# Negative

#### Note about the ‘Afropess’ header: these cards can be run as links to a more radical Afropessimism/antiblackness K, a solvency take-out, or as case turns as to why the aff doesn’t solve racism in schools in general – CRO ☺

## Restorative Justice Bad

#### Evidence for restorative justice working is sparse at best, as most studies are insufficient, and victims often refuse to participate.

Canadian Government 7 (No Author, 8-3-2006, "The Limits of Restorative Justice," No Publication, http://www.victimsweek.gc.ca/symp-colloque/past-passe/2009/presentation/arlg\_1.html)[CRO]

Restorative justice must lean toward reparation for the injury caused to victims. Options range from a simple apology to a request for forgiveness, from tangible compensation to symbolic reparation. Many programs emphasize compensation for victims, especially in cases of mediation. While many studies show that victims are happy with the agreements reached in that context, it is nevertheless difficult to gauge the results. These studies are not well documented in terms of the type and amount of losses sustained, victims' claims and the amounts paid by offenders, or problems related to enforcement. Do victims get compensation that is in line with their losses, or is it more a question of symbolic reparation, which, more often than not, consists of community service or work for third parties? Is it justice based on an arrangement or compromise between the parties? Are the victims satisfied when the reparation is limited to an apology or is geared mainly toward the re-education of the offender? The research does not really provide satisfactory answers to these questions. In addition to tangible compensation, restorative justice advocates rebuilding the relationship between the victim and the offender. In sharp contrast to the traditional model of justice, restorative justice aims to resolve conflict and restore dialogue between the parties where possible. Is such dialogue desired or desirable in all cases? There are many fine distinctions to be made. Several studies show that many victims would be willing to meet with the offender if given the opportunity. Getting an explanation of the crime and insight into the person who committed it, being compensated, describing how they were hurt, and making sure that their testimony helps the offender realize what was done and thus helps prevent more offences: these are among the reasons often given to justify the desire to take part in such a meeting (Reeves, 1989; Law Commission of Canada, 2003; Daly, 2003). A significant number of victims refuse to be part of a meeting (Reeves; 1989; Law Commission of Canada, 2003). Whether or not they want to participate depends on several factors: the type of crime and the repercussions; the time that has elapsed since the crime was committed; the nature of their relationship to the offender; and their perceptions of the offender's ability to understand the scope of the offence and the importance of reform. Many victims feel it is not worth the trouble and question the outcome of a meeting. Fear of retaliation or simply being in the presence of the offender, the importance of getting or not getting answers to their questions and the need to turn the page are some of the reasons on which their decision is based. Some victims have received no help and have not recovered from the incident. Others feel very angry because they have been cast aside by social agencies or the criminal justice system. Still others feel the damage is beyond repair and that they have to move forward. They react differently and are not at the same point in their healing process. The cost-benefit analysis can therefore vary widely depending on their personality, their previous experiences and the experiences resulting from their victimization. And what about the offenders? In some respects, restorative justice offers them a path that is not always smooth and easy. They are urged to engage in a process that will force them to acknowledge their responsibility toward the people they hurt, abused or assaulted. They will be asked to prove that they want to change and mend their ways. These are expectations that can make them uncomfortable. Making an emotional commitment, revealing their true selves and dealing with shame and blame are not easy things to do. Offenders are not accustomed to expressing that level of emotion, even with the people closest to them. Many offenders are incapable of seeing the victim as a real person, empathizing with the victim (Fattah, 1998; Hudson, 2003) or showing remorse that is neither feigned nor tactical in order to avoid punishment or get off more lightly. It must be acknowledged that many offenders are able to use restorative justice for all sorts of purposes: avoiding punishment, casting themselves in a better light, playing down their faults, even taking pride in their relationship with the victim (Van Giseghem, 2003; Hudson, 2003). Even if the parties are willing, there are many questions that should be considered in order to make certain that the parties get something out of a meeting. In what cases is it relevant to encourage a meeting between the victim and the offender? What types of victim and offender are more likely to benefit from a meeting? How and why should they be involved? How can the individual characteristics of each case be taken into account? In what way and at what point in time is the participation of victims desirable and appropriate at the various stages of the penal procedure? Cario (2003), for example, wondered if a meeting is a measure that can realistically be considered at the time of sentencing or when the offender is released. How much time and resources should be allocated to a meeting?

#### Restorative justice does net more damage than it repairs – lacking law and order, students have no incentive to follow rules.

Sperry 15 (Paul Sperry, 3-14-2015, "How liberal discipline policies are making schools less safe," New York Post, <http://nypost.com/2015/03/14/politicians-are-making-schools-less-safe-and-ruining-education-for-everyone/>) [CRO]

New York public-school students caught stealing, doing drugs or even attacking someone can avoid suspension under new “progressive” discipline rules adopted this month. Most likely, they will be sent to a talking circle instead, where they can discuss their feelings. Convinced traditional discipline is racist because blacks are suspended at higher rates than whites, New York City’s Department of Education has in all but the most serious and dangerous offenses replaced out-of-school suspensions with a touchy-feely alternative punishment called “restorative justice,” which isn’t really punishment at all. It’s therapy. “Every reasonable effort must be made to correct student behavior through…restorative practices,” advises the city’s new 32-page discipline code. Except everywhere it’s been tried, this softer approach has backfired. Yes, other large urban school districts are reporting fewer suspensions since adopting the non-punitive approach. But that doesn’t necessarily mean fewer infractions. In fact, many districts are seeing more classroom disruptions and violence — a national trend that ought to set off warning bells for New York school officials. What’s more, the movement — which is driven by new race-based anti-discipline guidelines issued by the Obama administration — is creating friction between teachers unions and the liberal mayors they otherwise support. Politicians can praise the new system, but it’s teachers who must deal with the disruptive and sometimes violent results. ‘You have to have consequences’ Last month, for instance, the Chicago Teachers Union complained the city’s revised student-discipline code has left teachers struggling to control unruly kids. “It’s just basically been a totally lawless few months,” one teacher told the Chicago Tribune. In June, Chicago Mayor Rahm Emanuel announced that the district, as part of a “Suspension and Expulsion Reduction Plan,” was “moving away from a zero-tolerance policy and promoting restorative practices.” Students who bully classmates can no longer be removed from classrooms except for the worst offenses, and only then with the consent of a district supervisor. Just as Mayor de Blasio promised last month in announcing New York’s revised discipline policy, Emanuel assured skeptics the more “holistic” approach — which he says addresses the “root causes” of bad behavior — would still provide “a safe learning environment.” But so far this school year, the Tribune reports students have suffered little consequence for infractions as serious as groping a teacher and bringing hollow-point bullets to class. “You have to have consequences,” Chicago fifth-grade teacher John Engels told the paper. “If you knew the cops weren’t going to enforce the speed limit…you’d go 100 miles an hour.” In Syracuse, meanwhile, teachers complain student behavior has worsened since the school district collapsed discipline structures in favor of restorative justice practices. They say teens are more apt to fight, mouth off to teachers and roam the halls under the more lenient policy. They’re even seeing increasingly violent behavior among elementary school children. While the approach may be “laudable,” Syracuse Teachers Association President Kevin Ahern said in a recent letter to the Syracuse Post-Standard, it has created a “systemic inability to administer and enforce consistent consequences for violent and highly disruptive student behaviors” that “put students and staff at risk and make quality instruction impossible.”

#### Though restorative justice may seem an attractive alternative, empirics prove that implementation fails

Ross 16 (Therese Ross, 2-28-2016, "5 Reasons Implementation of Restorative Practices Fails in Schools – Joe Brummer," No Publication, <http://www.joebrummer.com/2016/02/28/5-reasons-implementation-of-restorative-practices-fails-in-schools/>) [CRO]

Everybody wants to jump on the bandwagon when the newest, greatest, and latest fad comes rolling along. Restorative Justice or restorative practices as it is sometimes called takes no exception but one, this isn’t another educational fad. Educators are obsessed with the next best thing to educate our kids. This approach has its benefits as that energy to do things better and have better outcomes shows just how much most people have their hearts in a place of “best intention.” Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Scandinavia are countries that blow us away when it comes to discipline for kids. These countries are moving away from punitive approaches to restorative and more accountability focused models for youth. Suspension is rarely used. As a mediator, I have talked with enough youth who see suspension as a vacation or time to play video games, that I no longer see a value in suspending youth. They like it and that should be our first clue to seeing its failures. We also know that suspending students ups their chances for drop-outs, interaction with law enforcement, and ups the chances they will use drugs. Punishment is and will always be a losing game. Restorative Justice is a very viable approach to many of these challenges. It moves us away from just punishing kids and gets us to start thinking about supporting their learning and development. When we look at what punishment does and doesn’t do (operant conditioning), it makes moving to more restorative practices (RP) just make sense. Problem is that these practices are not defined and there is a lack of consensus on what is and isn’t restorative. This leaves RP living in education limbo as a cross between a buzz word and a really effective way of transforming our communities. One of the issues I see happening with restorative in schools is that districts want to say they are doing it when they are not. This has to be more than just stopping suspensions without replacing them with something restorative. If schools are going to move away from punishments, they need to move to something restorative and positive. That may involve some trial and error to find what works for an individual community. Even my personal experiences with schools has been a series of successes and failures. Sometimes the failures are worth more to my learning than the successes. I have learned whole-school cultural change takes time and investment. The process can be painfully slow. It takes training, dedication, and careful planing. So why are so many schools trying restorative and gaining amazing successes and other schools trying it with little or no success? Why do some schools fail at restorative practices? I think one of the biggest reasons is that some schools get stuck. They use restorative practices as a way to reduce the numbers of referrals, suspensions, and expulsions. It is also a way of upping the test scores. While those may be part of the plan, that shouldn’t be the reason for doing this. Our focus can’t be on the numbers, it has to be on the people. This is a plan for creating better learning environments for kids and better work environments for teachers and staff. There are dozens of reasons why schools succeed or fail at becoming restorative places of learning and growth. I want to take a look at just five main reason I have experience in my work with schools and my reading of the reports of other districts: 1. Lack of Planning For many schools, they just think they can wing RP and get it moving in the school. They see the implementation as a constant response to behavior issues and skip on the other pro-social elements of creating a restorative culture. These are the administrators who try to use restorative approaches to put out fires rather than creating a school where there are not fires to put out. Schools do best when they have planned out all the pieces they will need to succeed. I suggest every school has a restorative practices implementation team. This is the group responsible for supporting teachers and administrators, looking at individual cases to see if they could have been handled more restoratively, and a group who can create and maintain community partnerships. This group is also responsible for creating a roll out plan. The team is best made up of multiple voices from your school community including teachers, administrators, students, and parents. Its important to make sure the team has the key players who will be most involved in making the change happen. A big responsibility of the team is change management. Outsiders can guide schools in learning RP and the only people who know the school well enough to gauge resources, manage players, and roll out a sustainable plan are from inside the school community. There is a checklist of things the team needs to address: Staff Buy-in – Doing a readiness assessment to see if the staff is open to restorative practices. Coming into a school where staff are not collectively in agreement about restorative can make this whole process a waste of time and resources. These practices require a huge shift in thinking. They ask people to change approaches and values that were instilled in most people when they were just toddlers. Leaving punitive approaches behind for restorative and collaborative solutions is impossible with a staff who doesn’t believe in the change. They may hold on to retributive and punitive system unconsciously and that is expected. They just need to also believe those things need to change if we are going to create the best learning environments for kids and the best working environments for staff. Progress Checks – We need to be tracking the successes/challenges and progress of the plan. This means deciding what data to collect and how to collect it. This could include focus groups, surveys, evaluation forms, and other forms of measurement of the schools staff and students. When doing change management we need to be able to celebrate our short term wins and in order to have them, we need to be collecting data. Because the process of change is slow, short term wins keep momentum and offer meaning. Logistics – This group can work out the logistics of these practices. When will circles be held and where? How will referrals be processed? Who takes the lead in inviting the participants to come? When can we do pro-social community building? I suggest having a concrete one to three year plan that spells out these logistics. Systems of support – The team is also responsible for creating professional learning opportunities, peer coaching, and supports for staff in the day to day. They need to make sure training and learning happen to grow the shift in thinking that needs to happen for restorative to work in a school. This means making the most of failures. Roll-out of the plan – The group also decides on how this all rolls out school-wide. For larger schools, this may be grade by grade where smaller schools may choose to go whole-school right from the start. The group needs to plan trainings, parent involvement, and the how-to of at least a 1-3 year plan. No school will roll out this out the same because every school is different. 2. Lack of Vision The next thing I think some schools fail to do is create a vision with staff, students, and parents. To really take the time to decide what do we want restorative to look like in our school. What and who are we when we say we are practicing restoratively. In order for restorative to become the fabric that builds and maintains community in the school, everybody has to be working toward the same vision. What kind of school will we be when it comes to discipline and how do we create it? It is through this vision process schools will also see the ways they need to change and begin to manage the change process. John Kotter, best selling author of the book Leading Change writes, “Whenever you cannot describe the vision driving a change initiative in five minutes of less and get a reaction that signifies both understanding and interest, you are in for trouble.” Change is hard. There will always be the early adopters of change who jump right on board and there will be those laggards who are not interested in change and may even resist it. Having a vision also gives you something to celebrate when you see the vision coming to fruition. For many schools, they get wrapped-up in the day to day of “doing” restorative practices that they fail to have a vision of what is the end game they are working to create. When starting a journey, it is best to know where the destination is. 3. Lack of Training Schools have long used the “train and pray” philosophy of implementing programs. Studies show that approach rarely leads to meaningful change if not partnered with coaching. In my own opinion, it will never work with restorative practices. Training is unbelievably important to making this shift happen in schools and we can’t stop at the initial 2-day or 3-day trainings and say, “oh, we trained them, so they know now.” Training is a tool for change not the end all. The trainings need to be on-going and supported with coaching and follow-up. Each one needs to deepen this personal change and paradigm shift we are asking each teacher and staff member to make. Restorative isn’t just an intellectual change, it is a change of heart about people and how we discipline for students. I also think we need really experienced trainers for this work. Training of trainer models work for lots of approaches and I have my doubts about how they work in RP. It can take years for someone to truly wrap their head and heart around these concepts. Attending a 3-5 day training of trainers might do that for some people and I doubt it works for most. Learning restorative practices is more than just an intellectual exercise. It requires changing people’s hearts and I don’t think a training of trainers can do that for most people. Even if they make the change, are they ready to train others to do the same after just a few days of training? Not everyone in the school will need the same level of training. Not everyone needs to be trained in conferencing since not every teacher will facilitate those types of circles. Key staff need the training that fits their role in the restorative system you are creating. Deans and admins need to have the most training including conferencing, restorative dialogue, and circle process. Teachers need to be able to do respect agreements, restorative dialogue, and restorative circles when needing to respond to incidents where respect agreements have been broken. Ongoing professional development is needed to deepen not just the skills of restorative but the change in thinking and feeling around discipline, behavior, and response. It’s one of the main complaints of teachers in LA schools that there wasn’t enough training for teachers in RP. We need to keep reinforcing the material. 4. Lack of Support Beyond having the principal of the school supporting the change efforts to make restorative practices the norm not the exception to discipline and community building, we need wholistic support from the school. This includes students, teachers, deans, and parents. Having the implementation team act as a guiding coalition of leaders in the change effort is not only important for the outcomes, it is important to the methods. Too often schools create support systems for change that include enthusiastic people who really want the change. That isn’t enough to support the effort, you do need excited people and they need to be the key players in the change. Surveying teachers before trying to implement RP in the school is valuable. Having your front line responders supporting the effort is also key. These are the people students encounter when they “get into trouble” and get sent to the office. They are your deans, office staff, security officers, administrators, and even interns. I have personally seen interns handling students in an otherwise restorative school, in ways that made me cringe. You need teachers on-board not just in making the change to RP but in believing there is a need for RP. Next, you need parents on-board so that they are not standing in your office demanding you suspend the “other” student. It is also helpful to have district support of the efforts so that choices and decisions are re-enforced by then leadership staff. Union support can also be valuable when possible. In the US, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) is fully behind RP in schools.

#### Restorative Justice Programs fail- maintains western sociopolitical and legal institutions

**Gavriedlides, Independent Academic Research Studies,2014,**

(Theo Gavriedlides, 2014, “Bringing Race Relations Into the Restorative Justice Debate”, accessed 6/27/17, VC)

As a voluntary and complementary practice, restorative justice often struggles to find its space within the criminal justice system. Implemented mainly by and through the community ([Gavrielides, 2012b](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042); [Pavlich, 2009](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042)), restorative practices often have to compete with entrenched practices and the dominant punitive mind-set of criminal justice agents (e.g., police officers, probation staff, judges, prosecutors, and prison staff). This raises some concerns as to how realistic our expectations can be in relation to its role for race equality. According to [Pavlich (2009)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042), restorative justice is inherently limited by its implementation through “programmes that complement, are located within, or even carried out under the auspices of, state justice agencies” (p. 24). For the United States, [Schiff (2013)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042) has asked, Is it possible for restorative justice to survive and transform such systems to produce socially just results, or is restorative justice more likely to get compromised and co-opted by the overwhelming dominant cultural ethos (and corresponding power structures) of the organizations it seeks to transform? Ultimately, is restorative justice strong enough to co-opt the co-opters? (p. 163) [Hudson (2006)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042), [Maruna (2011)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042), and [Simson (2012)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042) all argue that restorative justice stands the best chance of resolving power imbalances within society including race-related tensions. However, none of them offer a systematic, operational mechanism by which to do so. In fact, [Schiff (2013)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042), [Yiallourides and Anastasiadou (2013)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042), and [Gavrielides and Artinopoulou (2013)](http://journals.sagepub.com.ezproxy.liberty.edu/doi/full/10.1177/0021934714526042) argue that it is impossible to divorce the successful implementation and exercise of restorative justice from the political, social, economic, and cultural context within which it is designed, operated, and implemented. Therefore, without addressing the balance of power inherent in and necessary to sustain Western sociopolitical and legal institutions, the open, flexible, inclusive approach proffered by restorative justice may be false promises. How can then this balance be achieved?

#### Rehabilitation/restorative justice models fail- they are rooted in current neoliberal ideologies

**Miguel and Gargano, Gender Research Institute, 17**

(Christine and Jennifer, “Moving beyond retribution: alternatives to punishment in a society dominated by the school-to-prison-pipeline”, April, 7,2017, <http://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/6/2/15/htm>, accessed 6/28/17, vc)

Rehabilitation models are the status quo’s and reactionary approach to combating the prison industrial complex. We can tie Michelle Chen’s writing regarding rehabilitation in the private prison industrial complex to this similar situation: “Reform initiatives like rehabilitation…focus on making ‘corrections’ less punitive…rather than dismantling antisocial systems” [[22](http://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/6/2/15/htm#B22-humanities-06-00015)]. So, while in many ways well-intentioned, these efforts are not enough. Through examining the value and efficacy of neoliberal rehabilitation models based on the concept of restorative justice within and beyond the classroom, which in part can serve to elevate instead of condemn our most vulnerable children, we can conclude that a feminist framework and mindset of radically undoing the current system as we know it will be a true advance towards justice and equity.There are some current models of rehabilitation programs that provide some alternatives to the practice of retribution and jail time and try to combat the effects of the school-to-prison pipeline. Rather than tackle the root of the issue, these models provide ways to handle the crisis we see in our classrooms after the fact. Nevertheless, these models are the dominant and prevailing way to handle this crisis and are designed with good, albeit flawed, thoughts of neoliberal intentions. It is, therefore, important to understand the current landscape of rehabilitative models. The concept of “zero tolerance” and similar forms of policing were allegedly enforced under the premise that removing disruptive students will cease all classroom disruptions, and thus create an environment more suitable for learning. According to the American Psychological Association’s (APA) Zero Tolerance Task Force, the impacts of these biased policies have not only been ineffectual but have also negatively impacted students’ performance, created a hostile classroom climate, targeted Black and Latinx children, and effectively compromised children’s right to an education. This study offers approaches rooted in an understanding of the socio-psychological needs of children—approaches that even still most public schools, as they stand, are unequipped to enforce. The task force research found that effective school discipline and anti-violence programs must include three levels of strategy: bullying prevention, threat assessment, and restorative justice. Implementation of these strategies has resulted in reduced office referrals, school suspensions, expulsions, and an improved school climate [[4](http://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/6/2/15/htm#B4-humanities-06-00015)]. Overall, the APA task force echoes a fact that people across all disciplines have discovered to be true, which is that “zero tolerance” does more harm than good and that its most violent offenses are committed against Black and Latinx children. While the recommendations in and of itself are not transformative on a large scale, we know that they support the vehement protests against hostile classrooms that treat Black and Latinx like criminals. Another more holistic and “zen” approach was introduced at Robert W. Coleman Elementary School in West Baltimore, MD. Students, instead of being sent to the principal’s office, are being taught how to meditate in the “Mindful Moments Room” [[23](http://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/6/2/15/htm#B23-humanities-06-00015)]. This policy has been in place since 2015 and has already shown remarkable results. Since implementation, there have been no suspensions and the effects of meditation have even demonstrated an impact on the children’s home lives. It is easy to overlook the many ways children bring their baggage from home to school and vice versa. Imagine a method of teaching geared toward nourishing both their educational and personal lives. This idea was spearheaded by the Holistic Life Foundation in Baltimore; however, the benefits of meditation—physical, spiritual and mental—have been topics of research for centuries, and can be found inherent to many Chinese, Hindu, Jain and Buddhist traditions. What all forms of meditation share is the emphasis on being present in the moment. When used as an alternative to disciplining or reprimanding children, it allows the child to connect to what may be responsible for their behavior, reflect on it, and reach a state of calmness that subdues feelings of anger or frustration. This is the operative benefit. We are too quick to eradicate a “problem” and not invested enough to address it. When children misbehave, break the rules or agreements, when they throw a fit, act out, or emote erratically, it is not without reason. What meditation illuminates is that our feelings and their physical manifestations stem from something deep, much deeper than our prejudices allow us to see in others. We cannot diagnose a problem without then tending to its source. Most importantly, we cannot react to a child’s misbehaving without offering forgiveness—especially for themselves—and the chance to repair. This is restorative justice—healing the broken pieces, not disposing of them. There have been material impacts of this much more tender method in this Baltimore school. Furthermore, there are efforts beyond the classroom that react to and seek to combat the school-to-prison pipeline. Esperanza, an organization in New York City, is one type of program that is attempting to employ “community-based alternatives” to incarceration for court-involved youth living in New York City [[24](http://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/6/2/15/htm#B24-humanities-06-00015)]. With both youth charged in family court as well as youth undergoing prosecution in Criminal or Supreme Court (being charged as juvenile offenders or as adults with felony charges), Esperanza is making a tangible difference in the lives of young people—mostly young people of color—by engaging with them through direct services and reducing the placement of youth in juvenile detention or prison. Through direct services, such as counseling for families and the young person involved, case management, and crisis intervention, Esperanza seeks to support and rehabilitate rather than punish them in a prison cell [[24](http://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/6/2/15/htm#B24-humanities-06-00015)]. These are just a few examples of the ways in which our society has taken a reactive approach to combating the school-to-prison pipeline. Unfortunately, reactionary measures play into the logic of neoliberalism by failing to acknowledge the vast socio-political problems that undergird behavioral differences. If we ask ourselves the motive behind punishment, especially when applied selectively, we can no longer evade the obvious elephant in the room. We cannot pretend that criminalizing Black and Latinx children in the classrooms is not an extension of how they are perceived and valued within the larger socio-political hierarchies of our society. We need to shift the narrative to condemn the broken system that creates the need for these programs and work towards establishing a transformative educational system.

## Neolib

#### The foundation for SRO’s is the logic of neoliberalism – the school is simply a result of the neoliberal system that controls our society

Giroux 16 (Henry, American and Canadian scholar and cultural critic. One of the founding theorists of critical pedagogy in the United States, he is best known for his pioneering work in public pedagogy, received his Doctorate from Carnegie-Mellon in 1977, became professor of education and renowned scholar in residence at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio where he also served as Director at the Center for Education and Cultural Studies, October 19, “The United States' War on Youth: From Schools to Debtors' Prisons,” <http://www.truth-out.org/news/item/38044-america-s-war-on-youth-from-schools-to-debtors-prisons>) VBS

While there has been a great deal of publicity nationwide over police officers killing Black people, there has been too little scrutiny regarding the use of force by police in the schools. As Jaeah Lee observed in Mother Jones, the "use of force by cops in schools ... has drawn far less attention [in spite of the fact that] over the past five years at least 28 students have been seriously injured, and in one case shot to death, by so-called school resource officers -- sworn, uniformed police assigned to provide security on k-12 campuses."

According to Democracy Now, there are over 17,000 school resource officers in more than half of the public schools in the United States, while only a small percentage have been trained to work in schools. In spite of the fact that violence in schools has dropped precipitously, school resource officers are the fastest growing segment of law enforcement and their presence has resulted in more kids being ticketed, fined, arrested, suspended and pushed into the criminal legal system.

In 2014 over 92,000 students were subject to school-related arrests. In the last few years, videos have been aired showing a police officer inside Spring Valley High School in Columbia, South Carolina throwing a teenage girl to the ground and dragging her out of her classroom. In Mississippi schools, a student was handcuffed for not wearing a belt, a black female student was choked by the police, and one cop threatened to shoot students on a bus.

Neoliberalism is not only obsessed with accumulating capital, it has also lowered the threshold for extreme violence to such a degree that it puts into place a law-and-order educational regime that criminalizes children who doodle on desks, bump into teachers in school corridors, throw peanuts at a bus, or fall asleep in class. Fear, insecurity, humiliation, and the threat of imprisonment are the new structuring principles in schools that house our most vulnerable populations. The school has become a microcosm of the warfare state, designed to provide a profit for the security industries, while imposing a pedagogy of repression on young people.

## Wag the Dog

#### Trump’s support base is not only police-supporting white people – it’s cops themselves. The majority of his base opposes any form of police reform.

McPhee 11/16 ( Michele McPhee is an [American](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) author, [talk radio](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk_radio) host, and journalist from [Boston, Massachusetts](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boston,_Massachusetts). Up until November 1, 2012, McPhee co-hosted the morning drive-time show on [WRKO](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/WRKO) radio in Boston with Todd Feinburg, Feinburg and McPhee; “The hidden Trump voter – the police” https://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2016/11/09/the-hidden-trump-voter-police/71MUxHoqBzNCKZZcpH42nO/story.html)jg

She fought the law and the law won. Stunned Hillary Clinton supporters wept openly as the electoral map shifted in ways no one could predict and collapsed onto each other’s shoulders decrying the so-called uneducated white vote that catapulted the most unlikely candidate in American history into the White House. But it wasn’t just the hardscrabble deplorables who had a clear message for Washington — frankly, on both sides of the aisle — it was the cops. The vote that didn’t show up in the polls, the secret groundswell of support that stunned the media establishment and the pundits and those who proudly stood with her, was not about race or gender or ethnicity. It was about blue. So far in 2016, a staggering 119 police officers have been killed in the line of duty, according to the Officer Down Memorial Page. That number includes 54 shot dead with many of those fatal blasts delivered by killers who targeted cops based on nothing other than the blue uniforms they were wearing. Five in Dallas. Three in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Two in Des Moines. Donald Trump, love him or hate him, has been unwavering in his support of police officers. He poses for selfies with every single cop assigned to protect him. He told me in an interview that he supports capital punishment for cop killers, a statement that helped prompt the board of the New England Patrolmen’s Benevolent Association to endorse him early on, one of the first police unions to do it. Trump promised Chuck Canterbury, president of the National Fraternal Order of Police, that he would back legislation sponsored by Republican Congressman Ken Buck of Colorado called the Blue Lives Matter Act of 2016 filed in March with little fanfare. In return Canterbury delivered a significant endorsement from the FOP’s 330,000 members, an endorsement that Mitt Romney did not garner in 2012. Then came the historic endorsement from the National Border Patrol Council, the union that represents border patrol agents. A union whose 18,000 agents form what they call its green line had never endorsed a candidate for president. Shawn Moran, a border patrol agent and spokesman for the NBPC, said that Trump was the only candidate who met with its board and “promised to give us the support that has been sorely lacking.” And Moran said it wasn’t about the wall. It was about “catch and release,” which the NBPC said has become an alarming problem along the southern borders. Agents catch, but cannot hold, immigrants streaming into the country. Many who enter illegally are given the equivalent of a desk appearance ticket, make a pinky-swear promise to show up for a hearing with immigration officials, and are never seen again. For other cops, the silent majority who have watched Hillary Clinton embrace some members of the Black Lives Matter movement, law enforcement officers who were horrified when Dallas County Sheriff Lupe Valdez was interrupted with rude shouts during a moment of silence for her fallen brethren at the DNC Convention, Trump’s win was vindication for those who are doing their jobs without engaging in racial profiling or excessive force. I have long predicted that the true Trump voter is not the angry white guy. It’s the civil servants, many of them combat veterans who joined the armed forces after 9/11. They are the ones who have delivered a message to Washington elites on both sides of the aisle: Trump might be crass, but he’s going to take care of us. That sentiment was summed up in a text I got after Clinton’s call to Trump to concede. It read, “Score one for the good guys.”

#### The NRA, a cornerstone of Trump’s base, is staunchly pro-SRO. Any limiting of these officers will result in popularity drop

Lichtblau & Rich 12 (Eric Lichtblau and Motoko Rich, 12-21-2012, "N.R.A. Calls for Armed Guards at Schools," New York Times, <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/22/us/nra-calls-for-armed-guards-at-schools.html>) [CRO]

WASHINGTON — After a weeklong silence, the National Rifle Association announced Friday that it wants to arm security officers at every school in the country. It pointed the finger at violent video games, the news media and lax law enforcement — not guns — as culprits in the recent rash of mass shootings. “The only thing that stops a bad guy with a gun is a good guy with a gun,” Wayne LaPierre, the N.R.A. vice president, said at a media event that was interrupted by protesters. One held up a banner saying, “N.R.A. Killing Our Kids.”

#### Republicans historically push for SROs, limiting them will lose Trump his GOP support.

Ferriss 13 (Susan Ferriss, Center For Public Integrity, 03-05-2013, "Does America Really Need More Cops in Schools?," Mother Jones, <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2013/03/police-kids-schools/>) [CRO]

But in response to Newtown, Whitmire is cosponsoring another proposal with state Sen. Tommy Williams, a Republican from The Woodlands, to allow districts to try to raise taxes or other revenue to hire more school police or buy security technology. He’d prefer adding police to arming teachers, Whitmire said, but he’ll “make damn sure,” he said, that more police doesn’t lead to more tickets. Mississippi state Democratic Rep. John Hines Sr. is concerned about safety, too. But he’s also trying to get fellow legislators more interested in allegations of a school-to-prison pipeline in his state. In January, Hines, who chairs the House Youth and Family Affairs Committee, held a state public hearing to discuss the “Handcuffs on Success” report issued that month by the Advancement Project, the ACLU of Mississippi, the Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP, and the Mississippi Coalition for the Prevention of Schoolhouse to Jailhouse. The report notes that the Jackson Public Schools District was sued in 2011 in connection to allegations that its students were handcuffed to railings for dress-code violations or refusing to do their schoolwork. The district settled the suit last May with an agreement to stop handcuffing children younger than 13, and to only handcuff older students when they are accused of a crime. A review of Jackson police records shows, according to “Handcuffs on Success,” that 96 percent of student arrests at schools in 2010-11 were for misdemeanors, most for disorderly conduct. Only 4 percent were for suspected felonies. Hines said he’s also troubled by a lawsuit the Department of Justice filed last October against Meridian, Mississippi (PDF), alleging that students there “are regularly and repeatedly handcuffed and arrested in school and incarcerated for days at a time without a probable cause hearing.” “I want kids safe,” Hines said. “I don’t want people coming off the street or an enraged child shooting people. But I don’t want lots of people all strapped up with guns at our schools either.” Republican Lester “Bubba” Carpenter, who also serves in Mississippi’s House, is sponsoring the proposal to allow districts to designate teachers or employees as a secret “marshals” with permission to bring their own licensed, concealed weapons to school. Mississippi is a “pretty poor state,” Carpenter said, so the idea is cost-effective. He’s not worried that teachers will panic and shoot in haste. “I think they’re smart enough individuals,” Carpenter said. “We trust them with our children every day.” But Carpenter also supports the proposal to set aside $7.5 million so that schools can apply for $10,000 matching grants to hire police officers. “I’ll vote for both of them,” Carpenter said of the proposals. “You can’t get enough security at schools.”

## Wyoming PIC

#### CP Text: Do the plan except Wyoming

#### Wyoming is uniquely vulnerable to bear attacks, we need SROs to protect them

JAMIESON ’17 (ALASTAIR JAMIESON, Betsy DeVos Cites Grizzly Bears During Guns-in-Schools Debate, January 18th, 2017, http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/betsy-devos-schools-might-need-guns-due-potential-grizzlies-n708261)NSS

President-elect Donald Trump's nominee for education secretary told lawmakers at her confirmation hearing that guns might have a place in schools due to the threat from grizzly bears. Billionaire philanthropist Betsy DeVos faced tough questions during Tuesday's session, refused to rule out removing funding public schools if appointed and admitted her family may have made donations to the Republican Party totalling $200 million. Democrat Sen. Chris Murphy of Connecticut, who has been vocal on gun control in the wake of the Sandy Hook massacre, asked DeVos if she thought firearms had any place in or around schools. “I think that’s best left to locales and states to decide,” she replied. Pressed on whether she could say “definitively” if guns shouldn’t be in schools, she referred to an earlier remark by Sen. Mike Enzi (R-Wyo.) who mentioned an elementary school in Wapiti, Wyoming, that had erected a fence to protect children from wildlife. “I think probably there, I would imagine that there’s probably a gun in the school to protect from potential grizzlies,” DeVos said.

#### Evaluate ursine impacts before all else – raaaahr

Dell’Amore 14 (Christine Dell'Amore, Bear Mauling in Wyoming: Why Do They Attack?, SEPTEMBER 19, 2014, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/09/1409018-grizzly-bears-attack-wyoming-animals-science-nation/)NSS

A man who was attacked and killed by a bear in a remote forest in Wyoming is a reminder to always be prepared around the formidable predators, an expert says. Government officials confirmed this week that Adam Stewart, a research contractor for the U.S. Forest Service, was mauled by a bear. His remains were found last week in Bridger-Teton National Forest. Stewart died from blunt force trauma to the head resulting from a bear bite, although it's unknown whether a grizzly bear or a black bear is to blame. Deer carcasses and tracks of adult bears and cubs were found near Stewart's body, Jason Hunter, a regional wildlife supervisor with the Wyoming Game and Fish Department, told Reuters. (See "Maulings by Bears: What's Behind the Recent Attacks?") There are two types of bear attacks: defensive and predatory, says John Beecham, co-chair of the Human-Bear Conflicts Expert Team of the International Union for Conservation of Nature's Bear Specialist Group. "It sounds like this was a bear defending a food source—a type of attack that's quite common," says Beecham, citing news reports. We talked to Beecham about why bears attack and about how to avoid that danger.



## Afropess

**Attempts to resolve the inherent racism in the School to prison pipeline through policy reinforce structures of racism and inculcate strategies of black liberation**

**Sojoyner’13** (Damien, Professor at University of California Irvine, “Black Radicals make for Bad Citizens: Undoing the Myth of the School to Prison Pipeline,” Berkeley Review of Education, 06/27/17, <http://www.usprisonculture.com/blog/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/STPPcritiqueofconcept.pdf)-> JS

Over the past 50 years, the invocation and utilization of policy to address fundamental issues of racism has been heralded as a progressive turn within the United States. Yet the result of said strategy has born the spoiled fruit of incarceration, homelessness, unemployment, negative health outcomes, and education calamities for Black people. In this vein, I echo Daniel Martinez HoSang’s query pertaining to the role of formal politics and the maintenance of race. HoSang (2010) questions, “[W]hat if the central narratives of postwar liberalism—celebrations of rights, freedom, opportunity, inequality—have ultimately sustained, rather than displaced, patterns of racial domination?” (p. 2). HoSang further points out the façade of the formal policy making process with regards to race and details the manner by which legislative and political systems have served to undermine mass mobilizations for substantive change. It is at this juncture of historic and contemporary tension between Black communities and representatives of the state that educational policy has become wed to multifaceted modalities of anti-Black discipline. As a reactionary strategy in response to Black movements for freedom, discipline practices are best understood as attempts to make Black liberation irrational and Black subjugation, its logical converse, commonsensical. It is incumbent to realize that the current relationship between Black students and education will never occur with reliance upon policy initiatives as the primary organ of change. I posit that we have to take a long, hard look at the formation and utilization of policy and question its overall effect and its implicit intent. Carol Anderson’s (2003) insightful analysis of the underhanded and reactionary manner in which the United States has utilized policy coded in a language of civil rights to enforce Black subjugation and create reformist realities to undermine radical politics is a cautionary tale that casts a foreboding pall upon policy driven models. Specifically, in the case of my paper, this presents a glaring problem for a utilization of the school-to- prison-pipeline (STPP) framework, as the primary site of “change” has been at the policy level. Thus, central to my argument is that the utilization of policy as a means to address issues of Black subjugation has resulted in the converse. That is, **policy-based strategies have produced a set of conditions that reinforce anti-Black racism and simultaneously function to discipline Black movements for liberation**. Further, the STPP framework does not provide room to analyze the manner in which the technologies of control and *enclosure* models utilized within the current prison regime were foregrounded by processes set into motion over 50 years ago in the realm of public education. The term enclosure is derived from the work of Clyde Woods (1998) who argues that enclosures are processes enacted by regional blocs during particular historic moments in an attempt to “gain control over resources and over the ideological and distributive institutions governing their allocation” (p. 26). Enacted through various strategies such as forced removal, benign neglect, abandonment, and incapacitation, the goal of enclosures is to blur the social vision of Black communities. That is, rather than a school to prison pipeline, the structure of public education is just as and maybe even more so culpable in the enclosure of Black freedom, which in turn has informed the development of prisons. Herein lies the impact of history that Cedric Robinson implores us to account for in our current conceptualizations of both theory and practical solutions. The following paper is located in an intersectional framework that draws from several approaches including archival, conceptual, and theoretical methodologies in order to buttress my claims. The information, data, and framework for this paper would have not been possible without the resources made available by the Southern California Library (SCL) located in Los Angeles, California. In addition, the many conversations and extreme generosity of Ayanna Harris, Kristie Hernandez, André Larry, and Seanna Cade Leath from the Claremont Colleges has been invaluable in the course of developing my arguments.

**Police violence leads to unending cycles of mistrust between police and minority students. Proves reform is impossible.**

**Gonzalez 17** (Yandilda Maria, Assisstant professor at SSA, “Policing and Inequality: Examing Community Response to Police Shootings”, SSA magazine, <http://www.ssa.uchicago.edu/policing-and-inequality-examing-community-response-police-shootings>) JW

The disproportionate concentration of police violence in communities of color is troubling from a number of perspectives. First, the deterioration of trust between police and communities of color and the violence afflicting those same communities are mutually reinforcing. For this reason, reform efforts in highly violent settings, from Camden, NJ to Central America, often prioritize initiatives to rebuild police-community ties. Rebuilding trust is likely to remain out of reach in Chicago while such inequalities in policing continue. These stark disparities in how police treat different groups of citizens can also complicate efforts to reform the police. Inequality in citizens' everyday interactions with police can potentially lead to radically different understandings of and relationships to police and state institutions, and ultimately, different preferences and demands. In Chicago, we've seen evidence that, despite the crisis facing the Chicago Police Department, attitudes about the police vary greatly by race and place. For instance, in a survey conducted last April, the proportion of White Chicagoans who rated the CPD as excellent or good (47 percent) was nearly four times greater than the proportion of Black Chicagoans who were satisfied with the police (12 percent). Similar disparities emerged across different neighborhoods. These divisions do not bode well for the city’s ongoing efforts to reform the police. As my own research on police reforms in Latin America shows, when elected officials perceive fragmented preferences and conflicting demands from the citizenry, they are less likely to pass police reform legislation and to sustain those reforms once they are enacted. Finally, inequalities in policing shape the lived experiences of people of color and the city's most vulnerable citizens. While attending a series of community hearings last August, I had the opportunity to listen to the testimonies of community members about how the alarming inequalities reproduced by policing and police violence have shaped everyday life. Teachers spoke of the detrimental effects of their students' interactions with police. A public health nurse working in communities of color testified to the challenge of helping clients living with mental illness and their families navigate emergency situations, in light of the history of police violence against people with mental illness. The city's youth of color have been among the most affected. A Black teenager working as a youth mentor on the West Side spoke candidly about losing a friend to police violence and his distrust of police. "Me and my peers have the same idea toward the police," said the young man, "we can't trust them." He said the community's relationship to the police is defined by "a broken trust, because we get stopped for no reason… because of the way we dress and stuff like that."

**Status Quo reforms against STPP are done with ‘good intentions’ but reinforce the existing racialized heteropatriarchy; rigorous and transparent analysis is key to avoid serial policy failure and dismantle the carceral state**

**Meiners 17**

[Erica, Professor of Educational Studies at Northeastern Illinois University, Harvard Educational Review, Spring 2017 Edition, “The Problem Child: Provocations Toward Dismantling the Carceral State”, <http://hepg.org/her-home/issues/harvard-educational-review-volume-87-number-1/herarticle/the-problem-child>] | AAK

Criminal justice reform has also trickled into schools. Galvanized by organized young people, over the last decade and a half, movements against the school-to-prison pipeline have steadily coalesced (Duncan, 2000; Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010; Laura, 2014; Sojoyner, 2013; Winn, 2010), impacting policy makers. A December 2012 congressional hearing on ending the school-toprison pipeline featured speakers from across the United States (St. George, 2012) motivating urban school districts to reevaluate disciplinary practices, including “zero tolerance” policies.2 In early 2014, the Obama administration issued a thirty-five-page report urging schools to use law enforcement as a “last resort” in school discipline (Rich, 2014).3 With practices that include peacemaking circles, restorative conferences, peer juries, mediation, and other accountability processes, restorative justice, a purportedly nonpunitive response to harm, has emerged as an alternative disciplinary practice and now circulates in schools from Oakland to the Bronx. This political moment creates new opportunities for those working for justice in communities and in schools, and yet it requires caution. **Not only does this current wave of reform often sidestep** a **rigorous and transparent analysis** of the key investments that naturalized the buildup of the US systems of policing and imprisonment, white supremacy, colonialism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy (Davis, 2003; Gilmore, 2007; Muhammad, 2010; Smith & Stanley, 2011), but **reforms advanced** by stakeholders across the political spectrum **have often expanded, not contracted, the footprint and the underlying logic of our carceral, or punitive, state**.4 As Angela Davis (2003) writes, “It is ironic that the prison itself was a product of concerted efforts by reformers to create a better system of punishment. If the words ‘prison reform’ so easily slip from our lips, it is because ‘prison’ and ‘reform’ have been inextricably linked since the beginning of the use of imprisonment as the main means of punishing those who violate social norms” (p. 40).5 The history of imprisonment has always been a history of reforms that frequently expand the reach and the scope of punishment. Over the last two centuries the establishment of the penitentiary, reformatories for juveniles and for women, and even the supermax prison were championed by those with “good intentions,” those with the aim to improve on the forms of punishment that came before. Yet **each of these developments expanded, and naturalized, a carceral state**. Our current national conversation on criminal justice again creates openings for reform, but history should caution us to proceed with care: “What are the possibilities of non-reformist reforms—of changes that, at the end of the day, unravel rather than widen the net of social control through criminalization?” (Gilmore, 2007, p. 242). The possibilities and pitfalls of reform are **particularly relevant for those in the field of education**, as a key facet of our racialized “prison nation,” to borrow a term from activist and scholar Beth Richie (2012), are **laws that profess to protect the child**. A matrix of punitive systems and laws that appear to safeguard children—including drug-free school zones, “quality of life” ordinances (e.g., antiloitering laws), public sex offenders registries, and “bathroom bills” to police public restrooms6—**built our carceral state** and continue to criminalize, particularly the most vulnerable, **without actually advancing public safety**. Not only do these laws naturalize and strengthen surveillance, policing, and punishment practices and **laws that are rooted in racialized heteropatriarchy** (and securing private property rights), but many disproportionately criminalize the populations they purport to safeguard—young people. **Dismantling the carceral state in our classrooms** and communities requires not only shrinking the footprint of policing in our schools and communities but also **stepping back for a fresh theorizing** of the artifact of the child and associated categories (adolescent, juvenile, minor, youth). As poet and scholar Fred Moten asks in the epigraph, how can we render visible the logics that make select children valuable at the cost of many others (Harney & Moten, 2013)? How are these assumptions naturalized, or made a form of whitestream “common sense,” and what are the collateral consequences?

#### The lens of disability studies creates a colorblind interpretation of suffering that ignores the prior incoherence of blackness. This approach is inherently anti-black as it ignores the fundamental antagonism of civil society towards black people and crowds out blackness’s grammar of suffering.

Kim 13 (Hyo Kim  is an assistant professor of English at Medgar Evers College, City University of New York, where he teaches Asian American literature and literary theory. “The Ruse of Analogy”: Blackness in Asian American and Disability Studies” https://unionpenumbra.org/article/the-ruse-of-analogy-blackness-in-asian-american-and-disability-studies/”)jg

Such is the logic that animates Bell’s critique of Disability studies but it does not, cannot obtain the force of Wilderson’s intervention because Bell cannot or dare not disarticulate the Black from the world. Nevertheless both Wilderson and Bell help foreground the important fact that even suffering obtains a “grammar,” that is, has a way of indexing―whether positively in the form of identification or negatively through dis- or even through non-identification, the presence or absence of a world. What Bell’s and especially Wilderson’s critique bring into sharp relief is that anti-blackness is part and parcel of the episteme that gives internal coherence to U.S. civil society. To approach “blackness’s grammar suffering” is therefore to contemplate, albeit always indirectly, not the paradigm of disability which is always already predicated on agency but a radical non-capacity. Wilderson’s illumination of how the “antagonism” that obtains around blackness is structural to the formation of U.S. civil society has the effect of clarifying the positioning of sub-fields such as Disability and Asian American studies, especially when their protocols aim toward establishing some form of political justice based upon “exploitation and alienation,” which is at odds with “blackness’s grammar of suffering.” As previously mentioned, Wilderson draws a sharp distinction between “conflict” and “antagonism.” And this is key, as it is only when anti-blackness is positioned as an “antagonism” that the residual and structural effects of the Slave (the non-human) can be allowed to erupt into the living present of U.S. civil society. As such, though by comparison far more optimistic than Wilderson’s study, Alexander’s The New Jim Crow (2010) gives powerful evidence to Wilderson’s theory of the “structural antagonisms” that contour U.S. civil society. This is how a critical theory based upon advancing a colorblind world or an ethicality based upon the universal human effectively silences the suffering of the Black. As Alexander argues: Far from being a worthy goal … colorblindness has proved catastrophic for African Americans. It is not an overstatement to say that the systematic mass incarceration of people of color in the United States would not have been possible in the post-civil rights era if the nation had not fallen under the spell of a callous colorblindness. … Saying that one does not care about race is offered as an exculpatory virtue, when in fact it can be a form of cruelty. … Our blindness also prevents us from seeing the racial and structural divisions that persist in society: the segregated, unequal schools, the segregated, jobless ghettos, and the segregated public discourse―a public conversation that excludes the current pariah of caste [the incarcerated black males in U.S. civil society]. (228) In this, Wilderson’s Red, White, & Black and Alexander’s The New Jim Crow bring into sharp focus why the framing of blackness within U.S. civil society cannot do without the ruse of analogy which effectively puts under erasure a “… violence which turns a body into flesh, ripped apart literally and imaginatively, destroy[ing] the possibility of ontology because it positions the Black in an infinite and indeterminately horrifying and open vulnerability, an object made available (which is to say fungible) for any subject” (Wilderson, 38). Put otherwise, this “violence” which is in excess of that ideologically saturated term called Humanity demands the infinitely difficult yet necessary encountering with what gives U.S. civil society the simulacrum of ethical and political decency.

#### Research of ableism is inadequate because it assumes that all violence is contingent – not gratuitous.

Kim 13 (Hyo Kim  is an assistant professor of English at Medgar Evers College, City University of New York, where he teaches Asian American literature and literary theory. “The Ruse of Analogy”: Blackness in Asian American and Disability Studies” https://unionpenumbra.org/article/the-ruse-of-analogy-blackness-in-asian-american-and-disability-studies/”)jg

As Davis insists, “[t]he problem presented to us by identity politics is the emphasis on an exclusivity (i.e. “localization”) surrounding a specific so-called identity. […] Disability studies can provide a critique of and a politics to discuss how all groups, based on physical traits or markings, are selected for disablement by a large system of regulation and signification” (240). Though Davis’s overarching goal of unsettling essentialist notions of identity is to be commended (as such dismantling is crucial to building broad coalitions across differing social identities), to theorize the body (and by extension “wounds”) in universal and cosmopolitan terms can lead to what Disability studies cannot afford. Notice below how his critique of politics based on identity tout court forces his argument to swerve toward the erasure of crucial material differences, the cultural and historical specificities that obtain in and around the body, and I would argue, suffering: Politics have been directed toward making all identities equal under the model of rights of the dominant, often white, male, ‘normal’ subject. In a dismodernist mode, the ideal is not a hypostatization of the normal (that is, dominant) subject, but aims to create a new category based on the partial, incomplete subject whose realization is not autonomy and independence but dependence and interdependence. This is a very different notion from subjectivity organized around wounded identities; rather, all humans are seen as wounded. (240-1) The problematic model of civil society as constituent of undifferentiated humans aside (a point to which I will return later), Davis’s critique of identity works to consolidate the idea of liberal political subject that is ideally unmarked by embodied difference such as race and gender. According to Chris Bell, it is precisely such flattening of racial difference in Disability studies that helps to authorize uncritical analogies such as: “Being disabled is just like being black … ” (277). Bell’s critique of Disability studies is far-reaching in its consequences not simply because it points to the structural and ontological differences between being “disabled” and being Black in the U.S., but because it undercuts the assumptive logic that universalizes the concept of the “human” itself, without which civil society would be bereft of it moral/ethical coherence. For what Bell takes issue with is the tendency in Disability studies to displace race as a social factor that impinges in the materialization of identities in contemporary United States. Put otherwise, an effect made evident in and through Davis’s call for a dismondernist/cosmopolitan ethics is the displacement, if not making light, of cultural (historical) particularity. Indeed, recognizing that race and by extension gender are mere fictions of social construction does not, for example, contradict Manalansan’s insight that: “While race is established through numerous institutional, cultural, quotidian practices, in all of these arenas the racialized subject’s body filters, absorbs, and deflects various interpolating forces and practices” (182). In this, the corporeality of the body (and not simply its metaphorical substitute) is imbricated in production of racialized meanings. Crucial here is how Bell’s and Manalansan’s attempts to illumine embodied realities do not necessarily result in the production of reified, transcendent forms of knowledge. Yet by attending to how blackness structurally differentiates the disabled body, Bell’s critique does localize the disabled body vis-à-vis the social, frustrating, no matter how well intended, Davis’s search for the universal or more precisely, a point of analogy. Upon closer observation, Davis’s desire for the cosmopolitan body—the universally “wounded” body that resists localization enables the return of what he fears—the able-bodied white male subject as the proxy for normalcy. Incidentally, in a slightly different but nevertheless relevant context, Julia Kristeva’s ethico-political orientation toward the “stranger” has come under similar criticism. As Sara Ahmed queries, does not the model of “call[ing] ourselves (i.e. all human subjects) strangers … perform the gesture of killing the strangers it simultaneously creates, by rendering them universal: [as] a new community of the ‘we’ is implicitly created. If we are all strangers (to ourselves), then nobody is” (73).[5](https://unionpenumbra.org/article/the-ruse-of-analogy-blackness-in-asian-american-and-disability-studies/#note-5) Or in Bell’s more scathing critique: “Far from excluding people of color, White Disability Studies treats people of color as if they were white people, as if there are no critical exigencies involved in being people of color that might necessitate these individuals understanding and negotiating disability in a different way from their white counterparts” (282). Though Bell does not go on to explore what specific “critical exigencies” differentiate how “people of color” embody disability or suffering, it is clear from his critique that he intuits a certain “grammar” to suffering which Davis’s “Dismodernism” cannot accommodate.

#### Ableist violence is contingent and stems from the blackening of disabled bodies that are deemed as impure for white society. Fore fronting antiblackness as the central issue in research is key to understand how violence operates towards disabled people in civil society.

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For instance, what at first glance seems merely naïve―that is the observation that in the U.S. “[b]eing disabled is just like being black”―actually does index how disability cannot be synonymous with Whiteness. For what is suggested through the forced parity between the construction of blackness and disability is that the disabled body or mind cannot properly embody Whiteness in toto. And that is what Anna Stubblefield demonstrates in “‘Beyond the Pale’: Tainted Whiteness, Cognitive Disability and Eugenic Sterilization,” which iterates how disabled white persons have historically been categorized as embodying a tainted form of whiteness. She convincingly argues that beginning from the 1800s in the U.S. those who were considered feebleminded, a form of cognitive disability, lost the full privileges attendant with white citizenship. As she writes, “ … to grasp feeblemindedness fully as a signifier of tainted whiteness, it is important to understand that the state-sponsored, involuntary sterilization of tainted whites meant that they had, in effect,lost the full protection that whiteness conferred in a white supremacist society” (178; emphasis added). Not only did the so-called feebleminded whites come to embody a compromised form of whiteness but also the “ … white men [and women] labeled as criminal, sexually deviate, homosexual, … or insane … ” (Stubblefield 178). What Stubblefield emphasizes is that disability as a social construct cannot easily be detached from its imbricated positioning within a network of material forces that include not only race but sexuality, class, and gender. Her study foregrounds the need for Disability studies to attend to racialization as not a tangential focus but central to its overall theoretical and political project. Interestingly Stubblefield’s study of how disability can dispossess whites of their “full personhood” under U.S. law seemingly lends support to what “Dismodernism” authorizes, which is the idea that the suffering of blacks can be made equivalent to not only what disabled whites come to embody but also to all those other Others represented under the category of “people of color.” In short, disability has the potential to democratize civil society by recalling how all citizens are common in their humanity―that is, equally exposed to disability. Yet, if we read between the lines of Stubblefield’s summary of how “feebleminded whites” can become “tainted,” the singularity of “blackness’s grammar of suffering” emerges. For what distinguishes “blackness grammar of suffering” is how it does not operate according to the assumptive logic of capability. In other words, to approach “blackness’s grammar of suffering,” Wilderson insists that one must be able to imagine “an ethicality … so terrifying that, as a space to be inhabited and terror to be embraced” (41), it resists language. It is a “grammar of suffering” based not upon the logic of a “lost” capacity but that of a deontologized property, the Slave that is not “exploited and alienated” but rather “accumulated and fungible.” The effect of this singular grammar on Asian American and Disability studies is significant, but the impact of Wilderson’s critique on the “scholarly and aesthetic production” of the “Black theorist” is radical by comparison. As he writes: This [“blackness’s grammar suffering”] makes the labor of disavowal in Black scholarly and aesthetic production doubly burdensome, for it is triggered by a dread of both being ‘discovered,’ and of discovering oneself, as ontological incapacity. Thus, through borrowed institutionality―the feigned capacity to be essentially exploited and alienated (rather than accumulated and fungible) in the first ontological instance (in other words, a fantasy to be just like everyone else, which is a fantasy to be)―the work of Black film theory [and by extension Black studies] operates through a myriad of compensatory gestures in which the Black theorists assumes subjective capacity to be universal and thus ‘finds’ it everywhere. (42)

## Ableism

#### Ableism is schools comes from the medical model which the aff doesn’t solve

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How Ableism Occurs ln Schools: Ableism appears to be rooted in negative cultural assumptions about disability (Hehir. 2002). These assumptions can be based upon negative stereotypes as well as a lack of understanding of disability issues, such as efficiency (where it is just as efficient to roll as to walk from one class to another) or difference (that it is as easy to obtain information from Braille as from print) in educational settings. Ableism has been historically present in schools as well as in society at large and is tied in pan to the medical model that seeks to "fix" people with disabilities (Longmore. 1995). Gill (I995) wrote that "ableist values have colonized our identities. They have suppressed the natural development of our culture and prevented us from feeling as individuals and as a group" (p. S).