> identified. In other words, insofar as our condition is that of human capital in a neoliberal environment, our main purpose is not so much to profit from our accumulated potential as to constantly value or appreciate ourselves – or at least prevent our own depreciation. (Feher, 2009: 27)

The subjects defined by human capital, understood as a form of subjectivity, are compelled to constantly behave in ways that either increase or maintain their sense of value at the expense of ever feeling "depreciated." Drawing on the connection Foucault made between neoliberal policies and Skinnerian psychology in *The Birth of Biopolitics*, Feher links discourses of "self-esteem" to the self-appreciation of human capital (2009: 29). Another way of understanding Feher's understanding of (self-)appreciation is through the notion of *confidence* (Anderson, 2012). Interestingly, in contrast to the speculative nature of human capital, confidence connotes a sense of assuredness, certainty, or trust. In the context of the competitive instability of neoliberalism, "being confident becomes a productive activity" through which one can gain a sense of stability in an otherwise volatile world (39). Self-esteem, self-appreciation, and confidence are all terms generally associated with pride: to have pride in oneself is to move through the world with a confidence (or, at the very least, to be perceived as such) that is required to succeed in a highly precarious market. Pride is a valuable neoliberal trait because it can be converted into market activities, and channeled in the service of the market. What does it mean when proud intensities are deemed desirable insofar as they can be co-opted into and by profit? In terms of governance, it means that:

> it is therefore possible to govern subjects seeking to increase the value of their human capital, or more precisely, to act on the way they govern themselves, by

> inciting them to adopt conducts deemed valorizing and to follow models for self-valuation that modify their priorities and inflect their strategic choices (Feher, 2009: 28)

In "Self Appreciation; or, The Aspirations of Human Capital," Feher understands human capital as a dominant subjective form that is a defining feature of neoliberalism: "It now refers to all that is produced by the skill set that defines me. Such that everything I earn – be it salary, returns on investments, booty, or favors I may have incurred – can be understood as the return on human capital that constitutes me" (2009: 24-26). The thorough incorporation of human capital into *homo economicus* means that this subject is not a figure of exchange, or even interest, but one that perpetually seeks out his own value appreciation through competitive positioning (Brown, 2015: 33). The subjective implications of the shift to finance capital are expanded by Feher (2009), whose attention to "appreciation" is critical to understanding the proud subject of neoliberalism. Subjects are governed according to the extent to which their choices – ranging from what to have for breakfast to which jobs to apply for – impact their stock value. In the context of neoliberalism, feelings of pride are cultivated and reinforced through the enhancement of one's appreciation or value.

In the context of structured competition where neoliberal subjectivity is synonymous with 'accepting reality' (Foucault, 2008: 269), values, choices, and ways of living that do not cohere with neoliberal logic are delegitimized and seen as being out of step with reality or "the way things are." Neoliberal pride is accompanied by an affective sense of superiority that is established through the certainty that all choices – practical,

ethical, political - should be made according to economic losses and gains, and that those who do not accept this reality are somehow behind or confused.

For example, as will be discussed in chapter four, in the context of Gay Pride events, the proud neoliberal subject feels attuned to the reality in which contemporary Pride events occur. Celebrating pride acceptably means expressing happiness and gratefulness (about acceptance and progress), largely through consumption, while the unacceptable components of pride—anger, radical politics, and negativity—are co-opted, managed, and tolerated, but ultimately are delegitimized as being "out of touch" and disruptive.

III. Conclusion

This chapter began with an exploration of the discursive rendering of pride across various historical and religious literatures. I then moved into a discussion of Ancient Greek hubris, arguing that from antiquity to the present, the acceptability of expressions of pride are dependent on dominant norms of gender, sexuality, and race. Pride is not a trait that one either has or does not have, nor is it an emotion that is straightforwardly a virtue or vice. The proper management of pride must be considered in relation to the social positioning of both the one expressing pride and the one perceiving that expression. In the latter part of the chapter I briefly outlined the affective political modes of pride I will use in the chapters to follow.

I use these modes to think through the notion of a fair, just, and reasonable dosage of pride that is emphasized by religious texts and Enlightenment thinkers alike, alongside more contemporary collective political claims to pride that began to emerge as a response

to structural inequalities. How does the systemic, collective abasement of particular groups alter the form, quality, and quantity of individual pride? If pride is a form of "madness" and a "waking dream," a necessary madness for bringing about social change, how does that alter how we think about the championing of reason devoid of feeling? Is pride from below always a form of madness? Is that which is experienced as madness and irrationality from the perspective of dominance and privilege necessary to ignite social change? If this is the case, how then do we go about making important ethical distinctions and analytical frames through which to assess competing political claims from below on the contemporary political landscape? In what follows, I explore these questions by looking to different proud events, emphasizing the relationship between pride from below and neoliberal pride in particular. Exploring these events helps to add texture to contemporary understandings of affective politics in contexts of neoliberal restructuring, specifically for questions of social justice.

Chapter Two: Tracing Pride from below

In the previous chapter I outlined an understanding of pride as inextricable from normative expectations and social norms of gender, sexuality, race, and class. I ended the chapter by sketching various modes through which pride operates, including normative pride, pride from below, wounded pride, and neoliberal pride. This chapter expands on the historical trajectory of emergent pride discourses as they relate to affective politics in the present. I extend my discussion of pride from below by drawing on select historical moments to frame the individual and collective emergence of pride from below in particular times and places, tracing it to its multiple contemporary usages, specifically highlighting the relationship between embodiment, affect, politicization, and pride. Linking these historical moments or proud "events" to the present enhances understandings of how pride operates as both affective and discursive power as it circulates through bodies, and how it is mobilized in a myriad of ways. Further, tracing moments of pride from below's emergence can facilitate better apprehensions of contemporary affective politics. This tracing of pride from below, through the lens of affective politics, tells us about the way the relationship between bodily intensities and dominant norms structure the emergence of political collectives, resurfacing collectives, and collectives that have not yet emerged. To be clear, I am not tracing a history of Pride movements but moments in which pride—or what is named pride—is mobilized through complex layers of affective intensity and to various political ends. Neither is this a history of "Pride politics," but a consideration of Pride politics through an affective-discursive lens by way of attention to events and moments where lived, affective, experiences of oppression are actualized as political moments. Such a sketch contributes to

contemporary understandings of the relationship between pride, as a capture of various bodily intensities, and the multitude of political claims that are being made through its mobilization. My emphasis on what I am calling pride from below points to the way that something we understand as "pride" emerges into the discursive realm as a result of the bodily intensities (suffering, pain, anxiety) caused by the gap between the affective and discursive. Understood in this way, this mode of pride is an attempt to mend that gap, and mitigate suffering caused by the tension between affective realms and available discursive articulations. To make this argument, I draw on literatures that articulate the conflict between lived experience and existing discourses, arguing that these writings do the political work of igniting and gathering the bodily intensity that is crucial to the forging and dissemination of political discourses of pride that emerge as a response to structural inequalities.

In the first section I give an account of the transition from (and dynamic relationship between) individual proud feelings and collective Pride politics, and argue that the psycho-affective pain and suffering that results from the tension between lived experience and dominant discourse is a condition of possibility for what is currently understood as pride from below. Central to this argument is an interest in the way bodies are affected by and affect power, the way bodies speak back to power, and at times speak for us. I turn to feminist theorists who recognize the entanglement of affect, embodied experience, and structural power relations to outline my understanding of suffering, and then discuss the case of Herculine Barbin, a nineteenth-century hermaphrodite, as an exemplar of the corporeal and psychological suffering that manifests when experience and power clash. Barbin's written articulation of their own suffering epitomizes the way

incoherence between lived experience and dominant discursive realities manifests as pain, which I argue is one impetus for the forging of collective claiming claims to a right to pride from below. This gap, and the desire or need for its mending, often through writing or political activist work, is one impetus for the forging of collective pride from below.

In the second part of the chapter I shift to an exploration of different moments where pride from below emerged as a result of political writing that ignited collective affect. I begin with Robert Weltsch's impassioned speech to the Jewish people to wear the yellow badge with pride and then move into the emergence of Black pride from below and queer pride from below, respectively. In each case, activist writing plays a key function in moving the intensity of oppression out of the body and into the discursive realm where it becomes political.

I. Mending the Gap

Feminist and critical race scholarship on the politics of embodiment is vast, and countless feminist theorists from varying disciplinary locations have pointed to, and continue to expand our understandings of, the ways bodies are affected by regimes of power (Ahmed, 2000; Alcoff, 2000; Barad, 2003; Blackman, 2008; Butler, 1993; Grosz, 1994; Scott, 1991; Shotwell, 2011; Marion-Young, 2005). In spite of their different theoretical commitments, what all of these scholars point to are the injurious corporeal consequences that result from conflict between meanings imposed by structures of power and bodily matter. I want to build on these scholars' various naming of this gap, and link the recognition of this gap as a condition for the emergence of pride from below. In *The*

Psychic Life of Power (1994) Judith Butler discusses how the obligation to be a coherent gendered subject results in melancholia for the loss of gendered possibilities. Butler does not emphasize melancholia's corporeal dimension, focusing instead on its psychic or unconscious effects, and the subjection required to become a subject. Also exploring the relationship between the psychic and the somatic through a psychoanalytic lens, Elizabeth Wilson looks to Freud's early work to think through the mysterious symptomology of conversion hysteria, defining it as "the corporeal revelation of psychic and cultural conflict" (2004: 4). In doing so she points to the way bodies manifest the clash between experience and discourse, as well as the way such manifestations evade medical understandings of what bodies can do. Wilson asserts that pain results when neurons are obliged to give up their excitation, leaving that intensity stored in the body (21). Similarly exploring the relationship between discursive demands and embodiment, but from a Foucauldian perspective, Cressida Heyes (2007) discusses the "extraordinary degree of suffering that attaches to corporeal failures that normalization has carefully called into being" (120). And lastly, in the chapter "Queer Feelings" Sara Ahmed (2004) discusses the way the accumulation of failed interpellations into dominant forms "can be experienced as bodily injury" and further, that working to approximate the dominant (heterosexual family) form "might not simply be strategic, but necessary for survival" (147, 153).

Taking on this disjuncture that I have been mapping, what she calls the "paradox of experience," or the way that lived experience is both constituted by and constitutive of discourse, Johanna Oksala draws on Foucault to outline a method of analyzing experience that takes into account regimes of truth (knowledge), relations of power

(governmentality), and subjectivation (modes of relating to oneself) that can be used to explain the discrepancy between subjective experiences and the objective knowledge of expert discourses (2004; 2011). This gap between lived experience and dominant discourses is a source of suffering for many individuals and groups as they either perpetually work (and often fail) to make their lives fit with the dominant reality, or refuse to do so and face the persistent social, psychic and material consequences. While this gap, I argue, is a significant space of pain, it is also a space of possible political resistance and transformation: "The potential for change emerges out of these fractures, from the space of critical self-reflection created by the self folding back upon itself" (Oksala, 2011: 219). Building on this insight, I argue that the desire to rid the body of the suffering created through attempts to make sense of these fractures is an impetus to pride from below. In what follows I discuss *Herculine Barbin: Being the Recently Discovered Memoirs of a Nineteenth-Century French Hermaphrodite* (1989) to demonstrate the affective suffering that results from the gap between body and world. The memoir is a clear and painful example of the attempt to articulate that which does not yet exist in discourse. Because there was no language to describe what Barbin was experiencing, all they could express was bodily suffering. Further, Barbin knew that they existed outside of discourse, and that this rendered them as object, as inhuman.

Barbin was born in 1838 in France and in spite of their ambiguous genitals was assigned female and was socialized as a girl. In their early years, their family and peers referred to them as Alexina, they attended school in an Ursuline convent, and became a teacher after completing their studies. Barbin's memoirs are a painful reflection on their school years as particularly painful, as puberty did not accompany the same bodily

transformations as their peers, and the strict religious code violently clashed with their internal life and desires. After school they got a job as a teacher and fell in love with a colleague, Sara. However, their life continued to be a struggle with living in feminine milieus, and Barbin eventually left their job and lover, underwent a physical examination by a physician and was permitted (or obliged?) to live as a man.

In spite of, or perhaps as a result of, this transition, they committed suicide in their Paris apartment by gas stove. The beginning of the memoir states that they are twenty-five at the time of writing, which indicates that the memoir was written in the last five years of their life. Barbin's story is particularly relevant for this chapter because it is a first person account of the somatic and psychic suffering that results from a gap between lived experience and dominant, objective knowledge, and it is the political potentiality of this gap that I argue is a condition of possibility for pride from below for the individual, and, then potentially, the collective. Further, the memoir demonstrates the way bodies can resist the disciplinary demands to approximate norms.

The normalized body relies on the proper management of affective disturbances and bodily intensities, and it is the function of disciplinary power to do such managerial, organizational work at the level of bodies and bodily forces. For example, disciplinary regimes of femininity structure bodies to take up less physical and energetic space, to make less noise, and to perform as an object to be looked at by a subject. These disciplinary measures are not enforced from "without" but are internalized into the affective and muscular logics of bodies, and are crucial to the maintenance of feminine gender norms (Bartky, 1990; Young, 2005). Putting Foucault's understanding of power relations as relations of force into conversation with Deleuze's understanding of affect

opens up possibilities for thinking power relations and affective encounters as co-emergent; both affect and power emerge in an encounter in which the capacity of one is enhanced while the other is constrained. In *Foucault*, Deleuze says, "An exercise of power shows up as an affect, since force defines itself by its very power to affect other forces (to which it is related) and to be affected by other forces" adding complexity to the way power relations are in a perpetual affective struggle to normalize bodies (1988: 71).

Herculine Barbin exposes this ongoing battle of encounters between (external) power and the body, as they poignantly demonstrate the psychic and affective struggle for bodies that do not "fit." Barbin vehemently resists the notion of a "true sex", and while Foucault views this struggle as a case that demonstrates the ways in which various institutional powers (religious, medical, legal) fight for dominance and legitimization, he does not address the vital role of bodily experiences of pain, anxiety and suffering (as results of the disciplinary processes) (1989). Barbin describes not only their[9] life experiences of existing in between and across coherent categories of being, but also the accumulated negative psychic and bodily effects of living "incoherently."

Barbin gives a detailed and emotive explanation of the psychic and bodily suffering that result from being bound by discourses that do not capture they are[10]. They consistently makes reference to their overwhelming anxiety, and their "weak" and "feeble" physical condition (Barbin, 1989: 10). Barbin connects their condition of "chronic ill health" with the scrutiny and gazes directed at their non-normative physical

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[10] It is noteworthy that Barbin's writing style, which emphasizes feelings, affects and emotions, and which illuminates the reality of suffering, is referred to by Foucault as, "turgid and outdated" (1989: xiii). The stereotypical "feminine" style of the book, and the "world of feelings" seems not only uninteresting, but also unimportant, to Foucault (especially considered in contrast to the more rational and methodical writing in the Pierre Riviere memoir, which Foucault applauded) (1989: xiii) Despite Foucault's consistent attempts to undo established ways of knowing and being, it seems as if he considers the realms of emotion and feeling to be typically feminine and frivolous, and therefore less worthy of scholarly attention (which is itself a form of discursive violence). Foucault does not consider that Barbin's experiences and style of writing may be indicative of the ways in which one cannot speak "outside" of discourse, and is thus required to use the discourses available in their socio-historical moment.

appearance that they state, “struck the eye, as I realized every day” (27). While Barbin states that their appearance struck the eyes of others, the language of striking points to the way that looks literally impact the body. Frustrated and appalled by the abuses of male power as seen through the eyes of a “woman,” Barbin struggles to spatially and affectively navigate both worlds as both/neither man or woman. The act of crossing the threshold into the convent evoked an “inexpressible uneasiness”: “It was pain, it was shame” (25). Barbin articulates this experience as both “pain”, which points to the physical body, and “shame”, an emotional feeling (although, recent scholarship has explored the affective dimension of shame, as like embarrassment, it registers on the skin and body) (Sedgwick and Frank, 1995; Probyn, 2005). While others appeared to experience the convent as joyful, Barbin states that against their own will, they instinctively “remained sad, terror-stricken!” and suffered greatly living in such a way (26). Throughout their life, Barbin’s body expressed the pain and resistance that their environment would not allow, and that could not be expressed linguistically.

In addition to the suffering caused by navigating the worlds of man and woman, Barbin also struggles with articulating their non-normative desire within the constraints of religious morality. Overwhelmed with “immoral” desires that are “difficult to describe”, Barbin experiences “total confusion” and is troubled by the bodily sensations that desire produces in them (1989: 33). Unable to articulate her seemingly “unnatural” sexual desires because of lack of education and available language, Barbin feels shameful and guilty for their charge: “I came to the point of blaming myself for them like a crime” (33). While the experience of desiring Sara, their lover, felt natural, Barbin could not ease the feelings of guilt and shame that their strict religious code, and traditional notions of

'natural' bodies and desires, imposed on them: "This mental agony was later joined by horrible physical sufferings. They were such that I believed more than once that I had reached the end of my existence" (51). Barbin's guilt not only arises from their anatomical incoherence, but from their love for Sara; feeling as if she is corrupting, damaging or depriving Sara of a "proper" life and family she could have had with a "real" man (57). Barbin's struggle to articulate the conflict between her lived reality and existing objective scientific discourses of "reason" have physical ramifications that endure until the end of their life: "This incessant struggle of nature against reason exhausts me more and more each day, and drags me with great strides toward the tomb" (103).

Barbin consistently refers to both their "instincts" and overwhelming feelings in the face of everyday life, which speaks to the ways that their body *felt* the differences that they were unable to express within existing linguistic, moral, medical and legal constructs (1989: 26). The psychic and physical effects of living a life that cannot be captured by discourse, however, is articulated by Barbin, who "was devoured by the terrible sickness of the *unknown*" (34). What is perhaps most tragic about this memoir is that Barbin was keenly aware that, to science, medicine, the law, and the world at large they was an object to be studied, poked and prodded, ridiculed and managed: "At moments I wondered if I were not the plaything of an impossible dream" (79). Barbin's struggle to exist as both/neither man or woman manifested in and through their body throughout her life as insidious bodily resistances to the imposition of discourse. As a "plaything" passed between the Church, medical authorities and the law, the realities of their pain and suffering became co-opted into struggles for knowledge and power, including their own.

Barbin's memoir was chosen for several reasons, including their clear articulation of the psychic and corporeal suffering they experienced as a result of having no external means to make sense of themselves, the way their story clearly demonstrates attempts to name the gap between body and dominant worlds, and the political importance of this sort of work. Barbin knew that their existence could not be contained within existing discursive frameworks, and further, recognizes that their difference places her outside of the category of subject and into the realm of object. The accumulation of such affective anxiety in a psyche, in a body, is deadening.

In part, this story bears repeating if only as a reminder of the suffering and premature death those who exist on the margins of meaning endure. The life of Barbin offers much to thinking about the relationship between affect, language, and politics. If strangulated affects manifest as pain, then Barbin's pain was exacerbated in part because they had no linguistic or embodied outlet. What this points to is the political significance of this linguistic outlet, as it relates to bodily affect. Given this, I want to think about the political potentiality of this gap, and the role language plays in moving intensity out of the body. However, if the linguistic capture of affect is never complete, then attempts to do so are necessarily partial. Pride is *one* discursively available articulation of this gap, one manifestation of its political potential. In the next section I explore particular moments where activists use the language of pride and connect it to a marginalized collective as a galvanizing force, conditioning the emergence of pride from below.

II. The Emergence of Pride From Below

On April 4, 1933, Robert Weltsh, editor of Berlin's *Jewish Review*, wrote a piece in response to the Nazi boycott of Jewish owned businesses, the first formal and public

act of anti-Semitism by the Nazi regime. In the editorial he refers to the Nazi actions as a deep "lesson" for German Jews who now "under attack, must learn to acknowledge themselves":

> Because the Jew did not display his Judaism with pride, because he tried to avoid the Jewish issue, he must bear part of the blame for the degradation of the Jews… The Jew is marked as a Jew. He gets the yellow badge… This regulation is intended as a brand, a sign of contempt. We will take it up and make of it a badge of honor… It was intended as dishonor. Jews, take it up, the Shield of David, and wear it with pride! (Weltsch, 1993)

While Weltsch's assignation of "blame" to German Jews is problematic to say the least, this editorial provides a rich entry point for thinking through the affective politics of pride from below, and the seriousness of its stakes. Pride is being used to spark political dissent; it is a politically potent way to name and refuse the suffering of oppression, in this case, by taking up a symbol of exclusion intended to induce collective shame, fear, and humiliation. Weltsch's call to arms is an adamant refusal to accept the rampant spread of anti-Semitism, a refusal to live in fear, a refusal to remain silent and composed, a refusal to accept that this version of reality is acceptable. Instead, pride is used as an antidote to the negative affective assaults endured by Jewish people.

It is important to note that Weltsch's statement was released years before wearing the yellow badge was enforced by the Nazi regime, which must be understood as state sanctioned shaming and suppression of possible expressions of Jewish pride and dignity. Forcing the wearing of the badge can be understood as an affective-political tactic by the state to keep the Jewish people in their place, to dissuade dissent, to disempower.

Keeping people "in their place" affectively and emotionally is key to the maintenance of oppressive structures, as such tactics have concrete, cumulative effects on the bodies and psyches of oppressed people. These tactics manifest in a multiplicity of forms as a means of securing the dominant power bloc at the level of bodies and affect. Such political tactics – examples of which are endless and vary in intensity from microaggressions to explicit acts of violence –put the weight negative affects, which manifest in feelings such as shame, onto marginalized peoples through ensuring social relations that will produce of shame-like affect. Attempting to instill collective shame simultaneously works to block and suppress potential expressions of pride from below and its contagious, threatening political effects[11] that reject the status quo. Historical examples of these shame-inducing tactics are too many to explore, as are the expressions of pride from below that they so often engender. Given the historical and present relevance of Black Pride politics, I give an account of an emergence of Black pride from below, highlighting the role of political writing in conditioning the expulsion of negative affect at the collective level.

These affective political tactics deployed both explicitly and implicitly by dominant groups accumulate in and are felt throughout the bodies of the oppressed. In *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952), Frantz Fanon, a philosopher with a keen understanding of the dynamism of affective and psychic oppression, articulates the affective disorientation experienced upon feeling the impact of the white gaze, resulting in a shattering of his body schema:

[11] The contagious political effects of wearing the yellow badge, for example, can be connected to the symbol of the pink triangle – assigned to homosexuals during the Holocaust – in contemporary queer movements and organizations.

> I couldn't take it any longer, for I already know there were legends, stories, history, and especially the historicity that Jaspers had taught me. As a result, the body schema, attacked in several places, collapsed, giving away to an epidermal racial schema. In the train, it was a question of being aware of my body, no longer in the first person but in triple. In the train, instead of one seat, they left me two or three. I was no longer enjoying myself. I was unable to discover the feverish coordinates of the world. I existed in triple: I was taking up room. I approached the Other…and the Other, evasive, hostile, but not opaque, transparent and absent, vanished. Nausea. (Fanon, [1952] 2008: 92)

In this account, the historical legacies and deep-seated stereotypes about Black people, Black men in particular, weighs upon and "attacks" Fanon's bodily integrity. Recognizing the psychic and corporeal impact of the gaze – or what we now may recognize as "microaggressions" (Sue, 2010)—and the function of such perpetual violence within embedded socio-historical contexts to reproduce structures of power, led Fanon to the conclusion that violence was the only means to freedom for the oppressed; in his case, French colonized Black Algerians fighting for independence.

In the foreword to Fanon's *The Wretched of The Earth* (2005), Homi Bhabha describes the book as spreading across university campuses like "wildfire" (xxi). Fanon described himself as wanting "to touch my reader affectively, or in other words irrationally or sensually. For me words have a charge" (xxv). *The Wretched of the Earth* did, and continues to do, the affective political work necessary to ignite pride from below and balance out "the "scale" between the social dimension and the psycho-affective

relation" for the colonized, whose "defenses[12]…are tuned like anxious antennae waiting to pick up the hostile signals of a racially divided world…the colonized acquire a peculiar visceral intelligence dedicated to the survival of body and spirit" (Bhabha, 2005: xl, ix). Fanon articulated and acutely understood that the affective and embodied condition of colonized people was key to the reproduction of the oppressive "compartmentalized" worldview:

> The colonized subject thus discovers that his life, his breathing and his heartbeats are the same as the colonist's. He discovers that the skin of a colonist is not worth more than that "native's." In other words, his world receives a fundamental jolt. The colonized's revolutionary new assurance stems from this. If, in fact, my life is worth as much as the colonist's, his look can no longer strike fear into me or nail me to the spot and his voice can no longer petrify me. I am no longer uneasy in his presence. In reality, to hell with him. (2005: 10)

Fanon points to the bodily (breathing, heartbeat, skin) and the affective (petrification, uneasiness), as those things which the colonized must shift in order to be 'jolted' into an alternate world where they are assured of their worth. His work is crucial to understanding the affective politics of pride from below as a reaction to oppression and the threat of eradication through deadening affect. Attentive to the violent psycho-affective (psychic, social, and corporeal) conditions of colonization and dominated peoples more generally, *The Wretched of the Earth* did indeed spread like wildfire, burning into Black Americans in the 20th century, including prominent militant Black

[12] In *Forces of Circumstance* Simone de Beauvoir recalls Fanon responding to a comment Sartre made about his egocentricity, which Fanon explained through an affective, colonial lens. He explained that because colonized people are "threatened from all sides", the result of this impending threat is that it is "impossible to forget for an instant the need to keep up one's defenses" (2005, vii). Here we can see the connection between proud "egocentricity" and vigilance against attacks that are structurally embedded.

activists in the U.S. Political groups including the Black Panthers drew on the work of Fanon to adamantly assert Black pride (Matthews, 2001: 235).

Largely in response to systemic injustice in cases of white on Black violence in the American South, and the non-violent approach of the Civil Rights movement, Black militant activists advocated for armed self-defense (Abron, 1986: 33). In *Negroes With Guns* (1962), military veteran and one time leader of the Monroe, North Carolina chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Robert F. Williams stated, "By debasing and demoralizing the Black man in small personal matters, the system eats away the sense of dignity and pride which are necessary to challenge a racist system" (1962: 34). We can see here the links, for Williams, between systemic injustice and the need for pride as necessary to political struggle. The belief that pride is something all people have equal access to denies realities of structural inequality wherein dominant groups benefit from the systemic debasement of particular bodies; pride from below is the form of pride that demands the right to pride and that all people deserve dignity. Williams believed that political tactics must emerge in conjunction with the demands of specific confrontations, and thus avoided dogmatism and emphasized "flexibility in the freedom struggle" (1962: 4). While Williams' violent approach eventually resulted in his suspension from the NAACP and denunciation by prominent Black Civil Rights activists and leaders committed to non-violence, including Martin Luther King, Jr., his work, like that of Fanon's, was highly influential to Huey Newton and Bobby Seal, founders of the militant revolutionary group the Black Panthers, founded

in 1966 in Oakland, California (Bloom and Martin, 2013: 2).[13] *Negroes With Guns* is said to have been "the single most important influence on Huey P. Newton… and remained a bible of militance to a generation of young African American revolutionaries" (Tyson, 1999: 289). Newton and Seale experienced political awakening at an all-black study group formed by Donald Warden at the Boalt Law School at the University of California, where they read and discussed the works of Black authors including Williams and Fanon. Warden "asserted a black nationalist perspective inspired by Malcom X, emphasizing racial pride and embracing a transcontinental Black identity rooted in Africa" (Bloom and Martin, 2013: 22). As part of a global revolution against American Imperialism, the Panthers took up arms and openly rejected the legitimacy of the U.S. government and the police whom they referred to as an "occupying army" (2).

A revolutionary fervor spread throughout the U.S., and by the 1970s the Black Panthers had offices in sixty-eight cities and "had become the center of a revolutionary movement":

> As Panthers, they could stand up to police brutality, economic exploitation, and political exclusion. As Panthers, they extended the struggle to break continuing patterns of racial submissiveness. Panthers would not kowtow to anyone, not even police. As a result, they inspired blacks' self-esteem. In an impressive show of racial unity and pride, most black political organizations fiercely opposed the brutal repression of the Panthers. (Bloom and Martin, 2013: 392)

[13] While the history of African American Civil Rights far pre-dates the era of Civil Rights in the mid 20th century, I am focusing on the heightened period of political events that occurred in the U.S. roughly between 1955-1968 (from the death of Emmett Till and Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her seat on a bus to a white passenger, to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.).

As a testament to the intensity of the affective political charge ignited by the Black Panthers, FBI director J. Edgar Hoover stated that, "The Black Panther Party, without question, represents the greatest threat to the internal security of the country" (3). The sheer amount of FBI and police resources that were allocated to harassing, humiliating, and suppressing and murdering the Black Panthers and their leaders, such as Assata Shakur (1999), speaks volumes about the political threat posed by a form of pride that is an essential part of the politic of resistance and transformation challenging the status quo. The pride expressed by the Black Panthers was about increasing life and life chances for Black people. Their 10-Point platform included self-determination, decent housing, and full employment, and their work extended far beyond 'armed action' to free community "Survival Programs" including breakfast for school children, legal aid, and educational programs (Abron, 1986: 33-34). And while the pride of the Black Panthers centered on Black identity and solidarity, it is important to recognize that it was (and still is) a multi-issue politic (Davis, 1969).

In conjunction with a series of other social justice movements organizing and fueling long latent political passions during that time period, the Black Panthers as well as non-violent Civil Rights activist organizations ignited an affective economy of pride that would have long lasting political consequences for generations to come. Taking cues from Williams, who continued to broadcast his revolutionary politics as far as Saskatchewan, Alberta while exiled in Cuba through his radio show *Radio Free Dixie* (Tyson, 1999: 286-288), the Panthers spread their political intensity through the dissemination of "numerous pamphlets, books, speeches, and essays for the task of social, political, and cultural transformation of American and world society" (Joseph, 2001: 3).

The affective energy of 60s and 70s social movements, including Civil Rights, Gay Liberation, Women's Liberation, and the Anti-War Movement, fed off of and strengthened one another, drawing more individuals into emerging collectives around North America. I want to suggest here that the emergence of Gay Pride from below can partially be attributed to the affective contagion of the freedom movements active during this period.

While the 60s and 70s were a time of collective political invigoration, it is important to note that many of these movements, including the Civil Rights movement, Gay Liberation, and the Women's Movement, relied on activist work and events prior to the 1960s. That is, the role of writing and activism is key to the emergence of pride from below, and often precedes landmark political events. For example, the 1969 riots at the Stonewall pub in New York, a response to reoccurring acts of police harassment and violence, is generally understood as the cataclysmic event of North American gay liberation/pride movements that continued to gain political and affective momentum in decades to come. Similarly, in 1981 a series of police raids of gay bathhouses in Toronto, as well as Edmonton's *Pisces* club, spurred a series of riots and demonstrations, which are also understood to be watershed moments in Canadian gay political history (citymuseamedmonton.ca). Gay Pride politics tends to be narrated as beginning with these cataclysmic events at which point discrimination and violence could no longer be tolerated by the collective. However, as was (and is) the case with Black pride from below, these events rely on a series of prior actions and practices that are best understood at the level of affective politics. I want to consider the circulation of Gay Pride from

below pre-Stonewall, and suggest that the dissemination of discourses of Gay Pride from below was an affective-political condition of the Stonewall riots.

Scholars and activists have problematized the way Stonewall tends to be remembered as an event primarily involving white, cisgendered, gay men, and the way such a storying perpetuates the marginalization and erasure of the most vulnerable queers central to the event, primarily gender non-conforming folks including drag queens, non-binary and trans people, especially those who are racialized. The physical and sexual violence that queer women faced is generally not part of the telling of Stonewall in particular, and the history of the Gay Liberation movement more generally. To push up against this history, I will focus on the forging of lesbian networks in the U.S. pre-Stonewall as a moment of Gay Pride from below.

The Daughters of Bilitis was the first lesbian political collective in the United States, and was founded by Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon in San Francisco in 1955 (Enres and Luek, 1996: 157). *The Ladder* (1956-1972) was the first nationally distributed lesbian publication in the U.S., and by the early 70s had "transformed from a chapter newsletter to a forty-five-page publication" (160). In its initial stages the publication covered personal issues specific to the experiences of women loving women, including employment issues, childbearing and childrearing, and being married to men. The political work of *The Ladder* cannot be underestimated, for it initiated the first network of lesbian communication in the U.S. For the first time, queer women could know that they were not alone, that their struggles and suffering were not only their own but those of many others. Other homophile organizations at the time were creating similar networks, including the Mattachine Society and the Homophile Action League, and these networks

were conscious efforts to "battle institutionalized homophobia" (Potter, 1986: vi). Seeking to close the gap between queer suffering and discourse, "each mailed edition was an attack on isolation and the social judgment of deviancy" (vi). Publications such as *The Ladder* provided a forum for queer people to make sense of their suffering and move it out of the body and into the political sphere.

In an anonymous letter to *The Ladder* in 1957, Black lesbian playwright and activist Lorraine Hansberry, writes,

> I'm glad as heck that you exist. You are obviously serious people and I feel that women, without wishing to foster any strict *separatist* notions, homo or hetero, indeed have a need for their own publications and organizations. Our problems, our experiences as women are profoundly unique as compared to the other half of the human race. Women, like other oppressed groups of one kind or another, have particularly had to pay a price for the intellectual impoverishment that the second class status imposed on us for centuries created and sustained. Thus, I feel that THE LADDER is a fine, elementary step in a rewarding direction. (Katz, 1976)

Hansberry died of pancreatic cancer in 1965, at the age of 34. In the introduction to "To Be Young, Gifted and Black: An Informal Autobiography," James Baldwin speculates on the connection between Hansberry's death and her life at the intersection of misogyny, racism, and homophobia by saying "it is not at all farfetched to suspect that what she saw contributed to the strain which killed her" (Baldwin, 1970: xiv). While speculative, the instances of premature death of those such as Hansberry, Barbin, and innumerable others points to the connection between oppression, embodiment, and the political.

Exploring the significance of *The Ladder*, Kristin Esterberg writes:

> The period of 1956-1965 showed enormous changes in *The Ladder* and the women who wrote for it. From its earliest years, when proclamations that lesbians were mentally ill or unnatural went virtually unchallenged, *The Ladder* grew into a forum for lesbians who wished to replace those conceptions with more positive images. From its earliest years, *The Ladder* shows the power of the psychiatric and medical professions to control the terms of the debate around homosexuality and their ability to cause enormous harm to many lesbian women. (1990: 78)

The trajectory of *The Ladder* moves from acknowledgement of the pain and suffering of homophobia (isolation, fear, self-loathing) to political questions around what to do about that suffering. In a 1957 submission titled "Emotions That Destroy Your Health and Personality," the author discusses how those who living in a perpetual state of fear and frustration can "actually effect changes in their chemistry that are among the causes of functional illnesss…and change the delicate balance that means good health and clear thinking" (LaVere, 1). Later that year, one article covers a panel discussion on the issue of "The Searchers Probe: 'The Homosexual Neurosis'" (Russell, 1957). Pieces such as this demonstrate a general questioning of the root causes and symptoms of homosexuality, a trend in the earlier issues of the publication. Throughout the 1960s, however, the tone of *The Ladder* shifts from one that is primarily about individual experience in the form of poetry and short stories, to political debates surrounding strategy and tactics.

In 1965 a heated exchange occurred between contributors to the magazine, specifically around the role of research and the designation of homosexuality as a sickness. One writes about the toll "long inculcation in attitudes of cringing meekness"

has taken on queer people, and that logical argumentation does not work as a political strategy because people "operate not rationally but emotionally" when is comes to issues of sex, sexuality and race (Kameny, 1965: 14). Kameny goes on to encourage the movement from passivity and talk to "militant" action whereby queers stand up and designate themselves as authorities on queerness. He adamantly opposes the strategy to accept being "defined into sickness" as a means to equality because the acceptance of such discourses (on the origins, causes, and potentially cures of homosexuality) is "symptomatic of a thinly veiled defensive feeling of inferiority…or lack of comfortable self-acceptance" (18). Instead, he encourages queers to reject the "comfortingly detached respectability of research" and put their energies "into the often less pleasant rough-and-tumble of political and social activism" (20).

What the story of *The Ladder* shows is that pride from below—Gay Pride from below in this instance—progresses from one of acknowledging the gap between experience and discourse as a legitimate source of pain, to a collective political negotiation of how best to rid the body of such negative affect. Kameny's adamant rejection of the label of sickness resonates with the anti-psychiatry movement in its assertion of the legitimacy of a variation of human experience. However, from a Foucauldian perspective, one might say that the embrace of categories, even those designated as pathological, can provide the basis for rights. This debate is still hotly contested in trans communities, where the diagnosis of Gender Identity Disorder (GID) tends to be the means by which the end of transition can be accomplished (Butler 2004: 75-101). At the point of political debate, however, pride from below has reached the point where it can be released from the body and into the political. What the effects of

such strategies of release are will be a question that continues to be explored throughout the project.

III. Conclusion

Beginning with the memoir of Herculine Barbin, this chapter gave an account of the emergence of pride from below as a response to individual experiences of suffering that result from living in conflict with dominant discursive regimes. Following this, I traced a series of moments of pride from below, arguing that collective pride from below emerges when the psychic-affective threshold for a particular group erupts out of individual bodies and becomes sutured to a political collective that asserts a right to be. Crucially, I argue that activist writing plays an indispensible mediating role between individual suffering and political life, namely, the emergence of pride from below and its challenge to the status quo. Through legitimizing and naming oppression, activist writing acts as an affective-political mechanism of translation between experience and discourse. I started with the example of Weltsch's call to Jewish people to refuse the violence of the state by wearing the yellow badge with pride. From there I moved in to the emergence of Black pride from below, beginning with the works of Fanon and Williams, through to the activism of the Black Panthers. I then discussed the lesbian publication *The Ladder* as an important node in the emergence of Gay Pride from below, emphasizing the question of political strategy and how to move negative affect out of the body as a means to mitigate suffering. In each historical example, political writing acted as a key mediator in the translation of affect into language, thus opening up collective political possibilities – pride from below, in this case—for the purging of negative affect from individual and

collective bodies. In the next chapter I follow the trajectory of Gay Pride from below to contemporary Gay Pride events in North America, and examine the fraught relationship between neoliberal pride and pride from below in the context of Gay Pride events in North America.

Chapter Three: The Buzz of the Hive: Gay Pride and the Emotional Politics of Neoliberalism

"How might work on the relations between affect and biopower proceed if its task is to understand contemporary ways of 'making life live, and letting die'?" (Anderson, 2012: 40)

Introduction

On an evening in June 2014 in Toronto's fenced off "gay village" on Church Street, the cacophony of the combined voices of gay cultural icons—Madonna, Lady Gaga, Cher, Dolly Parton—boomed from outdoor speakers punctuated by the screeches and cackles of excited passersby. The dizzying number of raised rainbow flags slugged through the thick summer air, the packed street abuzz with pre-World Pride anticipation. The crowd was largely composed of young and middle-aged, mostly white, presumably cis-gendered gay men, gaggles of drag queens, and sprinklings of lesbian couples, trans and non-binary folks, and straight onlookers. Norms of beauty and consumerism, often derivative of white heterosexual cultures, seemed to be the primary passwords for entrance into the gay village: deep v-neck tops on thin (able) bodies, well-manicured body hair, tanned and toned pecs and biceps, elegantly disheveled coifs, and expensive brand name products proliferated. The gay village during that week was indeed intensely 'gay,' but what political challenge remained pertinent to Pride was thrust far into the background.

I open with this snapshot of World Pride to set the scene for this chapter, which uses Gay Pride organizations and events as a site to examine collective feeling as a primary target of neoliberal governance strategies through the shaping of a neoliberal subject of pride. This chapter explores Gay Pride events and organizations in the context of neoliberalism and asks after the tense relationship between neoliberal pride and pride

from below. Gay Pride organizations and events are a rich entry point into the exploration of the deeply affective character of the sexual politics of neoliberalism and its relationship to contemporary biopolitics; that is, through the cultivation of trust and confidence in the state (and market) on the one hand, and a sense of superiority over those who are not in the dominant neoliberal fold, Pride[14] events move bodies, physically and emotionally, toward the nation and away from non-normative, non-productive bodies. In other words, Gay Pride will be used as a site to examine the affective-political implications of neoliberal pride: How are subjects governed through Pride events, and to what end? What does an exploration of the political organization of the neoliberalized subject of pride in the context of Gay Pride events tell us about the relationship between collective affect (specifically feelings surrounding community and belonging), social justice struggles, and biopolitics?

To explore these questions I trace the inevitable affective escapes from attempts to shape a particular kind of neoliberal proud subject through the careful production of a highly governed version of collective Pride. By deploying neoliberal technologies of security and environment (Foucault, 2008: 259-269), which each take affect as their target (Anderson, 2009), Pride organizations seek to manufacture a specific affective atmosphere that implicitly fosters neoliberal goals and values, and the inevitable biopolitical ends that result from such goals and values. During contemporary neoliberalized Pride events, the celebration of inclusion and diversity is key to rendering invisible the ongoing realities of abandonment, violence and death of the most vulnerable. Through attention to the government of collective feeling in the context of

[14] For clarity, Pride will be capitalized when referring to the formal, organizational structure of Gay Pride events, while lower case will refer to the individual feeling of pride.

Gay Pride events, the contours of the ideal proud subject emerge, and with it the kinds of affective flows that must be rejected and redirected to create a particular neoliberalized mode of pride.

As Riedner points out, there are two sides to neoliberalism: one oriented toward tolerance, hope, and inclusivity, and the other oriented toward abandonment, violence, and death (2015: 11). In order to manufacture belief in hope, tolerance and inclusivity (life), (partial, incomplete, carefully crafted) stories about marginalized people are key to manufacturing faith in these exalted neoliberal values. Rather than looking at human interest stories, I apply Riedner's conceptual apparatus to examine the affective politics of Pride events as a site through which sensations and feelings that "appeal to neoliberal values of self-responsibility, tenacity, entrepreneurialism, and individualism" are provoked, with the effect of "affectively orient[ing] readers to the values and authority of neoliberal markets, institutions, and nation-states" (13). Pride events manufacture a particular set of embodied intensities that align with the neoliberal political economy through the appropriation and use of the rhetoric of "inclusion" to "obscure a range of activities and do not attend to abandonment, violence, or death" (13).

In the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* Foucault describes how life "constantly escapes" attempts to govern it (1978: 143). I understand these escapes as affective conditions for material political interventions; for example, the intensive escapes to govern a particular collective Pride shown in my interviews are the condition of possibility for actual interventions. Through attunement to the affective topographies of pride, I trace two manifestations of pride from below: 1) the individual ambivalence surrounding Pride and, 2) the way the collective tensions between Toronto's trans

community and Pride Toronto are embodiments of lines of flight that challenge neoliberal pride and its attendant forms of governance and subjectivity. While the ambivalence about pride and Pride politics expressed by interviewees indicate an *intensive* line of flight from neoliberal pride, the ongoing tensions between Toronto's trans communities and Pride Toronto surrounding the splinter marches indicate a sustained *actualization* of collective political intervention conditioned by intensive affective escape at the level of the individual. In each case, the persistence of pride from below to disrupt the intended collective feeling of Pride indicates the layers of political tensions and interventions that emerge from affective escapes. Taken together, these two cases demonstrate the troubling and troubled nature of neoliberal pride, indicating that attentiveness to affect opens up possibilities for doing and feeling pride otherwise.

Critiques of Gay Pride for its emphasis on (and thus production of) stable gay identity, corporatization, and amnesia of its radical political roots have now become commonplace within academic and activist communities alike (Chasin, 2000; Greyson, 2012; Elia, 2012; Gentile & Kinsman, 2016; Weiss, 2008). While these critiques importantly point to the question of *what* the problem with Pride is, it is my contention that asking *how* neoliberalism works by using (sexual, racial, gendered, cultural) identities as resources can open up potential avenues for creative social justice challenges. Attending to the way neoliberal governance targets affective life is one way to begin this process. Diagnosing the problems with Pride politics must go beyond oft-cited critiques of the limits of identity-based politics. From the sustained attention I have given to the workings of Pride events and organizations, I see identity fading as the primary unit through which the Gay Pride movement is expressed; for example, Pride

Toronto's strategic plan, "Beyond 20/20," does not mention any particular identity category, or set of categories (http://www.pridetoronto.com/about-us/). What this points to is the way that, in the context of neoliberalism, what matters is the extent to which one is willing and/or able to translate their individual capacity and skill set—their "human capital"—into proper neoliberal, that is, entrepreneurial, goals and values. This is not to say that identity no longer matters—the way neoliberalism is organized through identity and cultural politics has been clearly demonstrated (for example, see Duggan, 2004)—but that identity is strategically deployed in the cultivation and shaping of entrepreneurial drives. Hong points to the way contemporary biopower (expressed through the political rationality of neoliberalism) "affirms racialized, gendered, and sexualized difference yet levies death and destruction to poor, racialized, and sexually "deviant" populations" (91). This affirmation is strategic, limited, and as such can appear to be progressive while obscuring "the racial antagonisms and inequalities on which the neoliberal project depends" (Melamed, 2006: 1). As such, transforming Pride politics requires not a letting go of identity (as if that were possible or even desirable) but an analysis of the neoliberalization of Pride that is attentive to affective politics as it intersects with and infuses identity politics. Such an apprehension of Pride politics demands an understanding of how neoliberalism—as a political rationality—produces a particular form of subjectivity through the governance strategies that target affective flows and, crucially, the way this governing logic is the means through which contemporary biopolitical ends are met.

While in the previous chapter I traced multiple emergences of pride from below, here I use Gay Pride events and organizations as a site to deepen understandings of

neoliberal pride and its relationship to pride from below. In the first section I emphasize how the management of pride in the context of neoliberalism is constitutive of particular kinds of subjects, and that this form of proud subjectivity is often in tension with the subject of pride from below in its differing affective relationship with the "political," as well as with understandings of what constitutes "reality" itself. The second part of the chapter examines the fraught and disruptive and persistent tendencies of pride from below to challenge and provoke dominant neoliberal understandings of p/Pride. Pride organizations[15] play a crucial role in the production of a particular kind of collective feeling—affective value—that aids in "aligning racialized, gendered, and sexualized life with the interest of the neoliberal political economy" (Riedner, 2015: 14). Understood as an active participant in the shaping of affective atmospheres and affect-imbued values supportive of neoliberal rationality and the state, Pride organizations deploy a series of techniques of power to ensure a desired outcome. I refer to two Pride organizations (the Edmonton Pride Festival Society and Pride Toronto) to explore the relationship between the ideal proud (gay) subject of neoliberalism and contemporary forms of biopower, emphasizing the fraught, hesitant, and cautious affects surrounding Pride politics across a diverse set of queer communities. The last section asks why, in spite of a plethora of problems, critiques and tensions, Gay Pride politics continue to thrive. It is my contention that the growing success of Gay Pride celebrations in North America cannot simply be reduced to the mainstreaming or neoliberalization of queer identities (however true that may be). Where I locate the political potency of Gay Pride is in the power of collective feeling of pride from below to exceed and challenge neoliberal values and valorized subjectivities.

[15] Pride organizations are continually shifting, and vary slightly from city to city, depending on local histories and events.

I. Clashing Prides and the Emotional Politics of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is "not merely…an economic doctrine, but… a comprehensive framework for understanding ourselves and the political reality we live in today" (Oksala, 2013: 54). As such, "it has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world" (Harvey, 2007: 3). As an apparatus of knowledge and power, neoliberalism thrives through its discursive construction as, "a new way of understanding social existence" (Read, 2009: 26). In other words, neoliberalism persists by simultaneously denying its ideological status and capitulating to other governing rationalities. The continuing dominance of neoliberalism can be attributed, in part, to the way it subsumes its own resistance and competition into its own governing logic, that is, into the service of the market. As such, neoliberalism insidiously becomes narrated as the only logical way of being in the world: "*Homo economicus* is anyone who accepts reality" (Foucault, 2008: 269).[16] Further, not only does *homo economicus* accept reality, but he or she lives with an affective sense of certainty that collapsing the terms "rational" and "economic" and thus subjecting human behaviour and interactions to economic logic is "*the best way to make sense of it*" (Oksala, 69). The lived sense that "such an order is superior, not only economically but also morally and politically" informs the proud neoliberal subject as it moves through a hyper-competitive and unstable social reality. The proud neoliberal subject gains appreciation and legitimacy through a sense of

[16] While description of neoliberalism thus far may seem general and all-encompassing, what Ong would call "Big 'N' neoliberalism" (2007: 4), my interest in the affective politics of neoliberalism seeks to expose the way that in spite of an overarching governing logic (malleable as it may be), political subjects and collectives in queer communities respond to neoliberalisms demands and "reality principle" in a variety of ways. By examining these "local neoliberalisms" (Peck and Tickell 2002) by different political collectives within queer communities, I seek to expose the migratory nature of neoliberal processes as they are unevenly applied to groups of people, while keeping hold of the fact that at their base, "neoliberal policies are about the recalibration of the capacity of groups in relation to the dynamism of global markets" (Ong 2007: 4).

understanding the way the world works (unlike others unable to grasp economic realities of the present). Within this frame, competitiveness is the condition of winning, and losers simply did not have what it takes and thus deserve their plight. In *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (2015) Wendy Brown states that neoliberalism:

> governs as sophisticated common sense, a reality principle remaking institutions and human beings everywhere it settles, nestles, and gains affirmation….neoliberalzation is generally more termitelike than lionlike…its mode of reason boring in capillary fashion into the trucks and branches of workplaces, schools, public agencies, social and political discourse, and above all, the subject. (35)

What she points to is the insidious nature of neoliberal governance, as it "can and must act on this freedom indirectly" (Rose, 2000: 1399), most often through "best practices and legal tweaks, in short, through "soft power" drawing on consensus and buy-in" (Brown, 2015: 35). Through this lens, the issue of criminality does not require "intervening into subjects' internal states but merely altering the incentive structures within which criminals operate in order to make crime more costly than obeying the law" (Foucault, 2008: 259). It is through these "incentive structures" that Foucault introduces the notion of "techniques of environmental technology or environmental psychology" as an apparatus of neoliberal government (259). It is these environmental technologies or "environmentalities" (Anderson, 2009) that are key to understanding the way neoliberalism intersects with biopower through the targeting of affective life, and how neoliberalism is (or is not) experienced on the body.

Unlike sovereign power, which acts directly on the body, or disciplinarily power which managed the body through training, neoliberal governance acts on the *conditions* of actions. This way, individuals behaviours are "motivated to exhibit appropriate behaviours" without feeling directly impinged upon (Fletcher, 2010: 173). Through the manipulation of variables in the environment, neoliberalism surreptitiously operates on "interests, desires, and aspirations" rather than "rights and obligations" (Read, 2009: 29). Read describes this paradox as such: "as power becomes less restrictive, less corporeal, it also becomes more intense, saturating the field of actions, and possible actions" (29). These environmental interventions thus "free" individuals from the "internal subjugation" of disciplinarity (Foucault, 2008: 260), and in doing so fundamentally loosen direct bodily regulations, intensifying the affective organization of the subject.

Scholarship on the relationship between neoliberalism and affect is a continually growing body of work, as each term evokes endless multiplicities. Due to the broad and varied understanding of neoliberalism and affect, Anderson advises against using "neoliberal affects" as a static or catch-all term (2016: 736). Instead, he uses the term to specifically refer to "the atmospheres that envelope and animate neoliberal reason as it emerges, circulates, and changes" and "the structures of feeling that in enigmatic ways accompany the translation of neoliberal reason to policies and projects" (736). Clough and Willse have stated that neoliberalism has filled the present with "a generalized and heightened sense of expectancy of what has not yet come" (2011: 2). Others have sought to specify this generalized affect by attending to particular affects such as neoliberalism's organization of enjoyment (Dean, 2008), its politics of confusion (Woodward, 2014), economies of empathy (Pedwell, 2012), common sense (Hall & O'Shea, 2013), and

neurotic citizenship (Isin, 2004). Scholars such as Vrasti (2011) have each pushed up against the often-espoused emancipatory potential of affect and instead emphasized how feelings are key to neoliberal processes, including those resulting in the perpetuation of violence and inequalities. Also thinking about the relationship between neoliberalism, violence and feeling, Povinelli opens *Economies of Abandonment* (2011) with a description of Ursula Le Guin's *Those Who Walk Away From Omelas*, a story about a city that locks a naked child in a small, dark, broom closet as a condition of the happiness of its citizens. Following these scholars, I explore the relationship between various modes of pride in the context of neoliberalism in order to draw attention to the kinds of bodies and politics that are not being included in the dominant fold. Specifically, I argue that pride from below continues to challenge the dominance of neoliberal modes of pride.

As I have outlined in previous chapters, pride takes shape through different (historically informed) affective-political modes: normative pride, pride from below, wounded pride, neoliberal pride. Neoliberal pride is best understood through the lens of human capital (Foucault, 2008; Oksala, 2013; Brown, 2015; Feher, 2009), whereby subjects are governed according to the extent to which their choices—ranging from what to have for breakfast to which jobs to apply for—are thought to increase their stock value. In this context, feelings of pride are thus cultivated and reinforced through the enhancement of one's appreciation or value. As such, and particularly in the context of structured competition where neoliberal subjects are those who "accept reality" (Foucault 2008: 269), values, choices, and ways of living that do not cohere with neoliberal logic are delegitimized and seen as being out of step with reality. Neoliberal pride is the affective sense of superiority that is established through the certainty that considering the

market when making choices—practical, ethical, political—is the not only the correct but only rational way, and that those who do not accept this reality are somehow behind or bewildered.

What are the political implications of this divided reality between pride from below and neoliberal pride, particularly for social justice efforts aimed at bringing about significant structural and systemic change? Oksala (2013) has stated that:

> contesting neoliberal hegemony politically is difficult because it means contesting economic truths... the undisputed value of economic growth... Questions of social justice have mutated into economic facts while the undisputed biopolitical ends have remained the same. (66)

In other words, neoliberalism has intensified the devaluation, abandonment, and destruction of some lives in the name of others, while at the same time effectively co-opting and rendering illegible social justice discourses and demands. The intensification of these "cycles of abandonment and detention" (Spade, 2009) relies on the erasure and delegitimization of the political sphere. When adamant apoliticism informs the dominant subjective form of the times (human capital) then the terms through which social justice efforts are elaborated must be radically rethought. Part of this rethinking must include an understanding of how neoliberalism relies on and is constructed "in and through cultural and identity politics" and is not in fact a neutral and objective economic paradigm; the "most successful ruse" of neoliberalism is that it defines itself as somehow outside of "political accountability or cultural critique," which further masks its goals of upward wealth distribution and its intensification of systemic inequalities along axes of gender, race, class and ability (Duggan, 2004: ix-3).

There are material-discursive explanations for why people are oriented toward neoliberal values and forms of living, and away from collective, creative, and deliberative forms of political living—namely, that certain modes of collective and creative political collaboration are subsumed within neoliberal values. As Brown notes, *homo economicus* is constructed in contrast to its constitutive outside—*homo politicus*—that which it is adamantly not. Given this, questions also arise surrounding what it is about *homo politicus* that orients people away from inhabiting its forms and instead favouring the subjective form of human capital. Brown briefly notes the difficulty of crafting and maintaining "democratic spirits" (2015: 18), but alternately, and returning to neoliberal pride, in what ways does it *feel good* to have a sense that one "gets" the world, knows how it functions, and is able to act successfully within its parameters? Some have pointed to the ways that liberal/progressive/leftist politics engenders "bad" feelings of guilt and hopelessness in contrast to the constant bolstering of self-appreciation and self-reliance asserted through neoliberal discourses (Feher, 2009). The relative "negativity" of the left in contrast to the "positive" and creative entrepreneurial subject is important to understanding the affective politics of neoliberalism, and its ongoing dominance and success as a political rationality.

In contrast, neoliberal reality is structured to maximize feelings of individual freedom and thus a confidence that emerges at the expense of others. The dark underside of this freedom and certainty is, of course, the embodied wobble and anxiety that arises when the other reality of neoliberalism seeps in: that failure to abide by or survive its economic logic (or even being on the losing end of a few bad deals) results in suffering and abandonment. However, as the following sections show, pride from below is

persistent in its intensive and actualized interruption of neoliberal pride, which is important for understanding the affective politics of pride.

The distinction Anderson makes between "affective conditions" and "affective atmospheres" is important here: affective conditions are hardened affective atmospheres that "predetermine how something…is habitually encountered, disclosed and can be related to" (2012: 37). Affective conditions, like Raymond Williams' understanding of "structures of feeling," are both "structured and structuring," determined yet "ephemeral or transitory" (37). Dominant affective conditions are "taken up and reworked into individual emotions that make up programmes and policies" and "will be articulated with distinct political movements" (37). Thus, in that dominant affective conditions shape voting tendencies, policy trends, and norms of political engagement, they have material consequences for subjects. In contrast, affective atmospheres are more transitory and immanent than their more structured counterparts. I understand Ahmed's "affective economies" (2004) as a set of practices of circulation and articulation through which particular affective atmospheres and affective conditions resonate, clash, transform or are reified.

Because I am interested in possibilities for shifting and disrupting dominant affective conditions, I trace intensive and actual affective escapes from Pride organizations' attempts to govern through the production of a particular collective feeling. Such an exploration of the affective registers of neoliberal governance and its mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion provides insight into rethinking the relationship between affect and biopolitics. One strategy for pride from below is to stage interventions through the cultivation of alternative affective atmospheres both "inside" and "outside"

of Pride as a means to disrupt and alter affective economies of pride and broader affective conditions. The tensions between neoliberal pride and pride from below will be explored in relation to Pride events and organizations, which are currently dominated by the logic of neoliberal governance.

II. Pride Governing Pride

The ways that contemporary Pride festivals in Canada and the United States are deeply embedded in homonational and neoliberal logics is far from a novel observation (Puar, 2006; Morgensen, 2010; Dryden and Lenon, 2016; Schotten, 2016). What these authors point to, generally, is the increased neoliberalization and corporatization of Pride festivals, marked by the need for funding and grants received through large corporate sponsors such as TD Bank, Bud Light, and Fido. That Pride is now a form of corporate and business promotion is understood to be related to the growing disappearance of disruptive and radical political demands. Further, Pride festivals have become increasingly mainstream, and as such, have sought to attract the presence (and capital) of 'normal', middle-class citizens, and increasingly, their children, the police, as well as local, provincial, and federal politicians.

The acceptability of Gay Pride events in North America is epitomized by the parade: the pinnacle of gay spectacles. Often shutting down major roadways, the length of parades in large urban centers exceeds three hours; seeking to advertise their progressive values and show support and acceptance of the LGBTQ community, political parties (on the left and right of the political spectrum), banks, businesses, police organizations, the military, and non-profit organizations apply to participate in the parade. As a result, and perhaps precisely because most Pride organizations embrace

values such as “diversity” and “inclusivity,” the processes through which certain kinds of affects, bodies and politics are pushed from (and reject) the dominant fold of Pride are increasingly complex and difficult to trace. However, when one considers instances such as: reminders to be “family friendly” at the expense of “butch lesbians and drag queens” (Coyote, 2009), inaccessible events and ableist themes such as “stand up” (Peers and Eales, 2011), the attempted expulsion of political stances deemed “radical” (e.g. Queers Against Israeli Apartheid in Toronto), the silencing of anger directed at oppressive systems (Milloy & Watson, 2015), a celebrated police presence in spite of various queer community demographics who routinely face police harassment and violence, or expensive ticket prices to attend events or enter the beer gardens, it becomes clearer that the ideal subject of Pride is one whose body is thoroughly disciplined according to neoliberal logic. Inversely, it becomes clear who and what must be disciplined or expectorated in order for Pride to function as planned: nothing that disrupts the collective joy of Pride, draws attention to individual and collective queer complicity in violent systems, nothing that isn't on the schedule, no rage, ecstasy, or grief, no leakages, no rushing the stage, no madness, no poor, no ugly; all smiles, hugs, rainbow flags, peace signs, boas and hairless boys in their underwear dancing on a cloud of glitter—all controlled. Struggle with a smile. Chant—as long as it is on the sidewalk.

Pride organizations govern feelings of pride through the harnessing of the messy, juicy, dirty, affective energy and creative complexity of queer communities and distill it into a sugary sweet digestible rainbow product that makes (some) people feel good—effectively obscuring the way queer communities are complicit in neoliberal processes and their biopolitical ends with clouds of rainbows and glitter. Through a series of

neoliberal governance strategies varying in degrees of explicitness, some aspects of queer affective life are incorporated into the dominant fold while others are kept at bay. The goal of such strategic governance is the manufacturing of a particular version of collective Pride that resonates with and bolsters neoliberalism and its dominant subjective form, *homo economicus*.

That is not to say that the Pride events are completely vacuous or devoid of the sort of politic of pride from below, or that the present of Pride is not political. In order to map out the tension between the politics of neoliberal pride and pride from below, I emphasize the process by which the sweet and gooey rainbow Pride juice is extracted from the messy ingredients—affective, physical, organizational, creative labour—of grassroots community, and point to the moments that pride from below resists the process of engulfment into the dominant neoliberal fold of Pride. There are always escapes, whether in the form of rogue affects within Pride events emerging from those who begrudgingly and strategically enter the fold, or those "radical" contingencies that refuse to adhere to the rules one must abide by to get into the Pride fold, or those desperately seeking inclusion, whether it be the North American Man/Boy Love Association (NAMBLA) (Thorstad, 1991), or the men's health and advocacy organization, the Canadian Association for Equality (CAFE), a men's health and advocacy organization that has recently gained a wave of support in some Canadian provinces. All of this is about affect and affective politics in the context of neoliberal governance, and much of it has to do with navigating what feelings of pride mean in relation to biopolitics. The nature of these exclusions from Pride will be discussed in sections to follow.

Through the deployment of a series of governing techniques, Pride organizations such as the Edmonton Pride Festival Society and Pride Toronto "aim to regulate within reality, because the field of intervention is a series of aleatory events that perpetually escape command" (Anderson, 2012: 34). That is, Pride organizations rarely function through explicit exclusions and limits, but rather through the "precautionary and preemptive logics" of apparatuses of security that work through "making possible, guaranteeing, and ensuring circulations: the circulation of people, merchandise, and air, etcetera." (Foucault, 2007: 29-34). One of the most obvious examples of such control is the deal Trojan condoms made with Pride Toronto, which forbade any other condoms from being handed out within a particular radius of Pride events (Watson, 2014). Whether it is through the application process for parade participation, the controlling of product circulation such as particular alcohol brands in the beer gardens, or physical barricades strategically guiding some bodies into and out of space while preventing other types of bodies (such as those using mobility devices) from entering at all, Pride organizations regulate primarily through the indirect enabling or limiting of flows as a means to ensure a particular circulation and production of collective affects (a celebratory and fun Pride) at the expense of other, more unruly affects (the anxiousness or rage of pride from below) disruptive of affect-imbued neoliberal values of tolerance, diversity, and equality.

Pride is an organizational entity supported by the state and dominant institutions because it does important work *for* the state and the neoliberal political economy; Pride is a node in a discursive network that disseminates an "affective rhetoric" (Reidner, 2015: 14) that bolsters the legitimacy of neoliberal logic. However, Pride organizations are in a

tenuous position given that politics is, to many, a prominent or defining aspect of its history and present. This ongoing affective-political tension makes the delegitimization or exclusion of radical and grassroots politics characteristic of neoliberalism particularly difficult. Thus, establishing a balance between the party and the political, the fun and the fight, is constantly being negotiated between neoliberal pride and pride from below, and this tension was clearly expressed by the people I interviewed.

One consistency across the interviews in both Edmonton and Toronto was the recognition that Pride organizations are a large and powerful governing body that one had to accept and learn to work within or reject altogether. Courtney, a queer white woman in her mid-20s who had been involved in Edmonton's queer activist and academic communities for several years and I sat down for brunch one morning to discuss her understanding of what P/pride means. As we sat at an empty bar during brunch one Saturday morning, Courtney articulated this as a result of political differences between gay and queer politics, where the politics of queerness "begrudgingly" engages with Pride as a means to a desired end. In each case, individuals or groups must approach and navigate the rules of the game as outlined by Pride. This sentiment was echoed by James, a trans man in his fifties, who had worked for many years doing work in Edmonton's queer community, including planning Edmonton Pride.

> James: Unless you're in a place where it's illegal to be gay, or a very small center, all the Prides are the same, you know? Have the same general map…
>
> Pride will unfold the same way it has every other time… Pride does what Pride does…Pride is a corporate event.

Understanding Pride organizations and events as having the "same general map"

indicates that individuals and collectives must learn to orient themselves within its already established and regulated (corporate) bounds. Here, Taylor, who had recently taken a leading role in planning a series of Pride events, articulates the affective and organizational labour required to navigate the terrain of Pride:

> In my work life and personal life I do navigate…I don't always walk this line but I do walk the line of like, here's me and my stuff, here's the institution I work in, and here's a lot of white male privilege bullshit that I have to work around… I do a lot to pander to that, and sometimes I don't, and sometimes it works out, and sometimes it doesn't. And I know that I can't always just be like, 'What the fuck is happening?' because then I would maybe not have a job, actually I probably would because they're pretty rad here, but you can't act that way in the world all the time. You have to find your battles and stuff…
>
> …First thing, one of my directors said, 'hey TD might be able to fund you at Pride and I was like 'ok', and this was a few months ago when I was like, 'fuck we need $26,000 from somewhere - how are we going to get this?' So I was like, great, let's put an application in… Then after putting the application in more and chatting more with folks I was like 'fuck, I don't know'. And some people were like, 'you know, money is tight you gotta get money where you can' and others were like 'I don't know if I really want our pride being funded by TD but I get you need money' and I was like… yes, that is a tension for me. And then I justified it by being like, well, with whatever money we get I'm gonna do whatever the fuck we want with it. But even that is still… there's something weird about it. But I haven't quite thought that through… but if we get money

> from someone like TD… and they put any kind of barrier or anything then I will give the money back. I'll be like 'fuck that'… if that came to it and if any of that didn't jive with what we [want] or if it didn't feel right, I would thankfully give the money back. Thanks but no thanks kind of thing. So that's how I reconcile that in my head.

The tension that Taylor articulates is affective as well as political; seeking to reconcile this tension, Taylor discusses with friends and community members. In spite of the decision that was made, she articulates a nagging "something weird"—the sense that something is up. Part of this lingering affective 'something' is often narrated as resulting from the historical shifts in gay/queer Pride politics. The map of Pride is one that is constantly shifting and has morphed into something very different from its pride beginnings from below:

> Lee: It was actually a political riot is what started it. But like, I don't know. I think it's always double-edged because, do you know why prides are on different weekends across North America? Because it was built so that affluent white gay men could travel across and do the circuit. Yeah, like it has an embedded class politics in it, and it has an embedded race politics in it for sure. So I don't think I necessarily am like, 'fuck it, it's horrible'. And I do have dreams of infiltrating Edmonton Pride Society's board, because they can't even run physically accessible events, it's infuriating… I think in many ways it recreates it because it's at the foundation, but Pride comes out of our current culture, which is no matter where you put it, neoliberalism is white supremacy.

Lee's pointed disdain for contemporary Pride events, which they understand as mirroring the neoliberal and white supremacist structures of dominant society, nevertheless does not result in an outright rejection of Pride. Part of what I found thought-provoking about Lee's words was their conflation of neoliberalism and white supremacy. Can these two things be collapsed? What organizing principles and histories do they share? Is there any way out? In spite or perhaps because of the way Pride has deviated from its grassroots emergence as pride from below, there lies a persistent desire to change Pride from within its systemic logic. Lee's dreams of takeover point to the strategic allure of working within and engage with larger organizational structures and systems, such as Pride organizations, in addition to the forging of alternatives outside of those systems.

In interviews conducted with members of Edmonton's queer communities, variously involved in either queer activism, Pride events, or both, the relationship between individual feelings of pride, experiences of Gay Pride events, and the political tensions between gay and queer politics were discussed. Participants were chosen based on their differing political positionalities within Edmonton's queer communities, as well as their involvement with Pride. Research participants' articulations of their own pride in relation to collective Gay Pride demonstrates the dynamism between affective and political tensions as they mediate, exacerbate, and overlap with one another within and between bodies. Interviewees spoke of a plethora of meanings and feelings attached to Pride:

> Brian: I probably have two feelings that I use to describe [Pride]. One is currently a sense of celebration, a sense of being part of a group and a part of a city in a positive way. I think the other part is that it is also a statement that reflects that

> I'm part of a group that is a minority group that has known discrimination, where there's things that still need to be changed, and it's an opportunity to push that those kinds of things need to be done, and kind of in peoples' faces a little bit.

This description of Gay Pride seamlessly encapsulates dominant discourses of Gay Pride as both a celebration of a marginalized group as well as a moment of political visibility. However, the extent to which an event can be both fun (joyful, celebratory, light-hearted) and fight (point to the need for continued institutional and structural changes, addressing embedded and emerging inequalities, and get "in people's faces") plagues Pride organizations and events, as well as individual experiences of proud feelings.

In *Feeling Backward* Heather Love (2007) connects the affective-political tension of living with "unproductive" bad feelings (shame, rage, depression) in the context of "a movement that takes pride as its watchword" to the structural gap between representations of queerness à la *L Word* and "the reality of ongoing violence and inequality" (3). What Love points to is the paradoxical nature of political movements founded on histories of suffering; the tension between memorializing the roots of the movement and simultaneously asserting an overcoming of that reality – a paradox that manifests each year in Pride celebrations across North America. With the exception of the participant above, all of my interviewees expressed varying degrees of tension, uncertainty, and skepticism surrounding feelings of pride.

> Lee: I get really insecure about pride. It feels cocky…I think pride for me is related to a lot of needing to be seen, needing to be recognized, probably like a sense of lack somewhere or need for identity. Yeah. And control – which I think is an emotion for me, this desire to be in control. I think pride is a sense of

> authorship and desire for authorship in all forms that I think about pride. Pride is dominant. It has a domineering nature to it, to me. Which if I think about pride parades, they're like, 'let us bombard you with a certain form of gayness'. And same with white supremacists, like white supremacists are really active in Victoria, like they march all the time, and they just YELL at people. Like, that's pride to me. It's like, 'I'm just going to YELL over you until you submit', right? Like, I'm not here to meet some common ground, I'm not here to be transformative or creative. I'm here to tell you the Truth.

In contrast to the first interviewee, Lee attaches feelings of control, authorship, and domination to expressions of pride. Pride – whether Gay Pride or White Pride – connotes an orientation to politics that is inherently competitive and violent rather than communicative and transformative. They point to what pride desires, where the feeling comes from, as well as what it seeks as an end-goal. The "domineering nature" of pride is the problem that makes sinking into the experience of pride fraught. Crucially, the domineering nature of proud feelings is meaningless without a context in which it is expressed; for this person, both Gay Pride and White Pride share the tendency to affectively overwhelm and bombard people with a particular collective feeling connected to a particular vision of society. For others, feeling fully proud was complicated due to personal pasts and societal expectations:

> Jane: You know I wish I was prouder to be queer… I think - I think I am. I'm out… I think what happens though, I think what dampens that pride is the guilt that I feel about myself as like, breaking down the family. And not being what I ought to have been. And so with being queer came a bit of pain, and that isn't

> about the collective pride of being queer, because when I'm at pride, or at the pride awards, or with all my queer friends I don't feel not proud. I do… But I think the guilt doesn't allow me to feel the pride that I wish I could. I think that's what it is. I don't feel proud of that, which dampens the pride.

While for Lee it is pride itself that is inherently problematic, Jane describes the fraught nature of her capacity to *feel* pride in being a queer woman as being "dampened" and diminished by gendered expectations surrounding her role in the family, pointing to the ways the individualization of neoliberal pride is always-already complicated by social structures. Her pride is impinged upon by painful past memories seemingly separate from her queer identity and political concerns. Later, Lee described pride as a place where affective experience, identity, and politics are in tension with one another due to their unlikely convergence:

> Randi: Could you say you have queer pride?
>
> Lee: I don't know if I could put queer and pride together.
>
> Randi: Why not?
>
> Lee: So in some ways I don't think I have queer pride. I do. Like, I don't want to have queer pride, how about that? That's [laughs], I feel weird about it and I know I probably enact it in lots of ways…I'm trying to think about the two questions of like, queer pride, and how they would even go together…queerness holds complexity that I don't think pride can… Queerness affectively, for me, seeks unsettling and seeks wobble vs pride as like solidifying … maybe that's why it's so heavy in my body because it is seeking neat, tidy, enclosed, like 'what is your PR line?', 'what can we put in the Journal?'

Note here Lee's slippage between their own feelings of queer pride with queer politics, and pride as a feeling with Pride as an event. Similarly, Jane's brightness of her queer pride is dimmed by the societal expectations around motherhood, in spite of her political beliefs about queerness. These slippages between pride as an embodied experience, as indicative of a type of (gay) politics, and as an event, expose the inextricable nature of these elements, as well as some of the affective-discursive tensions surrounding Gay Pride politics. Queer politics, in its anti-normative, anti-identity, mandate is in direct contrast to the stabilizing force of both proud feelings and a type of Pride politic rooted in notions of stable identities and binary logics. Like Lee, Jane noted the way queer politics feel "more watery" and "multidimensional," whereas Gay Politics—grounded in an understanding of a stable homosexual/heterosexual binary—is less affectively uncertain. This tendency for P/pride to capture rogue affects and distill them into something discursively comprehensible and narrativizable is felt in Lee's body as "heaviness." Pride events demand an enclosure and governing of embodied affect that makes Lee anxious, in that doing work such as constructing the "PR line" necessarily involves a set of risks and potential violence. The slippages between ideas about pride (as the emotion, as the sin, as the vice), individual experiences of proud feelings in relation to Pride events, and the kind of politics that become attached to pride were prevalent throughout the interviews. Such conceptual slippages point to the dynamism between the affective, cognitive, discursive, and political realms, as well as the ambivalence of collective Pride, and the affective and political escapes that Pride seeks to manage.

Courtney: I don't know if queer pride exists.

Randi: Why not?

> Courtney: I don't know… from like how I define queer, it would be that there are a lot of things that are problematic with pride. Like the things that we've discussed, that it might not be genuine, that it is more about making a case to an external body, that it's about assimilation and appeasement. And so I think queer would push back against that. For all of my engagement in the community and the queer activists that I'm involved with, they sort of begrudgingly participate in pride events. I don't really feel that…it's not about like, 'I'm so proud of my sexuality', it's more like, there's still a lot of stuff to fight for, and we need to be honest about that. And so I think it might be more, and I'm totally biased in this, but it might be more sort of a queer engagement with the Pride movement… there's so many people in our community that are not even at the level of being able to express pride, right? So, I think like, I don't think there's a specific queer pride, I think there would be more a queer engagement with pride to realize other ends.

What this begins to point to is the relationship between the history of distilling and solidifying gay identity and Pride organizations, events, and politics. These "queer engagements" with Pride point to the political divisions that manifest during Pride events. When asked about the kinds of exclusions made by Pride, a prominent gay activist and board member of Edmonton's Pride Festival Society responded:

> Brian: So there are some things that do have some limitations. We also do say that we don't want signs that are discriminatory or hatred kind of thing.

For Brian, the only basis for exclusion from Pride, the parade in particular, is anything that could be considered hateful or discriminatory—regardless of the political content.

When asked about the political divisiveness that manifests around Pride, a longtime trans activist in Edmonton's queer community articulated the tension as partly generational:

> James: I think the kind of old school gay community has a tried and true politic you know, it's worked, they know how to do it, and they know that it takes time and they know that is means you have to kiss ass for a bit, and sometimes you've got to bend over a lot. And the new approach is one of… it really is a middle finger 'fuck-you' kind of politic that I don't think stands well alone. I think that somehow those two need to find a way to work together.

James placed himself politically between the "old school" and approach to politics, a distinction that was discussed in the interviews as the differences between gay and queer politics. Again, these political differences cannot be thought outside of different understandings of (sexual) identity; one, stable and affectively solid, the other, contingent and affectively unsettled. His depiction of the "old school" (gay) politics depicts the new (radical queer) politic as missing a level of maturity and understanding about how the world works—as out of touch with "the way things are." Interestingly, James later categorizes the Occupy movement as well as the group "Queers Against Israeli Apartheid" as part of this contingent, emphasizing the rage that informs their pride. Of my interviewees, Lee most forcefully embodied the political contingent that is at times delegitimized because of their emotional intensity that clashes with collective feeling Pride organizations manufacture. In the following quote Lee describes their problem with this old school gay politic:

> So, I think the best example is fucking stupid ass Macklemore, who I wanna like, drag behind a truck because I'm a hick, and that's how we deal with conflict - we

> set something on fire or we cause physical harm, which is my own problem and things I have to engage with how I was taught to deal with conflict (laughs). And when you say that in public people get really upset with you because it's true and they know it happens and it usually happens to our people. So for me it's like that idea that it's the 'same love' and everyone is just the same and if we all just could be the same everything would be ok… It's not the same love, and it's not the same access to love, and it's not the same experience. Because structural racism impacts queer people of colour from the minute they move into this world… If you think that gay marriage is going to solve poverty and it's intersections with gender and race, then you're fuckin'… white. And you're fucking middle class and you have no - like it's not structural, it's this individual thing…There's just so much more that needs to happen if we actually believe in meaningful change for people. And I think gay politics gets really quickly trapped in doing what they need to do for the state to recognize them and the state doesn't want people to be equal, because they'd be fucked.

Extending Audre Lorde and bell hooks' work on the angry Black woman, Sara Ahmed articulates the way "negative" emotions (anger, unhappiness) are often dismissed as stemming from within a singular subject (or particular category of subjects such as the "angry Black woman" or the "feminist killjoy") rather than as being socially enacted responses to structural inequalities (2010). The very reasonability of exposing particular kinds of structural violence is erased due to its particular mode of "negative" expression: "when the exposure of violence becomes the origin of violence, then the violence that is exposed is not revealed" (584). Lee's scathing analysis of a beloved gay anthem,

Mackelmore's "Same Love," points to the way structures of oppression shape love in a myriad of ways, and so to collapse all love into the "same love" is to erase all of those material, affective, and political differences that make some seem and feel very strange. Killing the joy of Pride stems from a desire to do pride otherwise. Lee's evocative description of wanting to drag Mackelmore behind a truck is not unintentional either; it is a jarring appropriation of the histories of violence against people of colour and queer people and at the same time harkens to their rural "hick" roots. What Lee demands is an acknowledgment of the complicity of gay political organizations in contemporary structures that facilitate the deaths of some bodies.

The explosive reminder of merciless physical and structural violence that directly and unapologetically problematizes the politics of Gay Pride exemplifies that which is targeted to be "limited" by Pride organizations, lest it disturb the celebratory and self-congratulatory atmosphere. The proximity of such an affective politic "gets in the way of other people's enjoyment of the right things, functioning as unwanted reminder of histories that are disturbing, that disturb the atmosphere" (Ahmed, 2010: 584). Bodies like Lee's are seen as "blockage points" (584) that disrupt the collective feeling and kill the joy of Gay Pride. This refusal to indulge in the values celebrated by Gay Pride to "look on the bright side," is often seen as a personal failure as well as a slight to the hard-won battles fought by queer people, and to the organizations and nations that gain support through their claims to diversity. Lorde points to the way that "looking on the bright side of things is a euphemism used for obscuring certain realities of life, the open consideration of which might prove threatening to the status quo" (1997: 76). Understood in this light, it is not that Lee is unreflectively choosing to stay "in the dark," but rather

that they understand how taking pride in diversity without attending to structures of oppression and difference "allows the concealment of racism and inequalities within organizations" such as the Edmonton Pride Festival Society and Pride Toronto, at the expense of some of the most vulnerable bodies.

Further, in spite of ongoing attempts to govern the affective atmosphere of Pride through the environmental management of political bodies that unmask the violence that makes such a feeling possible, it is clear that the unruliness of affect cannot be contained by such governing strategies. Such intensive escapes at the level of affect, articulated as emotional uncertainty and ambivalence about pride, are the conditions of possibility for more concrete affective-political strategies. The conceptual slippages between political and affective tensions demonstrate that the movement of affect within and between the individual and the collective is a potential site of resistance to the neoliberalization of proud feeling and politics. The fraught nature of pride as it exists between individual feeling and organizational attempts to govern and ensure a celebratory and 'positive' pride lead to cautious engagements with Pride organizations and events.

III. Willful Parts: Pride Toronto and Trans* Exclusion

The relationship between Pride Toronto and Toronto's political communities is one that is, unsurprisingly, fraught. The most notorious example of this tension is the well-documented conflict between the activist group, Queers Against Israeli Apartheid (QUAIA) and Pride Toronto (Greyson, 2012; Elia, 2012; Gentile & Kinsman, 2016). The attention given to this conflict no doubt emerges from its perfect encapsulation of contemporary debates within queer politics surrounding the issue of "pinkwashing," a term coined by Jasbir Puar and Maya Mikdashi (2012) that conceptualizes the way in

which nations garner support for imperialist projects and the "war on terror" through the barely veiled relativism enacted through such state-supported celebrations of sexual and gender rights and freedoms. Pinkwashing names the way that states gain legitimacy for imperialist occupation by using gay and lesbian "rights" as proof of superiority over Other nations. In other words, the term points to the way gay and lesbian rights are strategically used by states as means through which other desired ends can be met, thus pointing to the often implicit ways the uncritical celebration of queer freedoms in the West/global north both augments and distracts from the brutality of ongoing imperialist and colonial processes (often enacted in the name of values such as freedom and democracy) both at home and abroad. Because QUAIA marches in solidarity with Palestinian queers, and is critical of the acts of the Israeli state, there has been backlash against QUAIA, claiming that the collective is anti-Semitic, supports terrorism, and is generally radical in a way that flies in the face of freedoms "at home". While QUAIA has never been successfully banned from Pride Toronto, their inclusion was hard-won.

Another example that can be used to think through Pride Toronto's complex mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion is the more recent exclusion of the Canadian Association for Equality (CAFE) from the Toronto Pride parade. CAFE describes itself as an educational charity focused on issues of boys and men's health, and hosts events and public lectures around men's issues, as well as a series of services geared toward contemporary manhood and masculinity. However, in spite of its squeaky clean surface and its repeated claims to have no affiliation with men's rights activism (MRA) or anti-feminism, the organizations' connections to MRA groups, events, and movement leaders such as A Voice For Men's Paul Elam, as well as its advertising tactics which have

included posters of an angry woman slapping a cowering man and a bearded Rosie the riveter, have raised a deserved amount of suspicion regarding the true side of CAFE.

In an effort to put some of these concerns about its political correctness to rest, CAFE applied to march in the 2014 Toronto Pride parade for World Pride. However, just days before the parade, CAFE received an email from Pride Toronto informing them that their marching permit had been revoked. The reason given for this last minute rejection was that it had been brought to the attention of the board that CAFE might contravene the spirit and values of Pride Toronto (cite). In my interview with Justin Trottier in the autumn following World Pride, the executive director and primary spokesperson for CAFE, he reiterated three points: 1) the organization wanted to walk in the parade out of a desire to demonstrate that their members are supportive of LGBTQ rights; 2) gay, queer, trans, and female members of the organization were especially emotionally "hurt" as a result of this "attack" from Pride, and; 3) that at the level of policy and process, Pride Toronto had violated its own by-laws and in doing so had ironically betrayed its own values.

> Justin: Again I want to reiterate that our concern is not with pride in the larger sense. It's not with the pride parade, it's not with the LGBT community certainly, because we have members who are part of that community. It is really with the politics of the establishment Pride Toronto, which was operating World Pride. And it was that we felt that they actually violated their own principles of inclusion, of equality, of diversity, and they certainly violated their own procedures. And look, you know, people don't always have a lot of respect for procedures, but these procedures - cuz we looked at the history of Pride's

> procedures - the reason they came about was because Pride needed some professional and consistent way of dealing with concerns so that they weren't just arbitrarily saying 'you can't participate', 'we're disciplining you', 'we just don't like you'…And before we just abandon those procedures before there's a new group we don't like, we want to remember that the procedures were created out of challenging situations and the desire to do things better. And so I think what really disappointed me is that so many people just sort of excused Pride for, 'yeah, well they had no choice' [or] 'but of course they had to break their procedures because you guys are just so bad.' But the procedures are in place so that there's an investigation to find out if we were really that bad, right? And that never happened, and there weren't a lot of people that called Pride out on that other than members of our own group.

When asked about these processes, a former member of Pride Toronto, Matt, responded:

> Everybody's allowed… So we don't invite or uninvite anybody. The group that came in this year, I voted against having them in the parade because they lied. It turned out it was a misogynist men's group and that I had no problem with because that's their opinion. But they said all these other groups were supporting them.
>
> R: This is CAFE?
>
> Yeah. These other groups had nothing, they don't even know who you are, so why are you in the application? This to me is a lie and a misrepresentation. So that's why I sort of pushed them out on my side. Staff did it anyway. But we did

> set up a process for people to complain, but that was circumvented a little bit this year.

Despite their very different political stances and goals, what the examples of QUAIA and CAFE both demonstrate is not only the tenuous position of Pride organizations in negotiating the dynamics of overlapping and clashing political collectives, but also, and more pointedly, that the "rules" by which Pride incorporates or rejects, includes and excludes, are anything but straightforward. The mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion practiced by Pride organizations are characteristically neoliberal in their subtlety and elusiveness. Increasingly, it is through technologies of security and environment that Pride manages flows of bodies, emotions, products, and capital, in a way that is most conducive to enhancing the success of the organization. However, the following example of the relationship between Pride Toronto and Toronto's trans communities indicates that in spite of these sophisticated attempts to manage, lines of flight emerge and pride from below persists.

In 2009 Pride Toronto began hosting a Trans March through Toronto's gay village on Church Street the Friday before Pride weekend. This march was considerably shorter (about three blocks) and was not given the same route or resources as the Dyke March or official Pride Parade, which shut down Toronto's buzzing Yonge Street. Instead, the Trans March route was a few short blocks, contained within the bounds of Church Street, Toronto's "Gay Village," which is already closed to vehicle traffic during Pride season. Because the Trans March did not exceed the limits of the Village, city permits for the march were not needed. Put differently, so long as Pride Toronto did not push for city permits, the trans community would remain relatively invisible to the wider

public and marginalized within Pride Toronto and gay and lesbian communities more generally. While Pride Toronto maintained that they were bound by the decision made by the City of Toronto and were not prepared to damage that relationship (for trans people), some felt that Pride Toronto simply was not willing to fight for trans people. In 2011, as a response to the inequitable treatment of the Trans March by Pride Toronto, a trans woman initiated a splinter march down Yonge Street, using speakers to blast Lily Allen's track, "Fuck You," out of the back of her truck (dailyextra.com). While the bulk of the group followed the scheduled route down Church Street about 1/5 of the contingent defiantly detached, marching down one of the busiest streets in Canada without legal permits.

With still no changes initiated by Pride Toronto, the second and significantly larger splinter march took place in 2012. In 2013, the City of Toronto reversed its decision and granted permits in the final hour, albeit with a shorter route than requested (likely in response to the growing rogue contingent planned to march down Yonge Street regardless of the City's decision). As a result of both the shorter route and the last minute granting of permission from the City, the 2013 Trans March remained a grassroots and community driven political event separate from Pride Toronto. Given the last minute shifts, there was much confusion surrounding march routes and whether the Trans March was indeed a Pride event or not, or where exactly the splinter could be located.

As World Pride approached in 2014, significant efforts were made on behalf of Pride Toronto to incorporate the trans community and march into Pride. Through the establishment of the Trans* Pride Team, Pride Toronto could siphon the affective and organizational labour of the trans community into the dominant fold of Pride. To ease

tensions, Pride Toronto turned to trans activists in the community, including Chris Milloy, who had led previous splinter marches, as one of the Trans Team Leads. It was noted that it was especially important for some that Toronto's trans community put forward a united front as it would be the first Trans March in the history of World Pride. However, in spite of these attempts, which included town-hall meetings and heated debates, the work of the Trans* Pride Team could not extinguish the fire that fuelled the splintering contingent.

In a 2015 blog entry, Milloy penned an open letter of resignation from their unpaid Pride Toronto position as Team Lead of the Trans Pride Team:

> After struggling to achieve these goals through two festival years, and forming a deeper understanding of the inner workings of Pride Toronto, I have concluded that Pride Toronto cannot and will not truly become safe and accessible to the Trans Community as a whole unless a significant organizational transformation takes place— one that would require changes that are well beyond my authority to implement, if I stay in the limited capacity of Volunteer Team Lead. (chrismilloy.ca)

Milloy's experience as a "strategic broker" (Larner and Craig, 2005) is a painful example of the professionalization of the politics of sexuality (Richardson, 2005) and an exposure of the way organizations such as Pride Toronto work through channeling the affective-political labour of marginalized communities. Some of the needed organizational changes Milloy cites include the failure to uphold the queer liberation mandate true to its riotous roots in response to the 1981 Toronto Bathhouse Raids, the classism inherent in its "members only" voting structure, the continued relationship with TD in spite of the bank's transphobic and transmisogynist identification policy that has directly impacted

trans lives (Milloy, 2014), lack of accountability surrounding accessibility issues, the tokenization of people of colour, and the general mistreatment of the Dyke March.

Contra the oft-claimed effort to memorialize the political origins of Pride, Mathieu Chantelois, the executive director of Pride Toronto has stated:

> The biggest danger for us is to try to do the same thing we were doing in 1981. As an organization, as a movement, every year it's important for us to reinvent ourselves, to see how we're going to stay relevant. (cbc.ca, 2015)

In this statement, the return to 1981 is read as a regression rather than an affective-political muster point. For Chantelois, the "biggest danger" to Pride Toronto – the chief threat to the continued success of the organization (and its events) – is the impulse to return to the political moment that triggered the Pride movement; this is a potent testament to the tension between pride from below and neoliberal pride, with its strategic amnesia and obsession with reinvention, that riddles contemporary Pride politics. Rather than attending to the continued and pressing structural oppression faced by trans people, queers of colour, disabled queers, or queers with precarious citizenship status to remain "relevant," structural realities that attrite the lives of marginalized queers are turned away from in the name of a relevancy coded in the language of capital. Realities and reminders of structural oppression aren't sexy, don't attract donors, and don't make people feel good. Because of this clearly articulated position as to the purpose and future of Pride Toronto, actions such as the honouring of Black Lives Matter for the 2016 Pride parade appear less than genuine; the extent to which Pride Toronto has failed to initiate actual support (funding, materials during extended periods of outdoor protest, press releases,

tweets, etc.) for Black Lives Matter Toronto attests to Milloy's charge of the tokenization of people of colour.

The trajectory of the tense relationship between Pride Toronto and Toronto's trans and non-binary communities illustrates the processes of neoliberal inclusion and exclusion, as well as the political content often implicit in these processes. The history of the trans splinter march—a section of the march that deviates from and refuses being incorporated and included in official Toronto Pride events—is an example of an actual, materialized line of flight that can emerge from the kinds of affective-political escapes (narrated as ambivalence or uncertainty about pride and Pride) discussed by the interviewees above. Additionally, this escape from the dominant neoliberal fold of Pride is an embodied and political rejection posed by pride from below. In this case, the trans communities' persistent marginalization and immanent political concerns—violence, death, murder, and state forms of abandonment—is disruptive of the ideal proud (gay) subject and thus Pride events themselves, structured as they are around celebration, fun, and unity. As such, the disruptive and disorienting encounters caused by portions of the trans community are targeted for management, co-optation, and incorporation in order to ensure smooth functioning of the Pride machine. This management of trans disruptions of the joy of Pride is material (e.g. dictating the length and route of the march), affective (e.g. managing the kinds of intensities that may muddy the collective celebratory feeling of pride), and discursive (controlling the signs and speech that are allowed to exist under the banner of "Pride"). Trans experiences and structural realities of oppression, including housing and employment discrimination, police abuse and harassment, pervasive sexual and physical violence, as well as continuing discrimination and erasure emerging from

within gay and queer communities, 'kill the joy' of Pride, and therefore must be co-opted and contained.

In *Willful Subjects*, Ahmed posits her figure of the feminist killjoy as kin of the willful subject: those who are willful, "unwilling to get along, unwilling to preserve an idea of happiness" (Ahmed, 2010: 2). In this way, the persistence of pride from below expressed by trans communities is not merely an act of killing the joy of collective Gay Pride, but an act of willfulness, which, like unhappiness, indicates an error—one has willed the wrong way thus straying from the right path to happiness. The willfulness of some contingents of trans communities refusing to become a willing part of the collective body of Pride, materialized through the splinter march, epitomizes the willfulness of pride from below and its affective-discursive conditions of possibility. There will always be pride from below because affective life can never be fully governed; discursive attempts to capture the complexities of lived experience are inevitably incomplete. Until the gap between trans experience and discourse no longer causes pain, the pride from below of trans communities will not cease to challenge the neoliberalization of pride and its intended collective feeling.

IV. History, Collective Feeling, and Pride From Below

Up until this point in the chapter, the political and ethical objectives of Pride politics and organizations have been interrogated through attentiveness to affective-politics and the relationship between neoliberal pride and pride from below. Given the endemic and emerging problems with contemporary Pride, one might ask why, in spite of all of these conflicts, issues, and critiques, Pride politics continue to persist. Aside from the obvious answer that it continues to thrive because it generates capital and reproduces neoliberal

values and subjective forms, the reasons why many people cannot reject Gay Pride altogether must be explored. What continues to draw even the most radical activists into the fold of Gay Pride? What is there to salvage? Why not give up Pride altogether? It is my contention that in spite of the deep-seated problems with contemporary Pride organizations and events, pride from below continues to engage because it is driven by a sense of faith that pride can be otherwise.

Lee: I think there's definitely spaces where pride can be differently.

That even an adamant anti-Pride voice expresses certainty that pride can feel and be differently than it currently exists is significant, as it points to the hope that is drawn from the unpredictability of collective affect, the power that is desired and found through the feeling of belonging to a collective, and a recognition that the intensities that fuel particular feelings can transform what that feeling can do. Much radical political activism – which I understand as usually emerging from the affective political location of pride from below – is not an attack on the joy of the collective, but rather an expression of an intense desire to exist within a collective where the gap between lived experience and dominant discourses is livable. If we take Spinoza seriously, the feeling of community, or a network of actors that is supportive of and enhances one's capacity to act, necessarily challenges the contours of the political (what counts as politics, norms, rules of engagement, accountability mechanisms, and shared visions of how to live in the present in a way that coheres with goals for the future). While there are no doubt empowering feelings that emerge when one feels that they are "fighting the good fight," the feeling of not belonging, of pushing up against something larger than yourself, the feeling of structures bearing down on you politically, professionally, and interpersonally, cannot be

sustained in isolation. The desire to seek out these networks, coupled with the recognition that independence is a fantasy imposed through dominant forms that seek to individualize as a means to maximize competition, pulls both individuals and groups who feel diminished (even by Pride events) into the dominant fold of Pride. The task is thus learning how to make radical political action that is destabilizing of neoliberal values and structures feel as or more enhancing than the act of inhabiting (and benefitting from) those values.

> Jane: We're attracted to the hive so to speak, but we have to be feeling some part of that to go at all… But I'm interested in having it be seen, so maybe I can see it bigger after I've been….to be with other people helps to feel part of that pride and to take some of that juiciness away.

Here Jane articulates that in coming together with others, parts of us swell. Other feelings are undoubtedly present, but that the collective is "pouring" energy into one feeling (pride) amplifies it, resulting in the recognition of that feeling growing in the individual. As, the energetic "buzzing" of pride grows in the collective, more individuals can hear and feel the vibration as it swells—it is aurally and energetically contagious—drawing more individuals into the collective.

> Brian: Two years ago at the very end of the parade was a group of Winners employees there, and there were about 50 of them…They had a great time. They were yelling and carrying on…and it was infectious. It was absolutely infectious.

Several interviewees described their experiences of the crowd during the Pride parade through the language of contagion; an experience that enabled a momentary detachment from the weight of the social categories that define its particular embodiment. Being

unfastened from oneself through an attachment to the collective challenges attempts at both individual and collective attempts at affective governance.

> Matt: The few times I've actually been in the parade have been extremely moving. Like just like heart-wrenching moving.
>
> Randi: And does that surprise you when it happens?
>
> Matt: Yeah, because I think I'm more in control than that.

The collective energy produces something "new" that can neither be explained by nor reduced to any particular individual or narrative description of the event. Affect scholars such as Stewart (2007) emphasize the way that the affective realm is experienced as a *something* that cannot be captured, has not quite reached explicitness, but is nonetheless perceptible in the periphery. Collective Pride generates something that exceeds the sum of its (individual) parts.

> James: I think it emerges. It draws us to the place then suddenly you feel AMAZING, you know? Like, 'oh my god there's 35,000!' And you know 34,999 other people who feel just like ME! You know? It's like, 'WOW'. It's like a 'Wow!' moment…
>
> We have all of these things that bring us to that place, but what gets carried through the crowd is pride. And it's that thing where all of these differences can come and merge together and create this amazing thing, it almost has a life of it's own, you know? I think it does have a life of its own, and I think it's all of these things that bring it, and carry it forward. Um, for some it's hope, and you know for some it's shame, and you know I hope for a life that's different, I hope for equality and so I go out there, I feel so, I'm ashamed of who I am, [and] this is a

> moment I can feel solidarity and pride… So I think it's a lot of things that bring us together and pride is what we raise up… I think it's that… desire that drives us together. If I think about Harvey Milk, for example, you know he said, 'this is wrong' and started speaking out. And people that emerge, they began to gather, you know.

For James, the feeling of pride seems to refer to a temporary transformation of individual shame into a collective pride. Throughout the interviews, the sense that flashes of Pride resonated with early Pride events—or *should* actively seek to return to that place of political feeling—was present. References were made to San Francisco gay activist Harvey Milk, as well as to Stonewall and experiences of local queer history. Brian, a prominent figure in Edmonton's queer political history, recalls his experiences with early Edmonton Pride events:

> [We] had debated whether we would do a parade as opposed to events that we used to do…and whether it would be successful, whether people would come, whether people would be yelling out or throwing things, you know, all that kind of stuff. And we made the decision to have a parade, and we decided to do the parade on Whyte Avenue because we thought that would be more likely friendly than perhaps downtown, something along those lines. And then we went about the kind of organizing, you know, all the mechanics you have to do… police at intersections and all that, which took a lot of time and effort! We were new at that at the time doing that kind of thing, too…we also advertised it a bit, you know, by whatever means we had, that we were going to have this parade and the rest. And we let other groups in town who were gay and lesbian and as well as anybody else

> who wanted to know kind of thing. But we didn't have much money to spend on that, so it wasn't a whole lot of wide advertising. …And I'll never forget that… you know I got up in the morning. It was, first of all, a beautiful sunny day, and I live on the north side of town and so I was driving over to the south side wondering whether anyone would show up. We didn't know anybody would show up for the parade either. We had no idea whether that would… and rounding the corner and seeing about 30 people standing there already and I was like 'I can't believe it'. It was incredibly exciting. Just incredibly exciting. If no one had showed up I wouldn't have been surprised either…but I was, oh my god.
>
> Randi: Were you scared?
>
> Brian: Not when I got there and I saw those other folks. I was probably a little more apprehensive before if there wasn't much of anybody - and it could be bad. But once I got there and saw the folks I thought, 'it's going to be fine' kind of thing. And it was.

This description of Edmonton's first Pride parade, organized with minimal resources by a small group of people, riddled with an uncertainty and overwhelmed by a sense that what they were doing was in service of a growing but largely silent and invisible collective, resonates with the affective-politics of contemporary trans politics. Interviewees clearly articulated that participating in the collective feeling of Pride was not for oneself, but *for others* and *with others*. This sense of the collective in guiding action can be a starting place from which to politically challenge the divisiveness (borne of a particular kind of inclusivity) endemic to neoliberalism. Through attentiveness to the strategic forging of alternative affective atmospheres, the dominance of neoliberalized collective affects can

be knocked off of their tracks. The affect-imbued faith that Pride is something that vulnerable bodies need has not faded, as it remains a driving force for participation in contemporary Pride events as well.

> Taylor: We did this city spaces climate survey two years ago and got some great responses. It was talking about students' feelings of comfort on campus in relation to their sexual orientation or gender identity…One response talked about how they were so isolated and alone and the first time they'd ever come out was on the survey and they were in their second year and they had no idea any supports existed for students and it was just super intense, and I was like, 'fuck that. No one needs to have that feeling. We're doing a pride week and its going to be fucking big.'

Being affected by the isolation of others is what moved Taylor toward the threshold of action based on the feelings of others, further lending to the sociality of affect. One can take part in Pride activities, and be part of the hive as a means to create and share feelings of pride with and for others. The recognition that others need an injection of pride and the sense of belonging and confidence that accompanies it was at the forefront of many of my interviews.

For Taylor, taking part in organizing Pride events on campus is a means through which care for one's community—perhaps especially those in community one does not know personally—can occur. Actively taking part in the creation of a collective feeling is a way to reach, touch, and lift up those seeking a dose of community that cannot be reached individually. Affect is a conduit through which people can be touched without being physically contacted. When one says they are "touched" they are rarely referring to

a pat on the back, but to something that pierces through to one's interior, oftentimes against their will. In this sense, Pride is an event as well as the public assertion of a collective feeling, one intended to combat and remedy feelings of discomfort and isolation in relation to sexuality and gender identity. Reading responses from those in one's own community expressing feelings of pain and hurt indicate a gap between self and world that Pride events can potentially mend.

The affects and emotions sparked by events such as the survey discussed by Taylor, or incidents of violence or discrimination in one's community, are often triggers for concrete political interventions and tactics.

> Brian: Well it certainly, uh, with that one of the things that played a big part in me being much more publicly open about being gay and taking a public position and dealing with the media and stuff like that, which I didn't do before…Before the raids I think there were a lot of gay people in this city, gay and lesbian folks, that kind of felt that things were ok if you just kind of stayed below the radar, no one would bother you. And I think that really [the raids], from my perspective just really broke that wide open… I remember also going to a national conference on gays and lesbians in Toronto and going to a session on being out or not… and I can't tell you the number of gay men that said, 'well I'm a professional you know, I just can't come out, blah blah blah' and I just thought…fff – fooey! … So I think those kinds of things all pushed me into being much more open, and beginning to recognize that was important for me personally, and sometimes for others in the community.

Here Brian points to the 1981 police raid of Edmonton's *Pisces* bathhouse as an event

that "broke wide open" the commonly-held belief that if marginalized groups keep to themselves they will be left alone. The raid was one of the events that triggered his long career of political activism and community service. Importantly, what this excerpt connects is the politics of coming out and the affective politics of pride from below, distinguishing pride from below in several ways from neoliberal pride politics and to an earlier era before gay identity and Pride celebrations were enfolded into the mainstream. Being "out" is not only a personal act of self-care and self-affirmation but also a communal act through which one takes responsibility for unknown others; it is a political mode of collective responsibility that is not grounded in the reproduction of the hetero-family. Coming out is an individual act of pride through which collective responsibility is enacted, and remains a powerful one in relation to threats of contagion. Fears of queerness and gender non-conformity spreading throughout the social body persist, whether through discourses of choice or contemporary concerns with gender-neutral bathrooms in schools. While the issue is predominantly framed as either one of parental rights or the safety of women and girls, what is barely veiled in these concerns are fears that normalizing transness and/or gender fluidity will "open the floodgates" to gender anarchy and the eventual undoing of the hetero-patriarchal social order. Socio-affective contagion remains a serious threat to contemporary forms of neoliberal governance; what is needed is a level of attunement required to harness those contagious intensities in the service of an adaptable organizing principle or project that attends to the material realities faced by the most vulnerable rather than the bottom line.

V. Conclusion

"There is no need to fear or hope, only to look for new weapons." (Deleuze, 1992:4)

In this chapter I used Gay Pride as a node through which to examine collective affect as a site of neoliberal governance, and the implications of such governance strategies for social justice politics in a neoliberal context. I focused on the relationship between two modes of pride—neoliberal pride and pride from below—arguing that pride from below emerges from the embodied suffering that manifests as a result of the gap between lived experience and "reality," thus conflicting with and challenging the embodied sense of superiority neoliberal pride gains through an affective coherence with and grasp on "reality." I traced how affective "escapes" at the level of the individual, expressed subjectively as ambivalence and uncertainty about proud feelings and Gay Pride politics, are the conditions of possibility for actualized political interventions that challenge neoliberal governance, staged by pride from below. To exemplify an actualized escape of affect or line of flight from attempts to govern the collective feeling of neoliberal p/Pride, I examined the history of the relationship between Pride Toronto and the Toronto Pride March and splinter marches. The history of the splinter march indicates the tenacity of pride from below to challenge the hierarchies that are established within collectives, and demand that the biopolitical realities of neoliberalism – that its processes inevitably cause violence and destruction of some bodies - must be reckoned with.

What does all of this tell us about the contemporary relation between feelings of pride, a (neoliberal) form of subjectivity thoroughly infused with the theory of human capital, and political engagement? Or, what does an analysis of the internal politics of Gay Pride have to do with social justice politics in the context of neoliberalism, where the processes by which some are left to die are increasingly difficult to disrupt and combat? Taking seriously Vrasti's warning to not confuse affect with politics (2011) as well as

Oksala's contention that effective resistance to processes of neoliberalization must include an acknowledgement that neoliberal governance can only function 'through us,' (2013: 71), I turn to the question of strategy, offering two resources through which strategy and social justice politics can be oriented in the context of neoliberalism.

In "Trans Politics on a Neoliberal Landscape," (2009) Dean Spade calls into question the effectiveness of legal reform in alleviating oppressive structures, and pushes us to think legal reform beyond individualized (neo)liberal tenets. In doing so, he argues that "we can develop better and more interesting strategies with more appropriate roles for legal reforms" (371). At the base of the strategies is one question: do these actions actually improve the life chances of trans people? This attention to the biopolitical implications of neoliberalism, the distribution of life chances for the most vulnerable bodies, leads Spade to focus on the violence of administrative systems (360). Spade's attention to administrative governance is instructive in that it redirects analyses of oppression to systems and structures rather than to individual victims and perpetrators. This sort of thinking opens up possibilities for strategic alliances between those with knowledge of legal and administrative systems, and social movements and their histories, focused on the long-term goal of redistributing life chances for trans, disabled, rural, poor, immigrant and other groups that experience marginalization.

The second example of strategic political disruptions to neoliberalism attuned to affect is Michel Feher's (2009) discussion of human capital and (self-)appreciation. Taking cues from Foucault's "Power and Sex," and Marx's discussion of the free labourer in *Capital*—both texts that hint at the strategic inhabitation of particular modes

of subjection—Feher explores the possibility of using the terms of neoliberalism against itself:

> In terms of discursive strategy, neoliberalism can boast two major successes: its promoters have made it legitimate to want to care for oneself while presenting themselves as the champions of personal responsibility (insofar as their policies identify self-appreciation with self-reliance). Their leftist opponents, by contrast, are accused of making people feel unduly guilty (by implying that the desire to value oneself is mere egoism) and, at the same time, of fostering complacency and irresponsibility (by allowing people to rely on social benefits rather than on personal effort and by making self-appreciating citizens pay for those who have squandered their human capital). Thus it may be that for the Left, challenging neoliberal modes of self-appreciation…may also be a way of warding off its current melancholy by means of reentering the domain of the enviable and desirable – of raising, from its own perspective, the questions of what constitutes an appreciable life. (21)

This strategic and critical uptake of self-appreciation requires a firm grasp on the contours of the ideal subject of neoliberalism. What might it look like to "play the human capital card" with political astuteness and ethical sensitivity? What does affective-politics have to do with such a strategic inhabitation? In the following chapter I explore the strategic uptake of neoliberal pride and self-appreciation as a means to draw attention to social justice issues and biopolitical concerns. To do so, I return to the notion of Black pride introduced in chapter two and examine Beyoncé's assertion of pride from below from within the neoliberal mode of pride.

The persistence of pride from below within the dominant gay fold is a reminder of the affective-political intensities that spurred earlier Pride movements. That pride from below continues to press from the borders of dominant gay, lesbian and queer collectives, is an ongoing reminder that affective-discursive tension, or fissures with what constitutes "reality," is more unliveable for some than others. These kinds of demands keep Pride politics moving. Therefore, strategic engagements, attuned to the workings of political affect, with dominant organizations, institutions and structures may be necessary to reach wider audiences and vulnerable communities (if only for their resources). Through these affective strategies, a politics rooted in the recognition of the unruliness of affect, and the capacity for collective affect to "take on a life of its own," emerges.

Chapter Four: Disruptive Pride: Beyoncé's "Formation" and Affective Political Strategy

"The concept of affect is politically oriented from the get go. But moving it onto a 'properly' political register…is not automatic. Affect is proto-political. It concerns the first stirrings of the politics, flush with the felt intensities of life. Its politics must be brought out." (Massumi 2015, viii-ix)

The Superbowl 50 half-time show, aired on February 7, 2016, headlined by Coldplay and featuring performances by Bruno Mars and Beyoncé, played to 115.5 million viewers, outnumbering the viewership of the game itself (De Graff, *Dailymail.co.uk*). The day prior to her Superbowl performance, Beyoncé pre-released the video for the first single on her sixth studio album, "Formation," and announced her World Tour of the same name. The "Formation" video opens with an image of a police car deeply submerged in water, and the gritty voice of the late New Orleans rapper, comedian, and *YouTube* sensation, Messy Mya, saying in a distinct New Orleans accent, "What happened at the New Orleans?" (Beyoncé, 2016) The twangy baseline then begins to bounce, followed by rapid shots of a post-Katrina New Orleans, and then to Beyoncé perched atop the submerged police car—and this is all before the 30-second mark (Beyoncé, 2016). These first seconds of "Formation" are a preview of what is to follow: an unapologetic, and stylized political homage to the rich histories and presents of Southern Blackness. Using affective economies of pride as a theoretical entry point, I read Beyoncé's "Formation" video and Superbowl 50 performance (understood henceforth as a singular event) as an affective-political event, emphasizing the vital role of strategy for political expressions of pride from below. While the previous chapter demonstrated the tension between pride from below and neoliberal pride in the context of

Gay Pride events, and argued that the persistence of pride from below challenges the current dominance of neoliberal pride, this chapter explores the enactment and moving through of simultaneous modes of pride, and argues for the importance of strategy to pride from below. Specifically, this chapter explores Beyoncé's expressions of contemporary Black pride from below through the lens of affective-political strategy, arguing that the potency of her Superbowl 50 half-time show was conditioned by her mainstream acceptance by white majorities and her expression of neoliberal pride.

Beyoncé's continually swelling success and accumulation of affective capital as a proud neoliberal subject, expressed through repeated claims of her unstoppable work ethic and drive to make money, shape and intensify her affective-political capital when expressing Black pride from below. I argue that the political impact that the event had relied in part on her adherence to and success as a proud neoliberal subject. What adds complexity to Beyoncé's success in the neoliberal mode of pride is the history of Black women's entrepreneurialism and market participation in the Antebellum U.S. (Walker, 2009; Austin, 1997). Both in spite of and due to this history, Beyoncé's bold expression of pride from below—solidarity with Blackness at the margins, the Black Panthers, and Black Lives Matter[17] (BLM)—is a challenge that is as complicated as it is audacious. Black feminist scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins (1996) and Katrina MacDonald (2006) have expressed concern with the effects that some Black women's "recent and rapid social ascension" has had on solidarity between Black women. Smith (2005) has

[17] Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a political movement that emerged in response to the murder of Trayvon Martin in 2012 at the hands of George Zimmerman. It "is an ideological and political intervention in a world where Black lives are systematically and intentionally targeted for demise. It is an affirmation of Black folks' contributions to this society, our humanity, and our resilience in the face of deadly oppression" (blacklivesmatter.com). As of 2016, it has twenty-seven chapters across the U.S. and one in Toronto, Canada. Despite being compared to the Black Panthers, BLM is a non-violent group that deploys disruptive political tactics, such as sing-ins (http://gawker.com/blacklivesmatter-protesters-hit-whites-where-it-truly-1677554997), road blockages (http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jan/19/black-lives-matter-protesters-block-san-franciscos-bay-bridge), and the occupation of spaces as a form of protest (http://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/dec/23/black-lives-matter-organizers-protest-mall-of-america).

suggested that one reason this history is largely undocumented is perhaps due to the unwanted racist attention success could bring to emancipated Black women during this period (7-8). Given this worry, Beyoncé's clear centering of Black women throughout her career but especially in "Formation" and *Lemonade* makes her simultaneous entrepreneurial and political pride a rich case to think through contemporary affective politics as they intersect with issues of social justice in the context of neoliberal processes.

As a political rationality that "governs at a distance" (Foucault, 2008), neoliberalism thrives on the purchasing, distilling, packaging, and selling of political demands and aesthetics. In what follows I argue that in effect if not intent, Beyoncé's Superbowl 50 performance and release of Formation provides a means to better understand the importance of affective-political strategy to expressions of pride from below and to social justice struggles more generally. Admittedly, given Beyoncé's massive wealth and success, she may seem an unlikely case to demonstrate the importance of strategy to pride from below. However, part of what I am interested in is the seeming contradiction that lies in one of the world's biggest superstars showing solidarity with a pride politic and movements that locate societal inequality—namely, the state sanctioned suffering and death of Black folks—in the same structures and ideologies in which Beyoncé has been complicit and from which she has benefitted. As such, this is a rich case to think through the messiness of contemporary pride, the impurity of its modes, and the power of its affective politics. Importantly, affective-political strategy is the lens through which I read the event(s), not a claim to know Beyoncé's intent, nor to deny the reality that the event was planned to maximize publicity and sales.

Because neoliberalism is the dominant rationality through which pride can be acceptably expressed, the performance itself is an example of the importance of timing and intensity to affective political strategy, and the lyrics of "Formation" itself points to the importance of strategic alliances and coordination in realigning affective economies. These three sites (the career trajectory, performance, and lyrics) demonstrate the way:

> affective politics, seeks the degrees of openness of any situation, in hopes of priming an alter-accomplishment. Just modulating a situation in a way that amplifies a previously unfelt potential to the point of perceptibility is an alter-accomplishment. (Massumi, 2015: 58)

Through careful modulations in branding, event planning, and lyrical messaging, Beyoncé's "Formation" video and performance evoked an "alter-accomplishment" that amplified affective economies of pride, triggering potential realignments of dominant emotional economies. For Black women, the tension between the meritocratic promise of success attainable through entrepreneurialism and the realities of structural racism, violence, and poverty is particularly stark. Therefore, by strategically injecting pride from below into the dominant neoliberal mode of pride, economies of pride were temporarily scrambled and disoriented.

In the first section of this chapter I outline my theoretical framework, drawing predominantly on Sara Ahmed's (2004) understanding of "affective economies" as well as Paula Ioanide's analysis of how gendered and radicalized aspects of emotional economies are central to the constitution of macroeconomic interests and politics (2015, 4). Drawing on these two scholars I outline my understanding of proud economies and the modes of its operation. I then demonstrate the way in which Beyoncé's release of

"Formation" and Superbowl performance simultaneously resonated with and disrupted proud economies due to her strategic operation of both neoliberal pride and pride from below.

The second section of the chapter moves into the realm of strategy, using Beyoncé's career trajectory, "Formation" event and the lyrics of "Formation" to exemplify the demand for the proud body to be strategic when it is expressing an investment in an identity and history that threatens the dominant order (pride from below). Beyoncé's gradual ascension into white acceptability in the post-race neoliberal mode of pride gave her a unique opportunity to inject a strong dose of Black pride from below into affective and emotional economies. That the event, in its unapologetic expression of Black pride, caused a disruption in proud economies exposes the uneven distribution of pride along the axes of race and gender.

Finally, I conclude this chapter by briefly analyzing responses to Beyoncé's event through an affective-political lens, offering examples of how the event's strategic disruption of proud economies triggered a temporary affective disorientation to whiteness. As outlined in section two, knocking the patterns of dominant affective economies off of its tracks was a product of strategic affective-political action. In periods of affective disorientation "actual" patterns of action-reaction are shocked out of their regular processes and into an intensive realm where possibilities for the forging of new patterns lies. Alternately, and perhaps more likely, the disruption is recuperated by the routine patterns of thinking-feeling, thus hardening them and rendering them less vulnerable to future shocks. This is a heightened possibility for, but not limited to, expressions of pride from below in that it always challenges the status quo.

I. Proud Economies and the Futility of Evidence

The relationships between feelings of pride, political identity, and political engagement have tended to evade scholarly attention, which has instead favoured feelings such as shame, fear, and hate. While neither Sara Ahmed nor Paula Ioanide refer to economies of pride specifically, their respective explorations of economies of hate and shame provide the basis upon which the logics of proud economies can be explored.

In "Affective Economies," Sara Ahmed outlines a theory of emotion that challenges the fixity of the body as well as the subject, thus challenging understandings of emotion as the internal "property" of a particular individual that is then expressed outward (2004). Rather than being understood as a property of a contained, singular body, the movement of emotion between objects is an agent that binds subjects (e.g. the imagined white subject) to collectives (e.g. the nation) (Ahmed, 2004). Not only do emotions work by "sticking figures together (adherence), a sticking that creates the very effect of a collective (coherence)" but, because of its perpetual movement, emotions "slide" between figures and histories (118-120), forming what political neuroscientist Drew Westen (2007) has referred to as networks of association—"bundles of thoughts, feelings, images, and ideas that have become connected over time" (3). This idea of perpetual movement and circulation between, across and through objects is crucial to understanding the gathering of intensity or "accumulation" of economic as well as affective value.

Drawing on Marx's critique of the logic of capital, Ahmed uses "economies" to suggest that emotions circulate and are distributed "across a social as well as psychic field" (120). While she admits it is a "limited analogy" (2004: 121) due to its not

accounting for the distinction between use value and exchange value, Ahmed's usage of Marx's formula of capital, M-C-M' (money-commodity-money), is instructive in that it is through circulation and exchange that M acquires surplus value. Thus, it is *movement* that is key to the gathering of intensity or "affective value," and the continuous circulation of affect that produces the appearance of it being contained within and belonging to a subject or object (120). Rather than belonging to and emerging from an individual, "'the subject' is simply one nodal point" in the affective economy (120). Ahmed goes further to touch on the ontological status of affect's movement as that which establishes boundaries between inside and outside, a process of materialization Judith Butler describes as emerging from intensification and repetition in *Bodies That Matter* (1993) (Ahmed 2004: 121). Importantly, despite the difficulty of drawing firm boundaries around them, the accumulated intensity of affect "shapes the materialization of collective bodies" as well as individual ones (121).

Exploring affective economies of hate, Ahmed describes how emotion can "animate" and how it is distributed across various figures (e.g. the refugee, the activist, the mixed race couple, the rapist, aliens, foreigners) (2004: 118). Applying this discussion of hate to pride facilitates thinking through the ways that pride:

> is economic; it circulates between signifiers in relationships of difference and displacement… In such affective economies, emotions do things, and they align individuals with communities – or bodily space with social space – through the very intensities of their attachments. (118)

Pride then circulates between figures, binding individuals with collectives, and because of its stickiness, locates particular bodies within (and out of) social spaces (e.g. aircraft +

Arabic + Muslim = terrorist[18]). This is an extension of Ahmed's previous work on the stranger as the one who is recognized as unrecognizable. Ahmed uses the term "surfacing" to articulate the way circulating emotions between bodies and signs condition the boundaries of (individual and collective) bodies (117). The circulation of intensities that give feelings such as hate or pride its form is not pure and free-flowing but rather is shaped through the social milieus in which they move—affect circulates through signs, figures and symbols, making it viscous and "sticky" (Ahmed, 2004) as it sediments and gets deposited into existing emotional and political patterns of action and reaction. These patterns into which circulating affect settles, slowing down its circulation and thus creating seemingly stable patterns, entities, and figures. Ahmed continues:

> We can see that the affectivity of hate is what makes it difficult to pin down, to locate in a body, object, or figure. This difficulty is what makes emotions such as hate work the way they do; it is not the impossibility of hate as such, but the mode of its operation, whereby it surfaces in the world made up of other bodies. (124)

In this quote Ahmed refers to the "affectivity of hate," pointing to an affective register that structures where, how, and through which relations hate can temporarily surface, potentially leading to the triggering of fear and actual violence. Similarly, the "affectivity of pride" does not mean that pride *is* an affect, but points rather to the affects or intensities that are productive of something referred to or recognized as "pride." The affective economy of pride explored in this chapter is understood as one aspect of affective economies, one that points to the particular way modes of pride are brought into

[18] While examples such as this are many, one blatant example of the stickiness of figures are the cases of individuals being escorted off of flights, such as Guido Menzio, an economics professor at the University of Pennsylvania, who was doing a differential math equation, and Khairuldeen Makhzoomi, a UC Berkley student, who was speaking Arabic on the phone when his seatmate slipped a note to the flight attendant expressing concern that he was a terrorist (https://thinkprogress.org/suspected-terrorist-escorted-off-plane-actually-a-professor-working-on-a-math-equation-15c3bb71130f).

being, materialized, or narrated as such according to the complex circulation of affects. That pride, like hate, is a moving target in its deep relationality and (strategic, geographical, spatial, historical and contextual) contingencies makes it a particularly important entry point into more thorough understandings of the dynamism and mutual constitution of affective politics and discursive realities. Beyoncé's enactment of Black pride from below at the Superbowl – the epitome of (white male) middle class American pride – make this event a particularly rich site to think through affective economies of pride.

As the "economy" of pride suggests, claims of pride emerging from particular affective, historical and collective locations come with a very different set of risks. Expressions of pride, like any display charged with emotionality, are a gamble for some, a chancy investment that comes with material losses and gains. The economy of pride – how pride is mobilized and circulates affectively and discursively through and across signs and figures – will be the lens through which I trace the affective-political-historical intensive processes that conditioned the event of Beyoncé's Superbowl half-time performance; the event was thus both conditioned by economies of pride and an active node within it. As Zeno's arrow indicates, the event is the point from which movement or trajectory can be retrospectively charted (Massumi, 2002: 6-10). In the first part of the chapter I use Massumi's understanding of the event to "freeze" the performance and release of Formation, tracing the movement that shaped, conditioned, led up to, and followed it. The purpose of teasing pride from below out of the neoliberal mode is to claim that this modality of pride *in its affective-political character* is still potent, even if muffled, and to think through possibilities for pride from below to work through or with

neoliberal affect for particular goals. Attentiveness to the modes of pride through which affective economies operate facilitates an analysis of the differential intensities that condition, resonate and clash with and between overlapping and competing proud expressions. Further, parsing out the particularities of affective economies of pride adds depth to its inextricability from other affective economies, shame in particular.

In *The Emotional Politics of Racism* (2015), Paula Ioanide emphasizes that "emotional rewards and losses play a central role in shaping how and why people invest in racism, nativism, and imperialism in the United States" and "emotions attached to race and sexuality have their own unique logics of gain and loss" (1-2). Due to these emotional investments and divestments that are organized, circulate, and expressed in large part according to race and sexuality, it is vital to antiracist struggles to acknowledge "emotions as socially shared economies" (Ioanide, 2015: 2). While these economies can become stable and sedimented, such as those of white majorities, emotional economies are always in flux as investments in and divestments from particular identifications are taking place. Ioanide uses Zizek's concept of "ideological fantasies" (e.g. national patriarchal whiteness, economic self-reliance) to explore "how unconscious beliefs, fantasies, and affective enjoyments" function to foreclose people's affective, emotional, and political receptivity, and importantly, how giving up or threatening those beliefs "is tantamount to relinquishing the very bases upon which people construct meaning in their lives" (2015: 21-22). Because so much is invested in these beliefs, challenging them is felt affectively and emotionally as a threat to one's physical and psychic constitution. The affective enjoyments attached to these investments also explains the tendency for people to blame others (what Ioanide refers to as "persecutory enemies") rather than being

receptive to evidence or feelings that force one to reckon themselves with the ideological investments and fantasies that compose and maintain them. These hegemonic ideological fantasies function to organize the affective and emotional structures of individuals below the threshold of conscious perception, thus explaining the stubborn attachment to beliefs in things such as the "American Dream" in spite of overwhelming sociological evidence to the contrary. Economies of pride attached to promises of success and national identity encourage many people to participate in shaming economies that denigrate marginalized communities because it feels better affectively and emotionally, thus indicating the inextricability of economies of shame and pride.

Combining Ahmed's affective economies with Ioanide's understanding of the relationship between economies of shame and "dominant U.S. publics" to forge an understanding of proud economies, specifically, pride in the context of neoliberalisms. Ioanide uses the terms "dominant Americans or dominant U.S. publics" to encapsulate "a series of culturally mediated affective assumptions about who is presumed to belong to the United States and who feels entitled to dictate its political future" (2015: 8). The affective economies of dominant U.S. publics are characterized by a felt sense of belonging, entitlement, and superiority that accompanies privilege (e.g. greater access to political power and representation, greater levels of wealth, income, and social influence). These privileges come with a set of embodied and affective assumptions about having a right to belong, to speak, to take up space, to be protected by police, to vote, and to have an opinion on political matters.

Not only are these "affective presumptions and embodied entitlements" the raw material of economies of pride, but they also "correlate with white racial identity"

(Ioanide, 2015: 8). The author reiterates the way shaming economies yield "affective rewards of superiority…solidifying an embodied sense of value" in those who shame (in this case, shaming and blaming the poor for their own plight) (114). That is, participating in shaming economies bolsters economies of pride. When pride is attached via identification with a dominant structure of power, such as the state or with law and order, shaming becomes pleasurable in its channeling of and alliance to a collective larger than itself[19]. The heightened capacity that individuals and collectives gain through a sense of belonging to a dominant structure evokes a sense of entitlement that always exists in relation to a less powerful, less entitled, and ultimately less valued individual or collective. The ongoing circulation of affectively charged stereotypical representations and political discourses surrounding racial and gendered others organize themselves into individual affective and emotional logics.

Affective and emotional structures provide the scaffolding to our identities, and are organized along racial and gendered lines. That affective economies are structured through political categories, especially race and gender, can help explain the successful use of racial images during political campaigns, especially by the right. For example, images of Black men during campaigns to trigger racial fears by the political right (Westen, 2007) and "Afrocentric" features have been found to lead to tougher prison sentences (Blair, Judd, & Chapleu, 2004). That the bodies of white people have been found to physiologically respond to Blackness (sweating, heart-rate, facial muscle

[19] Protevi uses the example of the flag/patriotism to make a similar point:"Being taken up out of yourself to join a larger unit can be a hugely powerful emotional experience…The symbol of a subjected group is a trigger that evokes that feeling of transport into a larger whole. The rage felt when the signifier is disrespected is directly related to the joy in erotic transport into the group, and that joy is inversely related to the pain felt in being subjected at atomizing practices: the sort of everyday isolation and its concomitant feeling of powerlessness that is well-attested to in America. Imagine, then, the power of the emotions we call patriotism: the larger and power powerful the political unit you belong to, and the weaker and more isolated you feel on your own, the stronger the emotional surge, the more sacred the symbols…So an empire of isolated and powerless citizens would be a powerful and dangerous beast indeed!" (2009:182).

movement, etc.) (Eberhardt, 2005), triggering the amygdala (the brain region responsible for fight or flight) (Valentino, Hutchings, & White, 2002) can be used to explain how and why "phobic emotional responses feel imminent and crucial to survival and the preservation of one's self-identity" thus foreclosing affective receptivity to evidence-based arguments (Ioanide, 2015: 14-16). While the political right has historically exploited this tendency and used it to trigger racial fears and implicit racial bias, what this means for social justice struggles is in need of attention, exploration, and experimentation. While Ioanide calls for "creating cultural practices and social relations that reorganize people's unconscious cultural associations and, by extension, their unconsciously embodied affective structures," I worry that more direct measures may need to be taken, given the current political climate in which we find ourselves (16).

As discussed in previous chapters, pride emerges in relation to dominant norms, some expressions of pride are not welcome, let alone celebrated. That some expressions of pride are considered inappropriate or dangerous while others are un-notable and safe indicates that pride is inextricable from social context, and, more poignantly, social inequality. Ioanide points to the way "the intensification of socioeconomic inequalities… has largely been achieved through the organization of public feelings rather than facts" (2015: 1-2). Throughout her book she emphasizes that because emotions "often prevent and inhibit genuine engagements with knowledge," an ethic of receptivity must be cultivated in order to destabilize and realign hegemonic public feelings that "trump" evidence about systemic inequalities.

Perhaps Ioanide's notion of cultivating affective openness relies too heavily on subjects who already are open to the possibility of change, already feel the problem (to

varying degrees depending on their location) and thus are already on board (or at the very least are hovering near the dock). However, what about those who are not? What about those who vehemently deny the problem and who cling to the public feelings and ideological fantasies that infuse them for dear life? This is where strategy comes in. Due to the way feelings limit or foreclose cognitive receptivity to "facts" and "evidence" about racial and sexual inequality, the need for affective-political strategy is of vital importance to social justice struggles asserting pride from below that challenges rather than reinforces affective economies that keep unjust structures in place. The following section emphasizes the role of affective-political strategy and the coordinating of events in disrupting emotional economies that may lead to these reorganizing cultural practices and social relations.

II. From Fine File to Sledge Hammer: Beyoncé and the Strategic Disruption of Proud Economies

Affective political strategies are attuned to dosages and the bypassing of a sole reliance on language and reason, favouring instead the unpredictability of bodily intensities, contagion, and the destabilization of entrenched affective and emotional patterns. Instead of relying on chance events, strategy is about the orchestration of events that disrupt dominant structures and feeling (through which political beliefs and identities are constituted). When emotional structures and patterns "trump" facts and evidence thus foreclosing or limiting "receptivity," receptivity must be coaxed and seduced through attention to affective political strategy; pride from below may be most potent when it is expressed with strategic precision (whether explicit or by chance). In that pride from below comes with inherent dangers and risks in its rejection of and challenge to dominant

structures and institutions, the question of strategy is intensified in comparison to other modes of pride.

Strategy requires attention to forces, predictable and unpredictable. It is an exploration of potentialities and possible outcomes, sensitive to timing, space, and sequence. Strategy is attuned to the long game, considers what comes next, and what steps can be taken to reach a desired outcome. It demands maintaining composure and control (training, discipline) and a recognition that control is a relative, limited and fleeting notion. The strategist and the alchemist are kin. In what follows, I use Beyoncé's career trajectory, the "Formation" event, and the lyrics of "Formation" to explore and gain deeper understandings of the importance of strategy to contemporary affective politics in relation to social justice struggles, and to pride politics from below in particular.

In "How to make yourself a body without organs" Deleuze and Guattari explore the possibilities of undoing the "organism", the body whose forces have been completely disciplined and managed according to dominant regimes (2004: 149-166). In contrast to the organism lies the "body without organs" (BwO), the body whose conditioned habits have been released from its structured organismic form, thus leaving thoughts, feelings and desires entirely open to any and all possible connections. Undoing the organism disrupts its entrenched patterns that demand interpretation, impose forms, functions, and organizations that are intended to extract labor from the body for higher (or transcendent) cause, be it capitalism, patriarchy, the nation, heterosexuality or God (Protevi, 2009: 94-101). Through experimental bodily practices the disciplinary organization of the body[20]

[20] While Deleuze and Guattari refer to "bodies" it is important to remember that their definition of bodies is to be taken in the broadest sense; bodies are not individual but collective, geographical, chemical, political.

can be disturbed, scattering intensities and opening up new possibilities for thinking and feeling. However, working toward the BwO does not come without dangers—experimenting with intensity can have destructive effects resulting in the loss of bodily and subjective coherence (2004: 156). Experimenting with intensity comes with a set of risks, and Deleuze and Guattari are adamant that when one undergoes these experiments they should be done with absolute caution. They emphasize the "art of dosages," and advise the use of a fine file and not a sledge hammer (160). In other words, experimentations with intensity or affect require attention to strategy when disrupting affective economies and the political organization of bodily patterns. Beyoncé's disruption of proud economies can be understood through Deleuze and Guattari's understanding of experimenting with intensity, and the strategy required to do so without doing damage or "going too far" is useful when exploring Beyoncé's strategic disruption of proud economies.

Prior to her incredibly successful solo career, Beyoncé was a member of the R&B girl group Destiny's Child, whose debut album of the same name was released in 1996. Destiny's Child had several popular singles, including, "Bills, Bills, Bills", "Say My Name", and "Jumpin', Jumpin'" from their second studio album, *The Writing's on the Wall* (1999), as well as the singles "Independent Women Part I" and "Survivor" on subsequent albums (Allmusic.com).

In 2001 the group released their third album, *Survivor*, an album almost entirely co-produced and co-written by Beyoncé. The album was the group's most successful, selling over six million copies in the first months of its release. The dominant theme of the album was female empowerment found in the songs "Independent Women Part 1" and

"Survivor." "Independent Women Part 1," is basically comprised of one of the group members listing off goods (e.g. "the shoes on my feet," "the watch I'm wearin'," "the car I'm drivin'") followed with the group singing, "I bought it" in unison (Destiny's Child, 2001). The song celebrates a proud independence as synonymous with capital accumulation as consumption, and this accumulation as the route to equality in relationships with men (even if Black women's economic success negatively impacts their hopes of finding partners (MacDonald, 2006: 8)). Given Beyoncé's increase in control over the production process, the shift to assertions of female empowerment can be read as stemming from her creative choices: her independent production is converted into profit and ever expanding modes of consumption, making her the self-sustaining capitalist machine of which neoliberals dream. While female empowerment was indeed a shift in political tone and mood, the brand of Black female empowerment depicted was one that was founded on an expression of Black pride through economic independence and feminine beauty.

While the feminism in these songs could be easily dismissed as liberal and economically driven, thus avoiding questions of systems and structures, another way of reading the type of feminist politics embedded in these songs is through the question of strategy as a means to mainstream acceptability. In spite of the adherence to dominant norms of femininity and consumption, the gradually more explicit and forceful injections of proud Blackness, culminating with the release of "Formation," indicates that such "adherence" (which could be interpreted by some as "selling out") is also a lesson in strategic dosages necessary to disrupt dominant emotional structures that uphold macropolitical ideologies and structures.

Between 2003-2013, Beyoncé released five solo albums, all reaching number one on the U.S. Billboard charts (Billboard.com). She has sold an estimated 118 million records worldwide (Arts.Mic.com) and *Forbes* magazine reported that she had doubled her earnings between 2013-2014, making her 2015 net worth approximately $250 million (Forbes.com), indicating her longstanding consumability and public impact. The 2011 single "Run the World (Girls)," another call to girls and women's capacity to demand respect, persuade, build, and make money, she sings, "Boy I know you love it/How we're smart enough to make these millions/Strong enough to bear the children/then get back to business" (Beyoncé). Beyoncé's 2011 brand of female empowerment relied on her ability to have and do it all, inserting herself into longstanding feminist debates about women's inevitable choice between career and family. The effect of such a claim, however, flies in the face of feminist struggles to shift institutions and structures to put less weight on women to have to "do it all". The notion of making millions, bearing children, and getting back to business is an unrealistic one for the vast majority of women. As such, Beyoncé's empowerment exemplified just how hard women should "lean in" (Sandberg, 2013) rather than how to challenge traditional gender roles for both men and women upon which such demands are founded. What leaning in means for Black women specifically must be given attention, as embracing notions of "fierce" Black womanhood while acknowledging and challenging the social hierarchies and discursive realities that structure the parameters of their inclusion (into the market) is a fraught task.

Two years later, Beyoncé released "Flawless," which provides clues as to the political shifts occurring in her music, foreshadowing what was to come with "Formation." The song begins with a nostalgic Beyoncé reminiscing about her hometown, Houston, Texas,

her rise to fame with the band "Girls Tyme," the previous iteration of Destiny's Child, to her current reign as "Queen Bey," She sings, "I took some time to live my life, but don't think I'm just his little wife. Don't get it twisted, get it twisted. This is my shit. Bow down bitches!" (Beyoncé, 2014). Here Beyoncé makes clear that her time off to focus on her roles as wife and mother did not drain her of power, but on the contrary, enabled her to return to work unapologetically asserting her dominance. That Beyoncé's sabbatical recharged and refocused her is key to understanding the affective politics embedded in "Formation." In contrast to discourses of mainstream female empowerment found in previous songs, "Flawless" is the first to be explicitly feminist. An entire minute of the song is a sample of Nigerian feminist writer and novelist, Chimimanda Ngozi Adichie's 2013 TEDx talk, "We should all be feminists" (YouTube.com). Without interruption from Beyoncé and little instrumental intervention, the song's attention is given to Adichie: "we teach girls to shrink themselves, to make themselves smaller. We say to girls, 'you can have ambition – but not too much…otherwise you threaten the man'" followed by a definition of the term 'feminism'[21] (2014). That "Flawless" was met with relatively little backlash demonstrates both Beyoncé's mainstream acceptability and the fact that discussions of gender politics, and even feminism, are much more affectively tolerable than racial politics. Her career trajectory from member of Destiny's Child into a successful solo artist further exemplified her work, drive, and climb to fame, and this gradual climb reinforced narratives of the meritocratic American Dream and neoliberal post-race discourse. Her climb to fame was experienced as a good affective encounter to dominant white majorities and majority identified minorities alike, her doses of Black

[21] While the recent exposure of Adichie's transphobia and (trans exclusionary) feminism may call into question Beyoncé's brand of feminism, her statement against North Carolina's discriminatory "Bathroom Bill" indicates that trans rights are an issue Adichie and Knowles do not agree on (http://www.beyonce.com/equality-nc-formation-world-tour-north-carolina/).

female entrepreneurial pride were carefully administered to the public, ensuring her smooth digestion into the dominant (white) body politic. Beyoncé's career trajectory demonstrates the importance of dosages to affective-politics, and that cultivating the receptivity and openness of white audiences conditioned her explicitly political expression of Black prides and histories.

III. The Event: Timing & Maximizing Intensity

On Saturday, February 6th, 2016, one day prior to her scheduled Superbowl performance Beyoncé shocked fans and publics alike with the surprise release of the first video from her sixth album, "Formation." On the same day, she announced her upcoming world tour, causing an uproar of fan panic surrounding ticket sales.

Beyoncé's strategically timed release of "Formation" is one aspect of affective-political strategy deployed to ensure maximum (economic, cultural, political) impact. During the live half-time show performance, a condensed version of "Formation," Beyoncé's female dancers wore Black Panthers-style black leather outfits, berets, and Afros, a possible gendered appropriation of the typically masculinist Panther style. At one point the group formed an "X," thought to be an homage to Malcom X. After the performance the dancers posed in a photograph, fists raised, holding a sign that read "Justice for Mario Woods" a young Black man shot by police officers in December 2015 (theguardian.com). Again, this image can be read in part as an iteration of Panther politics, Black pride from below that is specifically expressed by Black women[22]. Such a clear expression of Black pride from below both resonates with but slightly diverges from

[22] Scholars such as Angela Davis (1969) have discussed the gender dynamics in the Black Panther Party. In Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights-Black Power Movement, Tracye Matthews states that "the politics of gender were played out in most aspects of party activity and affected its ability to function as an effective political organization" (2001: 231).

the politics of the Black Panthers in its dominance by Black women, thus re-routing economies of pride in relation to racial injustice (Black Lives Matter is also an explicitly intersectional movement that is led predominantly by women). The slippery relationship between the rhetoric of black pride, Black Panther symbols, white audiences, and white dominated markets makes this a highly intensive moment, which I think only adds to its affective power[23]. As this image circulated on Twitter with the hash tags #SB50 and #BlackLives, Superbowl 50, which took place in the San Francisco Bay Area where the Black Panthers were founded, became affectively inextricable from the racially charged political history and present of that geographical area, intensifying the affective economies surrounding the event. Any questions that may have been left by the performance had already been answered and asserted even more explicitly in the video.

Given Beyoncé's history as a beloved and routinely consumed figure by dominant white publics, certain aspects of "Formation" cohered with an affectively familiar Beyoncé. As in previous singles, she celebrates success and skills at earning capital (e.g. "I see it, I want it, I stunt, yellow-bone it, I dream it, I work hard, I grind 'til I own it" and "I just might be the next Bill Gates in the making"), her righteous attitude and style (e.g. "Paparazzi, catch my fly, and my cocky fresh/I'm so reckless when I rock my Givenchy dress") and her recognition of capital as power (e.g. "always stay gracious best revenge is your paper"). That the Beyoncé that was affectively anticipated by dominant white publics – one that has an undeniable entrepreneurial spirit, is beautiful and always nice - was not entirely absent exacerbated the disorientation to proud economies that was triggered by the new elements introduced in the song. While there is an undeniable lyrical

[23] In "Black (Buying) Power: The Story of Essence Magazine," Alexis Gumbs clearly articulates the tenuous relationship between Black people's political and social integration and "their incorporation as consumers in a pre-existing white-controlled market economy" (2012: 104).

thread celebrating American consumer capitalism, that message and feeling is overwhelmed by an affectively forceful racially charged political pride from below, resulting in a lovely irony given her verbal and visual celebrations of capitalism. Up until the release of "Formation," Beyoncé's pride was expressed predominantly in the neoliberal mode, in herself as a skilled, beautiful, wealthy, *individual* woman; so long as she expressed pride in the dominant mode she affected white publics in a way that was generally pleasing. Because her pride was expressed in the dominant, acceptable, neoliberal mode—in her voice, body, beauty, and wealth—and thus as non-threatening to white majorities and U.S. nationalism, dominant affective structures and patterns were not disturbed. Consequently, Beyoncé had cultivated the affective trust of dominant publics, which no doubt contributed to and reinforced her consistent accumulation of (social, economic, political, affective) capital.

There were elements of Beyoncé in "Formation," however, that were unrecognizable and thus affectively jarring to dominant white publics. When she claims, "When he fuck me good I take his ass to Red Lobster (cause I slay)… Drop him off at the mall, let him buy some J's, let him shop up (cause I slay)" there is an assertion of power over men, a gendered and racial reversal, and an intensity of self-assuredness that pokes at the stability of white heteropatriarchal gender norms.

To dominant white majorities, Beyoncé's forceful assertion of Black pride was experienced as a disruptive event to the routine functioning of the affective economy of pride. Unsurprisingly, her alliance with Black pride from below—that is, histories and presents of marginalized and oppressed Blackness—shocked and confused white audiences. When Beyoncé sings, "My daddy Alabama, my ma Louisiana, you mix that

Negro with that Créole make a Texas Bama" she inserts herself into a history of Southern Blackness which tweaks and tugs at racial triggers and tensions embedded in histories of the U.S. South. She exposes and calls out present day racism and white supremacy, and asserts pride in Black physical characteristics that are devalued and shame inducing, such as Afros and "Jackson Five nostrils," challenging white norms of desire and attractiveness. The majority of the video is set in a post-Katrina New Orleans—pointing to the resiliency and cultural and political richness of the city whose persistent suffering is primarily race and class-based—stages the affective-political context, leaving no question as to her political alliances when she repeats, "Okay, ladies, now let's get in formation."

In a brilliant analysis of "Formation," Black lesbian scholar Zandria Robinson (Dr. R) of New South Negress points to the way the video initiates an exploration of Black resistance practices. In contrast to explicit and forceful forms of political activist resistance "that stands and fights and brandishes guns and stages coups" another sort of "quiet," "meditative" sort of resistance lies (newsouthnegress.com). This resistance through "invisibility" and "hibernation" is a period of rest and strategy, a "covert preparation for a more overt action" (Robinson). Robinson states:

> Formation, then, is a metaphor, a black feminist, black queer, and black queer feminist theory of community organizing and resistance. It is a recognition of one another at the blackness margins—woman, queer, genderqueer, trans, poor, disabled, undocumented, immigrant—before an overt action. For the black southern majorettes, across gender formulations, formation is the alignment, the stillness, the readying, the quiet, before the twerk, the turn-up, the (social)

> movement. To be successful, there must be coordination, the kind that choreographers and movement leaders do, the kind that black women organizers do in neighborhoods and organizations. To slay the violence of white supremacist heteropatriarchy, we must start, Beyoncé argues, with the proper formation.

Drawing on Cathy Cohen's (1997) "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," that rethinks the definition of queer as deviance and marginality rather than as sexual identity, Robinson points to an intersectional and multi-issue politic across difference that is rooted in the epistemological centering of identities on the margins of Blackness, and less explicitly, the crucial importance of careful affective-political interventions and practices. As a period of reprieve, formation is a moment of gathering, a calm before the storm where intensity is being harvested and channeled before a strategic expulsion of directed political energy.

That the voice of the late Messy Mya is the first and last that is heard in "Formation" is significant. Toward the end of his life Messy Mya often spoke of friends who had been killed, and made references to the likelihood that he would not live long. Giving Messy Mya, a Black genderqueer comedian who was slain on the streets of New Orleans, the first and final words in the song demonstrates the kinds of alliances that are being sought in "Formation".

Following the first verse the voice of genderqueer Black male performer, Big Freedia, New Orleans' Queen of Bounce, asserts, "I came to slay, bitch. I like cornbreads and collard greens, bitch. Oh, yes, you besta believe it" (Beyoncé, 2016). Celebrating collard greens and corn bread is a way of connecting to and asserting solidarity with Black cultural identities. While reference to soul food may seem insignificant to those unaware,

that Beyoncé draws attention to it several times throughout the song can be read as a deeply affective and historical political claim.

Referencing the PBS documentary *Soul Food Junkies* (Hurt, 2012), which explores the relationship between soul food, Black cultural identity and food justice, Beyoncé proudly states, "I got hot sauce in my bag swag"—a possible coded double entendre pointing to the historical connection with strategic necessity as crucial to survival (Beyoncé, 2016). One way of understanding the cherishing of soul food is as an homage to and recognition of a history of slavery in which slaves were forced to survive on scraps. Eating and making soul food thus becomes a connection to this history and one's familial and political ancestry. The embodied acts of gathering, washing, slicing, sautéing, battering, bbq'ing, boiling, and the sensory experiences attached to each of these acts of cooking and eating is generative of connections necessary to survival. The communal experience of coming together and eating together—sharing and eating one another's food whether or not one has much to spare—is crucial to communities historically and presently forced to transform meager and deadening conditions (a lack of access to jobs, healthcare, healthy food, social services) into something nourishing and life enhancing. The theme of not only surviving against the odds but gathering power, knowledge, and savvy buzzes through the track.

The term most used and repeated in "Formation" is the word "slay,' a term thought to have emerged in the marginalized Black queer spaces of the drag ball scene[24], meaning "to dominate, conquer, or take care of business" (huffingtonpost.com). Referencing communities of marginalized Blackness, Beyoncé makes her alliance with Black pride from below explicit. It is not coincidental that the stylistic and unapologetic fierceness

[24] A representation of the drag ball scene is depicted in the documentary *Paris is Burning* (1990), directed by Jennie Livingston.

initiated by drag queens of colour across sexual and gender spectrums, those who entered drag hall competitions (historically) held in the early morning hours when streets were virtually clear (making it less dangerous to be out in public), as well as to suit the non-normative temporalities of their communities who worked late hours or doing sex work, have become mentors in "slaying." The spectacular performances of an unrepentant form of pride from below and at the margins of norms of Blackness, gender, sexuality, and white respectability cultivated in the drag ball scene is the pride that Beyoncé cites, impersonates, and channels in "Formation."

Using footage from the 2013 New Orleans documentary *That B.E.A.T* (Bagheri and Black) as its backdrop, "Formation" is unabashedly queer and celebrates identities that once sparked shame but now inspire pride, such as the highly sexualized style of gender-queer hip-hop dance reminiscent of Bama's Prancing Elites (Time.com), a Black gay male dance troupe. Beyoncé picks up (co-opts?) samples, and repeats the language of Blackness of the margins, specifically Black queerness, asserting her solidarity with Black cultural identity and history in spite of her success – "Earned all this money but they never take the country out me" (2016).

The expression of solidarity experienced as the most provocative to white emotional sensibilities occurs in the video when a young Black boy is dancing in front of a line of armed police in riot gear. Since the shooting of Trayvon Martin in 2012, the hoodie (with hood up) has become a symbol of solidarity for Black Lives Matter (cbsnews.com). As such, showing a Black child in a hoodie dancing in front of stoic and seemingly (affectively, ethically, and physically) unmovable police officers is a scene that fiercely resonates across affective economies of pride, as well as those of fear, hate, and grief as it

evokes past and presently intensifying racial tensions and violences in the U.S. and Canada. Eventually, however, the police put their hands up and surrender to the boy – a heartbreaking and poignant image of hopefulness. The scene reads as if the police were moved to break rigid structures of feeling, relinquish control, and suddenly became more receptive to what was in front of them. Immediately after the police surrender to the boy an image of a graffiti wall that reads "Stop shooting us" is shown (youtube.com).

Beyoncé's call to "get in formation" echoes Audre Lorde's attention to the importance of translating the embodied energy of anger into political change in "The Uses of Anger" (1997). Because discussions about racism, especially among women, are avoided and silenced they "must include the recognition and the use of anger" and "must be direct and creative" (Lorde, 1997: 281). My reading of Lorde's adamancy about the crucial role of creativity to discussions of racism is another way of pointing to the importance of strategy when battling for social change – change being the object of anger. Lorde writes that Black and women of colour must "learn to orchestrate those furies" to survive (1997: 282). The process of translating anger is, for Lorde, a painful one wherein "we identify who are our allies with whom we have grave differences, and who are our genuine enemies" (280). Beyoncé's "Formation" is a call to action that not only exemplifies and demands creative strategy—"prove to me you got some coordination, cause I slay, slay trick, or you get eliminated"—but the importance of alliance (2016). The citational politics embedded in the Formation video and lyrics expose exactly what kinds of alliances are being called forth. It is the forging and gathering of intensity and tactical alliances that make the pride embodied in Beyoncé's "Formation" a deep threat to dominant white emotional and material structures.

Crucially, this formation—and this is consistent with the overarching message in *Lemonade* - is being led by Black women ("Ok, ladies…") in the name of solidarity with Blackness at the margins, potentially a Black queer politic at the margins of which Cohen speaks.

IV. A Shock to Proud Economies

Through a variety of affective political strategies, proper displays and dosages of pride, Beyoncé cultivated feelings of trust and familiarity in dominant white majorities. Because of this earned trust, Beyoncé's "Formation" event disrupted affective economies of pride, exposing the racial and gendered organization of collective affect and emotion. As with the disruption of moneyed economies, the disruption of affective economies is experienced bodily as a period of disorientation during which old investments can be clung to, or divestments and new investments can occur. It is a reorganizing period where affective and emotional structures can potentially be realigned; old patterns are questioned or clung to, new strategies are posed, and the demands of stakeholders are asserted with more intensity than before given their increased possibility of actualization. At the level of the individual such affective-political shocks, in that they are visceral in their fraught absorption into established bodily patterns, destabilize the smooth functioning and political organization required to maintain stable subjectivity. In this case, destabilizing affective economies opens up possibilities for both a re-entrenchment of whiteness as well as a rethinking of the affective-political organization of white subjectivity. The shock to the affective economy of pride (through which multiple modes

of pride circulate) triggered by the encounter with "Formation," like any unexpected affective encounter or unexpected event, is experienced as disorientation.

Within literature on affect the moment of affective disorientation has been explored as a moment of political potentiality (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004; Deleuze, 1990; Protevi, 2009; Ahmed, 2000; Massumi, 2002). However, in spite of the potential to shift sense making patterns, the moment of shock can also be (and perhaps more often is) recuperated into familiar logics, hardening them and increasing their capacity to resist alteration or transformation in future encounters, thus re-securing the stability of system identity (Shotwell, 2011). This is why the period following disruptive events and encounters – whether individual, collective, or structural - in which responses emerge and are negotiated are of particular affective-political importance. The deluge of responses to Beyoncé's Superbowl performance and "Formation" video in the period following the event are significant in tracing its affective-political consequences. To conclude, I explore two responses to "Formation" by white publics during the period of disorientation spurred by the shock to proud economies following the event. My reasoning for focusing on two white, mainstream responses is that given the whiteness of dominant affective economies, these responses may best indicate disruptions and possible transformations of these economies. So while my emphasis is on thinking through the effects the event had on whiteness, this is because I think that disrupting whiteness through the jostling and shocking of affective economies is key to affective political strategies for social justice endeavors, in that structures of feeling have material implications for the most vulnerable bodies and collectives. The first, I argue, demonstrates the defensiveness and hardening of old patterns of feeling that can occur

following a destabilizing encounter; the defensive backlash espoused by Republican Rudolph Giuliani epitomizes the way a disruption to proud economies can expose wounded (white) pride. The second response to the event demonstrates possibilities for emotional divestments, and the forging of new emotional alliances. In this case, the disruption of proud economies caused by the event has the potential to spur a divestment from whiteness and its various modes of pride and openness to emotional alliances with Black pride from below. To explore this trajectory of response I analyze the Saturday Night Live (SNL) skit, "The Day Beyoncé Turned Black" (facebook.com), arguing that the skit provides a visual representation of the destabilization of whiteness in contrast to a stable Blackness that opens op possibilities for the realignment of emotional structures.

Former mayor of New York, Rudy Giuliani, was one of the first to publicly denounce Beyoncé's performance. During an appearance on FOX News shortly following the event, Giuliani stated:

> I thought that it was really outrageous that she used as a platform to attack police officers who are the people who protect her and protect us, and keep us alive…And what we should be doing in the African American community, and all communities, is build up respect for police officers. And focus on the fact that when something does go wrong, okay. We'll work on that. But the vast majority of police officers risk their lives to keep us safe…let's have decent, wholesome entertainment and not use it as a platform to attack the people who put their lives at risk to save us. (washingtonpost.com)

The "we" and "us" that Giuliani is hailing in his comment is implicitly white. The audacity of a white, Republican politician to make assertions about what "we should be

doing in the African American community" immediately following a claim that police officers "protect us, and keep us alive" becomes less nonsensical when read through an affective-political lens. In spite of the paternalistic righteousness of his words, Giuliani's comment is affectively riddled with an anxious defensiveness bordering on aggression. Instead of recognizing the ongoing, and arguably intensifying, systemic police violence against Black bodies as a deep-seated historical problem, what is "outrageous" and problematic is Beyoncé's political stance. In contrast to Beyoncé's inappropriate and disrespectful political display, what "we" should be doing is honouring the police who keep "decent", "wholesome" families safe. The omitted referents of such a statement are the families (who support(ed) the Black Panthers, Black Lives Matter) marked by indecency, criminality, and thus the logical targets of police.

Following Giuliani and other conservative politicians' rejection of the political messaging of "Formation" (washingtonpost.com), a series of social media trends emerged including the hashtags "#BoycottBeyoncé", as well as a resurgence of the hashtags, "#alllivesmatter" and "#bluelivesmatter" (i.e. police lives matter). Hashtags such as #alllivesmatter emerge in response to the affective threat posed by Black pride and the Black Lives Matter movement. Similarly, #bluelivesmatter, increasingly taken up by white majorities and majority-identified minorities alike, points to affective alliances with police and the state, reinforcing a hierarchy of life between "good" citizens (police) and "bad" citizens or criminals, historically linked to Blackness and Black masculinity in particular. Such affective networks of association are inscribed into bodies through political histories, and can be evidenced by hashtags such as #BLMThuglife often

attached to #bluelivesmatter. These responses must be understood as responses to proud Blackness, demonstrating the way pride flares up when it is triggered by specific events.

That Beyoncé's support of Black Lives Matter and reference to police brutality against Black bodies triggered a defensive backlash in the form of police pride indicates the extent to which unapologetic Black pride from below is disruptive to dominant affective and emotional structures necessary for the support of unjust political policies and practices. Various police organizations around the U.S. and Canada called for boycotts of Beyoncé (particularly around security at upcoming world tour locations) (cnn.com). Assertions that Beyoncé's expression of Black pride was dangerous and celebrated violence (and even racism) enabled some to go so far as to suggest that Beyoncé's video not only fueled anti-police sentiment, but also contributed to police deaths following the Superbowl in its glorification of the Black Panthers (tennesean.com).

In a letter to the National Football League (NFL) Commissioner Roger Goodell, President of the State Troopers Fraternal Association of New Jersey, Christopher Burgos, expressed "shock and disgust" at the decision to allow Beyoncé to "deliver a blatantly anti-police message to the entire world" (documentcloud.org). Burgos goes on to condemn Beyoncé's "praising" of the Black Panthers, a group who "without shame" are responsible for dozens of police deaths, specifically citing (in bold) the death of NJ State Trooper Werner Foerster who was allegedly "brutally murdered by Black Panther member and convicted fugitive Joanne Chesimard in 1973" (documentcloud.org). What Burgos fails to mention in his account is the fact that no evidence was found to convict Assata Shakur (birth name Joanna Chesimard), nor the physical and psychological torture

she endured while handcuffed to a hospital bed at the hands of State Troopers, nor the inhumane and virtually unliveable conditions in which she was forced to survive:

> In the history of New Jersey, no woman pretrial detainee or prisoner has ever been treated as she was, continuously confined in a men's prison, under twenty-four-hour surveillance, adequate medical attention, and exercise, and without the company of other women for all the years she was in custody… imagine the effect these conditions must have had on this proud and sensitive woman. (Lennox S. Hinds, 1987)

Shakur has been living in Cuba in political exile since the late 1970s, although attempts were made by the FBI to return her to the U.S. in the late 1990s (Davis, 2000). In an open letter to Pope John Paul II written in response at attempts by the New Jersey State Police to extradite Shakur from Cuba, she writes, "Why, I wonder, do I warrant such attention? What do I represent that is such a threat?" (democracynow.com) That Burgos found it necessary four decades later to name Assata Shakur indicates the extent to which her living testimony to the white supremacy of the State Troopers, triggered by Beyoncé's homage to Black Panther femininity, threatens the affective and emotional stability police brutality must continually manufacture (and suppress).

Defensive responses to the "Formation" event such as those above expose anxious whiteness and the precariousness of law and order's legitimacy. Dominant public identifications with the police and the law are not natural but manufactured and secured through discursive and affective-political strategies. As Ioanide states, they had to "gain their legitimacy above and beyond a range of other possible identifications" (2015: 28). At the level of affective politics, embodiment, and capacity, identifications with state

power enable experiences of "affectively aggressive thrills and enjoyments…allowing them to vicariously feel the pleasures of punishing, policing, and excluding" (6). Ioanide goes on to describe these sensations as "psychological, social, and affective righteousness" to those who align their pride with the state and police.

According to this logic, groups such as the Black Panthers and Black Lives Matter function affectively and politically as dangerous hate groups akin to the Klu Klux Klan, rather than as legitimate political responses to ongoing histories of systemic violence and discrimination against communities of colour. Such affectively pleasing and simplistic narratives deny the persistent reality of racism in the U.S. and Canada, and through such a disavowal invalidate "radical" political action and activism as indicative of unreasonability and "bad" citizenship. The threat posed by "Formation" lies in its powerful linking of political pasts and presents, and its delivery to the masses in an affectively pleasurable form. Such pleasures consumed en masse shake the normally unquestioned legitimacy of state law and order. The affective charge that emits from and through Black pride from below—whether the Panthers or BLM—erupts explosively, upsetting white liberal fantasies of equality and fairness with its uncouth and "outrageous" claims, and exposing the investments that uphold the quiet dominance of white hegemony. So while in triggering these responses "Formation" may have tightened and strengthened the affective-political structure of whiteness for some constituencies, for others it opened up possibilities for new alliances and re-aligned emotional structures.

In contrast to the defensive backlash against the Superbowl 50 performance, Saturday Night Live's (SNL) "The Day Beyoncé Turned Black" calls attention to the hilarity of the intense affective betrayal and shock Beyoncé spurred in white audiences.

While this skit could be read as reasserting white hegemony in its re-centering of whiteness, that white people appear out of control and laughable indicates a self-consciousness about the extent to which whiteness takes itself for granted. Laughing at whiteness, making its anxious dominance a point of amusement, creates an affective openness through which questions about racial inequality and oppression can be asked and conversations can be ignited.

The skit depicts the white realization that Beyoncé is indeed Black as a loss destabilizing to the world of whiteness. The scattering of white people on the street, struggling to affectively reconcile and cognitively comprehend Beyoncé's Black politics, is a visual representation of the shaken snow-globe effect of white peoples' affective disorientation, in contrast to the unmoved and stable Black people. The chaos posed to white identity in encountering a Black Beyoncé is depicted as affectively apocalyptic, while for Black people mundane: for example, the skit rates the film NC-17 for white people, G for Black people (youtube.com).

Like a scene from *Independence Day* or *War of the Worlds*, the collective panic of white people on the streets of New York—looking up at the sky questioningly, hysterically crying, running aimlessly about, shouting angrily—is interrupted by a thoroughly unaffected Black woman who is approached by a white woman who wails, "We have to go! We have to leave America! Beyoncé is Black!" to which the Black woman replies, "Amy, I'm Black." An exchange ensues between the women, and the Black woman attempts to ease her friends' unrest by explaining that there are Black people everywhere. She points to a Black man wearing heavy chain, camo jacket, and

black cap and says, “That guy is Black,” to which the white woman responds, in a calmer and somewhat sheepish tone, “well… I know *he’s* Black.”

This gendered exchange between these women points to the tendency for white people to erase the Blackness from certain Black people according to the extent to which they adhere to white norms of respectability, to the extent that “success through self-reliant struggle…becomes inseparable from the process of “whitening”” (Ong, 1996: 739). Such erasure is a routine affective-political moment; that which is calming to white identity and does not make it a stir is deemed appropriate and respectable, while the alternative is threatening not only to whiteness, but also to decency and social stability itself.

While this skit could be read simply as a reassertion of white hegemony in its re-centering of whiteness, that white people appear out of control and laughable indicates a self-consciousness about the extent to which whiteness takes itself for granted. Laughing at whiteness, making its anxious dominance a point of amusement, creates an affective openness through which questions about racial inequality and oppression can be asked and conversations can be ignited.

As opposed to the defensive and reactionary wounded white responses of Giuliani, police unions and supporters, “The Day Beyoncé Turned Black” manages the period of disorientation by suspending and questioning the affective and emotional structures exposed by the Black pride from below of “Formation”. Responses such as these demonstrate that while pride from below is a threat to dominant structures of feeling, such affective destabilization can illicit new ways of thinking and feeling, realigning affective and emotional economies. The realignment of affective and

emotional economies occurs through divestments in whiteness spurred by conversations about racial histories. The pedagogical possibilities ignited by "Formation" is another threat to disrupting proud economies; not only did the event ignite discussion but, because they occur during the period of disorientation, the possibility for un-learning about political histories relevant to the present is heightened.

Within each proud collective, patterns and processes develop as the multiple modes of pride resonate or are in tension with one another; pride is not evenly distributed or understood even within seemingly coherent collectives. Internal critiques emerge surrounding what the need for pride is, how it should be expressed, and to what end. For example, after the release of "Formation" several critiques of Beyoncé emerged from within Black communities on many grounds including her appropriation of Hurricane Katrina, the distinction she makes between Creole and Negro identity, and her undeniable and active role within white corporate capitalism. These internal critiques speak to the internal gendered, racial, and class dynamics and hierarchies that develop within collectives as they continually struggle over and for (identity) definition and goals. These critiques of Beyoncé are rich, complex, thoughtful, and helped me add nuance to my reading of the event.

V. Conclusion

In this chapter, I explored Beyoncé's "Formation" event as a disruption to the affective economies of pride. I argued that this disruption was particularly shocking to white subjectivity as a result of a series of affective-political strategies through which Beyoncé cultivated white receptivity, thus maximizing the impact of her expression of

Black pride. During the period of affective disorientation triggered by the event, [white/dominant/mainstream] responses emerged that demonstrated both a hardening of white structures of feeling as well as openness to potential divestments from whiteness. That is, while Beyoncé's movement between and through neoliberal and Black pride from below triggered wounded (white) pride, it also initiated possibilities for the restructuring of affective economies.

When read through the lens of affective political strategy, Beyoncé's Superbowl performance and release of Formation exemplify the importance of timing and dosages to expressions of pride from below, as well as the potential movement through simultaneous modes (or the use of one mode in service of the other). However, if there is the possibility of occupying elements of multiple modes of pride, one needs to be attentive to the question of strategy in all directions—neoliberal pride is particularly savvy when it comes to co-optation and strategic incorporation, as the previous chapter demonstrated. Still, this event shows that even when coming from Beyoncé (or perhaps especially coming from her) pride from below is disruptive to dominant affective economies, reiterating the way affective economies are organized along axes of identity, especially race and gender. But what would pride without identity look like? All of the expressions of pride from below I have discussed thus far in the project have been attached to a particular identity. In the next chapter I explore possibilities for what doing Pride politics without identity might look like by staging an encounter between laughter and pride.

Chapter Five: Laughter and Doing Pride Otherwise

While both scholarly and popular understandings of Pride politics have been mostly contained to movements and events such as Gay Pride, Black Pride, Disability Pride (Brown, 2003; Chasin, 2000; Clare, 2015; Elia, 2012; Dansby, 1980; Dryden & Lenon, 2016; Moris, 1993; Greyson, 2012; Peers & Eales, 2011; Sniderman & Piazza, 2002; Weiss 2008) that are explicitly attached to particular identity categories (e.g. gay, Black, disabled), in this chapter I shift my attention away from identity based Pride movements to give an account of what it might look like to do Pride politics differently. Implicit in my argument is a normative commitment to multi-issue social justice projects, as well as the claim that while Pride politics historically have certainly had an important role in advancing rights-based claims and public recognition of some marginalized groups, the political goals of pride have become increasingly muddled, individualized, normalized, and corporatized in the context of neoliberal governmentality[25]. These tendencies have not only evacuated Pride of its political edge but have resulted in some sinister partnerships and unacknowledged complicities (Coyote, 2009; Peers and Eales, 2011; Puar, 2013; Jackman & Upadhyay, 2014). Thus, unmooring pride from identity and re-emphasizing the sociality of affect opens up possibilities for resonances and provisional alliances with a multiplicity of movements, issues, and causes. I advance an understanding of Pride politics that emphasizes the immanent, multiple, embodied

[25] As many scholars have pointed out, several issues with Pride politics are symptomatic of the general and well-documented limitations of identity politics in addressing the connections between structural oppressions and the construction of identity categories themselves (Duggan, Brown). I extend this argument further to argue that what both identity politics and class politics share is an inattention to the ways affect structures bodies on multiple axes. Thus, in addition to the problem with Pride politics being its inextricability from identity is the way the historical dominance of identity itself has come to shape how feelings of pride are understood. That is, it is not only the centrality of identity but *pride itself that is the problem*. Feelings are not objective and ahistorical but relational and implicated in dominant norms. Understood in this way, affective politics resonate more strongly with class politics in its emphasis on how underlying structures and unseen forces shape possibilities, capacities and bodies than it does to identity politics, which tend to naturalize and dehistoricize the contingencies of bodies and subjects. For a discussion of the historicity of bodies, see Foucault's essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (2003).

movement of affect in everyday encounters, outside of the confines of an already named and narrativized political movement and fixed identity. Such fleeting, contextually-specific connections reflect the reality of fragmented allegiances and the many conflicting identities and sentiments simultaneously held by persons in their lifetime. To explore possibilities for doing Pride differently, I focus on the way laughter and pride are enfolded in a particular space.

In 2014 I was working as a client support worker at safe space for women involved in street-level sex work and, as a white, mostly middle-class, academic, my learning curve was steep. What I quickly learned was that much of what happened inside Kindred was conditioned by events that had happened outside—an eviction notice, a bad date[26], a fight with a friend over lost or stolen belongings, an unpaid debt, a party—and as a result the moment of crossing the threshold (the door into the space) was a significant one. I often found myself moving swiftly through the narrow hallway and down the well-worn, paint chipped staircase to a door that led to a back alley in Edmonton's inner city, anticipating who would be on the other side and the state they would be in. The mood of encounters varied from impatient relief to enthusiastic greetings of familiarity, but no matter whom I greeted or what state they were in I quickly learned to open the door by cracking a joke, finding that the affective space of shared laughter opened possibilities for attunement (Game, 2001; Latour, 2004). The slipperiness of that laughter (for we could never be sure if we were laughing at, with, or past one another) is what made it so effective; this chapter explores what the political and ethical potentiality of laughter offers the future of P/pride politics.

[26] An encounter between a person involved with sex work and a client that either turned violent or otherwise went badly.

Despite the cultural and historical ubiquity of laughter, the nuances of its deep sociality have largely evaded academic attention to the extent that "less is known about the structure of laughter than about bird songs" (Devereux and Ginsburg, 2001: 228). Provine & Fischer (1989) found that laughter is more than thirty times as likely to emerge in social settings than in isolation, and a subsequent study found that only 10-20% of naturally occurring laughter is in response to jokes (Provine, 1992). Affective neuroscientist Jaak Panksepp's work on laughter points to the "structural similarities between jokes and rough and tumble play" in that both involve navigating the seriousness of threats, complex social dynamics, and that "both yield to mirthful companionship feelings, signaled by laughter, which facilitates continuation of fun" (2007: 240). He goes on to corroborate claims that mirthful laughter is related to stress reduction (Bennett, Zeller, Rosenberg, and McCann, 2003) by stating that, "the motor actions of laughter may be sufficient to make people feel good" (Panksepp, 2007: 237). Perhaps because of its connectedness to the body and definitive lack of reason, the particularities of the political potentiality of laughter's contagion have not been explored in depth.

In this chapter I integrate a politics of laughter into a critical politics of Pride, and argue that the laughter within this space offers a rethinking of Pride politics at the level of the body and the sociality of affect. The way pride circulates through this space is particularly worthy of inquiry because of the presumed scarcity of pride of the women who exist within its walls. Because the space is often imagined and narrated as a space heavy with shame (due to the stigmas attached to sex work, homelessness, addiction, abuse, mental illness, etc.), the fact that it is actually a very proud space makes it a curious and beautiful site to think through the complexities of pride, specifically in

relation to intensities of laughter. What makes the house rare is its non-prescriptive nature: it has few basic rules and conditions of entrance, and all affiliations with social programs (legal services, therapy, rehab, etc.) are voluntary. It is one of very few spaces in the city where women involved with sex work in the inner city dominate the space both affectively and in number. Exploring how laughter moves through the space provides vital insight into affective politics in general, and the affective politics of pride in particular. That a space made necessary by multiple intersecting oppressions and thus heavy with those histories in the bodies that move through it—bodies whose day to day experiences are largely but not wholly defined in relation to buttressed structures of inequality—is so often filled with laughter is politically and ethically significant to understandings of the inextricability of embodiment, politics, and suffering[27]. Because such spaces may be imagined as devoid of laughter (and pride), the laughter in the house challenges imaginings not only of spaces occupied by the most vulnerable[28], but also of how the most vulnerable have the capacity to persist and find levity in the face of overwhelming historical and structural inequalities. I use the political possibilities of laughter's multiplicity as a lens to think through the affective sociality of pride, examined

[27] In "Holocaust Laughter?" (1984), Terrence Des Pres explores how writers are governed by fictional rulings, or "regimes of truth" (Foucault), that structure what one can acceptably say (and not say) about particular topics. Discussing the Holocaust, he names one such "fiction" as the demand that to approach the subject with solemnity and seriousness in one's writing (217). That is, certain events and issues are deemed so sacred that possibilities for reparative laughter deemed inappropriate, offensive, and deeply disrespectful of the lives of those lost and deeply affected by such events. Des Pres goes on to explore the healing and political potential of laughter in the face of tragedy. I have often returned to this piece in moments of hesitation about my choice to emphasize laughter in a space of overwhelming suffering that can largely be attributed to a series of deplorable historical events in Canadian and Albertan history (e.g. the Indian Act, the residential school system, the eugenics movement).

[28] Despite the rise of the term "vulnerable populations" within Canadian federal policy and the way it has been deployed to individualize social problems and add to the burden of responsibility put on "communities" (Murray 2004), I draw on authors such as Judith Butler (2004), Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007), Dean Spade (2009), and Sara Ahmed (2014), who use the term "vulnerability" to point to the biopolitical production of bodily vulnerability through particular structural and local contexts. Ahmed and Spade draw heavily on Gilmore's understanding of racism as "the state sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (2007:28) rather than as a series of singular events between isolated individuals. While I am cognizant of the way vulnerability has been co-opted within neoliberal policy contexts, I use the term to combat such co-optation through an emphasis on the inextricability of bodily vulnerability, histories, and structures as opposed to a phenomenon that emerges from "subjective conditions detached from broader social and economic structures beyond an individuals control" (Murray 2004: 59).

through three modalities of Gilles Deleuze's conceptualization of the fold[29] (1992). It is important to note that for Deleuze, "bodies" are understood in the broadest sense—they do not refer to only individual bodies but to a "relationship between forces"—a body can be biological or geographical, or those of collectives, populations, and assemblages (Olkowski, 1999: 44). At the level of the individual, laughter can uplift and enhance one's capacity to act, or it can be used to mock, shrink, and disempower. At the level of the collective, laughter can solidify group rules and boundaries (Martineau, 1972); at the same time, because quick shifts in tone, duration, and intensity (laughing too hard or too long) can illicit skepticism, those same group bonds can be loosened and destabilized. At the structural level, one can laugh "with" power as well as "at" power, indicating its potential to both challenge and reinforce long-established social hierarchies. Because it is precarious, ambivalent, and liquid, laughter offers much to rethinking the relationship between pride and politics, and as a result, Pride movements as well.

Through laughter, the affective component of Deleuze's notion of the fold are brought to life, thus emphasizing the way vibrational pulls, pushes, tenors, and tones work to move individual bodies toward or away from other bodies, spaces, politics, ideas, relationships, and ways of living. The affective force of laughter works to attract and repel bodies into and out of collective folds, and is hence intimately wrapped up in processes of inclusion and exclusion. Because laughter, like pride, emerges in relation to historical structures and dominant norms, it can facilitate the exposure of the political

[29] Deleuze's conception of the fold is open-ended, generative, and creative concept that points to the ongoing processes of (individual, collective, national) bodily/identity constitution, and how bodies and identities become coherent through the continual negotiating of affective encounters with its environment. The histories of these affective, embodied encounters are what give relative stability and predictability to the establishment of the boundaries between inside and outside. The boundaries are necessarily permeable, in that there needs to be openings and exits for new bodies, intensities, ideas, materials to be let in and cast out. This permeable boundary, the "contact zone" (Pratt ,1991), where encounters are affectively heightened, is an intensive zone where the conditions surrounding entrance, exclusion, and repulsion are negotiated. The fold then points to the inextricability between spatial and affective negotiations, whether virtual, intensive, or actual (Ahmed, 2000; Protevi, 2009). It is through the movement of mediated spatial negotiations and affective encounters that subjects are continually made and re-made. For the purposes of this chapter, the fold enables a robust analysis that can hold the complexity of how "inside" and "outside" is layered, multiple, affective, and, crucially, power-laden.

organization and histories of individual and collective bodies. Given the multiple layers of laughter, I argue that thinking through the affective politics of laughter not only has resonances with pride in its embodied, ethical, and relational functions, but that the affective politics of laughter in the house specifically offers Pride politics crucial lessons for moving forward more attuned to the ethical and practical implications of political affect.

In *Political Affect: Connecting the Social and the Somatic (2009)*, John Protevi uses the term political affect to refer to the way bodies politic (individual, collective, or civic) cognize situations within historically and socially embedded contexts. He says, "the differential relations of our autonomous reactions and their approving or disapproving reception by others form patterns of acculturation by which we are gendered and racialized as well as attuned to gender, race, and other politically relevant categories. Put another way, we make our worlds in making sense of situations, but we do so only on the basis of the world in which we find ourselves" (35). It is my contention that attentiveness to this understanding of political affect, which points to the dynamism between sense-making capacities and environmental constraints, is crucial to ethical political strategies, actions, and goals across difference, and that laughter is one entry point into its exploration.

The contagion of laughter[30] in the space has the potential to undo the grip on individual freedom and expression that plagues contemporary Pride politics. Attention to the politics of laughter extends my ongoing claim that understanding the contemporary

[30] Within a liberal humanist conception of the body as closed, singular, and unified (as opposed to open, multiple, and leaky or porous), the notion of contagion has been largely displaced, except perhaps within the psychoanalytic tradition, and perhaps more recently within affect theory, due to its methodological elusiveness (how could one empirically measure the way one body is affected by another with any objective certainty?). However, for an engrossing and in-depth discussion on the contagion of affect in general, see Teresa Brennan's *The Transmission of Affect* (2004), for a discussion of "emotional contagion" understood as a shared affective state, see Steuber (2006), and for explorations of the contagion of laughter in particular, see Freedman & Perlick 1979; Provine 1992b.

political landscape requires as much attention to bodily forces, vibrations, shocks, and spatial negotiations as to language and discourse (e.g. policy, law, explicit forms of political representation). As an affective intensity in perpetual flux, laughter poses a series of methodological challenges posed by affect more generally (Clough, 2010). The existing scholarship on laughter tends to be marked by its attempts to capture its movement, narrate its intensity, to "know" its nature, thus minimizing the political threat posed by its unknowability. In contrast, I do not seek to know laughter but to use its methodologically elusive character and the unpredictability of its contagion as a key element in the advancement of a type of pride politic that favours the cultivation of bodily vitality, humility, and social joy across difference over a politics of identity, ego, and shame.

I. The Individual Fold: Laughter and Bodily Vitality

The house is a satellite of a community owned and operated inner-city medical clinic and has been open for over two decades. Aside from a small, usually cramped and slightly disheveled office where everyone is required to drop their belongings, the rest of the space feels much like a 1970s top-floor apartment: a central kitchen with a large communal table, couched between two sitting rooms, one usually dark and filled with people napping or watching TV; the other, light with people visiting, going through clothing, or getting ready to go elsewhere for the night. As a temporary refuge from the harshness of street life but still very much shaped by street hierarchies and realities, the house is a place where intersecting historical structures of inequality materialize as everyday crises. It is a refuge from the barrage of negative affective assaults that exist outside its door - police, johns, eviction notices, drug seeking, debt collecting,

withdrawals, the rain and hail, the summer sun or blistering cold, hunger, and sleep deprivation – but still marked by street hierarchies and rules.

A coworker of mine opened the back door one day to hear a well-known client laughing loudly as she came down the alley toward the house. This client is renowned for her guffaw, which echoes up and down the alley and fills the room, heralding her arrival. Upon entering the house on this particular day, however, she did not make it halfway up the stairs before dissolving into tears, leaning heavily into my coworkers arms for support. A bit taken aback by the abrupt mood shift she asked, "What happened? When I opened the door, you were laughing and so full of life!" She responded, "Yes, it's what keeps me safe out there. The laughter hides my pain and makes me tough. I'm inside and safe, so I can let myself feel it now."

The façade of laughter—how it literally and metaphorically inflates her body and sense of self, providing a protective barrier, is part of what keeps her moving and safe outside of the space. The laughter is a manifestation, albeit a defensive or strategic one, of the pride or bodily vitality required for street life. The force of laughter worked as a protective mechanism to transform her body into something larger, tougher, an entity that takes up space, that will react with force when that space is infringed upon—it was also the force used to keep feeling (fear, exhaustion, rage, grief, pain) at bay. In one of the earliest explorations of laughter, Henri Bergson observes laughter to require an absence of feeling:

> Here I would point out, as a symptom equally worth of notice, the absence of feeling which usually accompanies laughter. It seems as though the comic would not produce its disturbing effect unless it fell, so to say, on the

> surface of a soul that is thoroughly calm and unruffled. Indifference is the natural environment, for laughter has no greater foe than emotion. I do not mean that we could not laugh at a person who inspires us with pity, for instance, or even with affection, but in such a case we must, for the moment, put our affection out of court and impose silence on our pity. (63)

Bergson thinks that if one feels too much too often, and is too busy reflecting on the seriousness of every encounter, "a gloomy hue will spread over everything," whereas if one can disconnect and act as a "disinterested spectator: many a drama will turn into comedy" (12). Replacing laughter with reflection may be one embodied strategy for surviving life on the street, which requires an incessant assertion of power that exists in contradiction to the expression of certain feelings. Upon coming inside the door, the cessation of laughter caused the dam of affect that laughter had been securing to crumble for this client. The perpetual movement of laughter had created enough momentum to keep her body filled, visible, and audible, guarding against not only encounters with potential danger, but also the flood of feeling that poured out when she could be still, inside.

Articulating the dynamic relationship between inside and outside, Deleuze says that, "the outside is not a fixed limit but a moving matter animated by peristaltic movements, folds and foldings that together make up an inside" (1988: 96-97). That Deleuze evokes peristalsis is not unintentional - he moves his reader into a literal human body and its processes and to the wave contractions involved in digestion (shortly after he likens folding to "the invagination of a tissue in embryology" (98). Deleuze references bodily processes as exemplary of the movement of folding to describe the embodied

negotiations between inside and outside, absorption and repulsion, that a body-subject constantly undergoes (both above and below the threshold of conscious perception). For example, he suggests food and drink, consciousness, spatial negotiations, encounters with ideas, emotions, other human and non-human animals, all of which involve material affective encounters of folding. When the client used her laughter to enfold or refuse enfolding in a particular way, to both hold in and keep out affects and encounters, she constituted her interiority in relation to what was "outside" at that moment. Upon entering the house she could again shift the form of her interiority through a cathartic expulsion of affect that was 'safe' in that space at that time. To be sure, this break was temporary for by the time she had settled into the space mere minutes later the echoes of her cackles were reverberating through the walls once again. My reading of the function of her laughter is certainly speculative. However, it opens up possibilities for thinking through the affective politics of pride and the complexity of its embodiment.

Pride and laughter share a deep, embodied relationality that is enhanced or suppressed in particular spaces and sociopolitical contexts. As opposed to emotions generally understood as being basic[31] or primary such as rage or panic, secondary emotions that combine primary affective processes with thoughts, experiences, and social norms such as pride, jealousy and shame—and I argue, laughter—are brought into being differently depending on the context in which they are evoked (Panksepp, 2007: 233). Like laughter, not only does pride shift both quantitatively and qualitatively depending on the relations and histories that condition its expression, it also has a particular temporality and spatiality. Gay Pride celebrations, for example, occur for seven to ten days annually

[31] In spite of its common usage in neuroscience scholarship, it is worth noting, however, that the category of "basic emotion" is not universally agreed upon. For example, see Lisa Feldman Barrett's *How Emotions Are Made* (2017).

in most major cities, with the parade generally understood as the pinnacle of events. An audience member at a public lecture I gave on pride commented about the parade, "Sure, I can feel pride on this one day, but what happens the other three-hundred-sixty-four days of the year?" What this person was articulating is how the proud feelings generated by the collective during the day of the parade were temporary. As such, it needs to be sustained through encounters with the collective from which we can absorb doses of pride. When Jane, the long-time manager of the space was asked about what bodies lacking pride look like, she responded:

> Oh, I see that here. You become sick. Without feeling proud of who I am—I'm talking about here at Kindred with the women—they mostly don't feel proud of what they do or who they are, then things that support become more destructive, like drugs and alcohol, and illness…they become vulnerable to those things like illness (deep breath). There's a… just … the word 'wither'. I see a withering, a wasting.

In this account pride is equated with an expansiveness and a right to be and take up space in the world, and further, can act as an embodied and affective defense against the sorts of "supports" people seek. Jane goes on to describe in more detail her understanding of the embodiment of withering that results from moving through the world with limited experiential or structural access to those things that would enable or trigger feelings of pride:

> Shallow breath… I just saw like an air pump for a tire. And it doesn't take too much to pump somebody up with pride—just one moment. But there's no source for the pride, so there's shallow breath, little substance. Light bodies. But there is

> this opening, mostly, that there could be air put in by saying, "oh wow you're really blah blah blah", and people I think are… that are depleted like that, there is still the energy running through so it is possible to pump it up, but its not so easy on its own.

Here she draws connections between pride, bodily vitality, and the relationality of pride. Pride is referred to as a resource needed to nourish a body much like food or water. In terms of basic needs, love is the feeling most often cited as a life necessity, but here, pride is understood as an "attachment to a life force" that literally combats the depletion of suffering bodies. As such, feelings of pride, in that they are implicated in issues bodily vitality and deep relationality, are implicated in issues of quality of life or flourishing.

> Jane: I think it is kind of like bees, you know, we're attracted to the hive so to speak, but we have to be feeling some part of that to go at all. If I don't feel proud of being queer then I shouldn't probably, I probably don't go. But I'm interested in having it be seen, so maybe I can see it bigger after I've been. And because it isn't always acceptable, to do it with other people helps to feel part of that pride and to take some of that juiciness away.

In the house, laughter's contagion is heightened—people often chuckle along with laughter happening in a different room, or literally move to where the laughter is coming from. I would argue that, similar to the case of Pride parades and events discussed in the previous chapter, a large part of why people continually return day after day, year after year, is to get a "fix" of laughter from the collective hive to which people feel they belong. An individual body folding in and being "pumped up" with laughter, regardless of the nature or content of the joke, is a crucial part of social and psychic survival.

However, this is not only an individual matter, but one that is wrapped up in collective logics. In the next section I emphasize the role of the collective in enfolding laughter and pride. Being able to negotiate the proper dosage and quality of laughter, as well as when it is and is not "appropriate" plays a role in social and economic well-being and survival. Laughing at or with the wrong people at the wrong time can mark you as one outside of the group, causing you to lose friends, put you at odds with your colleagues, or put you at risk of physical harm. In that laughter is an affecting force with amorphous intentions, the dynamics of laughter and collectives are of critical political importance.

II. Laughter and the Collective Fold

At its best, the house is a communal space to share food, laughter, perfume, scars, clothes, war stories and warnings; a place where one can break, reach out, regroup, fill up, clean up and keep moving. Seeking to bring some of the implicit affective intensities related to pride and bodies to the surface, I created a space in the washroom in the house where the women could have a conversation about pride. The washroom was chosen both for its privacy and for its location in the space, a high traffic spot at the top of the stairs at the end of a hallway. The blank poster boards I hung on the walls had prompts about pride, such as "what is pride?" "what does pride feel like?" and "proud to be….". In spite of my initial interest in pride, what transpired on the poster spoke the relationship between pride and laughter as they relate to collective flourishing[32].

While responses began slowly and anonymously, a wave of people soon started to sign their names on the poster, marking their unique presence in the space. The inner-city

[32] Since my argument in this chapter attends to the way the relationship between laughter and pride expose the relational and collective affective politics of each, I chose not to do an analysis of the text on the posters. While the text on the posters is certainly inextricable from the affect evoked, I chose to emphasize the contagion of laughter in relation to pride that was a *response* to the text, rather than the words themselves.

community in Edmonton is relatively small. People are related—by blood, by friendship, by business, by street hierarchies and connections—but may go months or even years without seeing each other. In the living room at the house there is a wall of photos memorializing the women who have died, and it is not unusual for conversation to revolve around memories of those on the wall, and to the closeness of death. In contradistinction to the wall of those lost, the unprompted signing of the poster marked an assertion of life, and something about the relationality of pride, being, and community. Once the responses started, there was a flood of them, and then a few days later, it was forgotten and remained untouched. What I think this shows is that a) it is easier to respond to pride or with pride than to express it in isolation and b) affective politics work in such a way that intensity waxes and wanes. Pride and laughter are dynamic and move through spaces with chameleon like adaptability, blending into or escaping the crowd as need be. The responses on the poster made the affective traces and flows that were moving through the space at that time material, and created a conversation both on and outside of the wall space.

Even though the prompts provided on the poster were not necessarily responded to directly, the posters illuminated several things about the spatiality of pride. Writing on the wall appeared to become an act of pride and an opening for connection; putting marker to paper in this case became a way to carve a literal trace onto the space and to proudly claim one's persisting existence. Not only did participants begin to sign the wall, identifying themselves, their thoughts, allegiances, and relationships, but conversations *about* the posters also provoked conversations and shared laughter that spilled outside of the confined, anonymous space of the washroom. The posters were intentionally placed

in the washrooms to ensure a certain level of privacy and anonymity, but as participants began reading and responding to one another, sharing personal details about their lives or worldviews, what was expressed on the poster began to move out of the contained washroom and into the general space. The hallway leading into the washroom (where a line forms during peak times) is a dense transfer point for quick interactions between people, and the content of the posters provided something to talk about at that time. The narrow hallway itself, in addition to the necessitated interactions of having to use the single toilet in the space, temporarily played a role in keeping the poster conversation moving. At times people came out of the washroom pointing to what they had added to the conversation or to something they had just read.

The responses that provoked the liveliest conversations were those that referred specifically to street life, particularly by participants who were respected and/or feared in the subtle hierarchies of these communities. These references to life on the street speak to the connection between survival and pride; one can be proud in surviving the street, poverty, and the harshest conditions with style and savviness. With one exception, what is also equally significant is what did *not* emerge on the poster, namely, reference to sex work. In contrast to the bold pride attached to street life, the fact is that every woman in that space is or has been involved with sex work was not reflected in the comments on the posters. Street life was equated with valorized masculine traits such as toughness, violence, and ownership, while the feminized category of sex work that defines the bureaucratic social service mandate of the space was rendered invisible.

In one instance in particular the sociality of laughter as it relates to pride and gendered hierarchies of identity emerged. A woman came out of the bathroom laughing

at a signed response on the wall that said, “I love being a hustler” which prompted an intense and hearty shared laughter between herself and the woman who had been waiting. That the issue of sex work was almost absent from the posters, save for this one, which only peripherally refers to it through reference to the position of “hustler,” conventionally understood as a masculinized position that indicates street prowess and resourcefulness. Hustlers take pride in making money through illicit activities that can include but are not limited to turning out, controlling, or pimping. The “hustler” in this situation, by taking up and claiming masculine power as a means to survive, to resist, invokes fear, respect, and perhaps homophobia. Were they laughing at the idea of a masculine woman being a hustler? Was their laughter a fleeting opportunity to join forces against a feared member of their community? Were they laughing at the idea of loving the life they are living? The slipperiness of the term hustler further adds to the oblique nature of their laughter as an attempt to claim “hustler pride” in a feminized space of survival sex work.

In the house, generally staffed by white women working with poor, predominantly racialized, mostly Indigenous communities, laughter is constantly used to test, establish, and re-establish hierarchies and in-group/out-group boundaries. Incoming staff are teased (if they are lucky, because teasing in itself signals an opening) about everything from their skin colour, voice, and weight, to their style of dress and sexuality. These moments of teasing and jesting are highly intensive, where laughter is used as a mechanism through which someone can be evaluated as to whether or not they should be allowed into the fold. As the target of the joke, one has a series of choices ranging from laughing 'with' (which requires at the very least a strategic relinquishing of ego, a giving in and giving up to the rules of the space), to rejecting the jest, staying rooted in the self,

perhaps becoming hurt or defensive, and judging back, thereby maintaining one's status as outside of the fold. These moments are ongoing, and obviously vary depending on the nature of the joke, the vibe of the space at that time, and the subjects involved in the encounter. However, what remains constant is that these encounters, where laughter is the medium of the boundary test, are about the deeply relational and embodied politics of pride. Negotiating whether or not to laugh at oneself is thoroughly infused with the dynamic relationship between individual and collective pride. Thus, the laughter the 'hustler pride' moment above evoked is significant in that it shows how that laughter is about *responding in relation* moreso than it is about pointing to a concrete truthful reality.

An implicit question asked by all "communities" is not only if one desires to become part of the group, but what one is willing to *give up* in order to become part of the group. Rejecting the jest and not being enfolded is not necessarily failing the test if one doesn't want to be part of the group to begin with. Another option is to laugh in spite of their lack of understanding, signaling the desire to enter the fold and maintain the stability of one's own pride identity. If the joke is only funny if you "get it" then acting as though you get it is a requirement to establish yourself as part of the group. Not laughing can set you apart, outside, as the one who doesn't share the moment. In contrast, laughing along can save one from being marked as an outsider, as the one who doesn't get it, thus acting again as a mechanism of maintaining one's pride. Thus, the inside joke is an incredibly powerful tool of exclusion. While we have all likely experienced feeling "outside" of the joke (and thus the group) in a personal social situation, inside jokes are simultaneously a structural phenomena that function to continually remake and reinforce

(or destabilize and challenge) dominance and difference. Not getting the joke and not partaking in the laughter can also be a marker of power and authority; the seriousness that accompanies authority can neutralize the force of the laughter (imagine the teacher quieting students' giggles, the stifling of laughter when the supervisor enters the room). Further, in that laughter is about group knowledge and shared experience, a person may refuse the laughter in an effort to remain outside of the group. In any case, it is thoroughly a question of subject integrity, which must be negotiated within the context of collective and individual histories. The laughter within the house is not a test of proud identity (are you "like" us), as much as it is a test of humility (can you be "with" us). An emphasis on collectives forged through humble connections can undo the dominance of a politics based on individual identity and instead forge a sort of Pride politics one "identifies into" (Davis, 1997). While the previous two sections explored the individual and collective components of the fold, in the last section I explore how the socio-affective elements of laughter and pride are implicated in structural logics and folds.

III. Laughter and Structural Foldings

As discussed in the section above, I have argued that a large part of why people keep coming back to the space is to get a fix of laughter from the collective hive. An individual body being "pumped up" by the laughter of the collective, in the face of compounded inequality and suffering, is a crucial part of survival for those most affected by structural oppression. While the laughter in the space is undoubtedly an aspect of both the survival of the space and the endurance of its habitants, it must be understood as conditioned by historical and structural realities such as poverty, colonialism, misogyny, racism, and hetero-patriarchy. That is, even though the space can be an escape from these

structural realities, the fact that is it conditioned by these structures is omnipresent and often made explicit.

During a busy lunch the client phone rings. Someone quickly snatches the phone and says in a self-assured and sarcastic tone, “the whore house, you beat ‘em, we feed ‘em!” A shockwave of gasps and giggles fired throughout the room. The stark reality of the joke seemed to bring to the surface a truth that was jarringly accurate, contributing to the hilarity. The spontaneous eruption of laughter in the house is at times unsettling, or what white mores of respectability may call “inappropriate.” It is often noted by staff and clients alike (and I have no doubt this is common to spaces that absorb trauma on a routine basis) that “we laugh so we don't cry.” Perhaps the dark humour—laughing at the twisted realities of the world we live in—is a way to both absorb and reject the realities while not sinking in to despair and hopelessness. The laughter expels a portion of the intensity that builds up in the body after compounded traumatic encounters and encounters with those whose lives are deemed hopeless; it is one method of warding off the constitutive effects of vicarious trauma and keep moving, keep surviving in a context where some bodies are being left to die. These ongoing folds are not random but implicated in the biopolitical strategies.

In *Terrorist Assemblages* (2007) Jasbir Puar uses the fold to think through the biopolitical management of life in a post 9/11 context. Puar's concept of homonationalism points to the historical and geopolitical contingencies that enable some queer lives to be enfolded, benevolently welcomed, and urged into the dominant, national body. What Puar's work clearly points to is the strategic function of folding as it is inextricable from power relations; being counted among the queer bodies who are “folded into life” (xii) is

conditional – a deal that requires adherence to and support of "ever-narrowing parameters of white racial privilege, consumption capabilities, gender and kinship normatively, and bodily integrity" in order to bolster the public support of and consent to the deaths of sexually and racially perverse "terrorist" subjects. Foldings necessarily and crucially involve ongoing affective processes of differentiation in order to carefully structure bodily interiorities, individual, collective, and at the level of the wider body politics. Absorption entails rejection, ingestion entails secretion, exclusion is a condition of inclusion. That is, the subject cannot make itself outside of historically specific forms of rule and authority: "Recuperated by power-relations and relations of knowledge, the relation to oneself is continually reborn, elsewhere and otherwise." (Deleuze, 1988: 104). Deleuze urges us to consider the folds of our contemporary moment, and to think through the conditions and struggles for modern subjectivity and, I add, the way available subject positions structure embodied and political possibilities.

The subjects in the space are constituted in relation to contemporary forms of rule and meaning (as all subjects are). If "queer" is understood as political practices and ways of being that challenge dominant norms and identities, the house is an extraordinarily queer space in that clients live against the grain of dominant understandings of identity, sex practices, kinship systems, and labour practices. Despite the undeniable queerness of the space, explicit assertions of queer identity or involvement with queer political activism are few and far between. One effect of this is that many queer clients who come into the house (or those a white academic may read as queer) do not feel welcome in designated queer spaces, such as Pride events. When Jane, the manager, was put forward for an annual Pride award for her work at the house and invited clients she was explicitly

told that they would not attend because it is not "their space." While people who inhabit respectable white spaces can, as part of their ongoing constitution as settler-subject, move in and out of racialized spaces (Razack, 2002) such as Edmonton's inner city, the inhabitants of spaces marked as degenerate, spaces where violence is expected and normalized, do not have that racial or class privilege. Explosive laughter at the joke "you beat 'em, we feed 'em" – a joke that surely would make jaws drop if told at the annual Pride awards – is indicative of the vast difference in the political organization of bodies. Differences in the bodily (cultural, historical, affective, experiential, ethical) organization of various collectives has deep political implications, and the laughter—as a shared bodily intensity—in the house makes these differences stark.

Eruptions of laughter can override our rational choice making capacities and out us in social spaces, exposing our disdain for authority, our complicity with structures of oppression, or our previously unspoken alliances and orientations. Because it subsists of tonal vibrations and not words, we can never be sure of where it comes from (its intentions) or where it goes (its effects). It exceeds rationality by the very nature of its contagion: waves of giggles, snickers, chuckles and belly laughs ripple across a space affecting bodies into action and reaction, creating viral laughter that increases exponentially as it zips through bodies. At the same time, laughter can trigger deep insecurity, anger, or violent defensiveness. This is especially the case for groups of people in positions of social or political power who are not used to being the butt of the joke. A study on the culture of honor in the southern United States showed that, as indicated by their "markedly greater outputs of cortisol and testosterone," the bodily responses of white men in the southern U.S. are structured to respond to insults with more

rage and violence than white men in the northern states (Nisbett and Cohen, 1996: 44-45). At the level of political physiology (Protevi, 2009), the ways bodies are conditioned by complex political histories and events, the bodily capacities, triggers and thresholds of some social groups are more or less likely to move through the world with pride. Put another way: history has shaped the bodies of certain marginalized groups to *endure* violence rather than to fight it, and shaped some bodies to react with brutality rather than avoid it. These bodily patterns and triggers become entrenched over time in relation to shifting meanings attached to dominant political categories (race, class, gender, sexuality). When norms surrounding these categories are violated, and groups in power become threatened rather than threatening, violence is likely to erupt.

Dominant societal norms position some groups of people, street level sex workers among them as more or less open season to jokes, ridicule, bullying, and harassment, while the same treatment of members of more privileged groups is generally viewed as distasteful and overtly political. The public mocking of marginalized groups is not innocent but a form of discursive violence that functions to discipline bodies into the norm (Willett, Willett, & Sherman, 2012). These practices and techniques of normalization of which laughter is a part "hold us in check as administered subjects through modes of discourse and knowledge that mold the mind as well as the body" (230). Representations intended to evoke laughter at the expense of marginalized groups (especially Native women in a Canadian context, often conflated with sex work) subtly work to maintain oppressive structures that reproduce and rely on criminalization and stigmatizations of non-normative experiences. In a context where the target of the disciplinary apparatus in modern society is abnormality (McWhorter, 2009: 34), sex

workers are positioned at the intersection of several "abnormal" identities that not only politically structure their bodily triggers and capacities in particular ways, but also the bodies of people who come into contact with them either physically or discursively.

The ways that bodies are organized according to political categories and dominant norms structure individual affective and emotional encounters with difference, which again depend on individual experiential histories and micropolitical[33] contexts. Compared to most social groups, sex workers are used to being harassed and teased—to being punch lines. Women who transgress the sexual mores of white hegemonic femininity have, historically, been mocked and ridiculed (Finney, 1994). Within popular culture, jokes about sex workers being dirty and disease ridden, being immoral thieves immune to violence, unlike "respectable" women, are uncontroversial comedy staples[34]. The social acceptance of sex workers as objects of public ridicule works as a punishment against sex workers, and a disciplinary mechanism for non-sex workers, for existing outside of the dominant fold of white, heterosexual, cis, able-bodied respectability. Cruel laughter must be understood as structurally produced political violence at the level of affect, and part of the intensive processes that condition possibilities for actual, physical, institutional violence, in that it plays a role in training the affective triggers and capacities of bodies, including sex workers themselves, to endure, accept, and leave unquestioned the ongoing violence against them. Given the vast differences in the political organization of bodily affects, the relationship between laughter and pride deepens understandings of the co-

[33] William Connolly draws on Nietzsche, Foucault, and Deleuze to define the micropolitical as a "cultural collectivization and politicization of arts of the self" (2002:107). He stresses the ubiquitous nature of the micro political (e.g. classrooms, church groups, dinner parties, sports teams, TV shows, film, talk radio, etc.) as well as the way it "persistently invades and pervades macro politics" (109). Micro politics and "relational arts of the self" are in productive tension with one another, and for Connolly, are part of a political praxis of multiple layers of being, aimed at cultivating a generous, responsive, "ethos of engagement" with those we are different from (Connolly 1999:146).

[34] For example, on an episode of the TV sitcom, *Friends,* Ross accidentally hires a sex worker for Chandler's bachelor party. Upon realizing that she is more than "just a stripper", the men collectively freak out and try to figure out how to manage the situation. After Monica arrives and asks the woman to leave, Chandler asks if he can burn the bed that the sex worker was sitting on.

constitutive relationship between the individual and the collective and, as such, into understandings of contemporary affective politics.

IV. Conclusion

Puzzling through the politics of laughter, the essay "Laughter in the Aisles" (2004) by John Bruns centers around an event in which a group of high school students laughed at a Jewish woman being shot point blank by a Nazi officer during a screening of Spielberg's *Schindler's List* at a high school. Bruns' response to this event challenges the very notion that some issues, events, and behaviours must be treated with solemnity and seriousness and not laugher, and in doing so asks after the cultural paranoia inherent in reparative responses that seek to discipline (inappropriate) laughter and dismiss it as immaturity and/or ignorance. Asking after events that led up to the moment of laughter, as well as the social context in which it arose, Bruns opens laughter up to structural analysis—the racial context and socioeconomic status of Oakland, California—and to the micropolitical context: in the scene immediately prior to the Jewish woman getting shot, an older Jewish gentleman who has lost everything laughs and responds "I have to" when someone asks him "you laugh at that?" Such an analysis demands deeper, structural and historical considerations as to why a group of poor, Black teenagers may have been moved to laughter in the face of stark, unforgiving violence.

Most people, including the media and school administration, read the laughter of the teens form the "ghetto" as indicative of a lack of empathy and understanding. However, immediately following his assertion that the laughter of the teens may have been "cooperative" and "as emerging from 'within' the suffering witnessed on the

screen," Bruns asks if such a claim risks "allowing what is 'actually' injurious and hateful behaviour to go unchecked" (2004: 10). That is, although Bruns opens up the possibility of a more complex reading of poor racialized teens laughing at the brutality of the Holocaust, he does not let go of the possibility that the laughter may have also been malicious. The position of the one who laughs in relation to their social position and the discursive particularities of the moment matter in thinking through what laughter does politically. While he does not probe the question of a politics of laughter explicitly, what Bruns reiterates is the way laughter cannot be evacuated from structural realities and questions of survivability, thus adding to the transferability of the laughter in the house to other spaces and social contexts.

In *Undoing Gender* Judith Butler states, "Let's face it. We're undone by each other. And if we're not, we're missing something" (2004: 19). In this chapter I used the destabilizing contagion of laughter as a lens to highlight the ways that Pride politics is missing something. Through an application of Deleuze's concept of the fold, I demonstrated the political constitution of bodies at the individual, collective, and structural levels to argue that laughter in the house offers lessons to contemporary Pride politics. Asking after the multiplicity of ways that laughter can undo us offers humble reminders and important insights for moving forward in Pride politics. Feeling laughter's undoings in relation to the contemporary landscape of Pride politics requires a radical rethinking of what proud feelings, as emerging from intra-subjective encounters, do for politics, as well as a recognition that Pride politics do not currently have the capacity to hold the socioeconomic complexities of the historical present. As such, Pride politics, and Gay Pride politics in particular, risks exacerbating rather than relieving the suffering it

claims to take as its object. Laughter destabilizes Pride politics because it has the capacity to loosen our sense of being bound by the immediacy of our bodies, which are so often rooted in narrow identity parameters. Its movement lifts, enhances, inflates, lightens and releases us momentarily from bodily materiality and the weight of its social meaning. Such a loosening opens possibilities for humble connections across difference. The fleeting reprieve of laughter's movement is key to the political and literal survival of the most vulnerable bodies and collectives. To be sure, laughter can and often does reproduce rather than challenge existing inequalities. In its reliance on stereotypes, common sentiments and simplistic binaries, laughter can further normalize violence against certain groups, and it is a powerful tool used to discipline and contain unruly bodies and affects. In the conclusion I end the project by thinking through the biopolitical implications of pride and its attendant politics, and ask to what extent pride really matters.

Conclusion: Do Pride Politics Matter?

In a thoughtful response to discussions around the issue of self-care, Sara Ahmed draws on Audre Lorde's (1988) powerful assertion in *A Burst of Light* that self-care is an act of political warfare to highlight the co-implication of survival and political struggle:

> Some of us, Audre Lorde notes were never meant to survive. To have some body, to be a member of some group, to be some, can be a death sentence. When you are not supposed to live, as you are, where you are, with whom you are with, then survival is a radical action… We have to work out how to survive in a system that decides life for some requires the death or removal of others. Sometimes: to survive in a system is to survive a system. We can be inventive, we have to be inventive, Audre Lorde suggests, to survive.
>
> Some of us.
>
> Others: not so much. (2014)

Ahmed expands on Lorde's insights about a politics of survival by drawing on Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007). While Lorde compared battling cancer to battling anti-black racism, Gilmore understands social structures as doing violence to bodies at the cellular level and thus understands racism as "the state sanctioned or extralegal production and exploitation of group differentiated vulnerability to premature death" (2007: 28). Taken together, these thinkers push for an understanding of bodily vulnerabilities as politically constituted and motivated. Such thinking forces a radical restructuring of how we think not only about embodiment, affective patterns, triggers, and thresholds, but also how, where, and to what end ethical and political energies can and should be channeled. Understanding bodily vulnerability as simultaneously a potential site for forging a politics

across multiple differences (Butler, 2006) and as inextricable from state desires to make live or let die (Foucault, 2003: 241) provides a springboard from which an ethical politics attuned to the redistribution of life chances (Spade, 2009) can be explored.

Throughout the preceding chapters, I have explored the complexity of pride as it infuses a multiplicity of political beliefs and goals, and the way it circulates through bodies in relation to existing social hierarchies. I have emphasized the affective and relational components of pride and its politics, pushing against claims to its being equally accessible by individuals and collectives. Pride is what can emerge in an encounter between two (individual, structural, civic) bodies depending on the immanent circumstances of the encounter and the encountering histories. Unsurprisingly, in a moment where hyper-individualism is valorized, pride can become an exalted trait, a feeling that can and should be cultivated by responsible individuals in order to succeed in a highly competitive market. Against this, I explored the uneven circulation of various modes of pride as it moves through bodies and collectives, arguing that rather than being something one either has or does not have, pride emerges in relation to existing social norms, especially those of race, gender and sexuality, social hierarchies and collective histories.

Each chapter in this dissertation has investigated a component of the affective politics of pride as a means to deepen understandings about contemporary affective politics, especially regarding social justice challenges to mutable neoliberal processes. The multiplicity of pride was demonstrated through the exploration of events (activist writing, Gay Pride events, Beyoncé's Superbowl performance, laughter) that ignite a variety of proud responses. As such, in each case, I showed how pride always emerges *in*

response, and *in relation* due to the uneven circulation of pride across situated individuals and collectives. Chapter two explored the way pride has been discursively rendered over time, focusing on Ancient Greek and Enlightenment conceptions, then moving into a description of the affective political modes of pride that were developed to structure the chapters that followed. The third chapter honed in on pride from below, arguing that, at the level of the individual, a condition of its emergence is the embodied suffering that is caused by the gap between bodily experience and dominant discourses. At the level of the collective, pride from below emerges when this affective energy is recognized, captured or narrativized as pride and connected to the dignity and rights of a collective. Through an examination of select proud moments/events in the U.S. and Canada, I demonstrated the emergence of pride from below, emphasizing the role of activist writing in galvanizing the release of negative affect that accumulates in the bodies of oppressed groups. In chapter four, I moved to a contemporary example of Pride politics, focusing on the relationship between pride from below and neoliberal pride in the context of North American Gay Pride celebrations. I argue that in spite of the dominance of pride in its neoliberal mode, pride from below escapes in both intensive and actual form, which speaks to the political potentiality of pride from below specifically, and uncaptured affect in general. Chapter five continued to explore the relationship between pride from below and neoliberal pride, emphasizing the importance of affective political strategy to expressions of pride from below. I read Beyoncé's Super Bowl performance and the release of her single, "Formation," through an affective political lens, arguing that Beyoncé's history of expression within the neoliberal mode of pride conditioned the impact of her expression of Black pride from below within it. This chapter also

demonstrated the possible fluidity between modes of pride, their simultaneous expression, and the political potentiality of this oscillation. The final chapter explored what it might look like to do Pride politics otherwise, specifically, when detached from a particular identity category. I looked to the encounter between laughter and pride in a safe house for inner city sex workers to think through the movement of laughter alongside pride, and the affective political possibilities embedded in these encounters.

Because of its seeming ubiquity and the radical unevenness of its political claims, this project is riddled by a deep sense of ambivalence toward the practical utility, political effectiveness, and ethical implications of pride and its politics. In part, the project was an effort to work through this apprehensiveness and to develop some criteria with which the politics of pride could be assessed. One thing that became clear was the importance of historicizing collective feelings in relation to their political mobilization. Asking after affective content of a collective feeling (which is always already historical), such as pride, is crucial to the task of judging politicized emotion and emotional politics. Still, I do wonder about the sustainability of Pride politics, especially when it comes to styles of political engagement and the reality of heightened social antagonisms and increasing violence between groups. Put bluntly: When it comes down to it, do Pride politics matter? What do Pride politics do to mitigate or shield the most vulnerable within and outside of our communities from encounters that deflate, shrink, and further invisibility? How can Pride politics be rearticulated in such a way that its strategies and tactics are directed in the service of building up the most vulnerable bodies, closing the gap between body and world, and increasing the capacity to act of those who are being left to die? What is the role of affective politics in fostering life, especially where it is most needed?

As I argued throughout the project, pride has various modes of operation, and to begin answering these questions I will return to the modes, specifically the affective-political space from which pride from below emerges. I have reiterated that my understanding of pride from below is that it surfaces from a visceral sense of suffering caused by the gap between lived experience and discourse. Part of where the pain manifests is from the lack of outlet for affects, or what Elizabeth has called "strangulated affects" (2004: 1). Understood in another way, strangulated affect is affect that remains trapped in the body. In the case of pride from below, the bodily suffering and affective buzzing is named pride, and narrated in language as a right to be in the world, to be equal, and to deserve a life of dignity. Pride from below, then, names that gap, and releases it from the body and into language: a political act that necessarily shifts the discursive terrain. Naming the gap "pride" is a condition of its release from the body, a condition of mitigating the embodied pain of oppression. Affect is released from the body, reducing suffering, however, where does that negative affect go?

To conclude the project, I propose a model of assessing political claims and clashes that is attuned to the transmission of affect (Brennan, 2004). I suggest that pride from below be considered *one* of many possible manifestations of affective politics from below. What this does is provides a way to hold on to the affective-discursive tension that conditions the emergence of pride from below (incoherence between body and reality as constructed through dominant discourse), while recognizing and encouraging a multiplicity of actualized and overlapping political feelings (e.g. rage, love, disdain, ecstasy, amusement). Enabling the delinking of pride from its from below affective politic opens up possibilities for a more robust and less confined affective politic, in that

it recognizes that the gap between body and world that conditions the emergence of pride from below can be named, recognized, or narrated otherwise (e.g. anger from below). To be clear, I do not think that affective politics is the only kind of politics one can and should pay attention to and invest in—I imagine affective politics from below at its most potent when thought alongside and in conjunction with other sorts of activisms, official electoral politics, policy development, and other approaches to transformation. Crucial to this politic is holding onto the affective-discursive register of pride from below—it emerges from the bodily angst and pain that manifests from having been excluded from dominant discursive realities, and moves this suffering out of the body and onto aspects of dominant society.

What I offer here is an approach to understanding affective politics that is attuned to the transmission of affect as it relates to biopower and issues of social justice. In the first section I draw on Wendy Brown and William Connolly to discuss Nietzsche's conception of ressentiment, emphasizing its affective components and specifically its aim of deadening pain in the body through the production of an enemy upon which that affect can be deposited. Next I turn to Teresa Brennan's understanding of affective transmission and extend her discussion of "dumping" to suggest that certain social groups carry more than their fair share of negative affect, particularly in a political context that fuels ressentiment and punitive affective political engagement. To think about the unfair distribution of negative affect in particular bodies at the level of populations, I use Lauren Berlant's notion of "slow death" (2007). Taking these thinkers' understandings of affective politics, affective transmission, and biopower together, I then outline a method

for judging the claims and demands of particular political collectives that focuses on the sociopolitical circulation of affect.

In the second section I discuss Black Lives Matter Toronto's (BLMTO) interruption of the Toronto PRIDE parade in 2016. This event, involving a clash of many prides, is a rich site to demonstrate an assessment of political claims that centralizes questions of affective transmission. I draw parallels between this event and Sylvia Rivera's speech at the 1973 Pride rally in New York City. When thought through the frame of affective politics from below, each of these disruptive events are exposed as more politically astute than divisive, and more complex than a mere issue of inclusivity.

I. Scapegoats and Strangulated Affect

In the chapter "Wounded Attachments" in *States of Injury* (1995), Wendy Brown draws on Nietzsche to explore a politics of ressentiment. I want to think about the politics of ressentiment in terms of affective politics, particularly in terms of managing embodied suffering. In *On The Genealogy of Morals*, Nietzsche states:

> For every sufferer instinctively seeks a cause for his suffering, more exactly, an agent; still more specifically a guilty agent who is susceptible to suffering - in short, some living thing upon which he can on some pretext or other, vent his affects, actually or in effigy… This… constitutes the actual physiological cause of ressentiment, vengefulness, and the like: a desire to deaden pain by means of affects… to deaden, by means of a more violent emotion of any kind, a tormenting, secret pain that is becoming unendurable, and to drive it out of

> consciousness at least for the moment: for that one requires an affect, as savage an affect as possible, and, in order to excite that, any pretext at all. (127)

Ressentiment is a reactionary politic that "fixes the identities of the injured and the injuring," individualized victim and perpetrator, and is ultimately based on revenge rather than emancipation (Brown, 1995: 27). Brown has a few issues with Nietzsche's understanding of ressentiment, primarily in the context of late liberal democracies where, in theory, individual freedom and autonomy is available but, in practice, most subjects feel constrained and powerless. The dominance of a politics of ressentiment results in bolstering the state and the law as the site where reparation for injury can be granted, thereby adding legitimacy to the state and law and obscuring/denying the injury and violence that is perpetrated by the state. It is also a productive politic in that it temporarily functions to rid the sufferer of pain (by way of a more powerful negative affect that overwhelms it) by putting that negative affect onto an enemy where that affective pain can be displaced and redistributed (68). This kind of politics is a problem that is heightened in particular political contexts that incite ressentiment and fuel its flames. William Connolly echoes Brown's concern, particularly when punitive visceral politics lead to desires to eradicate emerging constituencies (when one feels as if the only reparation for one's suffering is to wipe another body out of existence). Connolly thinks we should cultivate techniques and practices to ward off, shrink, and purge existential resentment, for when left unfettered, it "promotes a punitive orientation to difference in many, blunts the capacity to nourish agonistic respect between interdependent constituencies, and diminishes critical responsiveness to new movements of cultural diversification" (2002: 108). Thus, for Connolly one of the problems is a lack of

respectful political engagement, wherein two competing or clashing constituencies can communicate those differences in a public realm and strike a compromise (or not). When the capacity for respectful ethical engagement with difference disintegrates, what we are left with - and what we currently see—is a sensational, revenge based, divisive political arena that hearkens the image of Marvin the Martian and Daffy Duck battling for room on a tiny planet.

What I find interesting about two prominent political theorists using Nietzsche's theory of ressentiment as a tool to diagnose the political and ethical present is that, at its foundation, what the concept of ressentiment starkly brings to the fore is recognition of the inextricable relationship between affective pain, embodied suffering, and political engagement. Importantly, neither Brown nor Connolly deny the legitimacy of the injury of the sufferer, nor the reality that injury is pervasive, however, both take issue with the manner through which the injury is mitigated or healing is sought, and the political and practical effects of the normalization of this sort of engagement. In part, the normalization of punitive emotional politics surely results from the history of valuing reason over emotion, and the purging of emotion from the political. When passion is devalued as a legitimate aspect of political belief and engagement, it can only manifest by seeping through the cracks and disguising itself. The historical rejection of the body and feeling to politics helps to fuel ignorance of its vital role in thinking and being with others.

In *The Transmission of Affect* (2004), Teresa Brennan argues that the reality of affective transmission has been unexplored primarily because it threatens the stability of the contained, reasonable, liberal humanist subject. Importantly, the transmission of

affect does not mean that the affects that are transmitted between bodies somehow supersede individual cognition. My angry affect may get transmitted to you and manifest as anxiety about work, a relationship, or an unpaid bill, etc. The thoughts attached to that affect still belong to the subject, even if the affect came from without. When one thinks about transmission between groups, the material effects of the politics of affect become more stark.

Brennan emphasizes two aspects of affect in particular: its materiality and its energetic dimension (5). Thinking the materiality of affect—it is matter and causes matter to change in the body—and its energetic dimension combined leads Brennan to develop a theory of affective transmission that can be extended and applied to think about the biopolitical implications of affective politics. In particular, I will focus on her understandings of "dumping," deadening affect, and death. Dumping occurs when one individual or group projects affects outward and in so doing, feels enhanced. The dumped affect has been released from one body-subject onto another, increasing the power of the body that has vented its affect (the parallels with Spinoza here are many).

For Brennan, dumping has a gendered dimension, the tendency being for the masculine—"a being of any sex" (42)—to "dump" its negative affect into the feminine, and this manifests as anxiety and depression (and given the claim above about strangulated affects in the body, I would add, pain). Drawing on Kleinian psychoanalysis, Brennan discusses the mother as the primary object of infant rage, making the mother the archetypal dumpee. Dumping, however, "has a wider compass" (30). She finds transmission relevant to ailments such as chronic fatigue syndrome (CFS) and hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), emphasizing that psychosomatic illness is "in the flesh"

(3). While Brennan does not explore the sociopolitical dynamics of dumping in depth, she states that dumping is not restricted to the parent-child relationship (42), that affective transmission is "always the theory of the group" and that: "It follows from the idea that affects can be compounded by interactive dynamics that some groups will carry more affective loads than others will" (51). What are some of the political and ethical implications of particular groups bearing an unjust burden of (negative) affect?

Brennan's understanding of death speaks to the consequences of this unjust burden of negative affect, connecting the sociopolitical consequences of dumping to the biopolitical. Death, for Brennan, is "the product of an unnatural and unintended slowdown of the energy that is only permanently divorced from matter when matter is no longer biodegradable, no longer to obey the laws of symbolic transformation at even the simplest vegetative level" (152). When negative affects (aggression, anxiety) accumulate in the body and become stagnant, fixed, and non-biodegradable, death takes hold. This calcified affect slows the body, creating a state of dis-ease that manifests in a variety of ways according to the personal and collective history in question. Brennan says that, in part because of a denial of the reality of transmission and thus no way to account for its material effects, humankind is heading in an "anti-life direction" as the amount of "dead matter" is increasing at the expense of life and its derivatives (162). Understanding death in this way shifts its temporality from punctual event to ongoing embodied process, which resonates with what Lauren Berlant has termed slow death: "the physical wearing out of a population and the deterioration of people in that population that is very nearly a defining condition of their experience and historical existence" (2007: 754).

Those who are not marked for slow death are folded into life and considered "on the side of capacity, while those "'targeted for death,'… are figured as debility, whether that is racialized, sexualized, or in terms of disease or disability" (Puar, 2010). Through the lens of biopower, the question of which bodily forces can be siphoned into the fold is paramount, leaving those without productive capacities to be sacrificed. In such a state of affairs, the most vulnerable populations (e.g. "the racialized poor") are not only positioned as surplus labour, but Hong (2011) extends this to develop the concept of "existential surplus." Existential surplus helps to explain how the systemic dumping on and slow death of certain populations is accepted and legitimized by large sectors of North American society. By casting racialized and sexualized others as backward, perverted, sick, patriarchal or immoral, the sacrifice of the most vulnerable is justified. Existential surplus thus is a mechanism by which contemporary neoliberal capitalism meets its biopolitical project of recasting "our relationship to death at a basic and fundamental level, changing our experience and inhabitation of life and death… abjecting death or evacuating it of meaning legitimates this differential dispersal" (94).

Taking these scholars together, we can begin to develop a model of assessing political claims at the level of affective transmission. Such a model asks questions such as: What groups are bearing most of the weight of negative affect? What groups are historically and routinely attacked, blamed, feared, hated, or alternately (and at times simultaneously), disregarded, and rendered invisible? If pain is the result of strangulated affects, and historically oppressed groups are bearing more of the weight of negative affect through transmission, how does this shift how we comprehend, apprehend, and understand the relationship between the body and politics? Understanding the biopolitical

implications of the affective politics of transmission requires asking questions about what populations are being used as dumping grounds for global negative affect, and by extension who or what *becomes toxic* through constant exposure to all of the shit? How can those of us who live in relative comfort reorient ourselves – our habits of action, thought, and feeling - in such a way that we consent to bear more of the weight? To parse through some of these questions and demonstrate such an politico-ethical assessment at the level of affective politics, I will examine Black Lives Matter Toronto's (BLMTO) interruption of the 2016 Toronto Pride Parade.

II. The Burden of Negative Affect

"I knew that some inscrutable energy preserved the breach. I felt, but did not yet understand, the relation between that other world and me. And I felt in this a cosmic injustice, a profound cruelty, which infused an abiding, irrepressible desire to unshackle my body and achieve the velocity of escape."- Ta-Nehisi Coates

Black Lives Matter (BLM) is a chapter based political collective that was created by Alicia Garza, Opal Tometi, and Patrice Cullors following the 2012 shooting of an unarmed 17-year-old Black youth, Trayvon Martin, in Sanford, Florida. BLM is a response to systemic anti-Black racism, especially perpetrated by the state, criminal justice system, and police, and since then has been an active organization that is "working for the validity of black life" (blacklivesmatter.com/about/). While right-wing media outlets tend to associate BLM with the Black Panthers, the organizations diverge in a few key ways. BLM advocates for non-violent tactics, is adamantly intersectional, and fights against the deprivation of Black human rights and dignity. In 2016, the Toronto chapter of BLM was invited to be the honored guests of the Pride parade. On a humid late June day just a few weeks after the tragic shooting at a Pride event in Orlando, Florida that took the lives of 49 queers, the vast majority of whom were LatinX and Black, BLMTO

led the parade, and shocked the crowd with a 30-minute sit-in that called out PRIDE Toronto. I quote it at length here:

> Alexandria Williams: Are you proud? I don't think we have much to be proud about. I don't think this is a cause for celebration when there are Black people dying. When there are queer and trans people dying. We are constantly under attack. Our spaces are under attack. PRIDE Toronto: We are calling you out for your anti-Blackness, for your anti-Indigeneity…
>
> BLMTO: We, will not, be moved!
>
> Williams: Everyone in this space sit down. This is your space.
>
> Crowd: Boooo!
>
> Williams: Don't boo! The only time I have ever heard this was from community who should understand what it feels like to be oppressed. You might know the 49 Orlando, but we know friends. We know family. We know lovers. We know mothers. We know fathers. How dare you. We are fighting for our people. How dare you. We fought for you. We threw bricks for you. We got locked up for you. We made PRIDE political. We made PRIDE something. You'd better respect that. Don't you ever forget your queer histories. Don't you ever forget who made this possible. It was people of colour. It was trans people of colour. It was trans people of colour. You can wave your rainbow flags, and you can have the time of your life. But every time my partner walks out that door, I am afraid[35].

Amidst boos, jeering, and those in the crowd chanting, "Move that truck!" BLMTO held the space at a packed intersection on Yonge Street, listing a series of demands of PRIDE Toronto that included a commitment to increase funding and self-determination of

[35] Text transcribed from video footage which can be found at https://blacklivesmatter.ca/proud/

community spaces, space for Black queer youth, increased representation of vulnerable communities, especially Black trans women and Indigenous people, ASL interpreters for the festival, and, most provocatively, the removal of police floats. As Rodney Diverlus stated: “The presence of police might make some of y’all safe, but it makes a whole lot of people in our community unsafe. And if you’re down for an inclusive PRIDE, you are down for a police free pride.” (blacklivesmatter.ca/proud)

The sit-in came to an end with then executive director of PRIDE Toronto, Mathieu Chantelois, signing off on the demands, shaking hands and hugging BLMTO members. Following the event, however, BLMTO was barraged with anti-Black racist hate mail from within and outside of queer communities (cbc.ca). Right-wing media, such as the Toronto Sun and Fox News evoked the term “hijack” to describe the actions of BLMTO (Levy, 2017; Marchal, 2016). Since then, the organization has been continually accused of sullying the cherished value of inclusion, being divisive, and taking over Pride festivals with their narrow activist agenda. Without delving too far into the common and deeply problematic response to BLM that “All Lives Matter” or even “Blue Lives Matter,” I want to think about this event through the lens of affective transmission.

In that pride from below is a challenge to dominant society, the discharge of negative affect is being directed toward some aspect of dominant society. In the case of Black pride from below, for example, the dominance of whiteness, ongoing white supremacy, and the suppression of Black pride and success (affectively, psychically, economically) is its target. Thus, the whiteness of the state, law enforcement and police are targeted as the sources of pain. In response to centuries of violence and oppression that have systemically worn down Black bodies, the Black Panthers, for example, sought

to build bodies back up by claiming the right to armed self-defense, breakfast programs for children, educational and consciousness raising groups, etc. All of these tactics were aimed at blocking or mitigating the transmission of negative affect into Black bodies and simultaneously acted as an outlet for this affect, refusing fear and converting it into something actual, something of substance, of matter. More than forty years later, BLM has a similar ultimate mandate in its "declaration of dignity" (Ellison, 2016).

When assessed through the lens of affective transmission, BLM can be understood as a political collective that emerged, like the Black Panthers, Disability Pride, Mad Pride, and some aspects of queer communities, in response to the barrage of negative affective assaults faced by Black bodies. Past and contemporary examples of the way Black bodies are marked for wearing down, wearing out, and for being dumped on are too many and too vicious to name given space constraints. The history of the enslavement of Black bodies and the extraction of their labour; the way Black flesh was and is expected to absorb white rage, frustration, angst, guilt, grief, and momentary powerlessness; microaggressions ranging from pointing, glares, and rolling eyes, to undermining comments and ignorant, dehumanizing assumptions and questions; the mass incarceration of Black bodies to the detriment of entire families and communities, the profitability of the criminalization of poverty, addiction, and mental illness), and the creation and exacerbation of poverty, addiction and mental illness that results from imprisonment; environmental racism—a literal example of dumping, a practice whereby marginalized populations, usually communities of colour and always economically impoverished, are intentionally targeted for the sighting of industry pollution—that subjects toxins and chemicals into the air, land, and water, to be absorbed by the bodies

of Black and other vulnerable communities, resulting in disproportionally higher instances of cancer, asthma, lead poisoning, and birth defects compared to the general population (e.g. Flint, Michigan); quantitatively and qualitatively different experiences of institutional and interpersonal violence including murder, rape and sexual assault, physical assaults, and abuse of all varieties. And to top it all off, this occurs in the midst of a dominant discursive context that denies, undermines, and erases the realities of this transmission in all of its forms ranging from psychic to institutional to physical, and its effects on particular population. This is what being marked for wearing out looks like. When the bodily matter of some collectives is targeted for erasure and dumping while the bodily matter of others is exalted and cherished, the claim that all lives matter rings hollow. In such a context, proudly claiming that Black lives do matter is an unapologetic rejection of world that sacrifices the matter of Black bodies. And while thinking about this in terms of affective transmission may seem ethereal or unnecessarily theoretical, I'm talking about the material impact of structured transmission (meaning the way transmission is not free floating but directed to and upon particular groups in particular places) on the bodies of the most vulnerable, whether experienced as exhaustion, fear, anxiety, depression, addiction, or rage.

From their inception, Gay Pride rallies, parades and celebrations have relied on the bodies and labour of the most vulnerable queers—Black, Indigenous, trans, non-binary, disabled, poor, sex workers—to absorb and defend against the onslaught of negative affect from dominant society. Faced with the weight of intersecting oppressions and often the most visible, trans and queers of colour are forced to endure not only the discrimination of dominant society but from other (white, middle class, able bodied)

queers and gay people. The first Pride events, such as Stonewall, were incited predominantly by transwomen of colour, who had born the brunt of the physical, emotional, and sexual violence from police. In spite of this, trans people, especially trans people of colour, are still marginalized within queer communities, and this marginalization becomes heightened during Pride.

At a Pride rally in New York in 1973, Sylvia Rivera, a Stonewall veteran, gay liberation and trans activist took the stage. Rivera and her partner, Marsha P. Johnson, both trans women of colour, were among those leading the Stonewall riots four years prior. In 1970, Rivera and Johnson started S.T.A.R. (Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries), the first organization aimed at homeless trans youth in New York City. However, when Rivera took the microphone, the crowd violently booed, hissed and cursed, screaming at her to get off of the stage. Rivera, however, held her resolve and said, "Y'all better quiet down." While on stage she spoke about the rape and imprisonment of queers such as herself, and how those in the crowd are doing nothing to help them. Instead, the most vulnerable queers were writing to S.T.A.R. for support:

> But do you do anything for them? No, you tell me to go hide my tail between my legs. I will not no longer put up with this shit. I have been beaten, I have had my nose broken, I have been thrown in jail, I have lost my job, I have lost my apartment for gay liberation. And you all treat me this way? What the fuck's wrong with you all? Think about that. (youtube.com)

Forty-three years after Rivera's speech, things are still depressingly similar. The parallels between this event in 1973 and the BLMTO interruption of the Toronto PRIDE parade in 2016 are striking. When Williams references throwing bricks and getting locked up, this

is the queer history she warns against forgetting. In taking the stage, in interrupting the march, Rivera and BLMTO disrupted the congratulatory collective atmosphere of Pride and demanded that attention be directed toward those who are being left to die.

Rivera's speech and BLMTO's sit-in are examples of affective-politics from below that *can* be named pride, but exceed the confines of dominant understandings of pride as individual and singular. This affective politics *is* survival for the most vulnerable, in that ejecting negative affect from the body is necessary in warding off death. When thought in terms of affective transmission, what is perhaps most jarring is the hostile reaction of the crowd. In those moments, Rivera and BLMTO are perceived by the crowd as being negative, as unfairly shifting the atmosphere to their own selfish agendas, as taking over a space that is not theirs to take. Each of these reactions is very telling, in that they expose affective dispositions connected to the embodiment of privilege.

In each case we have one individual facing a crowd, or one small group facing a much larger group. If I imagine myself in the crowd as a white, cisgendered queer woman, I can imagine myself to be anticipating being uplifted, to feel my capacity heightened. I am expecting a fix from the collective hive, and for it to *feel good*. Instead of my implicit affective expectations of being pumped up and receiving the transmission of positive energy being fulfilled, however, the situation is reversed. Suddenly, the atmosphere shifts, and the slightest disruption of the feeling provokes agitation. I experience the interruption of my affective state (contained in my expectations of the event) as a personal slight, and I feel impinged upon. My feelings of impingement are heightened when the person or group holding the energy of the space (which can feel stifling and uncomfortable) is directing their negative affect at me. In that moment, I

become the receptacle for negative affect and have no escape. In an attempt to block this transmission, I reject it and project it back.

Of course, the situation need not happen that way, and did not happen that way for all involved. In both cases, there were people in the crowds faced by Rivera and BLMTO who did not angrily boo, did not join in on dismissive chants, and instead listened, absorbed, and expressed support for those suspending the energy of the space. Being the target of negative affect never feels good. However, when thought outside of the confines of the individual and instead through the lens of collective affective transmission – that centers questions of who is bearing the weight of negative affect and death - learning to absorb, endure, filter, and redirect affect becomes politically vital. In queer communities around North America, which vary greatly not only from city to city but street to street, space to space, and hour to hour, one thing that is for certain is that not all queers are equally vulnerable. We do not experience the same vulnerability, qualitatively or quantitatively, to homophobia, transphobia, racism, classism, ableism, misogyny, and other oppressive structures that erode bodies and wills. We are not equally vulnerable to addiction, disease, job loss, eviction, homelessness, eye rolls and jeers, police harassment and murder, rapes, or beatings. Experiences of homophobia and transphobia are racialized, gendered, and classed, which alters the quality of our encounters and also the amount of discrimination. What the BLMTO and Rivera examples demonstrate is the effectiveness of the affective politics of pride in provoking discussion and, hopefully, action. Being attentive to the unjust social dynamics of affective transmission can open up possibilities for redirecting conversations around political engagement and refocusing the political goals of Pride.

In this concluding chapter I argued that where affect goes matters to politics, and that asking questions about affective transmission is crucial to contemporary social justice strategizing. Through an analysis of BLMTO's sit-in at the 2016 Toronto PRIDE parade I demonstrated how attention to affective transmission is a basis from which political difference can be assessed. When the reality that queer Black, Indigenous and other communities of colour historically and presently endure a wildly unjust share of negative affect that leads to premature death becomes the focal point of the discussion, the political conversation shifts significantly.

In *Dancing on Our Turtles Backs* (2011), Leanne Simpson recounts a teaching experience with Nishnaabeg Elder Robin Green-ba where he described the dominant approach to sustainable development as backwards (2011: 141). Rather than taking as much as we can without compromising future generations, he described how we should be taking as little as we can from the earth to ensure our survival and "manage ourselves so that life can promote more life" (142). In Nishnaabeg thought there is no single word for culture, but a series of interrelated processes that capture the wholeness of what comprises something the English language names "culture". Some of these words and expressions were explored by Nishnaabe/Dakota scholar, Scott Lyon, who found that what these words—*izhitwaa*, *nitaa*, *inaadizi*, *gaaminigoowisieng*—share is an overarching concern with "the desire to produce more life" (142). Exploring the fullness of culture in relation to the ideas of culture and sustainable development leads Simpson to the clear assertion that: "Resurgence movements then, must be movements to create more life, propel life, nurture life, motion, presence and emergence" (143).

What I like about the term resurgence movements is that it draws attention to revival and evokes, as Simpson clearly states, coming back to and increasing life and life forces. In the context of Indigenous people's resurgence after centuries of surviving and enduring colonialism, this is a powerful sentiment that can be connected to other movements and collectives who have historically, symbolically and literally been left for dead[36]. Simpson's understanding of resurgence movements resonates with my conception of an affective politic from below that is educated about the sociopolitics of affective transmission and oriented to the multiplicity of ways of giving life. Such an approach to politics would include investigating the processes by which negative affect comes to be stored in the bodies of the most vulnerable. These investigations would lead to the development of political strategies and projects attuned to mitigating and minimizing the way the most vulnerable populations become sites for the dumping of negative affect. Such projects could include the creation of spaces where the bodies of the most vulnerable can be built up (e.g. by food, sleep, laughter, art, music, medical treatment, legal aid, housing support, addiction support), feel their power heightened, and places and modes by which negative affect can be released from the body in ways that foster life rather than exacerbate its unjust circulation. In that this affective politic from below emerges from the rejection of negative affect that comes to be stored in the body, it need not be attached to a single emotion or identity. At its best, affective politics from below can be the basis upon which a multi-issue politic focused on fostering life where it has been abandoned, sacrificed, or forgotten can be forged.

[36] Of course, one could also name the alt-right a resurgence movement in that it is invigorating life into white supremacy (although, obviously, the key distinction here is that, unlike Indigenous people and ways life, white supremacy has unfortunately never been left for dead or put in a position where it needed to survive anything). Again, we come full circle to the question of where the negative affect is being targeted, and where life is potentially being reinvigorated.

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Conclusion

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