# 1AC – Qatar

## Advantage

#### Migrant workers in Qatar face widespread wage abuse including delayed and unpaid wages. Even when they are paid, it isn’t enough.

Human Rights Watch 20

Human Rights Watch. “How Can We Work Without Wages? Salary Abuses Facing Migrant Workers Ahead of Qatar’s FIFA World Cup 2022.” 24 August 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/08/24/how-can-we-work-without-wages/salary-abuses-facing-migrant-workers-ahead-qatars>

Human Rights Watch is an international non-governmental organization, headquartered in New York City, that conducts research and advocacy on human rights. // Park City NL

**Qatar, one of the world’s wealthiest states on a per capita basis, is almost entirely reliant on some 2 million migrant workers who represent around 95 per cent of the country’s total labor force and who are primarily employed in the construction and service industries**.[6] Without such workers, many of whom come from some of the world’s poorest countries in search of better work opportunities, the country would grind to a halt.[7] A decade ago, in December 2010, Qatar won the right to host the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup 2022.[8] Qatar’s initial estimates for infrastructure expenditure for the world’s largest sporting event were as high as US$220 billion.[9] According to the International Trade Union Conference’s Frontline Report in 2015, this set up Qatari and international infrastructure companies to expect a tidy sum of $15 billion in profits.[10] Since then, it is likely that the costs for the infrastructure of the World Cup will have increased. The Qatari government awarded 11 multibillion-dollar contracts in 2014 to international and local companies for the construction of the Doha Metro.[11] Seven new state-of-the-art stadiums with advanced open-air cooling technology are being built from scratch for the 2022 event, the majority of which are still under construction.[12] The construction of the gleaming Hamad International Airport, sprawling over 5,400 acres of land, with two of Asia’s longest runways, took over a decade and cost $16 billion.[13] As these investments grow, so do profits. By contrast, many of the migrant workers laboring to build the stadiums, the metro system, the highways, parking lots, bridges, hotels, and other infrastructure needed to host the millions of visitors the World Cup event is expected to attract, are paid a pittance. So are the cleaners, restaurant staff, security guards, drivers, and stewards who will shoulder the hospitality sector’s efforts to accommodate the influx of people expected to visit the country. **Currently, a migrant worker’s basic minimum wage in Qatar is a meager QR750 ($206) per month, which, when paid on time and in full, is hardly enough for many workers to pay back recruitment debts, support families back home, and afford basic needs while in Qatar**.[14] ‘Kevin’, a 35-year-old security guard from Kenya whose family back home is harassed on a daily basis for the loan Kevin has not paid back yet, explains: “I paid 120,000 Kenyan Shillings [$1,123] as recruitment fees for a job Qatar in 2017. At my salary and the overtime payment promised in the contract, I should have been able to pay it back in a year. But you see, the company delays payments, and never pays for overtime work, so I take more loans, to feed myself and my family back home. I keep going further and further in debt. Sometimes I think there is no way out. I will be trapped here working forever.”[15] Unfortunately, many workers who came to Qatar hoping to earn enough to pay medical bills for sick parents, pay for children’s school fees, save up money to get married or build homes in their countries of origin have found themselves worse off than when they left their own countries. **Too often, migrant workers suffer wage abuses at the hands of their employers, including delayed wages, punitive and illegal wage deductions, and, most debilitating yet all too common, months of unpaid wages for long hours of grueling work.** Wage abuse is one of the most significant problems facing migrant workers in Qatar and across the Gulf region.[16] **Apart from being forced to work long hours by employers, living in cramped quarters, paying off their debts, and being beholden to their sponsors for their jobs, food, housing, residence permits and visas, many of Qatar’s migrant workers fight a persistent battle against wage abuse. Each of the 93 migrant workers interviewed for this report has, at least once, faced issues such as delayed wages, unpaid overtime, withholding of wages, arbitrary deductions, inaccurate or unpaid wages, or some other form of wage abuse at the hands of employers in Qatar**. ‘Yoofi’, a 33-year-old security guard from Ghana, said his employer has been delaying his monthly salary of QR 1,000 ($275) since he began working in Qatar in June 2019.[17] “We have not been paid in 11 months. Every month they say the salary is delayed and so we borrow money from friends, we take credits in the market for groceries. Even then all we can afford to eat is boiled rice. And because of all the borrowing and credit we have no money to send home to our families.”[18] Human Rights Watch also found cases of delayed wages for workers with higher salaries. ‘Alvin,’ a 38-year-old human resources manager at a construction company in Qatar which has been contracted for the civil, water, and masonry work on the external part of a stadium for the FIFA World Cup 2022, reported that his monthly salary of QR4,500 ($1,235) has been delayed for up to four months at least five times in 2018 and 2019.[19] “I am affected because due to the delayed salary I am late in my credit card payments, rent, and children’s school fees. I borrow money from the bank whenever payments are delayed. Even right now my salary is two months delayed. It’s the same story for all the staff on my level and even the laborers. I can’t imagine how the laborers manage, they can’t take loans from the bank the way I can,” said Alvin.[20] In the majority of cases where Human Rights Watch documented wage abuses, two immediate issues that arose were hunger and the lack of money to send home to families. ‘Sanyu’, a security guard with six children depending on him back home in Uganda, “came to Qatar in search of a better life” in September 2019.20F[21] His contract promised he would be paid QR1,200 ($329) a month, but between September 2019 and December 2019, he was only paid for one month of work; for the remaining three months, his employer gave him QR250 ($68) a month in cash as a food allowance. “They think that’s enough money to survive a month in Qatar? It is not. I starve for food, my family back in Kenya starves for food. I am surviving only because Ugandan workers helped me out for food money,” said Sanyu. “These contracts we signed and the jobs that came with them are like swords over our heads. When we ask our employers when our salary is coming they say next week, but it’s already been delayed 10 times.”[22]

#### Migrants and domestic workers are exempt from Qatar’s right to strike – recent reforms structurally exclude them.

Amnesty International 20

Amnesty International. “REALITY CHECK 2020: COUNTDOWN TO THE 2022 WORLD CUP MIGRANT WORKERS’ RIGHTS IN QATAR.” <https://www.justice.gov/eoir/page/file/1339196/download>

Amnesty International is an international non-governmental organization focused on human rights, with its headquarters in the United Kingdom. The organization says it has more than seven million members and supporters around the world. // Park City NL

4. DENIED THE RIGHT TO ORGANIZE THE PROMISES Under the ILO agreement, Qatar committed to promotion of the workers’ voice, including by: • Establishing representative joint committees; • Improving the functioning and regulation of workers’ committees. THE REALITY “[T]rade union rights, freedom of association and the right to strike are crucial means of introducing, maintaining and defending just and favourable conditions of work.” – UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights 73 **Joining and forming a trade union is a fundamental right for workers**, a right enshrined in international treaties that Qatar has ratified.74 Yet **migrant workers in Qatar are still not allowed to do this**. As a result, they cannot collectively re-balance the relationship with their employers to improve their working conditions and combat labour abuses. Crucially**, the ILO agreement with Qatar omitted commitments related to trade unions**, despite these being elements of the right to freedom of association. When examining the exercise and enjoyment of the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association in the workplace, the UN Special Rapporteur noted: **“Low-wage migrant workers face severe economic exploitation, social exclusion and political disenfranchisement.** They are often denied their freedoms of peaceful assembly and association because of their irregular status or by structural barriers in legal channels that systematically disempower workers… in the destination countries, they are often paid low wages or not paid at all. They are subject to unsafe and unhealthy working and living conditions and gender-based violence… **Migrants have become a massive**, disposable**, lowwage workforce excluded from** remedies or realistic **opportunities to bargain collectively for improved wages and working conditions**”.75 73 See General Comment No. 23 (2016) on the right to just and favourable conditions of work (article 7 of the ICCPR), para.2, 27 April 2016, https://undocs.org/E/C.12/GC/23 74 See Article 11 of the ICCPR and Article 7 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Yet, when Qatar ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in May 2018, it entered important reservations that made clear that it had no intention of allowing migrant workers to join and form trade unions any time soon.76 It simply committed to working to form worker committees and representative joint committees. **In 2019 and 2020, the Ministry of Labour and the ILO launched initiatives to promote workers’ voice**s,77 including pilot projects to form workers’ committees in companies and organizations, 20 of which have now been established, representing almost 17,000 employees.78 A new decision on regulating the conditions and procedures for electing workers’ representatives to joint committees was adopted.79 While this may be better than nothing, it falls far short of the fundamental right of all workers to form and join trade unions, especially important in Qatar where labour abuses are rife. This problem is exacerbated for domestic workers whose work usually keeps them isolated in their employers’ house with limited or no access to the outside world. Allowing them the right to organize and advocate collectively for their rights is paramount to breaking their isolation and improving their working conditions. However, unlike for other workers**, no initiatives were rolled** **out to ensure representation of domestic workers** and secure their place during negotiations.

#### Qatari migrant workers are exploited and denied basic rights because of the kafala system that denies them organization rights.

Human Rights Watch 19

Human Rights Watch. “Qatar: Migrant Workers Strike Over Work Conditions.” 8 August 2019. <https://www.hrw.org/news/2019/08/08/qatar-migrant-workers-strike-over-work-conditions>

Human Rights Watch is an international non-governmental organization, headquartered in New York City, that conducts research and advocacy on human rights. // Park City NL

(Beirut) – Hundreds of migrant workers in Qatar went on strike this week to protest what they say are poor working conditions, unpaid and delayed wages, and threats of reduced wages, Human Rights Watch said today. Despite introducing some labor reforms over the past year, Qatari authorities have failed to abolish the exploitative **kafala sponsorship** **labor system that fuels abuses and grants employers excessive power over their employees. Migrant workers are still banned under Qatari law from joining unions and participating in strikes.** “The workers in Qatar are going on strike in a country that bans them from striking or joining unions, and against the backdrop of a labor system that leaves them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation,” said Lama Fakih, acting Middle East director at Human Rights Watch. “Abusive labor practices that lead workers to take such a risk will continue until the Qatari government makes good on its promise to repeal the kafala system.” **Migrant workers in Qatar are governed by an exploitative labor system that can leave them vulnerable to forced labor by trapping them in employment situations in which their rights to fair wages, overtime pay, adequate housing, freedom of movement, and access to justice are at risk**. These serious and systemic abuses of migrant workers’ rights in Qatar often stem from the still unrepealed kafala system, which ties migrant workers’ visas to their employer and severely restricts their ability to change employers. In addition, the routine confiscation of workers’ passports by employers, debts incurred by migrant workers to pay for recruitment fees, and **the prohibition on migrant workers joining unions and striking, leaves workers vulnerable to abuse**. One migrant worker at a Qatari company that provides maintenance, cleaning, plumbing, and other services, told Human Rights Watch that he and between 800 and 1,000 other employees refused to report to work on August 5, 2019. The employee said there had been repeated threats from management to deport the workers if they refused to sign new contracts substantially reducing their wages. The worker said that he had already been forced to sign a contract when he arrived in Doha in 2018, under threat of deportation, for lower wages than he had been promised by a recruitment agent in his country. “The sponsor blamed it on the agent,” said the worker. “He said to me, ‘sign it or go back home.’” Hamad International Airport, Qatar’s main airport, is among the company’s clients. Despite the ban on migrant workers striking, and burdensome conditions even for Qatari workers’ right to strike, the migrant worker said that he and his colleagues were allowed to continue protesting in Doha’s Asian Town district until midnight. He said that five police vehicles, three of them riot police vehicles, arrived on site at about 7 p.m., over three hours after workers had started congregating, but that they did not try to disperse the protesters. Human Rights Watch reviewed a video corroborating this information. He also said that Qatari men he suspected were high-level labor ministry officials arrived on the scene. “They came to calm people down, saying to us they will find solutions,” he said. Reports have also surfaced of an August 4, 2019 strike in the Shahaniyeh municipality, with videos and images circulated on social media showing hundreds of workers protesting unpaid and delayed wages. One migrant worker shared a video of the protest on Facebook, saying that his company had not paid its workers in five months. A local resident confirmed the strike and the protesters’ wage demands to Human Rights Watch. Since October 2017, when Qatar committed to align its laws and practices with international labor standards, the government has introduced several reforms aimed at improving conditions for migrant workers. They include setting a temporary minimum wage, introducing a law for domestic workers, setting up new dispute resolution committees, mandating the establishment of joint labor committees at companies employing more than 30 workers for collective bargaining, establishing a workers’ support and insurance fund, and ending the requirement for most workers to get an exit permit through their employer to leave the country. **While positive, these reforms have not gone far enough, and implementation has been uneven.** The domestic workers law is poorly enforced and below international standards. The workers’ support and insurance fund, introduced to make sure workers are paid unclaimed wages when companies fail to pay, is not yet operating. Qatari authorities are failing to enforce bans on passport confiscations and workers paying recruitment fees. The lack of enforcement also undermines the partial exit permit reform, which does not apply to domestic workers, government employees, and up to five per cent of any company’s workforce. **Most importantly, the kafala system remains in place, hindering the efficacy of the recently introduced reforms**. Qatar should amend its labor law to guarantee all workers, including migrant and domestic workers, the right to strike and to free association and collective bargaining. It should also fully abolish the kafala system, including allowing workers to change jobs without requiring employer consent, regardless of how long they have worked for that employer, and repealing employers’ power to cancel workers’ visas at will. Such changes would make it easier for workers to leave abusive labor conditions. “Despite the vulnerable position these migrant workers are in, we see them standing up for their rights,” Fakih said. “The government should respond by ensuring greater protections for workers under Qatari law.”

#### The prohibition against migrant and domestic strikes results in labor struggles being defeated easily – this deters more strikes from occurring and enables labor exploitation.

MEE Staff 15

Staff, Middle-East Eye. “More than 100 migrant workers may be deported after Qatar strike.” 13 February 2015. Middle East Eye. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/fr/news/over-100-migrant-workers-threatened-deportation-after-three-day-strike-qatar-2081152951?__cf_chl_managed_tk__=xrXXuzM0doRQNiCHgPqhxBJUcbMgXTcl9Em2RERK96Q-1637471526-0-gaNycGzNB_0>

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**More than a hundred migrant workers, striking over low pay in Qatar, are** currently being **detained and** in the midst of **being processed for deportation.** Doha News reported on Monday that **the men, who** primarily **originate from Nepal, India, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh were arrested after striking for three days straight**. According to their colleagues, **the workers refused to return until pay and conditions were improved**. **Police and other company workers**, however, **scuffled with the strikers with one camp boss allegedly hitting workers with a piece of plastic pipe. Hours later the 100-odd workers were arrested**. Around 800 people from two subcontractors, Qatar Freelance Trading & Contracting and Qatar Middle East Co., participated in the strike. “I’m hard working, but the salary is not on time, the food is not good … and when people are sick, the company takes their pay,” one worker told Doha News. A number of Nepali workers complained that they had been paid only QR600 ($165) as opposed to the minimum monthly salary of QR900 ($250) set by the Nepal government, with several saying they had signed contracts promising QR1,200 ($330). But Hamid Nawaz, the general manager of Qatar Freelance Trading and Contracting, denied accusations that he had not paid workers their fair share and claimed they were striking simply because they “wanted more money.” Nepali news website eKantipur quoted one migrant worker as saying he had worked at a monthly salary of QR600 for the past four years and that after all his expenses he could barely save money to send home, as migrant workers commonly do. “We’d rather return home with all perks we are entitled to if our demand is not met,” he said. The labour attaché at the Nepali embassy in Qatar told the news website that he had discussed the issue with the employer, who could not “increase salary of the workers at this time” but were “ready to repatriate them.” The GCC countries, including **Qatar**, have **promised** a raft of **reforms to help** tackle issues concerning **migrant and domestic workers**, although change has been slow despite growing international pressure ahead of the FIFA football World Cup in Qatar in 2022. Sharan Burrow, General Secretary of the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) said in a statement that “Qatar’s brutal disregard for migrant workers is on display once again. The ‘**labour reforms’ promised by the authorities add up to nothing**, and FIFA, the athletics body IAAF, multinationals and others which are getting a free ride on the back of modern slavery in Qatar should be ashamed to be in league with a dictatorship like this.” She slammed **Qatar's restrictive labour laws**, which the ITUC has previously ranked as **among the worst in the world, on** a **par with those of a failed state**. “**This is what life without the right to strike looks like**,” said Burrow. “It is deeply troubling that employer groups are now trying to undermine that very right at the International Labour Organisation.” “The world needs to uphold rights, and not put **every worker at the mercy of their employer with no right to strike against exploitation and abuse**, like in Qatar.”

#### Illegal strikes have worked – they encourage wage recovery, absconding rights, and labor law enforcement. Right to strike is key to broaden the scale of these actions.

GCR Staff 19

Staff, Global Construction Review. “Strikes in Qatar: Foreign workers break law to protest over withheld wages.” 22 August 2019. Global Construction Review. <https://www.globalconstructionreview.com/strikes-qatar-foreign-workers-break-law-protest-ov/>

GCR provides news and analysis to help business leaders and policy makers understand the forces influencing the built environment business globally. // Park City NL

**On 4 August workers** in the Al Shahaniya area **downed tools and protested after two companies neglected to pay wages** in May, June and July, the Qatari governmentsaid in a statement. Images posted by protesters on social media show hundreds of men blocking a highway, believed to be the Dukhan highway, which runs through Al Shahaniya. **A second strike** elsewhere in Qatar **has been reported by** campaign group **Human Rights Watch. Strikes are illegal in Qatar, but the government investigated** the **complaints** of the Al Shahaniya strikers **and arrested "authorised signatories" of the two companies**, it said on 17 August. **It then paid the outstanding salaries of the workers** through the Wage Protection System, **and said they had the right to change employers** because theirs had broken Qatar’s labour laws. Under Qatar’s hated kafala sponsorship system, workers must get permission from their employer if they want to work for another company, leading to many reported instances of abuse. The government said its investigation "confirmed that salaries had been delayed following a period of negative cash flow at both companies, caused by non-payments elsewhere in the supply chain". Human Rights Watch received a report of a second strike on 5 August involving up to 1,000 employees of a Qatari maintenance company. A foreign employee of the company told the organisation that there had been threats from management to deport workers if they refused to sign new contracts that cut their wages. "**The workers in Qatar are going on strike in a country that bans them from striking or joining unions**, and against the backdrop of a labour system that leaves them vulnerable to abuse and exploitation," said Lama Fakih, acting Middle East director at Human Rights Watch. "Abusive labour practices that lead workers to take such a risk will continue until the Qatari government makes good on its promise to repeal the kafala system."

## Solvency

**Plan text: The State of Qatar should recognize an unconditional right to strike, including for migrant workers and domestic workers.**

**PICs affirm because an exception to a statement doesn’t disprove it, just like penguins don’t disprove that birds can fly. The PIC means the plan is a good idea but with an exception.**

#### The legal framework already exists to decriminalize leaving work and recognize the right to organize – the Shura Council and Council of Ministers have can easily pass the plan.

Human Rights Watch 20

Human Rights Watch. “How Can We Work Without Wages? Salary Abuses Facing Migrant Workers Ahead of Qatar’s FIFA World Cup 2022.” 24 August 2020. <https://www.hrw.org/report/2020/08/24/how-can-we-work-without-wages/salary-abuses-facing-migrant-workers-ahead-qatars>

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In line with stated commitments, abolish the kafala system in full, making the state the sponsor for migrant workers, and ensuring that workers’ entry, residence and work visas are not tied to employers, and ensuring that workers are not ever required to obtain employer permission to change employers or leave the country. This includes: Amend article 8 of Law no. 21 of 2015 regulating the entry and exit of expatriates and their residence to ensure that the employee is not entirely dependent on the recruiter for a residency permit; and remove the language in article 8 providing the exception of in cases where the worker requests in writing that the employer keep their passport, thus ensuring that workers do not have to hand over their passports to employers in any case whatsoever. **Decriminalize the act of “absconding”** by amending article 11 of Law No. 4 of 2009. **The employer should no longer be allowed or required to file a case of “absconding” when a migrant worker chooses to leave their employmen**t. Employers who have placed false “absconding” charges should be denied from sponsoring visas for more migrant workers. **Repeal provisions from the Sponsorship Law that penalize those who shelter “absconding” workers**. In the interim before kafala is abolished, for employers that are solely responsible for workers permits, ensure that any delay in making or renewing the permit should not result in workers being charged overstay fees, or workers being penalized for becoming undocumented through no fault of their own; additionally ensure that the employer and their company are temporarily prevented from hiring more workers. Amend article 3 of the labor law, Law no. 14 of 2004, to **include domestic workers ensuring that they** **have the same rights as all other workers, and** ensure that they thereby **are included under all other labor protection measures introduced by the labor ministry** for workers including the provisions of the Wage Protection System (WPS). **Amend article 120 of the labor law to guarantee all workers’ right to strike, free association and collective bargaining, including migrant workers and domestic workers.** Immediately announce and implement a minimum wage for migrant workers in Qatar, including calculating an hourly minimum wage, that equals a living wage that allows workers a decent standard of living for themselves and their families. Qatar should also set up a committee that periodically reviews the minimum wage levels so that it guarantees a living wage. Typically, governments and employers should account for the following costs at a minimum while arriving at a living wage for a family: a basic food basket and meal preparation costs, health care, housing and energy, clothing, water and sanitation, essential transportation, children’s education, and important discretionary expenses relevant to the national context in ensuring an adequate standard of living. Ensure that compensation does not discriminate based on sex, race, or national origin including by introducing legislation to define discrimination including on the grounds of gender and national origin in line with international human rights standards and provide adequate sanctions and effective remedies for victims of discrimination. Revise article 145 of the labor law to increase penalties on employers who delay, withhold, arbitrarily deduct wages of employees in violation of article 66 of the labor law, as amended by Law no.1 of 2015, by increasing the minimum and maximum fines; in addition require employers to immediately compensate workers for all owed wages along with interest on back wages. Amend article 33 of Labor Law No. 14 of 2004 to ensure that employers, companies, or agencies in Qatar are prohibited from conducting business with agencies in migrant’s home countries that charge recruitment fees. Introduce a law, or amend the labor law to include a new legal provision, to make it mandatory for all employers, even those not yet included in the WPS, to provide physical copies of pay slips and timesheets to all workers, including domestic workers. Introduce additional measures to penalize employers who force employees to work more than 10 hours a day as well as those employers who do not compensate for the hours of overtime work. Introduce and pass new legislation requiring companies to engage in due diligence when recruiting and hiring migrant workers, including the responsibility to ensure that migrant workers have full and accurate information about jobs before migrating, and to protect workers from exploitative fees. Introduce and pass prompt payment legislation requiring all public-sector clients to pay the principal contractor within 30 days of the valuation date. Include a requirement that interest is made compulsory and automatic on late payment. Consider introducing legislation that penalizes the principal contractor when the immediate employer is unable to pay due to late receipt of payment for costs already incurred.

## Framing

#### Consequences are morally relevant:

#### 1. Actor Specificity on aggregation – every policy benefits some and harms others, which also means side constraints freeze action.

#### 2. Pleasure and pain are intrinsically valuable. People consistently regard pleasure and pain as good reasons for action, despite the fact that pleasure doesn’t seem to be instrumentally valuable for anything.

#### 3. Only consequentialism explains degrees of wrongness—if I break a promise to meet up for lunch, that is not as bad as breaking a promise to take a dying person to the hospital. Only the consequences of breaking the promise explain why the second one is much worse than the first.

#### 4. Inclusion – any offense functions under consequentialism and it’s the first framework novices learn

#### The standard is minimizing structural violence. Prefer addressing the struggles of oppressed groups because we’re cognitively biased against them: we must morally include marginalized communities in order to fight for justice. This justifies reading the plan because we need to elevate the struggles of Qatar’s migrant workers.

Winter and Leighton 1999

[Deborah DuNann Winter, Psychologist that specializes in Social Psych, Counseling Psych, Historical and Contemporary Issues, Peace Psychology. Dana C. Leighton, PhD graduate student in the Psychology Department at the University of Arkansas. Knowledgable in the fields of social psychology, peace psychology, and justice and intergroup responses to transgressions of justice] “Peace, conflict, and violence: Peace psychology in the 21st century.” Pg 4-5 ghs

Finally, to recognize the operation of structural violence forces us to ask questions about how and why we tolerate it, questions which often have painful answers for the privileged e lite who unconsciously support it. A final question of this section is how and why we allow ourselves to be so oblivious to structural violence. Susan Opotow offers an intriguing set of answers, in her article Social Injustice. She argues that **our** normal perceptual **cognitive processes divide people into in-groups and out-groups. Those outside our group lie outside our scope of justice, injustice that would be instantaneously confronted if it occurred to someone we** love or **know is barely noticed if it occurs to strangers or those who are invisible** or irrelevant. We do not seem to be able to open our minds and our hearts to everyone, so we draw conceptual lines between those who are in and out of our moral circle. **Those who fall outside are morally excluded, and become** either **invisible**, or demeaned in some way so that we do not have to acknowledge the injustice they suffer. Moral exclusion is a human failing, but Opotow argues convincingly that it is an outcome of everyday social cognition. To reduce its nefarious effects, **we must be vigilant in noticing and listening to the oppressed, invisible, outsiders**. Inclusionary thinking can be fostered by relationships, communication, and appreciation of diversity.

#### Frame the round through prioritizing structural, slow impacts because they’re difficult to identify and challenge, which makes it important to discuss them in educational spaces.

Davies 19

Davies, Thom. “Slow Violence and Toxic Geographies: ‘Out of Sight’ to Whom?” Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space, (April 2019). [https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654419841063. //](https://doi.org/10.1177/2399654419841063.%20//) Park City NL

Assistant geography professor @ university of Nottingham.

Time is enjoying increased attention within critical geography. Timely calls for a politics of ‘slow scholarship’ ([Mountz et al., 2015](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063)), for example have been a breath of fresh air for those of us who are trying – and failing – to keep pace with the compressed timescapes of the University Industrial Complex (see [Harrowell et al., 2018](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063)). Perhaps the most seismic temporal shift within geography and the wider social sciences has been the rapid uptake of the term ‘Anthropocene’, which attempts to mobilize deep time, and recast climate change from a risky future, to a very real and perilous present ([Yusoff, 2018](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063)). Another temporal trope that powerfully communicates environmental threats is the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists’ ‘Doomsday Clock’. This collective of nuclear and climate experts uses the symbolism of a ticking timepiece to communicate current hazards, from nuclear conflict, to impending environmental destruction. The election of President Trump in 2016, for example saw the apocalyptic clock brought forward to ‘two and a half minutes to midnight’. Like slow scholarship, the Anthropocene, or the Doomsday Clock, Rob [Nixon’s (2011)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063) concept of ‘slow violence’ uses time as a provocation. As [Nixon (2011)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063) explains: ‘By slow violence I mean a violence that occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all’ (2). Slow violence provokes us to expand our imaginations of what constitutes harm. It insists we take seriously forms of violence that have, over time, become unmoored from their original causes.From gradually acidifying oceans, to the incremental horrors of climate change, to a myriad of other ‘slowly unfolding environmental catastrophes’ ([Nixon, 2011](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063): 2), slow violence demands we look beyond the immediate, the visceral, and the obvious in our explorations of social injustice. As a spatial concept, slow violence invites us to include the gradual deaths, destructions, and layered deposits of uneven social brutalities within the geographic here-and-now. At the same time, by unchaining our geographical imaginations from the shackles of the present, slow violence provokes us to delve into the past to unearth the violent structures of inequality that saturate contemporary life, and may well lay waste to the future. In this article, I suggest that geographers make space for slow violence within our collective conceptual tool box and take seriously the potential of bearing witness to the shifting temporalities of violence. **The impacts of slow violence are ‘pervasive but elusive’** ([Nixon, 2011](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063): 3) and resonate with [Churchman’s (1967)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063) notion of ‘wicked problems’; **they are often attritional, disguised, and temporally latent, making the articulation of slow violence a representational challenge**. In a world of click-bait and 24 hour news, how do we make sense of long-form disasters that do not display themselves in spectacular moments of terror as a single event, but instead quietly accumulate and defer their damage over time? How can the delayed violence of microplastic pollution, endocrine disruptors, antimicrobial resistance, and countless other technological hazards compete with the immediacy of more cinematic threats? How do we come to terms, [Nixon (2011)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063) asks, with the toxic residues, degraded ecologies, and intergenerational harms that are ‘resistant to dramatic packaging’ (200)? Slow violence presents us with a political geography of deferred environmental threats, where violence is outsourced – not only to the Global South – but also to a Global Future. Toxic pollution, species loss, and climate change are the silent killers of our age, yet the casualties of such drawn-out emergencies appear geographically and temporally remote. As [Nixon (2011)](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063) explains, ‘to confront slow violence requires…that we plot and give figurative shape to formless threats whose fatal repercussions are dispersed across space and time’ (10). I suggest that geographers are well equipped to take up this challenge; of closing the distance between cause and effect, and narrating the longue durée of dispersed environmental harm. In this article I suggest that – above all – it is the communities who are exposed to slow violence who are best placed to witness its gradual injuries. For those who live in the midst of toxic geographies and polluted landscapes, ‘everyday exposure’ ([Wiebe, 2016](https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/2399654419841063)) to the accumulations of slow violence is not necessarily a ‘formless threat’ but can be a very real and often tangible brutality.

#### Prioritize probability because high-magnitude impacts can’t be calculated – mathematics proves. They treat infinitely unlikely events as important because of the compounding effects of link chains.

Kessler 08 (Oliver; April 2008; PhD in IR, professor of sociology at the University of Bielefeld, and professor of history and theory of IR at the Faculty of Arts; Alternatives, Vol. 33, “From Insecurity to Uncertainty: Risk and the Paradox of Security Politics” p. 211-232)

The problem of the second method is that **it is** very **difficult to "calculate"** politically unacceptable **losses**. If the risk of terrorism is defined in traditional terms by probability and potential loss, then **the focus on dramatic** terror **attacks leads to the** marginalization of probabilities. The reason is that **even the highest degree of improbability** becomes irrelevant **as the measure of loss goes to infinity**.^o The **mathematical calculation of** the **risk** of terrorism thus **tends to overestimate** and to dramatize the **danger**. This has consequences beyond the actual risk assessment for the formulation and execution of "risk policies": **If one factor of the risk calculation approaches infinity** (e.g., if a case of nuclear terrorism is envisaged), then there is no balanced measure for antiterrorist efforts, and risk management as a rational endeavor breaks down. Under the historical condition of bipolarity, the "ultimate" threat with nuclear weapons could be balanced by a similar counterthreat, and new equilibria could be achieved, albeit on higher levels of nuclear overkill. Under the new condition of uncertainty, no such rational balancing is possible since knowledge about actors, their motives and capabilities, is largely absent. The second form of security policy that emerges when the deterrence model collapses mirrors the "social probability" approach. It represents a logic of catastrophe. In contrast to risk management framed in line with logical probability theory, the logic of catastrophe **does not attempt to provide means of absorbing uncertainty**. Rather, it takes uncertainty as constitutive for the logic itself; uncertainty is a crucial precondition for catastrophes. In particular, catastrophes happen at once, without a warning, but with major implications for the world polity. In this category, we find the impact of meteorites. Mars attacks, the tsunami in South East Asia, and 9/11. To conceive of terrorism as catastrophe has consequences for the formulation of an adequate security policy. Since catastrophes hap-pen irrespectively of human activity or inactivity, no political action could possibly prevent them. Of course, there are precautions that can be taken, but the framing of terrorist attack as a catastrophe points to spatial and temporal characteristics that are beyond "rationality." Thus, political decision makers are exempted from the responsibility to provide security—as long as they at least try to preempt an attack. Interestingly enough, 9/11 was framed as catastrophe in various commissions dealing with the question of who was responsible and whether it could have been prevented. This makes clear that under the condition of uncertainty, there are no objective criteria that could serve as an anchor for measuring dangers and assessing the quality of political responses. For ex- ample, as much as one might object to certain measures by the US administration, it is almost impossible to "measure" the success of countermeasures. Of course, there might be a subjective assessment of specific shortcomings or failures, but there is no "common" currency to evaluate them. As a consequence, the framework of the security dilemma fails to capture the basic uncertainties. Pushing the door open for the security paradox, the main problem of security analysis then becomes the question how to integrate dangers in risk assessments and security policies about which simply nothing is known. In the mid 1990s, a Rand study entitled "New Challenges for Defense Planning" addressed this issue arguing that "most striking is the fact that we do not even know who or what will constitute the most serious future threat, "^i In order to cope with this challenge it would be essential, another Rand researcher wrote, to break free from the "tyranny" of plausible scenario planning. The decisive step would be to create "discontinuous scenarios ... in which there is no plausible audit trail or storyline from current events"52 These nonstandard scenarios were later called "wild cards" and became important in the current US strategic discourse. They justified the transformation from a threat-based toward a capability- based defense planning strategy.53 The problem with this kind of risk assessment is, however, that **even the most** absurd scenarios **can gain plausibility**. By constructing a chain of potentialities**, improbable events are linked and brought into the realm of the possible**, if not even the probable. "Although the likelihood of the scenario dwindles with each step, the residual impression is one of plausibility. "54 This so-called Othello effect has been effective in the dawn of the recent war in Iraq. The connection between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda that the US government tried to prove was disputed from the very beginning. False evidence was again and again presented and refuted, but this did not prevent the administration from presenting as the main rationale for war the improbable yet possible connection between Iraq and the terrorist network and the improbable yet possible proliferation of an improbable yet possible nuclear weapon into the hands of Bin Laden. As Donald Rumsfeld famously said: "Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence." This sentence indicates that under the condition of genuine uncertainty, different evidence criteria prevail than in situations where security problems can be assessed with relative certainty.

#### Rejecting reform condescendingly asserts the possibility of radical change is better than the certainty of real improvement. Reform also paves the way for radical changes.

**Delgado 1987 -** Delgado, Richard [teaches civil rights and critical race theory at University of Alabama School of Law. He has written and co-authored numerous articles and books], “The Ethereal Scholar:  Does Critical Legal Studies Have What Minorities Want?”, Harvard Civil Rights - Civil Liberties Law Review, 1987

Critical scholars reject the idea of piecemeal reform. Incremental change, they argue, merely postpones the wholesale reformation that must occur to create a decent society.38 Even worse, an unfair social system survives by using piecemeal reform to disguise and legitimize oppression. 39 Those who control the system weaken resistance by pointing to the occasional concession to, or periodic court victory of, a black plaintiff or worker as evidence that the system is fair and just.40 In fact, Crits believe that teaching the common law or using the case method in law school is a disguised means of preaching incrementalism and thereby maintaining the current power structure.41 To avoid this, CLS scholars urge law professors to abandon the case method, give up the effort to find rationality and order in the case law, and teach in an unabashedly political fashion. 42 The CLS critique of piecemeal reform is familiar, imperialistic and wrong. Minorities know from bitter experience that **occasional court victories do not mean the Promised Land is at hand**.43 **The critique is imperialistic in that it tells** minorities and other **oppressed peoples how they should interpret events affecting them**.44 **A court order directing a housing authority to disburse funds for heating in subsidized housing may postpone the revolution**, or it may not. **In the meantime, the order keeps a number of poor families warm**. This may mean more to them than it does to a comfortable academic working in a warm office. **It smacks of paternalism to assert that the possibility of revolution later outweighs the certainty of heat now**, unless there is evidence for that possibility. The Crits do not offer such evidence. Indeed, **some incremental changes may bring revolutionary changes closer**, not push them further away. Not all small **reforms** induce complacency; some may **whet the appetite for further combat. The welfare family may hold a tenants' union meeting in their heated living room**. CLS scholars' critique of piecemeal reform often misses these possibilities, and neglects the question of whether total change, when it comes, will be what we want.

## Underview

1. **I get 1AR theory – anything else justifies infinite 1NC abuse which outweighs on magnitude.**
   1. **It’s drop the debater because dropping the argument makes the time investment pointless – only way to deal with neg abuse**
   2. **No RVIs because the 2NR will brute force it for 6 minutes and the 2ar can’t respond**
   3. **Competing interps because reasonability lets the 2NR define the brightline in a way that favors them – the 2AR is too short to use a new brightline**
2. **Don’t evaluate disadvantages with an extinction impact**
   1. **Ethics – Qatar is actively choosing to oppress migrant workers. Apply a *VERY* high standard of proof to any rationalization of that policy.**
   2. **Compound Probability - Multiplied probabilities of long link chains have negligible net probabilities.**
   3. **Decision Gridlock – Every course of action or inaction has a negligible possibility of causing extinction. This makes it impossible to prioritize averting existential risk because doing so would risk extinction.**
3. **The role of the ballot is to determine the desirability of implementing the plan. Predictability – other models are unpredictable because they’re less common, making it impossible to engage with positions because there are no limits to restrict prep. Prep burdens are unreasonably high and engagement can’t happen – especially true for small school debaters. Outweighs:**
   1. **Fairness – your opponent can’t respond when the k is unpredictable – kills fairness. That’s a voter because fairness is a core assumption of debate and we stop participating if it’s unfair.**
   2. **Clash – a lack of predictability kills topic research and preparation for opposing positions. Makes debates seem like two ships passing in the night and disincentives in-depth research. Kills education because discussion and reading are how we learn. That’s a voter because education’s the only external benefit of debate.**