

Feminist Politics of Breathing

MAGDALENA GÓRSKA

Breathing and politics are not usually considered relevant to one another. Is it therefore possible to engage with breathing as a force of social justice? What kinds of atmospheres can corpomaterial dynamics of breathing help envision for the possibility for individuals and social groups to live breathable lives?

It is my aspiration here to argue that politics can take place not only in terms of governance, social movements, identity politics, and biopolitics but also in terms of quotidian bodily actions—such as breathing. By working with breath as a force that is common to all living and breathing (in this chapter, human) beings yet differential in its enactments, I propose a rethinking of politics in which corpomaterial actions matter—politics not based on universalizing, homogenizing, or essentializing understandings of embodiment or subjectivity but conceptualized and enacted intersectionally in their specific situatedness and dispersal in the individual and structural dynamics of power relations. This chapter of the volume, therefore, explores the possibility of such politics in relation to the quotidian practices of breathing.

Breathing as a Relational Enactment

Breathing is a process that is shared across (human and nonhuman) life forms. It is a force that brings beings to life and engages their existence in the ongoing metabolization of the atmospheric and material processes of living. As such, dynamic breathing is a matter of not only human-embodied subjects but also, for example, other animals, over- and underwater beings, plants, soil, and elements.

But even as a force that is shared by all breathing beings, breathing is not a homogenous phenomenon. For example, human breathing is enacted differently in relation to lung specificities such as those that are partially collapsed, with diverse materialities such as cancer or coal dust sediment, and with different sizes and respiratory capacities. Similarly, breathing also has different rhythms and flows across different bodies that—according to their age, constitution, and size—breathe at different rates and depths. Breath can also be enacted with diverse respiratory aids and technologies, such as respiratory ventilators; oxygen stations, which out of necessity started to appear in metropolises with severe air pollution, such as Beijing; or even as part of a privileged lifestyle, as newly appearing oxygen bars aspire to become part of the contemporary entertainment and well-being industry.

Breathing is also a differential phenomenon in terms of the diverse ways it is understood. In Western perspectives, breath is considered to be enacted through inhalation and exhalation. But in *Prāṇāyāma*, for example, breathing is considered to consist of four parts: inhalation, an air-full pause after inhalation, exhalation, and an air-empty pause after exhalation.¹ Breath also has different meanings within, for example, theories and practices of yoga; pain control; and philosophical, mystic, and religious thought in which breathing is associated predominantly with spirits, gods, and the immateriality of life. And even when it is considered material, the way breathing is described, bounded, and conceptualized also differs if it is approached from the perspective of physiology, anatomy, biochemistry, or physics—classifications through which it both escapes as well as becomes intelligible. And, as mentioned earlier, breathing also transforms depending on whether it is understood as a human or nonhuman activity, and depending on the breathing actors (e.g., oxygen, diaphragm, trees) one follows.

In its persistent commonality and constant differentiation, breathing can thus inspire diverse analyses of relational natural and cultural as well as material and social scapes that are dispersed across diverse spaces, times, geopolitical relations, ecosystems, industries, and urbanization while being situated in their phenomenal specificities. Considering such simultaneously common and differential enactments of breathing it is, hence, necessary to work with a nonreductive understanding of it—one that does not reduce breathing into one homogenized narrative, one particular enactment, or one form of politics or ethics.

In developing such an approach, I find the agential realist philosophy developed by feminist physicist and theorist Karen Barad² particularly helpful for working with breathing's dynamics of simultaneous commonality and differentiation. The approach Barad develops allows one to account for the simultaneous material and discursive, natural and cultural, human and nonhuman enactments of breathing as an ethico-onto-epistemological phenomenon. The concept of *phenomenon* mobilized here is of an agential realist character—the concept is understood not as an ontologically prior object with preexisting boundaries and properties but

as one that comes into being through the ethico-onto-epistemological dynamism of its intra-active and differencing constitution.

The concepts *intra-action* and *ethico-onto-epistemology* are neologisms developed by Barad through her work in quantum physics to rearticulate contemporary notions of causality and the relation of knowledge, ethics, and reality. Barad, in developing the notion of intra-action, challenges interactive understandings of causal dynamics (which presuppose entities that preexist relational dynamics) and instead proposes thinking about the dynamics of relating as processes of a simultaneously ontological, epistemological, and ethical—or, as Barad puts it, an ethico-onto-epistemological—constitution.³ In such an approach, phenomena do not preexist relations ethically, epistemologically, or ontologically but are enacted in processes of intra-active relating. Through intra-action, phenomena come into being in a way through which none of the “components” that materialize within the intra-active processes preexist these processes or have any pre-given essence. These components, or *relata* in Barad’s⁴ words, are always bound to the phenomena, and they come to exist and acquire boundaries and properties within specific intra-actions. While intra-activity is a causal dynamism of the ethico-onto-epistemological constitutiveness of phenomena, it is simultaneously a dynamism of *differentiation*—as I elaborate elsewhere⁵—in which phenomena obtain boundaries and properties through dynamics of “differential patterns of mattering.”⁶

The intra-active (understood as mutually constitutive but without preexisting entities) while differential (i.e., not homogenizing or flattening) reconceptualization of causality, then, allows scholars to work with breathing as simultaneously situated and dispersed, in its particular enactments that are simultaneously common and differential. In such an approach, then, I understand breathing in its specific situatedness (e.g., breathing enacted in specific panic attacks or in a coal miner’s dusty lungs)⁷ while simultaneously common and dispersed dynamic to be enacted in the agential multiplicity of diverse *relata* that are constitutive of the phenomenon (e.g., the role of the diaphragm for breathing). Simultaneously, the *relata* are constituted themselves by the process of intra-active and differential ethico-onto-epistemological becoming. For example, organs such as the lungs, which are usually understood in a homogenized way, are enacted differently in relation to the ways individuals live within social power relations—living with anxieties transforms the ways one breathes, and living with dusty lungs syndrome transforms the lungs as an organ.

The intra-active, differential, and phenomenal approach therefore allows for an engagement with breathing as a relational enactment of the intra-active constitutiveness and differentiation of diverse substances, fluids, organs, and cultural, environmental, and affective practices as well as social power relations. Such a relational understanding of breathing opens up possibilities for interdisciplinary knowledge production practices and for developing politics through

a posthumanist reconceptualization of contemporary understandings of human embodiment, subjectivity, and power.

Why Breathing Matters

For decades, feminist corporeal, postcolonial, Marxist, and queer scholarship has criticized the historical but persistent heritage of the notion of “the (cis-male, white, disembodied) human.”⁸ Despite this criticism and the alternative approaches that the feminist scholarship has been developing, contemporary Western mainstream humanism, in relation to which this chapter is situated, is still embedded in Cartesian logic, white male supremacy, disembodiment and rationalization of the privileged notion of subjectivity, and racialized and classed (to name a few power dynamics) embodiment of “the Other.” Such an approach is clearly manifested in, for example, (white, Western, classed) human exceptionalist discourses mobilized in contemporary European right-wing politics and anti-immigration rhetoric that have dominated the European political landscape, leading to its transformation in the time of Brexit. In light of the persistence of such humanism and its terrifying political consequences, I believe that together with the critical approaches developed in feminist research and activism, breathing can be a force that articulates the necessity of rethinking contemporary understandings of the relationalities of humanism, human-embodied subjectivities, and power; and it also offers directionalities for doing so.

For example, in its diversity and in the flow of its worldly circulation, breath challenges binary logics that constitute contemporary notions of human subjectivity. It problematizes the distinction between concepts such as “inside” and “outside” by troubling notions of corpomaterial boundaries in the worldly metabolization of oxygen; it complicates notions of self, other, and environment in challenging individualistic concepts of humanness and articulating its transcorporeal⁹ character that defies bodily and subjective boundaries of the self; it also problematizes human exceptionalism by embedding humans in the intra-actively¹⁰ constitutive atmospheric, material, and social dynamics of living.

Breath is, therefore, a force that challenges conventional boundaries and opens up possibilities of reimagining what it means to be an embodied *posthumanist* subject who is not *in* the world but is—as is articulated in a diversity of approaches by feminist scholars such as Donna Haraway,¹¹ Rosi Braidotti,¹² Mette Bryld and Nina Lykke,¹³ Myra Hird,¹⁴ Stacy Alaimo,¹⁵ and Cecilia Åsberg¹⁶—of the world, as Barad¹⁷ argues.

As I discuss elsewhere in relation to coal mining,¹⁸ breathing articulates how social justice politics are simultaneously matters of environmental politics, as breathing polluted air enacts particular (geopolitically specific) intersectional forms of existence and resistance. For example, pursuing the diversity within the

breathability of life and air quality can lead to researching the dynamics of geopolitical economic and (neo)colonialist power relations. It can lead to questions about political, social, and economic distribution and the maintenance of privilege or lack thereof; it can lead to questions about the power that materializes not only in (un)breathable and (non)toxic air but also in political, social, and ethical matters such as whose lives are breathable and whose loss of breath is grievable.

A respiratory analysis can also provide insight into relationalities that accentuate contemporary trends in the development of neoliberalism and its consequences at both local and global levels. It can allow for an analysis of complex socioeconomic processes through which pollution-reducing technologies enable certain countries, or specific geopolitical areas in many parts of Europe, to enjoy cleaner and fresher air while other countries or areas suffocate in smog. The vast relationalities these breathing scapes unfold can offer respiratory interventions in the development of interdisciplinary social and environmental justice politics.

Moreover, as research concerned with the social element of environmental pollution and social deprivation shows,¹⁹ breath and air matter in terms of social geographies in which intersectional positioning is related to how and what saturation of air pollution one breathes. According to a health geography study by Jamie Pearce and colleagues, for example,

the unequal exposure to air pollution between advantaged and disadvantaged groups provides a direct causal explanation for the socioeconomic gradient in ill health, particularly for those diseases related to air pollution such as asthma and lung cancer. [. . .] [A]s well as suffering greater levels of exposure, disadvantaged populations are likely to be more susceptible to the effects of air pollution upon health. This inequity arises because communities with higher levels of relative disadvantage experience poorer provision of medical care, housing, and access to facilities such as grocery stores, and adverse psychosocial conditions. [. . .] [Also,] disadvantaged communities have a higher susceptibility to predisposing health conditions such as diabetes and asthma, because of socioeconomic differences including occupation, social support, and medical care, which renders them more sensitive to the effects of air pollution. Therefore, this combination of factors relating to environmental justice provides a set of interrelated mechanisms that help to illuminate some of the pathways that lead to inequalities in health.²⁰

As Pearce and colleagues indicate, breathing is therefore a political matter that is natural, cultural, and social. As such, it is also an *intersectional* political matter. Working with a natural-cultural-intersectional understanding of breathing creates space for respiratory political questions: How do the environmental politics

of air pollution matter as part of intersectional social justice politics? How can they articulate the differential ways in which the ability to take a breath and to breathe fresh air is a matter of intersectional situatedness in and enactment of local and global power relations? And what kind of implications and affinities are enacted when, for example, a light switch on the wall of every single living room (with electricity) enacts specific practices of privileging and deprivileging that are empowered by the mere possibility (which in many geopolitical areas is a matter of privilege) of turning it on? Or when some electricity users breathe fresh air while others live in areas polluted by coal mining, or breathe coal dust for a living?

It matters if and how one can breathe and if and how one's life is breathable. One of the crucial contributions of feminist studies—particularly of Black and Marxist feminism in their specifically different interventions²¹—is the discussion of the intersectional specificity of whose lives matter and how. And the intersectional understanding of embodiment and subjectivity, materiality and discursivity, and nature and culture is central for working with breathing as a transformative force of change that does not homogenize or universalize politics but works with the simultaneous specific situatedness and dispersal of social power relations. As an intersectional phenomenon, therefore, breathing is a matter of environmental and social justice politics that are intra-actively constitutive yet differential.

The politics of breathing can also, therefore, be developed through enactments of breath other than environmental ones, such as agential dynamics of affect. When living with anxieties or undergoing panic attacks, many people experience a change in breathing. Such transformations are usually explained merely physiologically, but an intra-active analysis of physiological processes allows for an engagement with breathing transformativity as a matter of corpo-affectivity²²—a dynamic of the mutual constitutiveness of corpomateriality and affect.

Feminist affect studies—exemplified in the works of such scholars as Ann Cvetkovich,²³ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick,²⁴ Sara Ahmed,²⁵ Sianne Ngai,²⁶ Heather Love,²⁷ Laurent Berlant,²⁸ and Jack Halberstam,²⁹ as well as groups such as Public Feelings and Feel Tank Chicago and art projects such as *The Alphabet of Feeling Bad*³⁰ and *An Unhappy Archive*³¹—have already recognized the role of affect as a response to the dynamics of social power relations. They have argued for the significance of affective dynamics such as depression, shame, trauma, and failure and problematized normative ideals of happiness and affective attachments. These affective processes are analyzed as part of the operation of social power relations that, as Ann Cvetkovich argues regarding depression, are “manifestation[s] of forms of biopower that produce life and death not only by targeting populations but also more insidiously by making people feel small, worthless, hopeless.”³²

Within feminist studies, affective dynamics became recognized as valuable responses to social power relations. They are also perceived as manifestations of intersectional oppressive structures such as racism, classism, colonialism, heteronormativity, gender normativity, sexism, and ableism.

But, additionally, as breathing in anxieties and panic attacks articulates, corpomaterial and corpo-affective dynamics are more than just responses to or manifestations of social conditions. As I argue elsewhere,³³ anxious and panicky breathing is also a material enactment of and challenge to contemporary power relations that are enacted individually and structurally. These kinds of breath transform dynamics of living by enacting a break and necessitating change. In this way, they enact specific materializations and productions as well as transformations and alternatives to the dominant social norms and power relations.

But as transformative forces, anxieties and panic attacks are also often painful and unbearable. They are not alternatives in the ideational sense of desired ways of being. And, simultaneously, in their painfulness they break norms apart. These breaks are terrifying, but they also open potentialities of being otherwise. The political potentialities of anxious and panicky breathing are, therefore, not only optimistic or happy in themselves, or for the sake of being alternatives, but enactments of different directionalities. They enact change in the form of radical disruption, immobility, and rejection of the normative pressure of being an intersectional embodied subject of the neoliberal political, social, and cultural economy. They claim what it means to be a human-embodied subject in a differential way. In their suffocating forcefulness, they are also articulations of the necessity to take space, to take a breath, and to live a breathable life.

I therefore understand breathing as a force that not only materializes, recognizes, and manifests social power relations but also forces social and environmental transformation. In this approach, breath in its trans-corporeal and lively and deadly operations becomes not only a symbolic but also a literal enactment of the struggle for breathable life—a struggle that, as I have argued above, takes place in quotidian practices of living and is inherently intersectional and posthumanist, in which the notion of humanness relies not on impermeable boundaries but rather on respiratory co-becoming.

Within such an approach, Sara Ahmed's words articulated in relation to queer and postcolonial scholarship and activism can become a motto for feminist politics for breathable lives:

The struggle for a breathable life is the struggle for queers to have space to breathe. Having space to breathe, or being able to breathe freely is [. . .] an aspiration. With breath comes imagination. With breath comes possibility. If queer politics is about freedom, it might simply mean the freedom to breathe.³⁴

Breath is, therefore, a lively and deadly force not only physiologically but also affectively and socially. As Ahmed points out, breathing can become a force of taking space for breathable existence, an aspiration for social transformations that challenge intersectional dynamics of privilegization and deprivilegization, and a

request for freedom that is common to all while recognizing differential needs and accountabilities in relation to social power structures.

Feminist Politics of Breathing

In this chapter I have argued for a nonreductive understanding of breathing and for specific respiratory politics. I've argued for an understanding of politics in which embodiment, affect, and power are mutually constitutive—for politics that take place not only on the streets or in forms of organized governmentality but also in quotidian corpomaterial and corpo-affective practices, which are not joyful or acceptable, for the sake of creating an alternative, but ambivalent.

As Jack Halberstam points out, “alternatives dwell in the murky waters of a counterintuitive, often impossibly dark and negative realm of critique and refusal.”³⁵ And although imagining lives otherwise through, for example, anxious and panicky breathing involves engaging with the ambivalence of the intra-active constitution of immobility and potentiality and of pain and empowerment, it is this ambivalence that I believe can enact ruptures, transformations, and negotiations of hegemonic norms of embodiment and subjectivity and of contemporary exceptionalist humanism.

The political potential of breathing for environmental and social justice, therefore, is not found in simply embracing living in polluted air or experiencing anxieties and panic attacks as phenomena of resistance. It is in the dynamics of the complex and ambivalent articulations those phenomena open up through breaking worlds apart and demanding change. The political interventions of breathing, for example, during panic attacks or with dusty lungs are not simply in their acceptance but in the recognition of the political power they enact in *calling out* individual and systemic intersectional operations of power relations and in *calling in*³⁶ (dynamic and temporary) affinities or separations through similarities and differences. Such politics call for social, cultural, geopolitical, and paradigmatic changes as well as for changes in daily life. They call for approaches in which politics and change do not idealize resistive phenomena but work with their simultaneous potentiality and unbearability, painfulness and undesirability.

Simultaneously, to come back to my earlier points, such politics cannot be generalized and unified. They are always situated in their particular intersectional enactments. Simultaneously, they are dispersed in the structural patterns of the operations of intersectional power relations.

What I have, therefore, strived to argue for is an articulation of politics that matter in a quotidian, individual, and structural manner—politics that are always provisional, under constant negotiation, and in which positions of privilege and lack thereof matter and shift as part of dynamic coalitional and separatist, geopolitically situated and dispersed social and environmental justice work. Such

politics are about the intra-active constitution and differentiation of nature and culture as well as human and nonhuman and are inherently intersectional and posthumanist. In these politics, every breath one takes is a process of intra-active metabolization of power relations. This is the case in terms of not only air pollution and environmental toxicity but also breathing through the racist, gendered, classist, ableist, sexist, cis-, and heteronormative social norms of human subjectivity and struggling for nonhegemonic breathable life and existence.

Notes

1. Lenart Škof, *Breath of Proximity: Intersubjectivity, Ethics and Peace* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015).
2. Karen Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity: Toward an Understanding of How Matter Comes to Matter," *Signs* 28, no. 3 (March 1, 2003): 801–831; Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
3. Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway*.
4. Ibid.
5. Magdalena Górska, "Breathing Matters: Feminist Intersectional Politics of Vulnerability" (PhD diss., Linköping University, 2016).
6. Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway*, 206.
7. Górska, "Breathing Matters."
8. Cf. Susan Bordo and Alison Jaggar, eds., *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1989); Donna Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On The Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993); Rosi Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Kathy Davis, ed., *Embodied Practices: Feminist Perspectives on the Body* (London: Sage, 1997); Katie Conboy, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury, eds., *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997); Lynda Birke, *Feminism and the Biological Body* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000); Margrit Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster: Encounters with the Vulnerable Self* (London and Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2002); Margrit Shildrick, *Dangerous Discourses of Disability, Subjectivity and Sexuality* (Basingstok and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Ketu Katrak, *The Politics of the Female Body: Postcolonial Women Writers* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006).
9. Stacy Alaimo, "Trans-Corporeal Feminisms and the Ethical Space of Nature," in *Material Feminisms*, ed. Stacy Alaimo and Susan Hekman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), 237–264.
10. Barad, "Posthumanist Performativity"; Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway*.
11. Haraway, *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women*; Donna Haraway, "Otherworldly Conversations; Terran Topics; Local Terms," in *The Haraway Reader* (New York:

Routledge, 2004), 125–150; Donna Haraway, “When Species Meet: Staying with the Trouble,” *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 28, no. 1 (2010): 53–55.

12. Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects*; Rosi Braidotti, *The Posthuman* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2013).

13. Mette Bryld and Nina Lykke, *Cosmodolphins: Feminist Cultural Studies of Technology, Animals and the Sacred* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2000).

14. Myra Hird, *The Origins of Sociable Life: Evolution After Science Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

15. Stacy Alaimo, *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment and the Material Self* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010).

16. Cecilia Åsberg, “The Timely Ethics of Posthumanist Gender Studies,” *Feministische Studien: Zeitschrift für interdisziplinäre Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung* 1 (2013): 7–12.

17. Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway*.

18. Gór ska, “Breathing Matters.”

19. Cf. Benedict Wheeler, “Health-Related Environmental Indices and Environmental Equity in England and Wales,” *Environment and Planning A* 36, no. 5 (May 1, 2004): 803–822; Anna Germani, Piergiuseppe Morone, and Giuseppina Testa, “Environmental Justice and Air Pollution: A Case Study on Italian Provinces,” *Ecological Economics* 106 (2014): 69–82; Cindy Padilla et al., “Air Quality and Social Deprivation in Four French Metropolitan Areas—A Localized Spatio-Temporal Environmental Inequality Analysis,” *Environmental Research* 134 (2014): 315–324.

20. Jamie Pearce, Simon Kingham, and Peyman Zawar-Reza, “Every Breath You Take? Environmental Justice and Air Pollution in Christchurch, New Zealand,” *Environment and Planning A* 38, no. 5 (May 1, 2006): 934.

21. Cf. Sojourner Truth’s speech from 1851 “Woman’s Rights,” in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall (New York: The New Press, 1995), 36; Sign Arnfred et al., *Stakkede Vinger: Om Alexandra Kollontajs Samtid Og Ideer* (Copenhagen: Tiderne skifter, 1978); Combahee River Collective, “A Black Feminist Statement,” in *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Colour*, ed. Cherrié Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981), 210–218; bell hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston: South End Press, 1981).

22. Gór ska, “Breathing Matters.”

23. Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Ann Cvetkovich, *Depression: A Public Feeling* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2012).

24. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).

25. Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004); Sara Ahmed, *The Promise of Happiness* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010).

26. Sianne Ngai, *Ugly Feelings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

27. Heat her Love, *Feeling Backward: Loss and the Politics of Queer History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009).
28. Lauren Berlant, *Cruel Optimism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).
29. Judith Halberstam, *The Queer Art of Failure* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).
30. Karin Michalski, *The Alphabet of Feeling B* (Berlin, 2012).
31. Karin Michalski and Sebastian Baumann, "An Unhappy Archive" (Exhibition project, Karlsruhe, 2014).
32. Cvetkovich, *Depression*, 13.
33. Górska, "Breathing Matters."
34. Ahmed, *Promise of Happiness*, 120.
35. Halberstam, *Queer Art of Failure*, 2.
36. Ngoc Loan Trần, "Calling IN: A Less Disposable Way of Holding Each Other Accountable," accessed January 4, 2015, <http://www.blackgirldangerous.org/2013/12/calling-less-disposable-way-holding-accountable>.

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