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Trans Necropolitics

A Transnational Reflection on Violence, Death, and the Trans of Color Afterlife

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In this jointly authored article, C. Riley Snorton and Jin Haritaworn bring a transnational perspective to bear on systemic forms of often deadly violence experienced by trans people of color. They suggest that postcolonial theorist Achille Mbembe's concept of "necropolitics," which describes a form of power that marks some fraction of a population for death even while it deems other fractions suitable for life enhancing investment, accurately reflects the circumstances of trans of color existence. They assert that value extracted from the deaths of trans people of color vitalizes projects as diverse as inner-city gentrification, anti-immigrant and anti-muslim moral panics, homonationalism, and white transnormative community formation. Snorton, assistant professor of Communications Studies at Northwestern University, first offers an account of the 1995 death of Tyra Hunter, an African-American trans woman from Washington D.C., and of the many uses to which her death subsequently has been put. Sociologist Jin Haritaworn, assistant professor of Gender, Race and Environment at York University, then traces how trans of color bodies such as Hunter's have circulated in contemporary Berlin. In general, Haritaworn claims, the lives of trans people of color in the global North and West are celebrated, and their deaths memorialized, in ways that serve the white citizenry and mask necropolitical violence waged against gender variant people from the global South and East.

The concept of an afterlife has a particular resonance for transgender studies. It provides a framework for thinking about how trans death opens up political and social life-worlds across various times and places. Whether through the commemorative, community-reinforcing rituals of Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDOR) or as an *ex post facto* justification for hate crime and anti-discrimination policies, trans deaths—and most frequently the deaths of trans women or trans-feminine people of color—act as a resource for the development and dissemination of many different agendas. Through the concept of the afterlife, this essay addresses the complex interrelationships between biopower and necropolitics, to consider the discursive and representational politics of trans death and trans vitality. Our formulation of trans necropolitics draws on Achille Mbembe's (2003) necropolitics—a concept he develops for making sense of the centrality of death in contemporary social life. This enables us to understand how biopower—the carving out of subjects and populations (Foucault 1978)—can profess itself at the service of life and yet generate death, in both quotidian and spectacular forms. We also draw on current queer theorizing that attempts to make sense of the expansion of liberal LGBT politics and its complicity with racism, Empire, border fortification, gentrification, incarceration, and the "war on terror" (Puar 2007; Haritaworn, Kuntsman and Posocco forthcoming).

Working transnationally and intersectionally, we ground our analysis in trans of color critique, whose most urgent present task is explaining the simultaneous devaluation of trans of color lives and the nominal circulation in death of trans people of color; this circulation vitalizes trans theory and politics, we claim, through the value extracted from trans of color death. We bring into one frame the everyday lives of trans and gender non-conforming people of color and the symbiotic (and sometimes parasitic) relationships that develop after their deaths with globalized homonormative and transnormative political projects.

One illustration of the need to think transgender both transnationally and intersectionally is the current globalization of hate crime activism. How is this political method mobilized and assimilated in various locations; what constituencies are interpellated there? What are its seductions for a trans activism for whom traumatized citizenship is more than merely an identitarian pitfall (Brown 1993; Berlant 2000), and is rather a key condition of its own emergence (Agathangelou, Bassichis and Spira 2008)? We ask: how do the biopolitics and necropolitics of trans death and trans vitality play out on the privileged stages of North America and Europe? What are the conditions and effects of their travels? We observe that as a result of U.S. hegemony, the unequal and exploitative stakes in violence and anti-violence are replicated elsewhere, and this forces us to interrogate trans organizing transnationally.

We need to ask how subjectivities and political methodologies travel in predictable directions, from North to South, and West to East (Grewal and Kaplan 2001). Earlier critiques of global feminism and homo-neo-colonialism bear helpful lessons, yet we must be wary of analogizing categories like women, gay and trans, or even "queer of color" and "trans." Rather, the social movements organized under these umbrellas intersect, compete with, and condition each other in complex ways that demand our attention. While important work has examined the uneven ways in which "women's liberation" and "gay liberation" became respectable and assimilable through the abjection of gender non-conformity (see e.g., Namaste 1996; Rivera 2002; Spade 2003), we must question a conception of transgender as first and foremost victimized. Rather, it is necessary to interrogate how the uneven institutionalization of women's, gay, and trans politics produces a transnormative subject, whose universalized trajectory of coming out/transition, visibility, recognition, protection, and self-actualization largely remains uninterrogated in its complicities and convergences with biomedical, neoliberal, racist, and imperialist projects. Thus, while global feminist and homonormative anti-violence politics have been subject to critique, the same is not true for a comparable trans politics. Trans of color positions in particular are as yet so barely conceivable that trying to articulate them (or even marking their absence) almost automatically becomes the "p.c. that goes too far" (Haritaworn 2005).

In Europe, the subject of transgender has gained visibility and viability by joining an older archive of violence and anti-violence discourse, which after years of racist homonationalist mobilizing is already heavily raced and classed. There, the hate crime paradigm arrived in highly racialized and spatialized ways: following a decade-long moral panic over "homophobic Muslims," the figure of "the violent subject" was instantly recognizable as Muslim. The current juncture in Europe between welfare and neoliberal regimes, and the ambivalent desires for diversity and disposal that it produces, invite novel performances of transness as innocent, colorfully diverse, and entitled to survival and protection. Nevertheless, these biopolitical and necropolitical conversions do not accrue value equally to all trans people. While those whose multiple vulnerabilities lend the moral panic its spectacularly violated bodies are continually reinscribed as degenerate and killable, the same process secures a newly professionalizing class of experts in the realm of life. This forces us to examine the rise of trans movements transnationally against the globalization and intersection of various industrial complexes: the prison, non-profit, and increasingly also the academic industrial complex.[1]

How do the deaths, both social and actual, of trans people of color provide the fuel and the raw material for this process?

This essay offers two sets of observations on issues of particular relevance to the experiences of trans women of color. The first, on the afterlife of Tyra Hunter, is grounded in Riley Snorton's work; the second, on trans vitality and anti-violence activism in Berlin, is based on Jin Haritaworn's work. We offer meditations on the ways that visibility, legibility, and intelligibility structure a grid of imposed value on the lives and deaths of black and brown trans women. This value grid speaks to some of the intricacies we briefly discussed above—it demonstrates how biopolitics and necropolitics, in addition to being modes of governance, are also technologies of value extraction. We demonstrate how these technologies shape the lives and afterlives of particular persons, as well as broader social, cultural, and political projects at this particular historical juncture.

THE AFTERLIFE OF TYRA HUNTER

On October 28, 2009 United States President Barack Obama signed into law the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd, Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act, which expanded on previous, similar legislation to include gender identity among other "protected categories." The Act is the first federal law to extend legal "protections" to transgender people. In addition to giving federal authorities greater ability to pursue hate crime enhancements for bias-motivated violent crime, the law also requires the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to collect data on hate crimes perpetrated against transgender people. As Dean Spade has written, support for such legislation is shored up by advocates' desires for a symbolic declaration of societal/governmental inclusion, which also increases the positive visibility of transgender people (Spade 2009: 356). Hate crimes laws thus legally articulate the value of transgender people's lives, even as this articulation of inclusion is produced by and through their deaths. Simultaneously, hate crimes legislation contributes to a broader biopolitical imperative to manage poor people and people of color by channeling them into a massive carceral project, a "prison industrial complex," through which capital gains through the privatization of prisons.

At one level, centering the experiences of transgender people of color means tuning our critical attention to the biopolitics of everyday life; on another, it requires a raising of the dead, as it were, and an understanding of what Sharon Holland describes as the knowledge of our death, that "determines not only the shape of our lives but also the culture we live in" (Holland 2000: 15). Consequently, I structure this section around the story of a twenty-four-year-old black transgender hairdresser, Tyra Hunter, to illustrate how we might pursue the vexed relationships between neoliberalism and violent forms of governmentality that are materially hostile to trans of color survival.

Drawing on Alexis Pauline Gumbs' work (2010) on the queer survival of black feminism, I suggest that transgender of color survival—and its queer persistence in life and death—provides a vantage point through which to explore the ruptural theoretical and political possibilities precipitated by centering our analysis on transgender people of color. As scholars have noted, biopower found an early and violent instantiation during the Atlantic Slave Trade (Mbembe 2003; Abdur-Rahman 2006; Mirzoeff 2009). This history framed blackness not simply in terms of racial aberrance, but of sexual and gender deviance as well. Thus the un-gendering (or perhaps trans-gendering) of blackness under slavery serves as generative ground for understanding black trans subjectifications and their relationships to contemporary biopolitics. For as Nicholas Mirzoeff explains, "any deployment of 'life' also exists in relation to the 'natural'" (Mirzoeff 2009: 290). The discursive construction of the transgender body—and particularly the transgender body of color—as unnatural creates the precise moment where we as scholars, critics, and activists might apprehend a biopolitics of everyday life, where the transgender body of color is the unruly body, which only in death can be transformed or translated into the service of state power.

Tyra Hunter was headed for work in the passenger side of a vehicle in Washington D.C. on August 7, 1995, when her car was broadsided at an intersection. When fire department personnel arrived on the scene, onlookers already had pulled Tyra and the driver from the car. As a crowd gathered, firefighter Adrian Williams and others began treating the injured—that is, until Williams cut open Tyra's pant leg and noticed she had male genitalia. At that point, according to eyewitnesses, Williams stood up and backed away from Tyra, who was semi-conscious, complaining about her pain, and gasping for breath. Williams was quoted by one witness as saying, "This bitch ain't no girl.... It's a nigger, he got a dick" (Juang 2006: 712). Another witness heard another firefighter say, "Look, it's got a cock and balls" (Levi n.d.: 1). While the firefighters stood around making derisive remarks, Tyra's treatment was interrupted.

As the "jokes" continued, bystanders began to plead with the emergency responders to resume working to save Tyra's life. One bystander was quoted as saying, "It don't make any difference, he's [sic] a person... a human being" (Anna 2011). After some time, other firefighters attended to Tyra's injuries, and she was transported to D.C. General Hospital, where she was placed under the care of Dr. Joseph A. Bastien, who failed to provide a necessary blood transfusion or insert a chest tube necessary for Tyra's medical care. She was pronounced dead later that day.

Of course, the "treatment" Tyra received is not an isolated incident. Popular transgender lore would interpret the events precipitating Tyra's death as medicalized transphobia, which of course they are. But a broader politico-theoretical framework allows us to understand Tyra's body (before and after the accident) as a site where the medical establishment enacted what Henry Giroux calls a "biopolitics of disposability," a "new kind of politics... in which entire populations are now considered disposable, an unnecessary burden on state coffers, and cosigned to fend for themselves" (Giroux 2006: 174). Thus neoliberal ideologies provide biopower with new ammunition in the creation of life-enhancing and death-making worlds, and offer an insidious addendum to rationales for population control. The consequence of this logic effaces the way power and life are maintained and reproduced through the deaths of certain others.

To return to Tyra's story is to think of her life after death, and to make sense of the excess that constitute her afterlife. In death, Tyra was almost exclusively referred to as Tyrone Michael Hunter. In the series of *Washington Post* articles that chronicled her death, Tyra was described as a man in women's clothes, as a gay man, as a transgender man, and sometimes as a man who lived his life as a woman. Some of this disturbing misattribution of gender is attributable to transphobia in journalistic reporting. But it also underscores why it is necessary to think specifically about transgender of color experiences as distinct from queer subjectivities. A D.C.-based anti-violence coalition, GLOV (Gays and Lesbians Opposing Violence) responded immediately to Tyra's death by calling for the fire department to investigate the incident. Their work turned up eight witnesses willing to testify that the behavior of Williams and others was unacceptable. However, both the media and local government officials framed the death of Tyra—referred to as Tyrone— as a "gay issue." Jessica Xavier, at the time a spokesperson for GLOV and herself a transwoman, was quoted as saying that such transphobic events occur because transgender people "are walking, talking, living, breathing stereotypes of what it means to be gay. They're just trying to lead ordinary lives free from discrimination and violence."

Jin Haritaworn's (2008) analysis of the appropriation of trans of color lives by white queer theorists provides an incisive theoretical framework for understanding Tyra's after-death transformation by layering race onto trans theorist Jay Prosser's supposition about the degree to which transgender and transsexual inclusiveness might really stand in for queer inclusivity. Prosser asks, "to what extent this queer inclusiveness of transgender and transsexuality is . . . the mechanism by which queer can sustain its very queerness . . . by periodically adding subjects who appear even queerer precisely by virtue of their marginality in relation to queer" (1998: 40); we wonder to what degree queer and trans

anti-discrimination and anti-violence movements are produced and sustained by the violent and frequently murderous impulses specifically directed toward trans feminine people of color.

Xavier's comments are a key example of a larger project of reincorporating transgender bodies of color under a more legible sign; in this case, the representation of Tyra as a spectacularized gay male body. Whenever the work of legibility is enacted upon transgender bodies, it is always a process of translation—with risks (of appropriation) and payoffs. One "payoff" in this instance was the $2.8 million lawsuit Tyra's mother, Margie Hunter, won against the city and hospital on December 11, 1998, when a jury found them guilty of negligence and malpractice. While $500,000 was awarded for damages attributable to the withdrawal of medical care at the accident scene, a further $1.5 million was awarded for conscious pain and suffering endured by Tyra in the emergency room as the result of medical malpractice. The sanitizing of Tyra's transgender body undoubtedly allowed her to be understood more sympathetically as a son. Indeed, Margie Hunter told *Washington Post* reporters, "Tyrone always was so sure he would be famous, that he'd be on the television," she said. "I don't think he meant this way. I know I didn't. But maybe this is God's will and something good will come of it" (Slevin 1998).

It is important to look beyond statist and mainstream media discourses to see what "good" came from Tyra's life and death. Over 2,000 people attended her funeral. A candlelight vigil/protest at the D.C. fire department headquarters drew more than 200 demonstrators. The *Washington Times* quoted Cathy Renna, then co-chairman of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation, as saying, "I have never seen a cause that crossed so many boundaries: gay and straight, black and white... All of our work should be this cooperative." The intersections of sexism, transphobia, and racism became the context for an insurgence of political activity, and Tyra's name lives on in the acronym, T.Y.R.A. (or Transgender Youth Resources and Advocacy), a Chicago-based program that continues to support transgender youth of color.

But Tyra Hunter's story is not unique. Her name, frequently invoked at TDOR events, is simply one appellation among many that gestures toward trans of color death. In doing so, it indexes a transnational complicity with racist, transphobic, classist, misogynist, and homophobic violence. This violence has continued even after the signing of the Matthew Shepard Act. As a recent report of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF) suggests:

> It is part of social and legal convention in the United States to discriminate against, ridicule, and abuse transgender and gender non-conforming people within foundational institutions such as the family, schools, the workplace and health care settings, every day. Instead of recognizing that the moral failure lies in society's unwillingness to embrace different gender identities and expressions, society blames transgender and gender non-conforming people for bringing the discrimination and violence on themselves.[2]

Tyra's life and the lives of other transgender people of color gesture in less moral terms toward an understanding of various forms of transgender repudiation. They require a rigorous reconsideration of lives structured alternately by illegibility and spectacle. Those lives also carry a productive force—particularly in death—that sheds light on the borders where biopower and necropower brush against each another in everyday life. These lives stand at the limit of what is livable, and transgender of color survival—in its ghastly presence, which occurs before and after life subsides—becomes a unique vantage point for understanding how one might persist in the space of hetero/homonormative unincorporability. As Haritaworn recounts in the subsequent section, Tyra Hunter's story is not confined to a North American context. In fact, her death sutures together a number of transnational political projects that hinge on anti-violence legal protections and transgender-inclusive legislation. In recounting details of her life and death, the aim is not simply to rehearse transmisogynistic

violence, but rather to provide an example of how trans women of color act as resources—both literally and metaphorically—for the articulation and visibility of a more privileged transgender subject. The extraction of value from trans of color lives through biopolitical and necropolitics technologies not only serves the sovereign, but also indexes much more subtle and complex shifts in power. Trans rights activists' participation in and complicity with this process is what compels us to make this intervention.

TRANSGRESSIVE CITIZENSHIP IN GERMANY

Hate crime discourse made its entry onto the German scene in 2008. It found its first bodies on the genderqueer scene: in the summer of that year, a group of visitors and performers at Berlin's Drag Festival were involved in a violent incident that was quickly attributed to men of Turkish origin, and which gave rise to media and policy responses that first introduced the term *Hasskriminalität* (hate crime) to a wider German public. The privileged place assumed by the gender non-conforming body in the institutionalization of the hate crime framework may at first surprise. Racialized violence discourses were certainly not alien to white-dominated queer and trans scenes, yet the actors who had invested in them most systematically followed a homonormative politics. The figure of the victim of transphobia nevertheless became instantly legible as the offspring of an already-existing migrant *homo*phobia script. Unlike in the U.S.A., where the death of a homonormative subject—the white, middle-class, college student Matthew Shepard—was instrumental in forging consent for the inclusion of homophobia and transphobia, German hate crime discourse found its first victims in radical queer and gender non-conforming people, some of whom were migrants. The key "event" that launched the odd neologism *Hasskriminalität* into the German vocabulary was the Drag Festival, an internationally publicized gender/queer performance event, which culminated in an altercation during which several festival visitors and performers were beaten up. Dovetailing with a decade-long moral panic over "homophobic Muslims," and set in the gentrifying "Turkish" area of Kreuzberg—a crime scene par excellence—the incident instantly became an "event" that circulated rapidly through a ready-made queer and trans audience.[3] The representations that followed in its wake, partly as a result of the white festival organizers' own press releases, were highly ambivalent about transgender. In fact, there was an abundance of transphobic images of ridiculous, repulsive, and excessive bodies, and it was the homonormative, homoracist trope of "Turks beating up lesbians" that ultimately came to define the incident (Haritaworn 2011). Nevertheless, and maybe for the first time, the gender non-conforming subject emerged as a body worthy of both protection and celebration. It became an important symbol of the diverse neighborhood that can be colorful even while its older poor and racialized inhabitants are ghosted from it through gentrification and policing. The very excess of the gender non-conforming subject here served to demonstrate how far the tolerant society will go—both in the kind of bodies it is willing to protect, and in the punishments it is willing to mete out to Others who, in a post-Fordist and neoliberal context, had been reduced to diversity's constitutive outside.

Spectacularized through the injured bodies of gender non-conforming subjects, the perpetrator of hate crime is nevertheless instantly recognized as the *homo*phobic migrant. This figure emerges in public discourse in the late 1990s, when the big gay organizations turn to "migrants," hitherto marginal to mainstream gay politics, in search of new constituencies, new *raisons d'être*, and an expanded public audience for the recognition of sexual politics as part of a broader, national agenda. Rather than incidental to or a natural result of migrant particularity, the racialization of gender and sexuality that constitutes the ground on which hate crimes discourse arrives is the result of a performative labor which, as Sarah Ahmed puts it, conceals itself through repetition and affective proximities (see Ahmed 2004: 91–92). The homophobic migrant fits this family well—he is instantly adopted as a newcomer whose resemblance makes him seem to have been here forever. The ease

with which the homophobic migrant becomes common sense in 2000s Germany belies the decade-long efforts that go into crafting this figure. Its landmarks include, first, the simultaneous integration debates and the Europe-wide "crisis in multiculturalism," blown up into a panic big enough to include even gay expertise (an assimilation which occurs by performing an Other as unassimilable). Second, a domestic violence paradigm increasingly Orientalized as a function of "Muslim" cultures and gender relations, which thus creates space for new metonymies between Muslim sexism and Muslim homophobia, and between women of color and white gay men, who are imagined to suffer from identical forces. Third, the so-called "Muslim Test" of German nationality, which attempts to shore up a belatedly reformed law of blood, or *ius sanguinis*, by inventing new traditions, or "core values," of women-and-gay friendliness. Fourth, the Simon study, a quantitative psychosocial study of homophobic attitudes in "migrant" versus "German" pupils in Berlin, commissioned by the biggest gay organization, funded by the state, and disseminated by the mainstream media, which renders scientific and respectable what by then everybody knows: that "migrants" are *more homophobic* than "Germans," and that the twain, as the unhyphenable categoric opposition under comparison already suggests, shall never meet (see Haritaworn and Petzen forthcoming for an in-depth historiography).

The Drag Festival is thus but the latest episode of a well-rehearsed drama, which nevertheless launches a new victim-subject onto the stage (see Kapur 2005). As so often with moral panics, one incident leads to another, cramming the archive of violence and anti-violence as far as it will stretch (Gilmore 1999; Sudbury 2006). In addition to producing more victim-subjects, the moral panic about "homophobic Muslims" has served to proliferate hate crime scenes and cases, perpetrator profiles, experts, numbers, actions, action plans, projects, media, policy, and academic texts, along with government funds for more of the same.[1] While homonormative activists have been the main beneficiaries, trans (and radical queer) activists too have joined the stage, with little complication or mutual protest, to co-star in a drama that is characterized by symbiosis and mimesis as much as competition. In summer 2009 the Berlin district of Schöneberg became known as a similarly dangerously "homophobic" and "transphobic" place as neighboring Kreuzberg. Significantly, Schöneberg is home to both the gayborhood and to Frobenstrasse, one of the poorest streets in Berlin, which that summer proved to become a highly productive hate crime scene. Recent migrants from Bulgaria and Romania, many of whom are Roma and/or from the Turkish-speaking minority, live, work, and socialize in the street amidst other people of color with longer histories in the area. The area has long been a site of trans street sex work, and many of the new migrants, both trans women, trans-feminine people, non-trans women, and queer- and straight-identified men, use it to sell sex. Of course migrant sex workers of all gender and sexual identities have experienced all kinds of violence for a long time: from residents who blame them for littered condoms and other signs of chronic disinvestment, from police and other authorities who variously target and exclude them as under-documented migrants and sex workers, and from the utterly unremarkable and uneventful neglect and exploitation to which poor, racialized people and sex workers are regularly subjected. Nevertheless, their lives were long completely uninteresting to queer and trans activists in Berlin. It is arguable that beyond their capacitation as injured victims of hate crime they have largely remained so. Archived as trans sex workers being beaten up by migrant youth gangs, this "event" of violence both fed the moral panic over criminal and violent Muslim youth and accrued value and visibility to more powerful queer and trans positions. In September 2009, a coalition of mainly white trans, mainly non-trans queer of color, and mainly white and non-trans sex work organizations organized a "Smash Transphobia" demo at Frobenstrasse (Siegessäule TV 2009). The demo was visited by mainly white queer and trans activists, most of whom had probably never been to the street before, and would never return thereafter. The speeches, slogans, and posters interpellated a transnormative, protectionist victim-subject of "violence against trans people" or "trans women" and called for policy attention to this hitherto neglected group. While sex work occasionally made it into the speeches,

the local context was barely mentioned, and where it was, this again occurred in highly racialized and classed ways:

> "You may be unemployed but this is no excuse" (call through the loudspeaker into the open windows of random residents).
>
> "Transphobic people go to hell" (poster held by a white and presumably secular/Christian organizer).
>
> "This is our street, too!" (slogan at the demo).

Although the event was ostensibly organized for the benefit of migrant trans sex workers, as happens so often, those injured in the event of violence benefited the least from the remedies offered by a traumatized citizenship model. The two biggest gay organizations were not directly involved in either the Drag Festival or the Frobenstrasse organizing, and indeed continue to show no interest in trans people, let alone migrant trans sex workers. However, their long-standing investment in the adjacent gayborhood and ample expertise in racializing homophobia enabled them to swiftly capitalize on the panic. In many ways, the policy attention that resulted from these two spectacles of transphobia fulfilled a long-standing attempt by these organizations, who had authored the first press releases about "homophobic migrants" in the area years earlier, to describe Schöneberg as a dangerous area where (white) gay men live in constant fear of Muslim youth (Haritaworn and Petzen forthcoming). While the bodies that were injured, first in Kreuzberg and then in Frobenstrasse, less than a kilometer away from the office of the Lesbian and Gay Association Germany (LSVD), radically exceeded this binary, the events nevertheless served to consolidate a homonormative constituency and to insert it firmly within urban policies of gentrification, touristification, and securitization. Projects that became possible in their wake include the "Rainbow Protection Circle," an association of local businesses and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) led by the Berlin branch of the LSVD. It was inaugurated in the town hall of Schöneberg in 2010 by the district mayor, who announced that additional police were now allocated in the area specifically for the protection of LGBT people. In November 2011, the LSVD's smaller sister organization Maneo (originally an anti-violence hotline) organized a big international conference entitled *Building a Queer and Tolerant Neighborhood* that explored the "potential benefits and development possibilities" that rainbow neighborhoods like Schöneberg, whose "importance lies in the signal that they can give to city managers that the city is socially open and tolerant" (Maneo 2011). The conference program featured representatives from "metropolitan cities from across the world," and included presentations on gayborhoods such as Chicago's Boystown, San Francisco's Castro, Sydney's Oxford Street, Montreal's Gay Village, and Cape Town's Green Point. According to one report by a visitor from Chicago, it was attended by international diversity officials, law enforcement officers, entrepreneurs, and NGO representatives (*Windy City Times* 2011). It is also said to have included scholars from more radical generations of queer space activism.

The anti-transphobia organizing around violence in Berlin thus points to multiple genealogies and complicities in gay, queer, and trans organizing around space, violence, and visibility that deserve careful unpacking. We would like to resist the easy ascription of these complicities to neoliberalism. Rather, the homonormative narrative of the creative-class member, who ventures into hitherto ungentrifiable territory and performs himself as a productive citizen and consumer *in contrast to those whose unproductiveness and excessive reproductiveness mark their intimacies as disposable in the current diversity regime*, is sprouting transgressive offshoots that equally need addressing.[5] Thus, as argued by Haritaworn (2011), the degenerate, regenerating ghetto enables a trans subject to emerge whose colorful difference, in a context which increasingly lets go of its people of color,

for the first time becomes a pleasant sight. This is also brought home by the fact that white trans activists in Berlin did manage to institutionalize the new space won in the anti/violence archive. In November 2009, a few months after the demo at Frobenstrasse, TDOR—a fairly new and until then more DIY event in Berlin—likewise took place in the town hall of Schöneberg.[6] Co-organized by the same predominantly non-trans queer of color group that had collaborated with white trans activists on the Smash Transphobia demo, it nevertheless remained an overwhelmingly white event, and it closely followed the U.S. formula of remembrance (Lamble 2008; Bhanji forthcoming). Most of these dead people were trans people of color from both the Global North and the Global South, whose exotic presence in this overwhelmingly white German trans and ally space was brought home by the chuckles that some of their badly pronounced names evoked. "Their" deaths were not in vain, one of the speakers is said to have stated: "they" made it possible for "us" to come together today. Among "them" was Tyra Hunter.[7] Like so many of its globalizing predecessors, the Berlin TDOR thus incited a trans community into life whose vitality depends upon the ghosting of poor trans people, trans people of color, and trans people in the Global South.

Who benefits from these dominant methodologies of violence and anti-violence? Instead of those most in need of survival, the circulation of trans people of color in their afterlife accrues value to a newly professionalizing and institutionalizing class of experts whose lives could not be further removed from those they are professing to help. Immobilized in life, and barred from spaces designated as white (the good life, the Global North, the gentrifying inner city, the university, the trans community), it is in their death that poor and sex working trans people of color are invited back in; it is in death that they suddenly come to matter.

CONCLUSION

How do Tyra Hunter and other dead trans women of color circulate, and what are the corporeal excesses that constitute their afterlives as raw material for the generation of respectable trans subjects? We have examined this circulation, which adds value through nominal and numeric repetition, as paradoxically giving birth to both the conditions that allow more recognizable trans subjects to mobilize and ascend into life, and to the forces that immobilize subaltern trans lives. The resulting trans vitalities and socialities must be examined transnationally, as bringing trans people into community (both with each other and with a newly sympathetic public) through intensified violence. Thus, we have examined how the ascendant politics are symbiotic with the death-making capacities of the market and the state, and cannibalistic upon the lives of other sexually and gender non-conforming people. What would a trans politics and theory look like that refuses such "murderous inclusion" (see Haritaworn, Kuntsman and Posocco forthcoming)? While radical formulations of violence and anti-violence have tended to focus on colonial feminist and homonormative subjects, dominant trans subjects are rarely held accountable and remain awkwardly frozen in positions of analogy and equivalency with other "diversely diverse" locations. Maybe it is time to push our accounts of violence and anti-violence beyond limited formulas such as "race, gender, and class," in both their intersectional and post-identitarian formulations. We certainly have examples of such politics to build on (Gossett, this volume).

NOTES

1. These activations are, of course, terrains of struggle and open to contestation and reappropriation. Particularly in contexts where decolonial struggles have been won, events like TDOR can reflect broader critical agendas, as was the case with the memorial for Sanesha Stewart by Queers for Economic Justice, Audre Lorde Project, and others in 2008, and for Nizah Morris in Philadelphia in 2002 (Che Gossett, personal communication with Jin November 17, 2011.)
2. Grant, Jaime M., Lisa A. Mottet, Justin Tanis, Jack Harrison, Jody L. Herman, and Mara Keisling (2011). *Injustice at Every Turn: A Report of the National Transgender Discrimination Survey, Executive Summary*. Washington, D.C: National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

3. The "event" was heavily contested. Thus, one of the "beaten up" trans people described it as a mutually escalating drunken traffic altercation whose adversaries were conspicuously blond.
4. For example, see the racialized homophobia study by psychologist Simon (2008); the special issue on the Drag Festival aftermath in the left-wing weekly *Jungle World* (2008); and the homophobia and sexual diversity action plans by the red-red government (SPD/Die Linke 2009) and the Green opposition (Bündnis 90/Die Grünen 2009). See Haritaworn and Petzen (forthcoming) for a careful mapping of this proliferation.
5. For critiques of queer gentrification, see Manalansan (2005); Fierce (2008), Hanhardt (2008); and Decolonize Queer (2011).
6. Jin would like to credit another trans of color activist in Berlin, who would prefer not to be named, for sharing his brilliant analyses of homo- and trans whiteness in Berlin.
7. For example, Tyra Hunter appears twice on the list and images of "remembered" trans people on Berlin TDOR's myspace page: http://www.myspace.com/TDoR#{%22ImageId%22%3A18354015}, http://www.myspace.com/TDoR#!/tdor/photos/4495414 accessed January 12, 2012.

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