### 1NC – OFF

#### Interpretation: The affirmative may only defend that a just government ought to recognize an unconditional right of workers to strike.

#### Resolved means a policy

Words and Phrases 64 Words and Phrases Permanent Edition. “Resolved”. 1964.

Definition of the word “resolve,” given by Webster is “to express an opinion or determination by resolution or vote; as ‘it was resolved by the legislature;” It is of similar force to the word “enact,” which is defined by Bouvier as meaning “to establish by law”.

#### Recognize means to accept as legal

Cambridge Dictionary No Date, (Cambridge Dictionary, “Recognize”), https://dictionary.cambridge.org/us/dictionary/english/recognize // MNHS NL

to accept that something is legal, true, or important:

The international community has refused to recognize (= officially accept the existence of) the newly independent nation state.

[ + (that) ] He sadly recognized (that) he would die childless.

You must recognize the seriousness of the problems we are facing.

#### A worker is one who works manually or in an industry for a certain wage

Merriam Webster ND <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/worker> VM

“one that works especially at manual or industrial labor or with a particular material”

#### They violate— they don’t.

#### Vote neg to preserve substantive engagement --

#### 1] Preparation- repacking the topic gives the aff a huge edge, they can prepare for 6 months on an issue that catches us by surprise. Preparation is better than thinking on your feet- research demonstrates pedagogical humility and research skills are the only portable debate training – the process of debate outweighs the content – only our interp generates the argumentative skills needed to rigorously defend their affirmative out of round and create engaged citizens who have the self reflexivity to advocate for positive change

#### 2] Limits- there are an infinite number of non topical affirmatives. Consider this our “library disad”- not debating the topic allows someone to specialize in one area of the library for 4 years giving them a huge edge over people who switch research focus ever 2 months.

#### 3] Truth testing - you can’t vote on the case outweighs T because lack of preparation prevents rigorous testing of the AC claims. If we win fairness we don’t have to “outweigh” other impacts

#### 4] Switch side debate is good -- it forces debaters to consider a controversial issue from multiple perspectives which prevents ideological dogmatism. Even if they prove the topic is bad, our argument is that the process of preparing and defending proposals is an educational benefit of engaging it.

#### 5] fairness – debate is fundamentally a game which requires both sides to have a relatively equal shot at winning and is necessary for any benefit to the activity. That outweighs:

#### A] decision-making: every argument concedes to the validity of fairness i.e. that the judge will make a fair decision based on the arguments presented. This means if they win fairness bad vote neg on presumption because you have no obligation to fairly evaluate their arguments.

#### B] probability: voting aff can’t solve any of their impacts but it can solve ours. All the ballot does is tell tab who won which can’t stop any violence but can resolve the fairness imbalance in this particular debate.

#### 6] small schools disad: under-resourced are most adversely affected by a massive, unpredictable caselist which worsens structural disparities

#### TVA: Read an aff about strikes being key to check back against discrimination against ableist workers

Semuels 21 [American Journalist at Time Magazine] October 8th, 2021, “U.S. Workers Are Realizing It's the Perfect Time to Go on Strike” https://time.com/6105109/workers-strike-unemployment/

Of course, a hearing officer at the National Labor Relations Board has recommended that the board throw out the results of the Amazon election and do it over, which speaks to a resurgence of government support for labor. President Joe Biden said he wanted to be “the most pro-union President leading the most pro-union administration in American history.” Labor has support at the state and local levels too: California Gov. Gavin Newsom recently signed a packet of pro-worker bills, including one that prohibits companies from imposing quotas on warehouse workers that prevent them from following health and safety law, and another that prohibits employers from paying workers with disabilities less than the state’s minimum wage. And in January, New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio signed a bill that forbids fast food restaurants from firing workers unless the employer has just cause, making New York City the first jurisdiction in the country that essentially ended at-will employment.

#### Disads to the TVA prove there’s negative ground and that it’s a contestable stasis point, and if their critique is incompatible with the topic reading it on the neg solves and is better because it promotes switch-side debate

#### Winning pessimism doesn’t answer T because only through the process of clash can they refine their defense of it—they need an explanation of why we switch sides and why there’s a winner and loser under their model

#### Reject the team—T is question of models of debate and the damage to our strategy was already done

#### Competing interps – reasonability is arbitrary, you can’t be reasonably topical, and causes a race to the bottom of questionable argumentation.

#### RVIs and impact turns encourage all in on theory which decks substance and incentivize baiting theory with abusive practices.

#### No impact turns—exclusions are inevitable because we only have 45 minutes so it’s best to draw those exclusions along reciprocal lines to ensure a role for the negative

### 1NC – OFF

#### Their idea that by hacking the resolution and debate they can challenge capitalist capture is false. Capitalism thrives on that narrative of “escape”. Disrupting a logic or social system cannot solve, boring analysis of structures is necessary.

Bluhdorn 07 – (May 2007, Ingolfur, PhD, Reader in Politics/Political Sociology, University of Bath, “Self-description, Self-deception, Simulation: A Systems-theoretical Perspective on Contemporary Discourses of Radical Change,” Social Movement Studies, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1–20, May 2007, google scholar)

Yet the **established patterns of self-construction, which** thus **have to be defended and** further **developed** at any price, **have fundamental problems** attached to them: ﬁrstly, **the attempt to constitute, on the basis of** product choices and acts of **consumption, a Self and identity** that are **distinct from and autonomous vis-a`-vis the market is a contradiction in terms**. Secondly, **late-modern society’s established patterns of consumption are known to be socially exclusive and environmentally destructive**. Despite all hopes for ecological modernization and revolutionary improvements in resource efﬁciency (e.g. Weizsa¨cker et al., 1998; Hawkenet al., 1999; Lomborg, 2001), **physical environmental limits imply that the lifestyles and established patterns of consumption** cherished by advanced modern societies **cannot even be extended to all residents of the richest countries**, let alone to the populations of the developing world. For the sake of the (re)construction of an ever elusive Self, **in their struggle against self-referentiality** and in pursuit of the regeneration of difference, **late-modern societies are** thus **locked into the imperative of maintaining** and further developing the principle of **exclusion** (Blu¨hdorn, 2002, 2003). At any price they have to, and indeed do, defend **a lifestyle that requires ever increasing social inequality, environmental degradation, predatory resource wars, and the tight policing of potential internal and external enemies**.14 For this effort, **military and surveillance technology provide ever more sophisticated and efﬁcient means**. Nevertheless, the principle of **exclusion is ultimately still unsustainable, not only because of spiralling ‘security’ expenses but also because it** directly **contradicts the** modernist **notion of the free and autonomous individual** that late-modern society desperately aims to sustain. For this reason, late-modern society is confronted with the task of having to sustain both the late-modern principle of exclusion as well as its opposite, i.e. the modernist principle of inclusion. Very importantly, the conﬂict between the principles of exclusion and inclusion is not simply one between different individuals, political actors or sections of society. Instead, it is a politically irresolvable conﬂict that resides right within the late-modern individual, the late-modern economy and late-modern politics. And if, as Touraine notes, late-modern society no longer believes in nor even desires political transcendence, the particular challenge is that the two principles can also no longer be attributed to different dimensions of time, i.e. the former to the present, and the latter to some future society. Instead, late-modern society needs to represent and reproduce itself and its opposite at the same time. If considered **within this framework** of this analysis, the function of Luhmann’s system of protest communication, or in the terms of this article, **the signiﬁcance of** late-modern societies’ **discourses of radical change becomes immediately evident**. **At a stage when the possibility** and desirability **of transcending** the principle of **exclusion has been pulled into** radical **doubt but when**, at the same time, the principle of **inclusion is vitally important**, **these discourses simulate the validity of the latter as a social ideal**. In other words, **latemodern society reconciles the tension between the** cherished but exclusive **status quo** – for which there is no alternative – **and the non-existent** inclusive **alternative** – on whose existence it depends – **by means of simulation**. The analysis of Luhmann’s work has demonstrated how the societal self-descriptions produced by the system of protest communication, or late-modern society’s discourses of radical change, fulﬁl this function exactly. **They are** an **indispensable** function system not so much because they help to resolve late-modern society’s problems of mal-coordination, but because by performing the possibility of the alternative they help to cope with the fundamental problem of self-referentiality. In this sense, late-modern society’s discourses of sustainability, democratic renewal, social inclusion or global justice, to name but a few, suggest that advanced modern society is working towards an environmentally and socially inclusive alternative – genuinely modern – society, but they do not deny the fact that the big utopia and project of late-modern society is the reproduction and further enhancement of the status quo, i.e. the sustainability of the principle of exclusion. Protest movements as networks of physical actors and actions complement the purely communicative **discourses of radical change** in that they bring their narrative and societal selfdescription to life. Whilst the declarations of institutionalized mainstream politics cannot escape the generalized suspicion that they are purely rhetorical, social movements **provide an arena for** the physical expression and **experience of the authenticity and reality of the alternative**

#### Capitalism causes war, violence, environmental destruction and extinction.

Robinson 18 (William I., Prof. of Sociology, Global and International Studies, and Latin American Studies, @ UC-Santa Barbara, “Accumulation Crisis and Global Police State” Critical Sociology) RE

Each major episode of crisis in the world capitalist system has presented the potential for systemic change. Each has involved the breakdown of state legitimacy, escalating class and social struggles, and military conflicts, leading to a restructuring of the system, including new institutional arrangements, class relations, and accumulation activities that eventually result in a restabilization of the system and renewed capitalist expansion. The current crisis shares aspects of earlier system-wide structural crises, such as of the 1880s, the 1930s or the 1970s. But there are six interrelated dimensions to the current crisis that I believe sets it apart from these earlier ones and suggests that a simple restructuring of the system will not lead to its restabilization – that is, our very survival now requires a revolution against global capitalism (Robinson, 2014). These six dimensions, in broad strokes, present a “big picture” context in which a global police state is emerging. First, the system is fast reaching the ecological limits of its reproduction. We have already passed tipping points in climate change, the nitrogen cycle, and diversity loss. For the first time ever, human conduct is intersecting with and fundamentally altering the earth system in such a way that threatens to bring about a sixth mass extinction (see, e.g., Foster et al., 2011; Moore, 2015). These ecological dimensions of global crisis have been brought to the forefront of the global agenda by the worldwide environmental justice movement. Communities around the world have come under escalating repression as they face off against transnational corporate plunder of their environment. While capitalism cannot be held solely responsible for the ecological crisis, it is difficult to imagine that the environmental catastrophe can be resolved within the capitalist system given capital’s implacable impulse to accumulate and its accelerated commodification of nature. Second, the level of global social polarization and inequality is unprecedented. The richest one percent of humanity in 2016 controlled over half of the world’s wealth and 20 percent controlled 95 percent of that wealth, while the remaining 80 percent had to make do with just five percent (Oxfam, 2017). These escalating inequalities fuel capitalism’s chronic problem of overaccumulation: the TCC cannot find productive outlets to unload the enormous amounts of surplus it has accumulated, leading to chronic stagnation in the world economy (see next section). Such extreme levels of social polarization present a challenge of social control to dominant groups. As Trumpism in the United States as well as the rise of far-right and neo-fascist movements in Europe so well illustrate, cooptation also involves the manipulation of fear and insecurity among the downwardly mobile so that social anxiety is channeled towards scapegoated communities. This psychosocial mechanism of displacing mass anxieties is not new, but it appears to be increasing around the world in the face of the structural destabilization of capitalist globalization. Extreme inequality requires extreme violence and repression that lend themselves to projects of 21st century fascism. Third, the sheer magnitude of the means of violence and social control is unprecedented, as well as the magnitude and concentrated control over the means of global communication and the production and circulation of symbols, images, and knowledge. Computerized wars, drone warfare, robot soldiers, bunker-buster bombs, a new generation of nuclear weapons, satellite surveillance, cyberwar, spatial control technology, and so forth, have changed the face of warfare, and more generally, of systems of social control and repression. We have arrived at the panoptical surveillance society, a point brought home by Edward Snowden’s revelations in 2013, and the age of thought control by those who control global flows of communication and symbolic production. If global capitalist crisis leads to a new world war the destruction would simply be unprecedented. Fourth, we are reaching limits to the extensive expansion of capitalism, in the sense that there are no longer any new territories of significance to integrate into world capitalism and new spaces to commodify are drying up. The capitalist system is by its nature expansionary. In each earlier structural crisis, the system went through a new round of extensive expansion – from waves of colonial conquest in earlier centuries, to the integration in the late 20th and early 21st centuries of the former socialist countries, China, India and other areas that had been marginally outside the system. There are no longer any new territories to integrate into world capitalism. At the same time, the privatization of education, health, utilities, basic services, and public lands is turning those spaces in global society that were outside of capital’s control into “spaces of capital,” so that intensive expansion is reaching depths never before seen. What is there left to commodify? Where can the system now expand? New spaces have to be violently cracked open and the peoples in these spaces must be repressed by the global police state.

#### The alternative is to build class solidarity around a new socialist movement focused on making concrete demands and progress that can transform American society. That’s necessary to propel movements to challenge Trump, dismantle ableist political formations, and save lives.

Schwartz and Sunkara 17 [August 1, 2017; JOSEPH M. SCHWARTZ (Joseph M. Schwartz is the national vice-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America, and professor of political science at Temple) and BHASKAR SUNKARA (Bhaskar Sunkara is an American political writer, founding editor and publisher of Jacobin magazine and the publisher of Catalyst: A Journal of Theory and Strategy. He is a former vice-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America); “What Should Socialists Do?”; <https://jacobinmag.com/2017/08/socialist-left-democratic-socialists-america-dsa>; //BWSWJ]

The Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) has 25,000 members. Its growth over the past year has been massive — tripling in size — and no doubt a product of the increasing rejection of a bipartisan neoliberal consensus that has visited severe economic insecurity on the vast majority, particularly among young workers. No socialist organization has been this large in decades. The possibilities for transforming American politics are exhilarating. In considering how to make such a transformation happen, we might be tempted to usher those ranks of new socialists into existing vehicles for social change: community organizations, trade unions, or electoral campaigns — organizations more likely to win immediate victories for the workers that are at the center of our vision. Why not put our energy and hone our skills where they seem to be needed the most? Workers’ needs are incredibly urgent; shouldn’t we drop everything and join in these existing struggles right now? While it’s crucial to be deeply involved in such struggles as socialists, we also have something unique to offer the working class, harnessing a logic that supports but is different from the one that organizers for those existing vehicles operate under. Here’s a sketch of a practical approach rooted in that vision that can win support for democratic social change in the short run and a majority for socialist transformation in the long run. Fighting for “Non-Reformist Reforms” For socialists, theory and practice must be joined at the hip. Socialists work for reforms that weaken the power of capital and enhance the power of working people, with the aim of winning further demands — what André Gorz called “non-reformist reforms.” We want to move towards a complete break with the capitalist system. Socialists, unlike single-issue activists, know that democratic victories must be followed by more democratic victories, or they will be rolled back. Single-payer health care is a classic example of a “non-reformist” reform, one that would pry our health system free from capital’s iron grip and empower the working class by nationalizing the private health insurance industry. But socialists conceive of this struggle differently than single-issue advocates of Medicare for All. Socialists understand that single payer alone cannot deal with the cost spiral driven by for-profit hospital and pharmaceutical companies. If we do achieve a national (or state-level) single-payer system, the fight wouldn’t be over; socialists would then fight for nationalization of the pharmaceutical industry. A truly socialized health care system (as in Britain and Sweden) would nationalize hospitals and clinics staffed by well-paid, unionized health care workers. Socialists can and should be at the forefront of fights like this today. To do so, we must gain the skills needed to define who holds power in a given sector and how to organize those who have a stake in taking it away from them. But we can’t simply be the best activists in mass struggles. Single-issue groups too often attack a few particularly bad corporate actors without also arguing that a given crisis cannot be solved without curtailing capitalist power. Socialists not only have to be the most competent organizers in struggle, but they have to offer an analysis that reveals the systemic roots of a particular crisis and offer reforms that challenge the logic of capitalism. Building a Majority As socialists, our analysis of capitalism leads us to not just a moral and ethical critique of the system, but to seeing workers as the central agents of winning change. This isn’t a random fetishizing of workers — it’s based on their structural position in the economy. Workers have the ability to disrupt production and exchange, and they have an interest in banding together and articulating collective demands. This makes them the key agents of change under capitalism. This view can be caricatured as ignoring struggles for racial justice, immigrant rights, reproductive freedom, and more. But nothing could be further from the truth. The working class is majority women and disproportionately brown and black and immigrant; fighting for the working class means fighting on precisely these issues, as well as for the rights of children, the elderly, and all those who cannot participate in the paid labor market. Socialists must also fight on the ideological front. We must combat the dominant ideology of market individualism with a compelling vision of democracy and freedom, and show how only in a society characterized by democratic decision-making and universal political, civil, and social rights

can individuals truly flourish. If socialist activists cannot articulate an attractive vision of socialist freedom, we will not be able to overcome popular suspicion that socialism would be a drab, pseudo-egalitarian, authoritarian society. Thus we must model in our own socialist organizations the democratic debate, peaceful conflict, and social solidarity that would characterize a socialist world. A democratic socialist organization that doesn’t have a rich and accessible internal educational life will not develop an activist core who can be public tribunes for socialism. Activists don’t stay committed to building a socialist organization unless they can articulate to themselves and others why even a reformed capitalism remains a flawed, undemocratic society. The Power of a Minority But socialists must also be front and center in struggles to win the short-term victories that empower people and lead them to demand more. Socialists today are a minority building and pushing forward a potential, progressive anti-corporate majority. We have no illusions that the dominant wing of the Democrats are our friends. Of course, most levels of government are now run by Republicans well to the right of them. But taking on neoliberal Democrats must be part of a strategy to defeat the far right. Take the Democrats, who are showing what woeful supposed leaders of “the resistance” they are every day. Contrary to the party leadership’s single-note insistence, the Russians did not steal the election for Trump; rather, a tepid Democratic candidate who ran on expertise and competence lost because her corporate ties precluded her articulation of a program that would aid the working class — a $15 minimum wage, Medicare for All, free public higher education. Clinton failed to gain enough working-class votes of all races to win the key states in the former industrial heartland; she ended up losing to the most disliked, buffoonish presidential candidate in history. If we remain enthralled to Democratic politics-as-usual, we’re going to continue being stuck with cretins like Donald Trump. Of course, progressive and socialist candidates who openly reject the neoliberal mainstream Democratic agenda may choose for pragmatic reasons to use the Democratic Party ballot line in partisan races. But whatever ballot line the movement chooses to use, we must always be working to increase the independent power of labor and the Left. Sanders provides an example: it’s hard to imagine him offering a radical opening to using the “s” word in American politics for his openly independent campaign if he had run on an independent line. Bernie also showed the strength of socialists using coalition politics to build a short-term progressive majority and to win people over to a social-democratic program and, sometimes, to socialism. Sanders gained the support of six major unions; if we had real social movement unionism in this country, he would have carried the banner of the entire organized working-class movement. Bernie’s weaker performance than Clinton among voters of color — though not among millennials of color — derived mostly from his being a less known commodity. But it also demonstrated that socialists need deeper social roots among older women and communities of color. That means developing the organizing strategies that will better implant us in the labor movement and working-class communities, as well as struggles for racial justice and gender and sexual emancipation. Socialists have the incumbent obligation to broaden out the post-Sanders, anti-corporate trend in US politics into a working-class “rainbow coalition.” We must also fight our government’s imperialist foreign policy and push to massively cut wasteful “defense” spending. We should be involved in multiracial coalitions, fighting for reforms like equitable public education and affordable housing. Democratic socialists can be the glue that brings together disparate social movement that share an interest in democratizing corporate power. We can see the class relations that pervade society and how they offer common avenues of struggle. But at 25,000 members, we can’t substitute ourselves for the broader currents needed to break the power of both far-right nativist Republicans and pro-corporate neoliberal Democrats. We have to work together with broader movements that may not be anti-capitalist but remain committed to reforms. These movements have the potential to win material improvements for workers’ lives. If we stay isolated from them, we will slide into sectarian irrelevance. Of course, socialists should endeavor to build their own organizational strength and to operate as an independent political force. We cannot mute our criticism against business unionist trends in the labor movement and the middle-class professional leadership of many advocacy groups. But in the here and now, we must also help win those victories that will empower workers to conceive of more radical democratic gains. Our members are disproportionately highly educated, young, male, and white. To win victories, we must pursue a strategy and orientation that makes us more representative of the working class. Grasping the Moment In the final analysis, socialists must be both tribunes for socialism and the best organizers. That’s how the Communist Party grew rapidly from 1935-1939. They set themselves up as the left wing of the CIO and of the New Deal coalition, and grew from twenty thousand to one hundred thousand members during that period. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, condemned the New Deal as “a restoration of capitalism.” In saying so they were partly right: the New Deal was in part about saving capitalism from itself. But such a stance was also profoundly wrong in that it distanced the Socialist Party from popular struggles from below, including those for workers’ rights and racial equality that forced capital to make important concessions. This rejection was rooted in a concern that those struggles were “reformist”; it led the SP to fall from twenty thousand members in 1935 to three thousand in 1939. Of course, there are also negative lessons to be learned from the Communist growth during the Popular Front period. They hid their socialist identity in an attempt to appeal to the broadest swath of Americans possible. When forced to reveal it, they referred to an authoritarian Soviet Union as their model. And by following Moscow’s line on the Hitler-Stalin Pact and then the no-strike pledge during World War II, the party abandoned the most militant sectors of the working class. Thus, the Communists put themselves in a position that prevented them from ever winning hegemony within the US working-class movement from liberal forces. Still, the Popular Front was the last time socialism had any mass presence in the United States — in part because, in its own way, the Communists rooted their struggles for democracy within US political culture while trying to build a truly multiracial working-class movement. The road to DSA becoming a real working-class organization runs through us becoming the openly socialist wing of a mass movement opposed to a bipartisan neoliberal consensus. If we only become better organizers, with more practical skills in door-knocking and phone-banking and one-on-one conversations, we will likely see the defection of many of our most skilled organizers who will take those skills and get jobs doing “mass work” in reformist organizations. Such a defection bedeviled DSA in the 1980s, leading to a “donut” phenomenon — thousands of members embedded in mass movements, but few building the center of DSA as an organization. We must avoid this. Simultaneously, if we don’t relate politically to social forces bigger than our own, DSA could devolve into merely a large socialist sect or subculture. The choice to adopt a strategy that would move us towards becoming a mass socialist organization with working-class roots is ours. This is the most promising

### 1NC – OFF

#### Counterplan: Do the aff except permanently create 3 online TOC bid tournaments per topic.

#### Solves 100 percent of the case!

### Case

#### Very slippery slope – there are thousands of imbalances in debate

#### If we say action on every single one is a prereq to engagement, we quickly slip into ideological dogmatism that prevents true action and crowds out true discussion

#### Presumption ALWAYS flips neg against K affs –

#### 1] That places a hard cap on debatable material since it ensures the aff must robustly defend their advocacy AND that the negative has a shot at engagement.

#### 2] Debate should be over ideas, not people – the process benefits of debate derive from rigorously testing advocacies that aren’t limited to individuals – their model turns into “I spoke, ergo I won” which is good for no one.

#### Double bind – either advocacy and reform within debate is possible and your theory of power is wrong or it’s not and the aff has no solvency

#### We’re impact turning any attempt to use the ballot to make debate more accessible ---

#### 1] It leaves zero role for the negative---our only ground is to say that debate should NOT be more accessible, or to just say nothing at all, which is a hobson choice that forces us to be non responsive for offensive: for example, they have said accessibility

#### 2] It forces the judge into an inappropriate role---if their argument is voting aff makes debate more accessible, voting neg requires the judge determing that debate should NOT be more accessible, and that they don’t deserve to move on, which entails a violent rejection of them, their identity, and accessibility---debate’s just a game and tasking the judge with determining whether someone’s identity should be accepted is incredibly violent. If they say that we can propose a better solution, the judge has to choose whose “solution” is better which is also violent.

#### 3] It’s a palliative --- giving them the ballot does nothing to make debate better, and viewing ballots as currency for social movements is terminally unsustainable because losses are inevitable

**Debating about specific policy options is the only way to meaningfully shift public policy for persons with disabilities --- the aff merely points out causes of oppression without focusing on the details of potential policy responses**

Adam M. **Samaha 7**, Assistant Professor, The University of Chicago Law School, Fall 2007, “What Good Is the Social Model of Disability?,” University of Chicago Law Review, Fall, 2007, 74 U. Chi. L. Rev. 1251

Each of these developments has a connection to public policy. Technological innovation and utilization can be demanded, subsidized, discouraged, or outlawed by the state. The same is true of sorting and ASL training. To date, U.S. policy has been relatively decentralized. Neither cochlear implants nor genetic screening is mandated or heavily regulated in terms of the reasons for use. Gallaudet was chartered by the federal government and state law imposes some restrictions on the creation of new municipalities, yet these sorting efforts are largely the product of private choices. With strong enough justifications and political forces, public policy might shift. Society might begin to treat genetic screening and cochlear implants as morally questionable and unjustifiably stigmatizing for the current generation of deaf people, or [\*1275] it might invest more resources in nonverbal communication methods including ASL, or it might heavily subsidize signing communities. Moving policy in the opposite direction is equally possible in theoretical terms. A collective decision might be made to hasten the elimination of deafness-related genes, or to mainstream all deaf people and discourage ASL as inappropriately separatist.

The question is whether the social model can underwrite any policy, in any direction. The answer is no: the model suggests causes of disadvantage, but **what we do about it** is a matter of contested norms. Opposition to social restructuring as a remedy for disability need not be the product of ignorance, insensitivity, false consciousness, or political immorality. It might be an understandable reaction within a coherent normative framework. There just is no necessary connection between causes of harm (or disadvantage) and remedies for harm (or disadvantage). This simple point can be confirmed by comparing similar situations in which an individual is not the sole cause of his or her disadvantage, and yet it is at least debatable (1) whether any remedy is justified or (2) which remedy is proper. Consider the following statements.

Your inability to get through this door is caused by the confluence of more than one factor:

1. You murdered your husband to collect insurance proceeds, and because of that we prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned you.

2. Your skin is relatively dark, our customers prefer to interact with pink-skinned people, and so we did not hire you.

3. You are Catholic, we hate Catholics, and so we did not hire you.

4. You became wheelchair-bound after negligently driving a motorcycle, and we built this building with stairs leading to the entrance.

5. Your genes do not allow you to walk, your parents did not genetically screen for such embryos, you now use a wheelchair, and we built this building with stairs leading to the entrance.

Each of these statements has a similar logical structure, and that structure mimics the social model of disability. Choices or practices of the broader society are disadvantaging the subject of the statements. But we can be confident that almost no one will demand social change and liberation of the subject in all of the above examples.

Take statement 1. The subject is deprived of liberty by a physical barrier (her cell door) not only because of her decision to kill her husband (we might say she has the trait of spouse killer), but also because institutional forces responded in a particular way (officers of the state engaged in apprehension, prosecution, imprisonment). They need not [\*1276] have been designed to respond that way or exercised their powers in this case. But they were and they did. Very few observers will object to the social response. Assuming accurate adjudication of guilt, no affirmative defense, defensible sentencing, and so on, no plausible normative theory dictates any liberating remedy for the killer.

Statements 2 and 3 prompt different normative reactions. Like statement 1, these situations involve a subject who suffers on account of a social or institutional reaction to an individual trait. There is nothing natural and immutable about pinker skinned people preferring not to interact with darker skinned people, or non-Catholics hating Catholics -- it might not have been a foreordained biological or social development that the pink/dark skin or Catholic/non-Catholic distinctions came about, or that given the distinction people would have the opportunity to interact across those categories. In any event, statements 2 and 3 involve animus or irrational distinctions between people. Statement 2 describes a business decision that is derivative of indefensible social preferences, but the engine of discrimination in those statements is basically the same. If we agree that the traits of skin color and Catholicism are unjustifiable bases for economic outcomes, and that social or institutional practices should be changed rather than those who suffer from the practices, a particular remedy must be selected. And there is room for debate. One might prefer antidiscrimination regulation and litigation over subsidies and public education campaigns (or vice versa), or one might hope that marketplace competition will take care of the problem. But we should perceive a structural similarity among statements 1, 2, and 3 without making anything like the same normative commitment to remedy the identified disadvantages. At a minimum it should be accepted that a normative framework is mediating a logical gap between causes of disadvantage and the appropriate response.

Finally, consider statements 4 and 5. They are variations on the example nearly always used to illustrate the social model. Here the disadvantage involves a trait that impairs the ability to move by walking in conjunction with the architectural preference of others for stairs. By now, the setup has a familiar form. It is possible to draw a normative distinction between the two statements. One might believe the subject in statement 4 is morally responsible for his impairment, or that society should be careful about awarding remedies where it might reduce incentives to be careful. Either position militates against a legal remedy without necessarily deciding the outcome in statement 5. That situation effectively removes responsibility for the relevant impairment from the subject, while highlighting the possibility that third parties (here, the parents) could have taken steps to prevent producing a child with the impairment. Perhaps that fact will influence the [\*1277] choice between reconstructing the environment we have been left with and engineering the human beings we create. Even if the parents' opportunity is irrelevant to the policy response, there is still the issue of cost. Is it justifiable to retrofit the building in light of scarce resources and other needs? Should obligations of social restructuring only apply going forward? What is the correct timeframe within which to answer these questions? This choice might be much more difficult than the issue of murder for cash in statement 1; but there is a choice to be made, and it is irreducibly normative in a way that cannot be solved by enhancing the accuracy of our causation portrait.

All of this applies to the Deaf culture controversies. At least part of any disadvantage associated with deafness fits the social model. Lack of hearing can be inhibiting when others communicate with the spoken word. More than one response to this situation is possible: one might decide that no response is appropriate considering resource constraints, or that deaf people should have subsidized access to cochlear implants, or that genetic screening should be used to minimize the number of deaf people, or that ASL instruction should be expanded, or that deaf people should have greater opportunities to sort themselves into sign language communities -- or the opposite of any of these responses. To be sure, our country has progressed to the point where few if any will attempt to justify treating physically or mentally impaired individuals like the killer in statement 1. It is no longer so impolite to be impaired. n90 And forced segregation is less popular in the U.S. today, n91 let alone coerced sterilization. n92 But the recognition of multiple causal factors in the generation of disadvantage is not an answer to the question, "what do we do now?"

#### **No solvency – all your proposed solutions are already being worked on**

#### 1--- Pep Talk, W.in Debate, Girls in Debate, and many more all focus on mentoring students, providing mental health support, and guiding minorities through the activity