# Race

## Advantage

#### The Advantage is Race

#### Race gaps in standardized tests perpetuate inequality across generations — College Board Data concludes aff

Reeves and Halikias 17 [Richard V. Reeves and Dimitrios Halikias, \*John C. and Nancy D. Whitehead Chair Senior Fellow - Economic Studies Director - Future of the Middle Class Initiative Co-director - Center on Children and Families \*\* Research Assistant - Center on Children and Families , 2-1-2017, "Race gaps in SAT scores highlight inequality and hinder upward mobility," Brookings, https://www.brookings.edu/research/race-gaps-in-sat-scores-highlight-inequality-and-hinder-upward-mobility/, accessed 8-15-2019] LHSBC

Taking the SAT is an American rite of passage. Along with the increasingly popular ACT, the SAT is critical in identifying student readiness for college and as an important gateway to higher education. Yet despite efforts to equalize academic opportunity, large racial gaps in SAT scores persist.

THE GREAT SCORE DIVIDE

The SAT provides a measure of academic inequality at the end of secondary schooling. Moreover, insofar as [SAT scores predict student success](http://research.collegeboard.org/sites/default/files/publications/2015/6/research-report-sat-validity-primer.pdf) in college, inequalities in the SAT score distribution reflect and reinforce racial inequalities across generations.

In this paper, we analyze racial differences in the math section of the general SAT test, using publicly available College Board population data for all of the nearly 1.7 million college-bound seniors in 2015 who took the SAT. (We do not use the newest data released for the class of 2016, because the SAT transitioned mid-year to a new test format, and data has so far only been released for students who took the older test.) Our analysis uses both the [College Board’s descriptive statistics](https://secure-media.collegeboard.org/digitalServices/pdf/sat/total-group-2015.pdf) for the entire test-taking class, as well as [percentile ranks](https://secure-media.collegeboard.org/digitalServices/pdf/sat/sat-percentile-ranks-gender-ethnicity-2015.pdf) by gender and race. (The College Board has separate categories for “Mexican or Mexican American” and “Other Hispanic, Latino, or Latin American.” We have combined them under the term Latino.)

The mean score on the math section of the SAT for all test-takers is 511 out of 800, the average scores for blacks (428) and Latinos (457) are significantly below those of whites (534) and Asians (598). The scores of black and Latino students are clustered towards the bottom of the distribution, while white scores are relatively normally distributed, and Asians are clustered at the top:

Race gaps on the SATs are especially pronounced at the tails of the distribution. In a perfectly equal distribution, the racial breakdown of scores at every point in the distribution would mirror the composition of test-takers as whole i.e. 51 percent white, 21 percent Latino, 14 percent black, and 14 percent Asian. But in fact, among top scorers—those scoring between a 750 and 800—60 percent are Asian and 33 percent are white, compared to 5 percent Latino and 2 percent black. Meanwhile, among those scoring between 300 and 350, 37 percent are Latino, 35 percent are black, 21 percent are white, and 6 percent are Asian:

The College Board’s publicly available data provides data on racial composition at 50-point score intervals. We estimate that in the entire country last year at most 2,200 black and 4,900 Latino test-takers scored above a 700. In comparison, roughly 48,000 whites and 52,800 Asians scored that high. The same absolute disparity persists among the highest scorers: 16,000 whites and 29,570 Asians scored above a 750, compared to only at most 1,000 blacks and 2,400 Latinos. (These estimates—which rely on conservative assumptions that maximize the number of high-scoring black students, are consistent with an older estimate from a [2005 paper](http://www.jbhe.com/features/49_college_admissions-test.html) in the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, which found that only 244 black students scored above a 750 on the math section of the SAT.)

A STUBBORN BLACK-WHITE GAP

Disappointingly, the black-white achievement gap in SAT math scores has remained virtually unchanged over the last fifteen years. Between 1996 and 2015, the average gap between the mean black score and the mean white score has been .92 standard deviations. In 1996 it was .9 standard deviations and in 2015 it was .88 standard deviations. This means that over the last fifteen years, roughly 64 percent of all test-takers scored between the average black and average white score.

These gaps have a significant impact on life chances, and therefore on the transmission of inequality across generations. As the economist [Bhashkar Mazumder has documented](https://www.chicagofed.org/publications/economic-perspectives/2014/1q-mazumder), adolescent cognitive outcomes (in this case, measured by the AFQT) statistically [account for most of the race gap](https://www.chicagofed.org/publications/working-papers/2011/wp-10) in intergenerational social mobility.

COULD THE GAP BE EVEN WIDER?

There are some limitations to the data which may mean that, if anything, the race gap is being understated. The ceiling on the SAT score may, for example, understate Asian achievement. If the exam was redesigned to increase score variance (add harder and easier questions than it currently has), the achievement gap across racial groups [could be even more pronounced](https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/ccf_20160811_jacob_evidence_speaks1.pdf). In other words, if the math section was scored between 0 and 1000, we might see more complete tails on both the right and the left. More Asians score between 750 and 800 than score between 700 and 750, suggesting that many Asians could be scoring above 800 if the test allowed them to.

A standardized test with a wider range of scores, the LSAT, offers some evidence on this front. [An analysis](http://www.lsac.org/docs/default-source/research-%28lsac-resources%29/tr-14-02.pdf) of the 2013-2014 LSAT finds an average black score of 142 compared to an average white score of 153. This amounts to a black-white achievement gap of 1.06 standard deviations, even higher than that on the SAT. This is of course a deeply imperfect comparison, as the underlying population of test-takers for the LSAT (those applying to law school) is very different from that of the SAT. Nonetheless the LSAT distribution provides yet another example of the striking academic achievement gaps across race:

Another important qualification is that the SAT is no longer the nationally dominant college-entrance exam. In recent years, the ACT has surpassed the SAT in popularity. If the distributions of students taking the two exams are significantly different, focusing on one test alone won’t give a complete picture of the racial achievement gap. A cursory look at the evidence, however, suggests that race gaps on the 2016 ACT are comparable to those we observe for the SAT. In terms of composition, ACT test-takers were 54 percent white, 16 percent Latino, 13 percent black, and 4 percent Asian. Except for the substantially reduced share of Asian test-takers, this is reasonably close to the SAT’s demographic breakdown. Moreover, racial achievement gaps across the two tests were fairly similar. The black-white achievement gap for the math section of the 2015 SAT was roughly .88 standard deviations. For the 2016 ACT it was .87 standard deviations. Likewise, the Latino-white achievement gap for the math section of the 2015 SAT was roughly .65 standard deviations; for the 2016 ACT it was .54 standard deviations.

OR COULD THE GAP BE NARROWER THAN IT LOOKS?

On the other hand, there is a possibility that the [SAT is racially biased](https://bearcenter.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/Wilson%20%2322.pdf), in which case the observed racial gap in test scores may overstate the underlying academic achievement gap. But most of the concerns about bias relate to the verbal section of the SAT, and our analysis focuses exclusively on the math section.

Finally, this data is limited in that it doesn’t allow us to disentangle race and class as drivers of achievement gaps. It is likely that at least some of these racial inequalities can be explained by different income levels across race. Unfortunately, publicly available College Board data on class and SAT scores is limited. The average SAT score for students who identify as having parents making between $0 and $20,000 a year is 455, a score that is actually .2 standard deviations above the average score for black students (428). These numbers are fairly unreliable because of the low rates of student response; some 40 percent of test-takers do not list their household income. In comparison, only 4 percent of test-takers fail to provide their racial identification.

However, a [2015 research paper](http://www.cshe.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/shared/publications/docs/ROPS.CSHE_.10.15.Geiser.RaceSAT.10.26.2015.pdf) from the Center for Studies in Higher Education at the University of California, Berkeley shows that between 1994 and 2011, race has grown more important than class in predicting SAT scores for UC applicants. While it is difficult to extrapolate from such findings to the broader population of SAT test-takers, it is unlikely that the racial achievement gap can be explained away by class differences across race.

DOWN WITH STANDARDIZED TESTS?

Given the reliance of colleges on test scores for admissions, the gaps in SAT math performance documented here will continue to reproduce patterns of inequality in American society. It seems likely, however, that colleges [rely too heavily on such tests](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2014/02/21/a-telling-study-about-act-sat-scores/?utm_term=.134785980295). [Research from William Bowen, Matthew Chingos, and Michael McPherson](http://press.princeton.edu/TOCs/c8971.html) suggests that high school grades may have more incremental predictive power of college grades and graduation rates. The SAT may not be a good measure of student potential.

Even to the extent that SAT scores do predict college success, it is far from clear that universities are justified in basing admissions so strongly on the exam. After all, a wide range of other morally relevant considerations—questions of distributive justice, for example—may well need to be weighed alongside considerations of academic preparation.

#### The gap isn’t closing – equally rising academic preparation and the increased importance of the SAT preserves racism

Posselt et al. 12 [Julie Renee Posselt, Ozan Jaquette, Rob Bielby, Michael N. Bastedo, \* JULIE RENEE POSSELT is a Ph.D. candidate in the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan. Posselt’s research examines the relevance of organizational and sociocultural theory for strat- ification, diversity, and decision making in higher education. \*\* OZAN JAQUETTE is an assistant professor of higher education in the Department of Educational Policy and Practice at the University of Arizona. His research interests are organizational theory, postsecondary education finance, and quantitative methods \*\*\* ROB BIELBY is a doctoral student at the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education, University of Michigan. He studies higher education public policy, with a particular focus on the application of quantitative methodologies to assess and evaluate policy impact. \*\*\*\* MICHAEL N. BASTEDO is an associate professor in the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan. He studies organizational decision making in public higher education, both in the United States and cross- nationally, with a particular focus on stratification and governance., 2012 “Access Without Equity: Longitudinal Analyses of Institutional Stratification by Race and Ethnicity,” American Educational Research Journal, accessed 8-14-19] LHSBC

Rising academic standards for admission, especially SAT scores, have negative consequences for equitable enrollment in selective colleges. With each cohort of high school graduates, high school grade point average, SAT scores, and high school math curriculum are associated with greater odds of enrolling in institutions that are even minimally selective. Academic preparation among Black and Latino students has improved across the board, but similar rates of improvement among White and Asian students on some indicators paired with institutions’ increasing reliance on SAT scores help to preserve institutional stratification by race. While the share of Latino high school graduates enrolling in these institutions has more than doubled since 1972, it remains half the national average. Similarly, Black high school graduates’ enrollment in highly selective institutions remains less than one- third of the national average. When we do not hold constant students’ aca- demic profiles—as is the case in schools and society—Black students’ odds of enrollment have decreased relative to White students’ since 1982.

#### tests aren’t a predictor of future success – especially true for minorities.

Smith and Garrison 05 [Daryl G Smith and Gwen Garrison, \*PhD Senior Research Fellow and Professor Emerita of Education and Psychology at Claremont Graduate University. At CGU, Smith served as a college administrator in planning and evaluation, institutional research and student affairs. \*\*Gwen E. Garrison is the director of the education evaluation and data analysis program and associate professor in the School of Educational Studies. She is an applied research and data strategist with over 25 years of experience in K-12, higher education institutions, and Washington DC nonprofit association and think tanks. , 2005, “The Impending Loss of Talent: An Exploratory Study Challenging Assumptions About Testing and Merit,” TCRecord, accessed 8-14-19] LHSBC

This study, while exploratory in nature, has attempted to look at academic success retrospectively using a variety of indicators of success—graduation rates, grades, and passage of the bar exam. Five data sets, all but one of which focused on the SAT, provided an opportunity to investigate the role of standardized tests in student success. The data obtained for this study, while having limitations, provide an important perspective on the relationship between tests and success. A key limitation is the use of existing data with different variables provided in each.

Overall, one can see that there would be significant loss of talent if tests emerged as an overriding consideration in admissions. While we might have expected some threshold point to be obtained for the data, we did not find this, except in the case of the highly selective science school. In virtually all the data, there was a demarcation between those whose test scores were at the lowest levels and those whose scores were above. The advisability of admitting students from the lowest testing group would depend on institutional views about risk, intervention, and success. Even so, for students in this group, a high percentage were still represented in the success categories. One can only wonder what improved institutional practices would do to improve success. For all the data, successful students were as likely to come from the middle groups as from the top tier. These results demonstrate the care that must be used in relying on tests to determine merit in facing the many policy and legal challenges that emerge from admissions decisions. We should note that the important findings of this study would have been masked in traditional validity studies.

Moreover, when looking at the distributions by race and ethnicity, one would want to use extreme caution when attributing significance to tests, given the lack of consistency shown in these data. Indeed, contrary to the views of many, it is clear that if there are differentials in performance, they may not be a function of test scores. While further exploration with larger samples of underrepresented students is needed, the current data underscore the need for caution in linking test scores and success. Indeed, the lack of consistency among underrepresented students is one of the most consistent findings from this analysis.

In some policy and legal studies, we are led to believe that when we look at student success we are only seeing students with higher test scores, and conversely when we look at failure, we are looking at students with lower scores. This is particularly true when students come from an underrepresented group. These data suggest quite a different picture. The analysis, though not definitive and certainly limited, underscores the drawbacks of relying too heavily on tests in admissions decisions. It debunks the myth that performance in school is directly related to test scores. Finally, the study supports the power of using retrospective approaches to evaluate both policy and institutional efforts. The view of the relationship between tests and success described in the initial conceptual hypothesis is not sustainable.

Each of the recent challenges to affirmative action in admissions, whether through state propositions or legal action, rests on the argument that students are being admitted with “less merit” and that this approach works against student who have earned “merit.” The results of this study suggest that if merit is defined by those who succeed, standardized tests as preadmissions indicators of merit are quite inadequate overall and especially inadequate for underrepresented students of color. In the absence of reliable indicators, holistic admissions and human judgment are likely to be the best approach. This is especially true in the context of highly competitive admissions in elite institutions. In such contexts, there are many more people who are superbly qualified for admissions than there are places available. Reducing the complex calculus of admissions to only one or two numerical indicators is likely to be misleading. Moreover, in the case of using standardized tests as the major criterion, this calculus will work against historically underrepresented students—the groups for whom affirmative action was initially created. Finally, it is clear that educators, policymakers, and lawyers must examine critically any argument that rests primarily on tests as indicators of merit.

#### Testing is a horrible metric for academic achievement – studies conclude that tests value privilege over merit.

Syverson et al. 18 [Steven T. Syverson, Valerie W. Franks, William C. Hiss , Spring 2018, " DEFINING ACCESS: How Test-Optional Works ," National Association for College Admission Counseling , https://www.nacacnet.org/globalassets/documents/publications/research/defining-access-report-2018.pdf, accessed 8-9-2019] LHSBC

The 2014 research revealed that—when given the option at one of those 33 TOP institutions —roughly a third of enrolled students chose to apply without standardized test scores (Non-Submitters). These Non-Submitters went on to graduate at virtually the same rates (a 0.6% difference) and with nearly the same college GPA (0.05 of a Cum GPA point) as the Submitters whose test scores were considered in the admission process. Their research also concluded that Non-Submitters were more likely to be first-generation-to-college, underrepresented minority students, women, Pell Grant recipients, and students with Learning Differences. And, using large volumes of HSGPA data, their findings underscored the sturdiness of the HSGPA as a predictor of college performance.

This research highlighted an interesting intersection between the testing agencies and that of the counter views. A meta-analysis of studies of “discrepant performance” revealed that “a quarter to a third of tested students exhibit some degree of mismatch between their grades and their test scores.” Within this group, approximately half of them have high school grades that are higher than what the tests would predict. Across the studies cited, the range appears to be between 11% and 18% of the sample population (Sanchez & Mattern [Making the Case for Standardized Testing] in Buckley, 2018).

Another related study identified the students most likely to have strong HSGPAs and low testing: women, FirstGeneration to college, low income students, and students who speak a second language at home. Furthermore, those most likely to be discordant with weaker HSGPAs and stronger testing are males, whites, and those of higher income (Sanchez and Edmunds, 2015).

#### GPA is a better predictor than the SAT – err on our side because it’s comparative.

Cooper 16 [Preston Cooper, higher education analyst based in Washington, D.C. I formerly worked in higher education research at the American Enterprise Institute and the Manhattan Institute. In addition to writing for Forbes, my writing has appeared in the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post, the Seattle Times, U.S. News and World Report, the Washington Examiner, Fortune, RealClearPolicy, and National Review. I hold a B.A. in economics from Swarthmore College., 11-17-2016, "What Predicts College Completion? High School GPA Beats SAT Score," Forbes, https://www.forbes.com/sites/prestoncooper2/2018/06/11/what-predicts-college-completion-high-school-gpa-beats-sat-score/#76017dcd4b09, accessed 9-15-2019] LHSBC

One of the most pressing problems in American higher education is the high [college dropout rate](https://www.forbes.com/sites/prestoncooper2/2017/12/19/college-completion-rates-are-still-disappointing/). Spending time in college without a degree to show for it means students will lose opportunities to work or cultivate skills elsewhere. College dropouts are also far more likely than graduates to default on their student loans. In many ways, dropping out of college is worse than not going to college at all. Knowing which factors predict completion, and intervening accordingly, can save students and colleges a world of grief. That’s where a [new report](http://www.aei.org/publication/what-matters-most-for-college-completion-academic-preparation-is-a-key-predictor-of-success/) by Matthew Chingos of the Urban Institute comes in. (The report was published through the American Enterprise Institute, my employer, but I had no involvement with its production.) For obvious reasons, students who exhibit better academic preparation in high school are more likely to complete college. But “academic preparation” can mean different things. There are two primary ways to measure a student’s academic aptitude: scores on standardized tests such as the SAT, and grades in high school coursework. The SAT and similar tests exist to account for differences in how high schools grade students. Some teachers feel pressured to give students high marks despite middling academic performance, a phenomenon known as grade inflation. Certain high schools may run more rigorous courses than others. As a result, an A-average GPA at one high school might be equivalent to a B+ at another. As SAT scores are a more consistent indicator of aptitude, one might expect them to better predict a student’s chances of graduating college than high school GPA. But Chingos’ research shows exactly the opposite. Using a sample of students who attended a group of less selective four-year public colleges and universities, Chingos calculates a student’s likelihood of graduation based on both her high school GPA and her SAT or ACT score. While better marks on both measures predict a better chance of completion, the relationship between high school GPA and graduation rates is by far the strongest. For instance, a student with a high SAT score (above 1100) but a middling high school GPA (between 2.67 and 3.0) has an expected graduation rate of 39%. But students with the opposite credentials—mediocre SAT scores but high GPAs—graduate from college at a 62% rate. Put another way, the expected graduation rate of a student with a given GPA doesn’t change very much depending on her SAT score. But the expected graduation rate of a student with a given SAT score varies tremendously depending on her GPA. Given differences in grading standards across high schools, GPA may not provide a consistent measure of a student’s ability in mathematics, reading, and other subjects. But GPA usually captures whether a student consistently attends class and completes her assignments on time. Students need to cultivate these behaviors in order to succeed in college, and such good habits can lead to success even for students of modest academic ability. “Students could in theory do well on a test even if they do not have the motivation and perseverance needed to achieve good grades,” notes Chingos. “It seems likely that the kinds of habits high school grades capture are more relevant for success in college than a score from a single test.” To paraphrase various celebrities and motivational posters, most of life (and college) is just showing up.

#### College diversity is good – it closes the wage gap, counters inequality, and spillsover to the rest of society – we affect the leaders of tomorrow.

Posselt et al. 12 [Julie Renee Posselt, Ozan Jaquette, Rob Bielby, Michael N. Bastedo, \* JULIE RENEE POSSELT is a Ph.D. candidate in the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan. Posselt’s research examines the relevance of organizational and sociocultural theory for strat- ification, diversity, and decision making in higher education. \*\* OZAN JAQUETTE is an assistant professor of higher education in the Department of Educational Policy and Practice at the University of Arizona. His research interests are organizational theory, postsecondary education finance, and quantitative methods \*\*\* ROB BIELBY is a doctoral student at the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education, University of Michigan. He studies higher education public policy, with a particular focus on the application of quantitative methodologies to assess and evaluate policy impact. \*\*\*\* MICHAEL N. BASTEDO is an associate professor in the Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education at the University of Michigan. He studies organizational decision making in public higher education, both in the United States and cross- nationally, with a particular focus on stratification and governance., 2012 “Access Without Equity: Longitudinal Analyses of Institutional Stratification by Race and Ethnicity,” American Educational Research Journal, accessed 8-14-19] LHSBC

Selective institutions do not fit all high school graduates’ learning needs, and we do not wish to elevate their intrinsic value over other institutional types. However, the paradox of expanding access and continuing stratification is a pertinent concern given continued enrollment imbalances by race/ethnic- ity and accumulating evidence about the gains that accompany education in selective institutions. Baccalaureate completion rates increase with institu- tional selectivity, both nationally (Astin, 1985; Bowen, Chingos, & McPherson, 2009; Carnevale & Rose, 2003; Long & Kurlaender, 2009) and among students of color specifically (Bowen & Bok, 1998; Melguizo, 2010). Graduation from selective institutions is also associated with a range of positive labor market outcomes (Brewer, Eide, & Ehrenberg, 1999; Hoxby & Long, 1998; Monks, 2000). Furthermore, diversifying selective American colleges and universities has the potential over time to help counter racialized patterns of class inequality and, as Justice Sandra Day O’Connor wrote in her opinion for Grutter v. Bollinger (2003), ‘‘cultivate a set of leaders with legitimacy in the eyes of the citizenry,’’ whose increasing diversity is a demographic fact. In light of the increasing benefits of selective college enrollment and concerns about ethnic diversity in such institutions, it is important to understand changes over time in students’ postsecondary destinations.

#### Fighting racism in college matters – ethnic diversity empirically improves and alters racial attitudes.

Carrell et al. 16 [Scott E. Carrell, Mark Hoekstra, and James E. West, \*Scott Carrell is a Professor of Economics, the Co-Faculty Director of the California Education Laboratory and the Faculty Athletics Representative at the University of California, Davis. He received his BA from the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1995, an M.A. in Economics and an M.S. in Management from the University of Florida in 2002, and a Ph.D. in economics from the University of Florida in 2003. He previously taught at Dartmouth College and the U.S. Air Force Academy and served as the Senior Economist for Public Finance and Labor Economics on the staff of the President's Council of Economic Advisers during the summer of 2004. Professor Carrell is a Research Associate at the National Bureau of Economic Research, a Research Fellow at Institute for the Study of Labor, and a Co-Editor for the Journal of Human Resources. He spent ten years as an active duty officer in the U.S. Air Force and retired from the U.S. Air Force Reserve as a Lieutenant Colonel in 2015. His primary area of research is in the economics of education \*\* Professor of Economics at Texas A&M, Ph.D. Economics, University of Florida, \*\*\*PHD - Economics, Univ Michigan Ann Arbor, 2016 "The Impact Of College Diversity On Behavior Toward Minorities," American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, https://www.aeaweb.org/articles?id=10.1257/pol.20170069&amp;&amp;from=f, accessed 8-15-2019] LHSBC

This study provides an empirical test of whether increased diversity on a college campus influences the subsequent behavior of the majority toward the minority. Specifically, we examine whether white males are affected by either the number or type of black peers to whom they are exposed. To do so, we use data from the U.S. Air Force Academy (USAFA) in which students are randomly assigned to peer groups in their freshman year and subsequently reassigned into different peer groups in their sophomore year. Results indicate that white males exposed to higher ability black peers in their freshman year were significantly more likely to pair with a black roommate in their sophomore year. That is, exposure to higher ability black peers leads white students to decide to share a significant amount of personal space and time with a different black peer the following year. In addition, we also find some suggestive evidence that exposure to additional black peers leads to increases in the likelihood of pairing with a black roommate the following year, with effects concentrated primarily among whites from states with relatively few blacks. These results provide several important takeaways. First, in addition to complementing the existing literature on the impact of exposure to more members of the minority group, we also document that the type of members from that group affects racial attitudes. This highlights the importance of the type of individual with whom one interacts, which is consistent with models in which individuals update prior attitudes regarding other groups. In addition, the importance of the type of individuals with whom one interacts also speaks directly to the potential costs and benefits of increasing diversity in higher education. That is, the benefits of increased exposure may be partially offset if increased enrollment of underrepresented minorities is accomplished by lowering an admission threshold. We show that exposure to additional black peers from the middle and especially the top third of the high school performance distribution has a large, positive effect on the probability of pairing with a black roommate the following year. However, we also show that exposure to an additional marginal black peer who ranks in the bottom third of high school performance has no effect – positive or negative – on subsequent racial relations. This suggests that at least in this context, any positive effect of increased exposure is roughly cancelled out by the negative effect of exposure to a black peer of lower academic ability. We note, however, that it is an open question as to whether the net impact of these two effects is similar for marginal applicants in other contexts. In addition, we emphasize that understanding this tradeoff is one of potentially many considerations in evaluating whether race-conscious admissions policies are socially desirable. Finally, our results demonstrate that exposure to more and higher aptitude black peers can lead to significant changes in subsequent behavior. Importantly, these changes in behavior are toward a new and different set of black peers. This provides evidence that increased diversity does more than change self-reported attitudes; it also leads to meaningful changes in future behavior.

## Solvency

#### I affirm: In the United States, colleges and universities ought not consider standardized tests in undergraduate admissions decisions. Clarify interps in cx; I’ll spec anything else if needed.

#### Only the aff solves – Standardized tests are a vicious cycle of colorblind eugenics where knowledge is identified and axed for not “conforming” to problematic standards of intelligence.

Au 18 [Wayne Au, Wayne Au is a professor in the School of Educational Studies and interim dean of diversity and equity and chief diversity officer at the University of Washington Bothell. He is also a longtime editor of the social-justice teaching magazine, Rethinking Schools., 4-14-2018, "The Socialist Case Against the SAT," No Publication, https://www.jacobinmag.com/2018/04/against-the-sat-testing-meritocracy-race-class, accessed 8-16-2019] LHSBC

It also turns out that the process of SAT test-question selection is flawed in racially biased ways. When the SAT tries out new questions, unbeknownst to students, they put these questions in a special trial section of the test. If a test-taker gets the trial test question correct and goes on to score high on the SAT overall, then the question is deemed a valid and good question and gets included in a future test — all because it is the kind of question that a high SAT test-scorer gets correct. This means that the SAT is populated by questions that high-scoring SAT takers answer correctly.

The problem is that this process creates a self-reinforcing cycle of race and class inequality. A 2003 study by Kidder and Rosner published in the Santa Clara Law Review found racist outcomes in the SAT test-question selection: there were trial SAT questions where blacks got the right answer more often than whites, and where Latinos got the right answer more often than whites. However, these questions, where the typical racial outcomes of the SAT were inverted, were deemed invalid as real questions for use of future tests. Why? Their pattern of correct responses didn’t match the overall patterns among individual SAT test-takers. The black and Latino students who got those trial questions right more often than the white students, didn’t outscore the white students overall. Writing in the Nation, [Rosner explained](https://www.thenation.com/article/white-preferences/):

Each individual SAT question ETS chooses is required to parallel outcomes of the test overall. So, if high-scoring test-takers — who are more likely to be white — tend to answer the question correctly in [experimental] pretesting, it’s a worthy SAT question; if not, it’s thrown out. Race and ethnicity are not considered explicitly, but racially disparate scores drive question selection, which in turn reproduces racially disparate test results in an internally reinforcing cycle.

In this sense the SAT is a textbook example of what race scholar Eduardo Bonilla-Silva calls colorblind racism. Officially it is race neutral, but empirically it produces and reproduces racialized outcomes.

In this context it is important to remember that the SAT is designed to sort and stratify human populations. The SAT is a norm-referenced test. This means its primary purpose is to sort and rank students in comparison to each other — establishing a “norm” for performance and demarcating who is above and below this norm. Consequently, the SAT is designed to produce a “bell curve” of test scores, where some score high, a bunch land in the middle, and some score low. The bell-curve assumption built into the SAT extends directly from the eugenics movement: It presumes that intelligence is naturally distributed across human populations unequally. Within this frame a good test not only requires that a portion of students to fail, it also mirrors this presumed “natural” distribution of human intelligence. In this way, the SAT is required to produce inequality, not equality. In a racist, capitalist system, that the SAT unequally stratifies human populations by race and class should come as no surprise.

#### Test refusal is the only way out – Standardized scores are a tool of whiteness used to racially profile minorities as inferior beings destroying value to life.

Malsbary 15 [Christine Brigid Malsbary, Christine Brigid Malsbary is a postdoctoral fellow with the National Academy of Education/Spencer Foundation. Her research examines how teachers and students are impacted by education policy reform. She currently teaches at Vassar College as a Visiting Assistant Professor., 10-26-2015, "Standardized Tests are a Form of Racial Profiling," Living in Dialogue, http://www.livingindialogue.com/standardized-tests-are-a-form-of-racial-profiling/, accessed 8-16-2019] LHSBC

The power elite is preserved because in a time of shrinking opportunities, a filter that eliminates large numbers of English learners from the mix gives white students an advantage. Let us be clear: the promises of the civil rights era have not come true. Both the workforce and schools remain segregated with a significant white power elite that is both about class and about race. Today, Blacks make up less than 4% of practicing physicians, and Latinos about 5%– [similar percentages to 1960](http://consumer.healthday.com/general-health-information-16/doctor-news-206/too-few-blacks-hispanics-are-becoming-doctors-study-702572.html). Schools are not desegregated, and maintain the same rates of segregation since landmark Brown v. Board policy in 1954. Today, Black and Latino students tend to be in schools with a substantial majority of poor children, [while white and Asian students typically attend middle class schools](http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/news/press-releases/2014-press-releases/ucla-report-finds-changing-u.s.-demographics-transform-school-segregation-landscape-60-years-after-brown-v-board-of-education).

I think we should “call a spade a spade”: standardized tests are a function of white supremacy and a method of racial profiling in schools.

Racial profiling is understood as the act of targeting particular groups of people because of their race. We usually think of the targeting as done by law enforcement, and racial profiling is usually thought of as traffic and pedestrian stops, raids on immigrant communities, and the ejection of Muslim Americans and South Asians on airlines and at airports.

Tests are a form of racial profiling because they provide a way for school districts and education reformers to frame black, brown and immigrant youth as “failing” and target the education services that these youth then receive. When a child’s knowledge, worth and assets are reduced to a test score, assumptions can be made about that child’s intelligence (and by extension the intelligence of the child’s racial group). The low-intelligence of people of color and immigrants is a regular trope in this country. The assumed superiority of the white brain means that we norm all “standards” (aka tests) to bizarre and out of touch expectations that only youth with an array of special services can pass.

Let’s talk about those special services. Once youth of color get low scores on bad tests, they are framed as “failing” and targeted to receive an array of expensive for-profit services that are put into place at the expense of recess and social studies and fun and joy. Effectively, their educational opportunities are reduced to passing math and English. In fact, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), part of the U.S. Department of Education, [released the findings](http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2012014) of the first nationwide arts survey reporting [an “equity gap”](http://blog.ed.gov/2012/04/ed-releases-new-report-on-arts-education-in-u-s-public-schools/)between the availability of arts instruction as well as the richness of course offerings for students in low-poverty schools compared to those in high-poverty schools, leading students who are economically disadvantaged to not get the enrichment experiences of affluent students.

Frame and target. Frame and target. This is at the center of racial profiling.

Standardized tests create test scores which are then used to target students of color by limiting the creative depth, intellectual wealth, and variety of their education. Producing test scores is an act of racial profiling. The alternative, here, is to opt young people out of tests, which means opting children out of this particular form of racial profiling. If they (the district, the power elite, the mayor, the education corporate reformers) do not have a young person’s test score, then they cannot assign value or worth to that particular young person. Test refusal is refusing racial profiling and saying yes to dignity and anti-racist, humanizing schooling.

#### We’re on the right side – New Hampshire proves solvency

**Lash 15**, [Jonathan, President @ Hampshire College], 9-21-15, Hampshire College, <https://www.hampshire.edu/news/2015/09/21/results-of-removing-standardized-test-scores-from-college-admissions>] recut from LosAltosPD

We completely dropped standardized tests from our application as part of our new mission-driven admissions strategy, distinct from the “test-optional” policy that hundreds of colleges now follow.  If we reduce education to the outcomes of a test, the only incentive for schools and students to innovate is in the form of improving test-taking and scores. Teaching to a test becomes stifling for teachers and students, far from the inspiring, adaptive education which most benefits students. Our greatly accelerating world needs graduates who are trained to address tough situations with innovation, ingenuity, entrepreneurship, and a capacity for mobilizing collaboration and cooperation. We weighed other factors in our decision: Standardized test scores do not predict a student’s success at our college SATs/ACTs are strongly biased against low-income students and students of color, at a time when diversity is critical to our mission We surveyed our students and learned not one of them had considered rankings when choosing to apply to colleges; instead they most cared about a college’s mission Some good students are bad test takers, particularly under stress, such as when a test may grant or deny college entry; Multiple-choice tests don't reveal much about a student We’ve developed much better, fairer ways to assess students who will thrive at our college. In our admissions, we review an applicant’s whole academic and lived experience. We consider an applicant’s ability to present themselves in essays and interviews, review their recommendations from mentors, and assess factors such as their community engagement and entrepreneurism. And yes, we look closely at high school academic records, though in an unconventional manner. We look for an overarching narrative that shows motivation, discipline, and the capacity for self-reflection. We look at grade point average (GPA) as a measure of performance over a range of courses and time, distinct from a one-test-on-one-day SAT/ACT score. A student’s consistent "A" grades may be coupled with evidence of curiosity and learning across disciplines, as well as leadership in civic or social causes. Another student may have overcome obstacles through determination, demonstrating promise of success in a demanding program. Strong high school graduates demonstrate purpose, a passion for authenticity, and commitment to positive change. We’re seeing remarkable admissions results since disregarding standardized test scores: Our yield, the percentage of students who accepted our invitation to enroll, rose in a single year from 18% to 26%, an amazing turnaround The quantity of applications went down but the quality went up, likely because we made it harder to apply, asking for more essays; Our applicants collectively were more motivated, mature, disciplined and consistent in their high school years than past applicants Class diversity increased to 31% students of color, the most diverse in our history, up from 21% two years ago The percentage of students who are the first-generation from their family to attend college rose from 12% to 18% in this year’s class.

#### The inherent nature of the SAT as a diagnostic test reinforces racism – minorities subconsciously internalize stereotypes and underperform due to hindered cognitive function.

Steele and Aronson 95 [Claude M. Steele and Joshua Aronson,\* Claude M. Steele is the twenty-first Provost of Columbia University, as well as a Professor of Psychology. He was educated at Hiram College and at Ohio State University, where he received his Ph.D. in psychology in 1971. He has received honorary degrees from the University of Michigan, the University of Chicago, Yale University, Princeton University, and from the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. \*\* Joshua Michael Aronson is an American social psychologist and Associate Professor of Applied Psychology at New York University's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education, and Human Development. , 1995, "Stereotype Threat And The Intellectual Test Performance Of African Americans," Journal Of Personality And Social Psychology, 69(5), 797-811., https://psycnet.apa.org/record/1996-12938-001, accessed 8-17-2019] LHSBC

Results and Discussion The ANCOVA performed on the number of items correctly solved yielded a significant main effect of race, F(\, 35) =10.04, p < .01, qualified by a significant Race X Test Description interaction, F( 1, 35) = 8.07, p < .01. The mean SAT score for Black participants was 603 and for White participants 655. The adjusted means are presented in Figure 2. Planned contrasts on the adjusted scores revealed that, as predicted, Blacks in the diagnostic condition performed significantly worse than Blacks in the nondiagnostic condition /(35) = 2.38, p < .02, than Whites in the diagnostic condition t(35) = 3.75, p < .001, and than Whites in the nondiagnostic condition Z(35) = 2.34, /?< .05. But the planned contrasts of the Black diagnostic condition against the other conditions did not reach conventional significance, although its contrasts with the Black nondiagnostic and White diagnostic conditions were marginally significant, with ps of .06 and .09 respectively. Blacks completed fewer items than Whites, ^(1,35) = 9.35, p < .01, and participants in the diagnostic conditions tended to complete fewer items than those in the nondiagnostic conditions, F(\, 35) = 3.69, p < .07. The overall interaction did not reach significance. But planned contrasts revealed that Black participants in the diagnostic condition finished fewer items (M = 12.38) than Blacks in the nondiagnostic condition (M = 18.53), ?(35) = 2.50, p < .02; than Whites in the diagnostic condition (M= 20.93), /(35) = 339,p< .01; and than Whites in the nondiagnostic condition (M = 21.45), t(35) = 3.60,p < 0.1

These results establish the reliability of the diagnosticity-byrace interaction for test performance that was marginally significant in Study 1. They also reveal another dimension of the effect of stereotype threat. Black participants in the diagnostic condition completed fewer test items than participants in the other conditions. Test diagnosticity impaired the rate, as well as the accuracy of their work. This is precisely the impairment caused by evaluative pressures such as evaluation apprehension, test anxiety, and competitive pressure (e.g., Baumeister, 1984). But one might ask why this did not happen in the nearidentical Study 1. Several factors may be relevant. First, the most involved test items—reading comprehension items that took several steps to answer—came first in the test. And second, the test lasted 25 min in the present experiment whereas it lasted 30 min in the first experiment. Assuming, then, that stereotype threat slowed the pace of Black participants in the diagnostic conditions of both experiments, this 5-min difference in test period may have made it harder for these participants in the present experiment to get past the early, involved items and onto the more quickly answered items at the end of the test, a possibility that may also explain the generally lower scores in this experiment. This view is reinforced by the ANCOVA (with SATs as a covariate) on the average time spent on each of the first five test items—the minimum number of items that all participants in all conditions answered. A marginal effect of test presentation emerged, F{ 1, 35) = 3.52, p < .07, but planned comparisons showed that Black participants in the diagnostic condition tended to be slower than participants in the other conditions. On average they spent 94 s answering each of these items in contrast to 71 for Black participants in the nondiagnostic condition, ((35) = 2.39, p < .05; 73 s for Whites in the diagnostic condition, f(35) = 2.12, p < .05, and 71 s for Whites in the nondiagnostic condition, Z(35) = 2.37, p < .05. Like other forms of evaluative pressure, stereotype threat causes an impairment of both accuracy and speed of performance. No differences were found on any of the remaining measures, including self-reported effort, cognitive interference, or anxiety. These measures may have been insensitive, or too delayed. Nonetheless, we lack an important kind of evidence. We have not shown that test diagnosticity causes in Black participants a specific apprehension about fulfilling the negative group stereotype about their ability—the apprehension that we argue disrupts their test performance. To examine this issue we conducted a third experiment.

## Framing

#### The standard is minimizing oppression.

#### Structural violence comes first – it excludes people from moral calculus.

Winter and Leighton 01 Winter, D. D., and Dana C. Leighton." Structural violence." Peace, conflict and violence: Peace psychology for the 21st century (2001): 99-101.

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 elite 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 oppressed, invisible, outsiders. Inclusionary thinking can be fostered by relationships, communication, and appreciation of diversity. Like Opotow, all the authors in this section point out that structural violence is not inevitable if we become aware of its operation, and build systematic ways to mitigate its effects. Learning about structural violence may be discouraging, overwhelming, or maddening, but these papers encourage us to step beyond guilt and anger, and begin to think about how to reduce structural violence. All the authors in this section note that the same structures (such as global communication and normal social cognition) which feed structural violence, can also be used to empower citizens to reduce it. In the long run, reducing structural violence by reclaiming neighborhoods, demanding social justice and living wages, providing prenatal care, alleviating sexism, and celebrating local cultures, will be our most surefooted path to building lasting peace.

#### Reject security theater

Jackson, 12 (Richard, PhD in Political Science from University of Canterbury, New Zealand, Deputy Director of the National Peace and Conflict Studies Centre at the University of Otago, New Zealand, “The Great Con of National Security,” August 15, https://richardjacksonterrorismblog.wordpress.com/2012/08/05/the-great-con-of-national-security/)

It may have once been the case that being attacked by another country was a major threat to the lives of ordinary people. It may also be true that there are still some pretty serious dangers out there associated with the spread of nuclear weapons. For the most part, however, most of what you’ve been told about national security and all the big threats which can supposedly kill you is one big con designed to distract you from the things that can really hurt you, such as the poverty, inequality and structural violence of capitalism, global warming, and the manufacture and proliferation of weapons – among others. The facts are simple and irrefutable: you’re far more likely to die from lack of health care provision than you are from terrorism; from stress and overwork than Iranian or North Korean nuclear missiles; from lack of road safety than from illegal immigrants; from mental illness and suicide than from computer hackers; from domestic violence than from asylum seekers; from the misuse of legal medicines and alcohol abuse than from international drug lords. And yet, politicians and the servile media spend most of their time talking about the threats posed by terrorism, immigration, asylum seekers, the international drug trade, the nuclear programmes of Iran and North Korea, computer hackers, animal rights activism, the threat of China, and a host of other issues which are all about as equally unlikely to affect the health and well-being of you and your family. Along with this obsessive and perennial discussion of so-called ‘national security issues’, the state spends truly vast sums on security measures which have virtually no impact on the actual risk of dying from these threats, and then engages in massive displays of ‘security theatre’ designed to show just how seriously the state takes these threats – such as the x-ray machines and security measures in every public building, surveillance cameras everywhere, missile launchers in urban areas, drones in Afghanistan, armed police in airports, and a thousand other things. This display is meant to convince you that these threats are really, really serious. And while all this is going on, the rulers of society are hoping that you won’t notice that increasing social and economic inequality in society leads to increased ill health for a growing underclass; that suicide and crime always rise when unemployment rises; that workplaces remain highly dangerous and kill and maim hundreds of people per year; that there are preventable diseases which plague the poorer sections of society; that domestic violence kills and injures thousands of women and children annually; and that globally, poverty and preventable disease kills tens of millions of people needlessly every year. In other words, they are hoping that you won’t notice how much structural violence there is in the world. More than this, they are hoping that you won’t notice that while literally trillions of dollars are spent on military weapons, foreign wars and security theatre (which also arguably do nothing to make any us any safer, and may even make us marginally less safe), that domestic violence programmes struggle to provide even minimal support for women and children at risk of serious harm from their partners; that underfunded mental health programmes mean long waiting lists to receive basic care for at-risk individuals; that drug and alcohol rehabilitation programmes lack the funding to match the demand for help; that welfare measures aimed at reducing inequality have been inadequate for decades; that health and safety measures at many workplaces remain insufficiently resourced; and that measures to tackle global warming and developing alternative energy remain hopelessly inadequate. Of course, none of this is surprising. Politicians are a part of the system; they don’t want to change it. For them, all the insecurity, death and ill-health caused by capitalist inequality are a price worth paying to keep the basic social structures as they are. A more egalitarian society based on equality, solidarity, and other non-materialist values would not suit their interests, or the special interests of the lobby groups they are indebted to. It is also true that dealing with economic and social inequality, improving public health, changing international structures of inequality, restructuring the military-industrial complex, and making the necessary economic and political changes to deal with global warming will be extremely difficult and will require long-term commitment and determination. For politicians looking towards the next election, it is clearly much easier to paint immigrants as a threat to social order or pontificate about the ongoing danger of terrorists. It is also more exciting for the media than stories about how poor people and people of colour are discriminated against and suffer worse health as a consequence. Viewed from this vantage point, national security is one massive confidence trick – misdirection on an epic scale. Its primary function is to distract you from the structures and inequalities in society which are the real threat to the health and wellbeing of you and your family, and to convince you to be permanently afraid so that you will acquiesce to all the security measures which keep you under state control and keep the military-industrial complex ticking along. Keep this in mind next time you hear a politician talking about the threat of uncontrolled immigration, the risk posed by asylum seekers or the threat of Iran, or the need to expand counter-terrorism powers. The question is: when politicians are talking about national security, what is that they don’t want you to think and talk about? What exactly is the misdirection they are engaged in? The truth is, if you think that terrorists or immigrants or asylum seekers or Iran are a greater threat to your safety than the capitalist system, you have been well and truly conned, my friend. Don’t believe the hype: you’re much more likely to die from any one of several forms of structural violence in society than you are from immigrants or terrorism. Somehow, we need to challenge the politicians on this fact.

#### 3. The alt misses the boat – piecemeal reform now is necessary even if it postpones the revolution.

Delgado 87 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.

#### Structural violence outweighs and is the root cause of conflict

Gilligan 96 (James Gilligan, Department of Psychiatry at Harvard Med and Director of the Center for the Study of Violence, 1996, Violence: Our Deadly Epidemic and its Causes p. 191-196)

You cannot work for one day with the violent people who fill our prisons and mental hospitals for the criminally insane without being forcibly and constantly reminded of the extreme poverty and discrimination that characterize their lives. Hearing about their lives, and about their families and friends, you are forced to recognize the truth in Gandhi’s observation that the deadliest form of violence is poverty. Not a day goes by without realizing that trying to understand them and their virulent behavior in purely individual terms is impossible and wrong-headed. Any theory of violence, especially a psychological theory, that evolves from the experience of men in maximum security prisons and hospitals for the criminally insane must begin with the recognition that these institutions are only microcosms. They are not where the major violence of our society takes place, and the perpetrators who fill them are far from being the main causes of most violent deaths. Any approach to a theory of violence needs to begin with a look at the structural violence of this country. Focusing merely on those relatively few men who commit what we define as murder could distract us from examining and learning from those structural causes of violent death that are far more significant from a numerical or public health, or human, standpoint. By “structural violence” I mean the increased rates of death and disability suffered by those who occupy the bottom rungs of society, as contrasted with the relatively lower death rates experienced by those who are above them. Those excess deaths (or at least a demonstratably large portion of them) are a function of class structure; and that structure is itself a product of society’s collective human choices, concerning how to distribute the collective wealth of the society. These are not acts of God. I am contrasting “structural” with “behavioral violence,” by which I mean the non-natural deaths and injuries that are caused by specific behavioral actions of individuals against individuals, such as the deaths we attribute to homicide, suicide, soldiers in warfare, capital punishment, and so on. Structural violence differs from behavioral violence in at least three major respects. The lethal effects of structural violence operate continuously rather than sporadically, whereas murders, suicides, executions, wars, and other forms of behavioral violence occur one at a time. Structural violence operates more or less independently of individual acs; independent of individuals and groups (politicians, political parties, voters) whose decisions may nevertheless have lethal consequences for others. <Continues, page 195>. The 14 to 18 million deaths a year caused by structural violence compare with about 100,000 deaths per year from armed conflict. Comparing this frequency of deaths from structural violence to the frequency of those caused by major military and political violence, such as World War II (an estimated 49 million military and civilian deaths, including those caused by genocide---or about eight million per year, 1939-1945), the Indonesian massacre of 1965-66 (perhaps 575,000 deaths), the Vietnam war (possibly two million, 1954-1973), and even a hypothetical nuclear exchange between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. (232 million), it was clear that even war cannot begin to compare with structural violence, which continues year after year. In other words, every fifteen years, on the average, as many people die because of relative poverty as would be killed in a nuclear war that caused 232 deaths, and every single year, two to three times as many people die from poverty throughout the world as were killed by the Nazi genocide of the Jews over a six-year period. This is, in effect, the equivalent of an ongoing, unending, in fact accelerating, thermonuclear war, or genocide, perpetuated on the week and poor every year of every decade, throughout the world. Structural violence is also the main cause of behavioral violence on a socially and epidemiologically significant scale (from homicide and suicide to war and genocide). The question as to which of the two forms of violence—structural or behavioral—is more important, dangerous, or lethal is moot, for they are inextricably related to each other, as cause to effect.

# 1AR

## Case

### Overview

#### The SAT causes racist stereotype internalization, question selection, and profiling – that prevents diversity in colleges which is good for dispelling racial stereotypes. Empirically proven by Hampshire College.

### At Tests Good

#### Extend Smith and Garrison 05: Tests aren’t a predictor – don’t let them claim recent studies – only our evidence talks about future success outside of undergrad school, all 4 years of education, and discrepancies between race and is specific to policy debates. They are a traditional validity study.

### GPA

#### C/A Syverson 18 – large volumes of HSGPA from 33 colleges prove that GPA is in favor of minorities

#### C/A Murphy 17 – the Lee and Hurwitz study is by college board, relies on faulty transcripts, self-reported GPA’s, and an abundance of AP grade bumping

### 2AC- Security K-Framing

#### They’ve dropped a security K on the case page- reject their hyperbolic fear mongering- their method of threat construction creates a self-fulfilling prophecy that makes extinction inevitable—that’s Burke.

### Meltzer

#### Meltzer is a private testing tutor for a test tutoring company – clearly biased

#### Throw out their study – conflict of interest, time mismatch, self-reporting, more minorities, and more AP’s

Murphy 17 [James S. Murphy, 9-15-2017, "An analysis of the College Board's study on grade inflation (essay)," No Publication, https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2017/09/15/analysis-college-boards-study-grade-inflation-essay, accessed 9-20-2019] LHSBC

A [new study](https://www.insidehighered.com/admissions/article/2017/07/17/study-finds-notable-increase-grades-high-schools-nationallyhttps%3A/www.insidehighered.com/admissions/article/2017/07/17/study-finds-notable-increase-grades-high-schools-nationallyhttps%3A/www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/07/17/easy-a-nearly-half-hs-seniors-graduate-average/485787001/) suggests that grade inflation is on the rise in American high schools, and the news media has [grabbed](http://www.businessinsider.com/grade-inflation-us-high-schools-2017-7) [hold](http://www.cbsnews.com/news/high-school-gpa-rising-but-sat-scores-down-study/) of the story. The same breed of people who think third graders getting participation trophies is a genuine problem are latching on to the report as more evidence of the decline of American education with headlines like “[Everyone Is Special](http://www.dailywire.com/news/18709/everyone-special-almost-50-high-school-students-hank-berrien)” and “[Is Our Children Learning?](http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/is-our-children-learning-more-evidence-for-grade-inflation/article/2629000)”∂ There are, however, good reasons to question the study written by Michael Hurwitz, a researcher at the College Board, and Jason Lee, a graduate student at the University of Georgia. Worse yet, some of the blame for the grade inflation they’re calling out should probably be placed on the College Board itself.∂ The study says that the average high school GPA has risen 0.11 points since 1998, and more than twice that at private, nonreligious schools. The percentage of seniors claiming to have an A average has also risen, from 39 percent to 47 percent. During the same time period, the average SAT score has dropped 24 points.∂ Those findings could suggest that colleges might not be able to rely on high school grades to distinguish between students or predict future performance as well as they have in the past -- not if almost half the students have A averages.∂ You don’t have to be an A student to guess the College Board’s solution to grade inflation.∂ The fact that the College Board stands to benefit from these findings is not reason enough to dismiss the claims. While one critic of standardized testing likened the findings to “[the tobacco institute doing research on healthy lifestyles](http://curmudgucation.blogspot.com/2017/07/did-sat-unmask-grade-inflation.html),” we need not engage in conspiracy theories in order to raise questions about the findings. In [a story on the study](https://www.insidehighered.com/admissions/article/2017/07/17/study-finds-notable-increase-grades-high-schools-nationallyhttps%3A/www.usatoday.com/story/news/2017/07/17/easy-a-nearly-half-hs-seniors-graduate-average/485787001/), Hurwitz and Lee claimed the numbers speak for themselves, and a conversation with Hurwitz gave no reason to question how he and Lee carried out their work on the data. The problem is the data.∂ Hurwitz and Lee used two resources to track grades over the past two decades: high school transcripts collected by the U.S. Department of Education and surveys filled out by students (or their parents) during SAT registration.∂ The federal data, from the Secondary Longitudinal Studies Program, comprise around 15,000 transcripts [from 2004](https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/els2002/surveydesign.asp) and 23,000 from [2013](https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2015/2015036.pdf). Given [the more than three million high school students who graduate each year](https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57f269e19de4bb8a69b470ae/t/58d2eb93bf629a4a3878ef3e/1490217882794/Knocking2016FINALFORWEB-revised021717.pdf), the data sets are not large, but a good sample could mitigate that concern. Unfortunately, the authors of the study that included 2013 transcripts themselves caution that “[the representativeness of the school sample is lost after the base year (2009) as students disperse and some schools close or merge and new schools open](https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2015/2015036.pdf).”∂ Luckily, millions more students are in College Board’s database of self-reported grades and GPAs. This sample may not be as representative as the government’s, however, since it only collects information from students who take the SAT. According to the online portal created by the College Board for high school counselors, 48 percent of the Class of 2017 took the SAT. That means almost two million students did not take the SAT and are left out of the study (many of them probably took the ACT instead). Add to that the regional nature of SAT versus ACT taking and the connections between wealth and race and taking college entrance exams, and you get a report that cannot claim to describe all American high schools or students.∂ Still, among those students the College Board surveyed, the number of A’s and the average GPA rose, even as SAT scores dropped, and both the change and the discrepancy need to be accounted for.∂ With respect to the discrepancy, it is strange that the Hurwitz and Lee use the SAT as a benchmark, given that the College Board dramatically overhauled the test in 2016 in order, as CEO David Coleman [insisted](https://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/06/education/major-changes-in-sat-announced-by-college-board.html), to make the test mirror the actual work students do in high school and beyond. (Scores from the new test were left out of Hurwitz and Lee’s study.) If the College Board itself acknowledged that the old test was inadequately aligned with schoolwork, why put so much trust in its ability to evaluate the grades received for that work? Would we confirm NCAA football rankings by having the teams play each other in basketball?∂ What about the 24-point drop in the average SAT score? To start with, it is relatively small. A 30-point drop on the old version of the exam would be equivalent to getting three to five more questions, out of the 121 math and reading questions, wrong. More significant, the growth in the number of test takers likely drove much of the decline in the average. Between [1998](http://media.collegeboard.com/digitalServices/pdf/research/CBS-98-National.pdf) and [2015](https://secure-media.collegeboard.org/digitalServices/pdf/sat/total-group-2015.pdf), the number of SAT test takers grew by 35 percent. Much of that growth was likely among low-income and first-generation students who traditionally had not taken the exam but have increasingly done so, in part thanks to the efforts of Coleman and the College Board to expand opportunity. The [growth in the number of the people finishing high school](https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2016/12/06/high-school-graduates-drop-number-and-be-increasingly-diverse) in the past two decades also means more students at the academic margin could be taking the exam. Ironically, the drop in the SAT average is a good sign -- it means more students are graduating from high school and thinking about college.∂ You might expect more students at the margin taking the SAT to contribute lower grades and GPAs to the College Board data, but if they are, they are not counterbalancing the higher grades. That assumes, however, that the self-reported grades and GPA are accurate. Here, again, there are concerns.∂ When students or their parents register for the SAT, they are asked to provide additional information about themselves. It’s optional, but it doesn’t sound like it. They're told that creating a profile is part of the registration and can help them connect to colleges and find financial aid options, that the communications they receive from colleges or scholarship organizations will be based on what they provide. According to Zach Goldberg, senior director of media relations at the College Board, about 10 percent of students do not report their grades or GPA. In the survey, students are asked to select their grade point average from a drop-down menu that lets them choose a GPA based on letter grade and a hundred-point scale (97 to 100 equals A-plus, 93 to 96 equals A, etc.) and then to “select your average course grade” throughout high school. The second scale excludes minus and plus grades, and the letter grades are designated in 10-point increments, so that a B-minus is worth exactly the same as a B-plus.∂ It is not hard to imagine that many of those who are less confident in their grades will skip the survey, nor is it hard to imagine students or parents, unclear both on what their grades are or what happens with what they report, reporting their grades “aspirationally” to get more attention from those colleges and scholarship organizations they are told they’ll be connecting to.∂ The College Board has no way to confirm the accuracy of the self-reported grades and GPAs in its survey, which means that the data always exist under a cloud of uncertainty. Aspirational score reporting and uncertainty about grades should be conditions that held throughout the time period, however, and so shouldn’t lead to the gradual observed rise in grades -- unless people became less honest or accurate in the past 20 years.∂ The thing is that grade reporting might in fact have become less accurate in the past two decades, because grades have become fuzzier, thanks in large part to the College Board’s AP program.∂ GPAs are conventionally [calculated on a 4.0 scale](http://www.collegeboard.com/html/academicTracker-howtoconvert.html) (4.0 equals A, 3.7 equals A-minus, 3.3 equals B-plus, etc.). Since the 1960s, however, some high schools have given honors and AP course grades an extra bump through weighting, so that a B in AP psychology would be calculated as a 4.0 rather than a 3.0. [One study](http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0192636514565171) has suggested, because practices are inconsistent across the country, that weighted GPAs are less predictive of college success than traditional GPAs. Many colleges unweight grades when they consider applications.∂ Weighting AP grades isn’t new. The practice goes back to the 1960s. What has changed is that the number of students enrolled in Advanced Placement classes has exploded in the last two decades. In [1998](http://media.collegeboard.com/digitalServices/pdf/research/national_1998.pdf), the year with which Hurwitz and Lee began, more than 600,000 students took at least one AP exam. In 2015, around 2.6 million students did. With four times as many students getting weighted grades, is it any wonder that the average GPA has risen? This might not be the gradual change that has driven GPAs and A’s up, but it is a gradual change that could have the power to do so, especially among a population of students limited to those who take the SAT. According to the study, both the weighted and the unweighted GPAs have increased over time.∂ Weighted grades could create a false inflation effect because the College Board student questionnaire does not provide clear direction on how to report weighted grades. It is quite possible, even likely, that a significant number of students who received a weighted B in an AP class might report that grade as an A or use their weighted GPA in the College Board survey, so that even though they have an unweighted B average, they will report it as an A.∂ What this means is that, like those pharmaceutical companies selling laxatives to people addicted to the drugs they make, the College Board is holding out the SAT as an answer to a problem it helped create.∂ And then there is the question whether grade inflation matters, even if it is real. Elaine Allensworth, the Lewis-Sebring Director of the University of Chicago Consortium on School Research, said via email, “Grades can change without changes in test scores because they don't measure the same thing. Grades are much more comprehensive measures of achievement.” A [2013 paper](https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4185208/) on high school grade inflation suggested that, while average GPA has indeed risen in high schools, its “signaling power” to indicate academic achievement has not been diminished over the past two decades; otherwise we should have seen a decline in college completion rates among students with high GPAs. And yet highly selective colleges continue to admit and graduate, at very high rates, students from wealthy private schools with “inflated” GPAs. Additionally, [plenty](http://www.bates.edu/news/2005/10/01/sat-study/) of [evidence](http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs/projects/project.asp?projectID=4546) shows that high school GPA alone is a strong indicator of first-year college GPA.∂ None of this is to say that grade inflation is a fiction. If you speak to admissions officers at highly selective institutions, they are likely to tell you that they believe grade inflation is real, but those are the same admissions officers who, in concert with their administrations, have pushed admission standards higher and higher each year. With acceptance rates below 10 percent for most of the Ivy League, is it any wonder that the people applying there have high GPAs in high school and go on to have them in college? At elite private schools, which, unlike public schools, can pick their classes and which, like elite colleges, have grown more selective over the past 20 years, it is not a surprise that their students are getting more A’s.∂ Until we have data we can trust, the question of grade inflation remains precisely that -- a question. And if the College Board wants to do something about it, they should look inward first.

#### READ THIS ONLY IN THE 2AR if the 2NR goes for “not our study”

#### Here’s what Meltzer says –

Meltzer 18 [Erica L. Meltzer, 6-22-2018, "Eliminating standardized testing won't make college admissions fair," Critical Reader, https://thecriticalreader.com/eliminating-testing-admissions-fair/, accessed 9-20-2019] LHSBC

According to a 2017 College Board report:

The grade-point average of students at private high schools who took the SAT climbed between 1998 and 2016 from 3.25 to 3.51, or almost 8 percent…

In suburban public high schools it went from 3.25 to 3.36.

In city public schools, it hardly budged, moving from 3.26 to 3.28.

#### That’s from the study

Marcus 17 [Jon Marcus, 8-16-2017, "Why Suburban Schools Are Inflating Kids' Grades," Atlantic, https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/08/suburban-grade-inflation/536595/, accessed 9-20-2019] LHSBC

The grade-point average of students at private high schools who took the SAT climbed between 1998 and 2016 from 3.25 to 3.51, or almost 8 percent, the College Board found in research to be published early next year.

In suburban public high schools it went from 3.25 to 3.36.

In city public schools, it hardly budged, moving from 3.26 to 3.28.

 “If there were a uniform upward drift, then we would have one problem,” said Michael Hurwitz, the senior director at the College Board, who led the research. “But this drift causes another problem: The variation does seem aligned with wealth in a very troubling away.”

### Bias

#### Kuncell and Sackett were funded by the College Board the SAT creator – reject it on face

Sackett et al. 12 [Sackett, Paul R.; Kuncel, Nathan R.; Beatty, Adam S.; Rigdon, Jana L.; Shen, Winny; and Kiger, Thomas B., September 2012, “The Role of Socioeconomic Status in SAT-Grade Relationships and in College Admissions Decisions”, Psychological Science, Vol. 23, No. 9 (SEPTEMBER 2012), pp. 1000-1007, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23260359?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=%22college+admissions%22&searchText=AND&searchText=%22standardized+tests%22&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3D%2522college%2Badmissions%2522%2BAND%2B%2522standardized%2Btests%2522%26amp%3Bacc%3Doff%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3Bgroup%3Dnone&ab_segments=0%2Fdefault-2%2Fcontrol&refreqid=search%3Adbcf49c96c2891be633b0e0cb711e6a9&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> LHS AP]

Declaration of Conflicting Interests Paul R. Sackett serves as a research adviser to the College Board, and this research was supported by a grant from the College Board to Paul R. Sackett and Nathan R. Kuncel. Beyond this, the authors declared that they had no conflicts of interest with respect to their authorship or the publication of this article.

#### Buckley created the “new” SAT – throw him out

AIFR [American Institutes For Research, 10-26-2018, "Jack Buckley," American Institutes for Research, https://www.air.org/person/jack-buckley, accessed 9-15-2019] LHSBC

Dr. Buckley has a deep background in applied statistics and education research. He served as AIR’s Senior Vice President for Research and Evaluation (Dec. 2016-Jan. 2019), where he oversaw projects across a range of subject areas including education, health, and the workforce both in the United States and internationally. Before joining AIR, he helped lead the redesign of the SAT at the College Board, where he served as senior vice president of research and was responsible for all research and psychometrics across their entire range of products and services. Prior to the College Board, he served as Commissioner of the U.S. Department of Education’s National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). In that role he was responsible for the measurement of all aspects of U.S. education, including conducting the National Assessment of Educational Progress and coordinating U.S. participation in international assessments. While at NCES he also acted as a senior technical adviser to Department of Education leadership and co-chair of its Data Strategy team. He also served as Deputy Commissioner of NCES earlier in his career.

### Predictor

#### GPA is a better predictor than the SAT – err on our side because it’s comparative.

Cooper 16 [Preston Cooper, higher education analyst based in Washington, D.C. I formerly worked in higher education research at the American Enterprise Institute and the Manhattan Institute. In addition to writing for Forbes, my writing has appeared in the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post, the Seattle Times, U.S. News and World Report, the Washington Examiner, Fortune, RealClearPolicy, and National Review. I hold a B.A. in economics from Swarthmore College., 11-17-2016, "What Predicts College Completion? High School GPA Beats SAT Score," Forbes, https://www.forbes.com/sites/prestoncooper2/2018/06/11/what-predicts-college-completion-high-school-gpa-beats-sat-score/#76017dcd4b09, accessed 9-15-2019] LHSBC

One of the most pressing problems in American higher education is the high [college dropout rate](https://www.forbes.com/sites/prestoncooper2/2017/12/19/college-completion-rates-are-still-disappointing/). Spending time in college without a degree to show for it means students will lose opportunities to work or cultivate skills elsewhere. College dropouts are also far more likely than graduates to default on their student loans. In many ways, dropping out of college is worse than not going to college at all.

Knowing which factors predict completion, and intervening accordingly, can save students and colleges a world of grief. That’s where a [new report](http://www.aei.org/publication/what-matters-most-for-college-completion-academic-preparation-is-a-key-predictor-of-success/) by Matthew Chingos of the Urban Institute comes in. (The report was published through the American Enterprise Institute, my employer, but I had no involvement with its production.)

For obvious reasons, students who exhibit better academic preparation in high school are more likely to complete college. But “academic preparation” can mean different things. There are two primary ways to measure a student’s academic aptitude: scores on standardized tests such as the SAT, and grades in high school coursework.

The SAT and similar tests exist to account for differences in how high schools grade students. Some teachers feel pressured to give students high marks despite middling academic performance, a phenomenon known as grade inflation. Certain high schools may run more rigorous courses than others. As a result, an A-average GPA at one high school might be equivalent to a B+ at another.

As SAT scores are a more consistent indicator of aptitude, one might expect them to better predict a student’s chances of graduating college than high school GPA. But Chingos’ research shows exactly the opposite.

Using a sample of students who attended a group of less selective four-year public colleges and universities, Chingos calculates a student’s likelihood of graduation based on both her high school GPA and her SAT or ACT score. While better marks on both measures predict a better chance of completion, the relationship between high school GPA and graduation rates is by far the strongest.

For instance, a student with a high SAT score (above 1100) but a middling high school GPA (between 2.67 and 3.0) has an expected graduation rate of 39%. But students with the opposite credentials—mediocre SAT scores but high GPAs—graduate from college at a 62% rate.

Put another way, the expected graduation rate of a student with a given GPA doesn’t change very much depending on her SAT score. But the expected graduation rate of a student with a given SAT score varies tremendously depending on her GPA.

Given differences in grading standards across high schools, GPA may not provide a consistent measure of a student’s ability in mathematics, reading, and other subjects. But GPA usually captures whether a student consistently attends class and completes her assignments on time. Students need to cultivate these behaviors in order to succeed in college, and such good habits can lead to success even for students of modest academic ability.

“Students could in theory do well on a test even if they do not have the motivation and perseverance needed to achieve good grades,” notes Chingos. “It seems likely that the kinds of habits high school grades capture are more relevant for success in college than a score from a single test.”

To paraphrase various celebrities and motivational posters, most of life (and college) is just showing up.

## 1AR Theory

### Agent

#### Alternative Agent counterplans are a voting issue –

### Condo

#### Condo is a voting issue –

### Multiple T Shells

#### Interpretation: Debaters may not read multiple T shells and deny me the RVI

#### Violation: They do

#### Standards

#### Strat skew – reading offensive theory vs. their shells makes it a functional NIB. They can concede the offense on one shell but it’s not a reason to vote aff. Reading the shells as a multi-planked interp with No RVI solves their offense – I can still get offense if the theory shell is in the 2NR.

### PICs

#### PICs are a voting issue –

## DA

### DA - Ag

#### Mass deportations are coming now – they kill the ag industry

Krauze 6/20 [(Leon, columnist for Slate and Co-Host of Trumpcast, news anchor for Univision, Senior Fellow at USC Annenberg Center on Communication Leadership and Policy) “What Would Happen if Trump Actually Deported Millions of Immigrants?” Slate June 20, 2019] TDI

On Monday, the night before the formal launch of his reelection campaign in Florida, President Donald Trump issued a warning. “Next week ICE will begin the process of removing the millions of illegal aliens who have illicitly found their way into the United States,” he tweeted. “They will be removed as fast as they come in.” This is a lie. Despite Trump’s obsession, mass deportation of millions of undocumented immigrants from the United States is virtually impossible. Estimates suggest that the cost of detaining, processing, and physically removing the country’s 11 million undocumented immigrants would be astronomical. The country’s immigration system isn’t capable of such punitive expediency, either. The Washington Post’s Nick Miroff did the math: At its current rate of 7,000 monthly deportations, it would take two and a half decades for Immigration and Customs Enforcement to reach Trump’s punitive threshold. But since the president likes to deal in fantasy, let’s indulge him: What if Trump had

 **Thanos-like gauntlet** that could make America’s undocumented community instantly disappear? The consequences for the country’s economy would be dire and immediate. According to a study by New American Economy, a bipartisan research group, businesses owned by immigrants in general employ more than 8 million Americans and add $1 trillion to the economy. Almost 750,000 of those entrepreneurs are undocumented. Numerous specific industries would be affected by the disappearance or severe reduction of the immigrant workforce. The restaurant and hospitality industry would be in serious trouble: a fifth of the country’s cooks and 24 percent of maids and housecleaners are undocumented. So are 22 percent of construction workers, so building across the country would likely grind to a halt. Good luck with the next infrastructure week. Still, no areas of the American economy would face worse disruption than the farming, meat, and dairy industries. Thirty-six percent of all agricultural workers are undocumented. For pig farmers in Iowa, a state Trump won in 2016, the absence of immigrant workers would present a daunting challenge. “Iowa dominates the U.S. pork industry,” professor Dermot Hayes, of Iowa State University, told me in a recent interview. “At the labor level—the people who actually perform the work—I would guess at least 80 percent of them are immigrants.” For years now, Hayes says, immigrants have taken on “very tough jobs, very demanding, in circumstances that are harsh. These are people who are so hungry for work that they are willing to do what other people would prefer not to do.” Others agree. Based in Washington, the North American Meat Institute is the country’s largest association of meat industry companies. Sarah Little, the group’s vice president of communications, told me the significance of immigrant labor in Iowa is part of a larger and far-older trend in the industry. “Historically, immigrants to America work in meatpacking plants. It’s been that way for over a hundred years,” she said. Little warned that a sudden decrease in this labor pool would have an abrupt negative impact on Iowa’s pork industry. “It would be problematic,” she said. “They wouldn’t be able to manufacture at the pace that they do.” That’s an understatement. According to Dermot Hayes, such a reduction in the immigrant workforce would lead to a multitude of painful challenges. “There would be no place to process the animals. The plants would have to close until they restructured. There would be severe animal welfare concerns all over Iowa,” Hayes said.

#### The countries that matter for their impact are resilient and institutional responses prevent escalation

Sarah **Cliffe 16**, Director of the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, 3/29/16, “Food Security, Nutrition, and Peace,” http://cic.nyu.edu/news\_commentary/food-security-nutrition-and-peace

However, current research **does not** yet indicate a clear link between climate change, food insecurity and conflict, except perhaps where rapidly deteriorating water availability cuts across existing tensions and weak institutions. But a series of interlinked problems – changing global patterns of consumption of energy and scarce resources, increasing demands for food imports (which draw on land, water, and energy inputs) can create pressure on fragile situations.

Food security – and food prices – are a highly political issue, being a very immediate and visible source of popular welfare or popular uncertainty. But their **link to conflict** (and the wider links between climate change and conflict) is indirect rather than direct.

What makes some countries more resilient than others?

**Many** countries face food price or natural resource shocks **without falling into conflict**. Essentially, the two important factors in determining their resilience are:

First, whether food insecurity is combined with **other stresses** – issues such as unemployment, but most fundamentally issues such as political exclusion or human rights abuses. We sometimes read nowadays that the 2006-2009 drought was a factor in the Syrian conflict, by driving rural-urban migration that caused societal stresses. It may of course have been one factor amongst many but it would be **too simplistic** to suggest that it was the primary driver of the Syrian conflict.

Second, whether countries have strong enough institutions to fulfill a social compact with their citizens, providing help quickly to citizens affected by food insecurity, with or without international assistance. During the 2007-2008 food crisis, developing countries with low institutional strength experienced more food price protests than those with higher institutional strengths, and more than half these protests turned violent. This for example, is the difference in the events in Haiti versus those in **Mexico or the Philippines** where far greater institutional strength existed to deal with the food price shocks and **protests did not spur deteriorating national security** or widespread violence.

### DA - Anti Trust

#### Google investigation decks uniqueness

Mckay 9/29 [Tom Mckay, An upperclassman who had been researching terrorist groups online.", 9-29-2019, "House Antitrust Investigators Now Scrutinizing Google's Plans to Add DNS Encryption to Chrome," Gizmodo, https://gizmodo.com/house-antitrust-investigators-now-scrutinizing-googles-1838601830, accessed 9-30-2019] LHSBC

Antitrust investigators with the House Judiciary Committee are looking into Google’s plans to add Domain Name System over Transport Layer Security (DNS over TLS) to its Chrome browser, the [Wall Street Journal reported](https://www.wsj.com/articles/google-draws-house-antitrust-scrutiny-of-internet-protocol-11569765637) on Sunday, in the latest escalation of scrutiny over the company’s business practices. The Department of Justice has also heard complaints, a source told the paper.∂ DNS translates a domain name (such as Gizmodo.com) into an IP address. It’s essentially an internet phonebook. While encryption tech like HTTPS is already in place across much of the web, DNS is currently [largely unencrypted by default](https://arstechnica.com/information-technology/2018/04/how-to-keep-your-isps-nose-out-of-your-browser-history-with-encrypted-dns/), meaning it’s possible for service providers to ascertain which web sites a user is visiting and thus monetize traffic records.∂ Google has reportedly been integrating TLS, an additional layer of encryption, into DNS in Chrome—which the Journal notes could protect users against spoofing attacks or unauthorized snooping into their web traffic, but could also prevent the many “service providers who don’t support the new standard from observing user behavior in gathering data.” Opponents have also raised concerns that as Google controls 64 percent of the worldwide browser market and operates its own DNS system, Google Public DNS, the company could flip a switch transferring Chrome users away from service provider-operated DNS. That, the critics say, could allow Google to gain an unfair advantage over user behavior data invaluable for advertising purposes.∂ In a Sept. 13 letter to the company, investigators with the House committee asked Google for more information on why it is promoting DNS over TLS and whether any of the data collected or processed will be used for profit, the Journal wrote.∂ “Because the majority of world-wide internet traffic…runs through the Chrome browser or the Android operating system, Google could become the overwhelmingly predominant DNS lookup provider,” a coalition of service providers wrote in a letter to lawmakers this month, per the Journal. “Google would acquire greater control over user data across networks and devices around the world. This could inhibit competitors and possibly foreclose competition in advertising and other industries.”∂ “Right now, each internet service provider has insight into the traffic of their users, and that’s going to shift,” chief security officer Andy Ellis of Akamai, which does not support the new standard, told the Journal.∂ Google is planning on starting tests with the new protocol involving one percent of its user base, a less “aggressive strategy” than Mozilla’s Firefox, which the Journal wrote plans to switch users “to the new standard automatically, even if the change involves switching their DNS service providers.” Google denied that it has any plans to become “the centralized DNS provider,” while Mozilla has characterized the issue as griping by service providers who fear it will make it harder to track users for ad purposes, the paper wrote:∂ “Google has no plans to centralize or change people’s DNS providers to Google by default. Any claim that we are trying to become the centralized encrypted DNS provider is inaccurate,” the company said in an emailed statement.∂ ... Mozilla sees the antitrust concerns raised about Google as “fundamentally misleading,” according to Marshall Erwin, Mozilla’s senior director of trust and safety.∂ Service providers are raising these concerns to undermine the new standard and ensure that they have continued access to DNS data, he said.∂ It is unclear how much weight House investigators are giving to the complaints or whether DNS over TLS is likely to play a major role in Google’s ongoing headaches with the government. For example, Senator Rob Wyden recently urged the Department of Homeland Security to implement DNS over TLS and similar technologies [on government websites](https://gizmodo.com/sen-wyden-urges-dhs-to-adopt-new-encryption-tech-to-pr-1830001179), and it was only in 2017 that Congress overturned rules requiring service providers [to ask for permission](https://www.npr.org/2017/03/28/521831393/congress-overturns-internet-privacy-regulation) before selling user data. The idea that anyone other than service providers wants to make it as easy as possible for service providers to track users’ web activities for financial gain also seems like more than a bit of a reach.∂ But Google, which essentially owns the [entire web search market worldwide](https://gs.statcounter.com/search-engine-market-share#monthly-201712-201812-bar) and shares an [online ad duopoly](https://www.adweek.com/programmatic/the-digital-duopoly-still-reigns-the-ad-world-according-to-a-new-report/) with Facebook, has had a rough few months as regulators in DC and across the country have begun dissecting the titan’s business practices as part of a broader shift in official opinion against big tech firms.∂ Fifty state and territorial attorneys general have signed on to an [antitrust investigation](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/09/technology/google-antitrust-investigation.html) focused on the [company’s advertising business](https://gizmodo.com/50-attorneys-general-target-google-with-sweeping-antitr-1837987794) (and reportedly recently secured the assistance of [high-profile consultants](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-tech-antitrust-google-exclusive/exclusive-texas-signs-ex-microsoft-lawyer-others-to-aid-in-google-antitrust-probe-idUSKBN1WB14N) including a former Microsoft counsel). The DOJ, which is conducting its own antitrust inquiry, has requested Google’s parent company Alphabet [begin handing over documents](https://gizmodo.com/google-confirms-doj-scrutiny-says-it-must-hand-over-an-1837947773). The aforementioned House panel, as well as the [Senate Judiciary Committee](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/17/technology/senate-antitrust-tech-hearing.html), have been pressuring federal authorities to hold tech companies’ feet to the fire.

#### They have no spillover evidence – it’s about media companies, says that policy is unpredictable and concludes that Anti-Trust is bad for the economy.

Hoffman 18 [Adonis Hoffman, 1-15-2018, "The emerging Trump doctrine on mergers and antitrust," TheHill, https://thehill.com/opinion/white-

Nowhere has this been more manifest than in the telecom, media and technology sector, where the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission promised to “fire up the weed whacker and remove those rules that are holding back investment, innovation and job creation.” With serial precision, Chairman Ajit Pai has cut down Obama-era rules on media ownership, privacy and so-called net neutrality rules for internet service providers. For this he has been praised by the industry but pilloried by the public interest bar.∂ But all is not well in the big-dollar world of media mergers. While the FCC may be singing a familiar song, there is a discordant tune over at the Department of Justice, where signs of inconsistent decisions are emerging. First, DOJ sued to stop the $85 billion AT&T-Time Warner merger. Next, it scrutinized the $4 billion Sinclair-Tribune deal, requiring what some see as unreasonable divestitures. ∂ So far there has been no notable reaction to the proposed $15 billion Discovery-Scripps deal, or the $2.8 billion Meredith-Time, Inc. merger. And then there is the $66 billion Disney-Fox deal, which the president initially said, “would be good.” But that, too, could change.∂ The fact is that each of these mergers has its own merits and “would be good” for a lot of reasons. But those merits have been overlooked by the Justice Department’s inconsistency. If investors value anything other than high returns, it is predictability. But therein lies the disconnect, because the DOJ approach has been anything but predictable. It was once conventional wisdom that vertical mergers — those between companies that do not compete against each other — posed no threat to competition. This axiom was burnished into the pillars of antitrust law, providing reliable precedent on many deals for decades.∂ Out of nowhere the president’s Justice Department has upended decades of reliable merger regulation, replacing it with an ad hoc approach to deals. Whether grounded in politics or personality, this is not what the captains of industry signed up for when they overwhelmingly supported candidate Trump, nor is it consistent with Republican orthodoxy. ∂ With unprecedented growth in the telecom and media sectors, now is not the time to douse the sparks of mega-merger deal making. In 2017, media was the top industry for proposed or announced deals over $10 billion. And from 2013-2017, media was second only to pharmaceuticals for big deals. In addition, mergers involving newspapers, magazines, TV stations and digital platforms increased over the last few years. These transactions often lead to more jobs, economic growth and enhanced services for consumers in the long-term and provide incentives for increased competition. The notion that bigger is not necessarily bad should not be lost on this administration.∂ Like many other tenets of the Trump doctrine, antitrust policy is evolving. In its evolution, decision-makers should not forget the economic principles that got them where they are today.

#### Economic decline causes global war

Duncan 12 (Richard Duncan, chief economist at Singapore-based Blackhorse Asset Management, former financial sector specialist at the World Bank and global head of investment strategy at ABN AMRO Asset Management, studied literature and economics at Vanderbilt University (1983) and international finance at Babson College (1986), February 24th 2012,” The New Depression: The Breakdown of the Paper Money Economy”)

The consequences of a New Great Depression would extend far beyond the realm of economics. Hungry people will fight to survive. Governments will use force to maintain internal order at home. This section considers the geopolitical repercussion of economic collapse, beginning with the United States. First, the U.S. government’s tax revenues would collapse with the depression. Second, because global trade would shrivel up, other countries would no longer help finance the U.S. budget deficit by buying government bonds because they would no longer have the money to do so. At present, the rest of the world has a $500 billion annual trade surplus with the United States. The central banks of the United States’ trading partners accumulate that surplus as foreign exchange reserves and invest most of those reserves into U.S. government bonds. An economic collapse would cause global trade to plummet and drastically reduce (if not eliminate altogether) the U.S. trade deficit. Therefore, this source of foreign funding for the U.S. budget deficit would dry up. Consequently, the government would have to sharply curtail its spending, both at home and abroad. Domestically, social programs for the old, the sick, and the unemployed would have to be slashed. Government spending on education and infrastructure would also have to be curtailed. Much less government spending would result in a dramatic increase in poverty and, consequently, in crime. This would combine to produce a crisis of the current two-party political system. Astonishment, frustration, and anger at the economic breakdown would radicalize politics. New parties would form at both extremes of the political spectrum. Given the great and growing income inequality going into the crisis, the hungry have-nots would substantially outnumber the remaining wealthy. On the one hand, a hard swing to the left would be the outcome most likely to result from democratic elections. In that case, the tax rates on the top income brackets could be raised to 80 percent or more, a level last seen in 1963. On the other hand, the possibility of a right-wing putsch could not be ruled out. During the Great Depression, the U.S. military was tiny in comparison with what it became during World War II and during the decades of hot, cold, and terrorist wars that followed. In this New Great Depression, it might be the military that ultimately determines how the country would be governed. The political battle over America’s future would be bitter, and quite possibly bloody. It cannot be guaranteed that the U.S. Constitution would survive. Foreign affairs would also confront the United States with enormous challenges. During the Great Depression, the United States did not have a global empire. Now it does. The United States maintains hundreds of military bases across dozens of countries around the world. Added to this is a fleet of 11 aircraft carriers and 18 nuclear-armed submarines. The country spends more than $650 billion a year on its military. If the U.S. economy collapses into a New Great Depression, the United States could not afford to maintain its worldwide military presence or to continue in its role as global peacekeeper. Or, at least, it could not finance its military in the same way it does at present. Therefore, either the United States would have to find an alternative funding method for its global military presence or else it would have to radically scale it back. Historically, empires were financed with plunder and territorial expropriation. The estates of the vanquished ruling classes were given to the conquering generals, while the rest of the population was forced to pay imperial taxes. The U.S. model of empire has been unique. It has financed its global military presence by issuing government debt, thereby taxing future generations of Americans to pay for this generation’s global supremacy. That would no longer be possible if the economy collapsed. Cost–benefit analysis would quickly reveal that much of America’s global presence was simply no longer affordable. Many—or even most—of the outposts that did not pay for themselves would have to be abandoned. Priority would be given to those places that were of vital economic interests to the United States. The Middle East oil fields would be at the top of that list. The United States would have to maintain control over them whatever the price. In this global depression scenario, the price of oil could collapse to $3 per barrel. Oil consumption would fall by half and there would be no speculators left to manipulate prices higher. Oil at that level would impoverish the oil-producing nations, with extremely destabilizing political consequences. Maintaining control over the Middle East oil fields would become much more difficult for the United States. It would require a much larger military presence than it does now. On the one hand, it might become necessary for the United States to reinstate the draft (which would possibly meet with violent resistance from draftees, as it did during the Vietnam War). On the other hand, America’s all-volunteer army might find it had more than enough volunteers with the national unemployment rate in excess of 20 percent. The army might have to be employed to keep order at home, given that mass unemployment would inevitably lead to a sharp spike in crime. Only after the Middle East oil was secured would the country know how much more of its global military presence it could afford to maintain. If international trade had broken down, would there be any reason for the United States to keep a military presence in Asia when there was no obvious way to finance that presence? In a global depression, the United States’ allies in Asia would most likely be unwilling or unable to finance America’s military bases there or to pay for the upkeep of the U.S. Pacific fleet. Nor would the United States have the strength to force them to pay for U.S. protection. Retreat from Asia might become unavoidable. And Europe? What would a cost–benefit analysis conclude about the wisdom of the United States maintaining military bases there? What valued added does Europe provide to the United States? Necessity may mean Europe will have to defend itself. Should a New Great Depression put an end to the Pax Americana, the world would become a much more dangerous place. When the Great Depression began, Japan was the rising industrial power in Asia. It invaded Manchuria in 1931 and conquered much of the rest of Asia in the early 1940s. Would China, Asia’s new rising power, behave the same way in the event of a new global economic collapse? Possibly. China is the only nuclear power in Asia east of India (other than North Korea, which is largely a Chinese satellite state). However, in this disaster scenario, it is not certain that China[‘s] would survive in its current configuration. Its economy would be in ruins. Most of its factories and banks would be closed. Unemployment could exceed 30 percent. There would most likely be starvation both in the cities and in the countryside. The Communist Party could lose its grip on power, in which case the country could break apart, as it has numerous times in the past. It was less than 100 years ago that China’s provinces, ruled by warlords, were at war with one another. United or divided, China’s nuclear arsenal would make it Asia’s undisputed superpower if the United States were to withdraw from the region. From Korea and Japan in the North to New Zealand in the South to Burma in the West, all of Asia would be at China’s mercy. And hunger among China’s population of 1.3 billion people could necessitate territorial expansion into Southeast Asia. In fact, the central government might not be able to prevent mass migration southward, even if it wanted to. In Europe, severe economic hardship would revive the centuries-old struggle between the left and the right. During the 1930s, the Fascists movement arose and imposed a police state on most of Western Europe. In the East, the Soviet Union had become a communist police state even earlier. The far right and the far left of the political spectrum converge in totalitarianism. It is difficult to judge whether Europe’s democratic institutions would hold up better this time that they did last time. England had an empire during the Great Depression. Now it only has banks. In a severe worldwide depression, the country— or, at least London—could become ungovernable. Frustration over poverty and a lack of jobs would erupt into anti-immigration riots not only in the United Kingdom but also across most of Europe. The extent to which Russia would menace its European neighbors is unclear. On the one hand, Russia would be impoverished by the collapse in oil prices and might be too preoccupied with internal unrest to threaten anyone. On the other hand, it could provoke a war with the goal of maintaining internal order through emergency wartime powers. Germany is very nearly demilitarized today when compared with the late 1930s. Lacking a nuclear deterrent of its own, it could be subject to Russian intimidation. While Germany could appeal for protection from England and France, who do have nuclear capabilities, it is uncertain that would buy Germany enough time to remilitarize before it became a victim of Eastern aggression. As for the rest of the world, its prospects in this disaster scenario can be summed up in only a couple of sentences. Global economic output could fall by as much as half, from $60 trillion to $30 trillion. Not all of the world’s seven billion people would survive in a $30 trillion global economy. Starvation would be widespread. Food riots would provoke political upheaval and myriad big and small conflicts around the world. It would be a humanitarian catastrophe so extreme as to be unimaginable for the current generation, who, at least in the industrialized world, has known only prosperity. Nor would there be reason to hope that the New Great Depression would end quickly. The Great Depression was only ended by an even more calamitous global war that killed approximately 60 million people.

#### No impact to disease

Farquhar et al 17 [Sebastian Farquhar (PhD Candidate in Philosophy at Oxford and Project Manager at Future of Humanity Institute), John Halstead (climate activist and one of the co-founders of 350 Indiana-Calumet), Owen Cotton-Barratt (PhD in pure mathematics at Oxford. Previously worked as an academic mathematician and as Director of Research at the Centre for Effective Altruism), Stefan Schubert (Researcher at Department of Experimental Psychology at University of Oxford), Haydn Belfield (Associate Fellow at the Leverhulme Centre for the Future of Intelligence. He has a background in policy and politics, including as a Senior Parliamentary Researcher to a British Shadow Cabinet Minister, as a Policy Associate to the University of Oxford’s Global Priorities Project, and a degree in Philosophy, Politics and Economics from Oriel College, University of Oxford), Andrew Snyder-Beattie (Director of Research at the Future of Humanity Institute at Oxford, Holds degrees in biomathematics and economics and is currently pursuing a PhD in Zoology at Oxford), Existential Risk: Diplomacy and Governance, Global Priorities Project (Bostrom’s Institute), 2017-01-23, https://www.fhi.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/Existential-Risks-2017-01-23.pdf] TDI

For most of human history, natural pandemics have posed the greatest risk of mass global fatalities.37 However, there are some reasons to believe that natural pandemics are very unlikely to cause human extinction. Analysis of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) red list database has shown that of the 833 recorded plant and animal species extinctions known to have occurred since 1500, less than 4% (31 species) were ascribed to infectious disease.38 None of the mammals and amphibians on this list were globally dispersed, and other factors aside from infectious disease also contributed to their extinction. It therefore seems that our own species, which is very numerous, globally dispersed, and capable of a rational response to problems, is very unlikely to be killed off by a natural pandemic. One underlying explanation for this is that highly lethal pathogens can kill their hosts before they have a chance to spread, so there is a selective pressure for pathogens not to be highly lethal. Therefore, pathogens are likely to co-evolve with their hosts rather than kill all possible hosts.39

### DA – AP

#### No link – the plan wouldn’t consider AP tests in undergrad admissions decisions but those AP tests would still exist. i.e. after someone gets accepted into college, AP tests would still get considered as college credit and schools would still administer the AP test.

#### That’s racist – It’s empirically proven

Camera 18

(Lauren Camera, 10-26-18, education reporter at U.S. News & World Report. She’s covered education policy and politics for nearly a decade and has written for Education Week, The Hechinger Report, Congressional Quarterly, Roll Call, and the Chronicle of Higher Education. She was a 2013 Spencer Education Fellow at Columbia University’s School of Journalism, "The Future of College Entrance Exams," US News & World Report, <https://www.usnews.com/news/the-report/articles/2018-10-26/the-new-opt-out-movement-colleges-make-entrance-exams-optional>, JKS)

Buckley says he's wary of a world without college entrance exams. "What jumps into the vacuum is a question that I always wonder about," he says. At New York University, for example, applicants aren't required to submit an ACT or SAT score. But they have to submit something, and other options include three Advanced Placement exam scores, three SAT subject test scores or three scores on higher-level International Baccalaureate exams. "You can substitute the AP for SAT," Buckley says. "Everybody knows that, but fewer people take them because they're are designed to be college courses. They don't increase equity." Indeed, poor students and students of color have much less access to AP and IB classes than their wealthier, whiter peers. "I'd be the first person to point out a lot of flaws in assessments, but it's not clear to me that the world gets more fair with less kinds of assessments," Buckley says. "In the rush to throw out testing, we may be shooting ourselves in the foot in trying to make the world more fair."

### DA - Brain Drain Econ

#### Turn - Standardized tests are key to accepting international students

**Bhatia 19:** Avvalzameer Bhatia. “Standardized Test Scores are a Necessary Assessment to Equalize UC Admissions”. The Daily Bruin. March 5th, 2019. <https://dailybruin.com/2019/03/05/standardized-test-scores-are-a-necessary-assessment-to-equalize-uc-admissions/>. FD-RW

Each year, tens of thousands of students from thousands of schools across the globe vie for the chance to call themselves Bruins. One of the few things unifying that massively varied applicant pool: sitting at a desk and taking the SAT – or the ACT, if that’s your cup of tea. Standardized test scores are one of 14 factors the University of California uses to comprehensively review admissions applications and assess a student’s readiness for college. But many students have complained about the effectiveness of standardized test scores in determining college success. Recently, Beyond the Score, a student organization that seeks to challenge the use of standardized tests in University admissions, [hosted a town hall to raise awareness](https://dailybruin.com/2019/02/21/student-group-seeks-end-of-standardized-testing-in-college-admissions/)about the drawbacks of requiring that applicants take the SAT or ACT. Members of the organization called the tests inherently racist, claiming the structure of standardized tests disadvantages minorities, people of color and students from lower-income families who can’t afford preparatory courses. However, standardized tests also have a number of advantages. Test scores allow universities to put applicants from various backgrounds with different academic and grading systems on a level playing field. This gives students with inflated or deflated high school GPAs a fair opportunity to demonstrate their skill sets and knowledge of core concepts expected of university admits. The UC Academic Senate is in the process of reviewing the role of standardized testing in the admissions process, at the request of UC President Janet Napolitano. Specifically, the academic task force is working toward determining the validity and usefulness of standardized test scores and high school GPAs in the admissions process. But **it’s crucial standardized tests stay in place**. Tests such as the SAT and ACT **act as equalizers** for applicants, making things fairer, especially for international students who come from various backgrounds and academic systems. Ricardo Vazquez, a UCLA spokesperson, said standardized tests provide a uniform reference point independent of individual high schools’ grading systems or rigor, contributing to the fairness of the UC admissions process. He’s right: Standardized testing puts applicants on an even playing field. Students around the world are exposed to questions that test their knowledge of the same English and math concepts and are expected to finish the test in a set time limit. Additionally, all tests are graded on the same scale and generally have a consistent level of difficulty, making them a fair avenue for students to demonstrate their skills and readiness for college. Test scores also act as a counterweight to the variability of applicants’ high school GPAs. “My high school precalculus class was extremely easy when compared to those offered by other local public schools,” said Olivia Schulist, a third-year society and genetics student. “It would not have been fair to base a decision regarding my admission solely on my high school GPA.” Standardized tests are even more important when comparing the academic competence of international students. The UC admissions pool is comprised of students from all over the world, and countries across the globe follow different academic programs and grading scales. Many of these programs tend to be more challenging, time-consuming or simply different from those followed by American high schools. It’s important to have at least one common standard to cut across the diverse applicant pool. Standardized tests offer just that. Priscilla To, a third-year business economics student, said in her hometown of Hong Kong alone, schools follow myriad academic systems, such as the local Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education, the International Baccalaureate, the American Advanced Placement and the British General Certificate of Education. “These different academic systems vary in difficulty and emphasize different skills,” To said. “Standardized testing enables universities to understand a student’s performance.” Additionally, standardized tests allow universities to set a bar for their admits. A university’s admitted-student SAT score range allows applicants to better understand the university’s requirements and make informed decisions regarding their applications. “I think the SATs are important to gauge the academic standing of applicants and establish a benchmark for admission to a particular university,” said Aditi Ganesh, a third-year economics student. They also add a sense of predictability to the admissions process. Applicants can expect higher chances of admission if their scores on standardized tests fall in the top 25 percent of previously admitted students’ scores. This allows them to be more pragmatic about the universities they apply to. Of course, standardized tests can appear to disadvantage lower-income students who cannot always afford to pay for lessons, study materials and practice tests. These students can struggle to cover the cost of taking the test and sending scores to universities. **Despite these barriers, the solution clearly isn’t removing standardized testing altogether**. The UC already takes applicants’ socioeconomic background into account and compares their scores on standardized tests with others from similar communities and backgrounds. By using a holistic admissions process, the UC is able to compare applicants from all backgrounds on a level ground. With over 100,000 students’ admission decisions on the line, UCLA must be more objective than ever. And until a better alternative is found, the SAT and ACT are the best we have.

#### International students don’t stay in the US – foreign country leaders prove

Mai 15 (Duy Mai, business analyst, 4-2-2015, "Education Drives America's Strongest Soft Power Resource," <https://www.thehoya.com/education-drives-americas-strongest-soft-power-resource/>) LHSLA LH

In addition, international students help to stimulate the U.S. economy. They have to cover living expenses ranging from transportation and insurance fees to the costs of leisure activities. As a result, the net contribution to the U.S. economy by foreign students is estimated at 27 billion dollars. The current plethora of pro-U.S. foreign leaders is the result of the education of international students that took place decades ago. Essam Sharaf received a Ph.D. in civil engineering from Purdue University and was appointed Egypt’s interim prime minister after the fall of Hosni Mubarak. Nahas Angula graduated from Columbia with a master’s degree in education and was appointed Namibia’s prime minister in 2005. He defended the decision to sign the multibillion-dollar Millennium Challenge Account Development agreement with the United States. A Harvard graduate and current president of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf regards the United States as the greatest ally of the Liberian democratization and reconstruction process. Panama’s president, Ricardo Martinelli, graduated from the University of Arkansas and achieved a free trade agreement with the United States after much advocacy, building a special trade relationship with the state of Arkansas. A welcoming attitude toward international students facilitates U.S. soft power. The influence that the United States is exerting on other nations around the world attests to the underlying and important value of the education of international students in the United States.

Even if they win that people stay in the US, it’s not the “brain” of their DA, so there’s no impact.

### DA - Accountability

This disad makes no sense. There’s no link to the aff

1. Talking about K-12 which we don’t eliminate
2. We don’t eliminate tests
3. The impact of the DA is a reason the link wouldn’t happen; there’s pressure on schools to give scores for accountability reasons – testing in lower school proves

### DA – China Brain Drain

#### Chinese students don’t stay.

Herman 18 ([Arthur, analyst specializing in quantum computing and AI, and American national security.] “America's High-Tech STEM Crisis,” *Forbes*. 10 Sep. 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/arthurherman/2018/09/10/americas-high-tech-stem-crisis/#4a53871df0a2>.) LHSLA LH

America is in a race for high-tech supremacy with China. The question is, whether we will have enough future engineers and scientists to secure our lead in that race; or whether, for the first time, leadership in advanced technologies will pass to a leading geopolitical and economic competitor.

The issue isn’t whether our colleges and universities are training students and Ph.D’s in computer science and engineering and the physical sciences. It’s whether enough of them are American students. In fact, if many of those departments in our leading institutions of higher learning had to rely on American students alone for enrollments, they would probably have to shut their doors.

Experts have complained for decades that Americans don’t excel enough in the so-called STEM (i.e. science, technology, engineering, and mathematics) disciplines. But leading trends in our higher education suggest that the U.S. is fast approaching a STEM crisis like no other---one that systematically benefits foreign countries and companies, at the expense of our own. A future shortfall in Americans trained in science and engineering bodes ills not only for our economic well-being, but for our national security as well. This is because so many current and future defense systems will depend on technologies in which America still leads in development and innovation, such as cyber, artificial intelligence, quantum research, and even nanotechnology—but where competitors are pushing hard to overtake us and dominate the high-tech future.

The leading competitor is China, whose political leadership understands only too well how important STEM leadership is for global leadership. The World Economic Forum calculates that China had at least 4.7 million recent STEM grads as of 2016; India had 2.6 million as of 2017; the U.S. pulls in at third at 568,000. That puts us about equal with India for STEM grads per population (1:516 ratio for Indians and 1:573 for Americans); but well behind China’s 1:293 ratio.

China has also mastered the science of sending their students to foreign universities to build their knowledge base in crucial STEM areas, who then head back to China to become foot soldiers in the battle for high-tech supremacy. And a key training ground for those students are America’s best colleges and universities.

Last year, for example, 62 percent of all international students in US colleges and universities were in science and engineering fields. Almost seventy percent of those were from either India or China.

Meanwhile, it’s true that STEM grads are increasing as a percentage of American university and college grads. But a dwindling number of those students are Americans themselves. Even though the number of foreign students matriculating at American universities dipped slightly in the fall of 2017 by seven percent, the proportion of foreign students studying STEM subjects in the U.S. has doubled in the last thirty years. The Kauffman Foundation estimates that given current trends international students will make up full half of all STEM Ph.D’s by 2020. Indeed, without international students, graduate programs in STEM subjects in many schools couldn’t survive.

How bad is the shortage of American students? According to the non-partisan National Foundation for American Policy, in 2017 foreign nationals accounted for 81% of electrical engineering majors and grad students in this country. Foreign students make up three quarters of the majors and grad students in industrial engineering; 62% in mechanical engineering; 55%, or more than half, of those studying materials and metallurgic engineering.

As for computer science, the vital crucible for America’s future in areas such as cyber and AI, American students make up barely 21% of the student body.

So what’s the answer? Clearly it isn’t removing foreign nationals from these programs—although the State Department has started limiting visas for Chinese students in key areas like aerospace, robotics, and additive manufacturing. It’s really about getting more Americans into the STEM game, starting with scholarships in areas that are critical to our national and economic security, and much more.

Fortunately there is a precedent. Sixty-one years ago the Soviet launching of Sputnik forced a major reorientation of America’s entire education priorities; it spurred Congress to pass the National Defense Education Act that aimed to “strengthen the national defense and to encourage and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs.” That act gave STEM in America a major boost, as Americans focused on winning the space race in every classroom and college campus.

We are fast approaching another Sputnik moment, we can’t afford to ignore. Our national security, as well as economic security, depending on addressing it. We need major high-tech companies like Google and Microsoft; leading universities and colleges; the White House, the Department of Education and the Department of Defense; to come together to craft a high-tech STEM education strategy that can lead us forward to the future. Because when Sputnik comes this time, in the form of a Chinese universal quantum computer able to breach our public encryption systems, or Chinese companies setting the technical standards for 5G networks for the rest of the world, it will be too late.

### DA – Endowments

#### Tax Cuts thump

Tauber 9/25 [Rebecca Tauber, Deputy Managing Editor, 9-25-2019, "College endowment returns impacted by 2017 federal tax – The Williams Record," Williams Record, "https://williamsrecord.com/2019/09/college-endowment-returns-impacted-by-2017-federal-tax/", accessed 10-15-2019] LHSBC

In 2017, Congress passed the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, a law that included a tax on the returns from certain college and university endowments, of which the College’s endowment is one. ∂ This past summer, the U.S. Treasury Department released a document outlining which institutions would be affected by the tax and to what extent. The document describes “eligible educational institutions” as private colleges and universities with at least 500 tuition-paying students, more than half of whom are located in the U.S., and whose assets total at least $500,000 per student.∂ According to the College’s 2018 Investment Report, the endowment, one of the largest per student amongst private colleges and universities in the country, has a principal of more than one million dollars per student, thus qualifying the College, as well as many peer institutions, for this tax. ∂ “The tax will reduce our endowment each year by 1.4 percent of the net investment income earned on our endowment,” Vice President for Finance and Administration Frederick Puddester said. “Since we draw about 5 percent of our endowment each year, this reduction in the endowment will mean less money to support programs and spending at the college.”

#### No impact- 5 warrants

Rotherham 12 (Andrew J. Rotherham, “College Endowments: Why Even Harvard Isn’t as Rich as You Think” Feb. 09, 2012 <http://ideas.time.com/2012/02/09/college-endowments-why-even-harvard-isnt-as-rich-as-you-think/>

1. Most schools don’t have them. There are 2,719 four-year colleges in the U.S. (and another 1,690 two-year colleges), according to the most recent Department of Education figures. Most higher-education institutions have no endowment, says William Jarvis, managing director and head of research at the CommonFund Institute, which helps NACUBO with its endowment surveys. But as with everything else around higher education, it’s the elite schools — which tend to be the ones that have large endowments — that drive the conversation. Endowments just aren’t a big factor at most of the institutions of higher education in this country. 2. Many endowments are not that big. The endowments at schools like Harvard or Yale (No. 2, with $19.3 billion) or even public universities like the University of Texas (No. 3, at $17.1 billion) get the attention. But of the 823 U.S. colleges and universities that responded to a NACUBO survey (which also included Canadian schools), only 73 had endowments that topped $1 billion; 137 had less than $25 million. Of the U.S. schools in the NACUBO survey, the median endowment size is $90 million. Not too shabby, but at the standard expenditure rate, an endowment that size generates only about $4.5 million in spendable dollars per year. That’s a decent chunk of change, but hardly enough to eliminate student debt and rely on investment returns instead. Even Cooper Union, the famously no-tuition college in New York City (No. 126, at $607 million), is struggling financially, and indicated this past fall that it is considering charging tuition for the first time in a century. 3. The recession is still taking a toll. Endowments on average earned 19% returns on their investments in the last fiscal year, according to NACUBO. Who wouldn’t like earnings like that? But they lost about the same amount in 2009. Many schools have not fully rebounded from the downturn: 47% of endowments have less than they did in 2008, according to NACUBO. (MORE: Can GE Help Bring Common Core Standards to Life?) 4. Donors don’t always write blank checks. When your alma mater calls you and asks for a donation, it’s really hoping you’ll give to its general fund, where the use of your donation is unrestricted. Donations you give for scholarships or specific degrees, programs or activities can be used only for those purposes. It’s the same with large donations, and large donations frequently come with donor restrictions — for instance, a specifically endowed chair for a professor or a particular area of research. Sometimes a school can renegotiate with a donor to increase flexibility, such as using proceeds from an endowed chair for another purpose until a suitable hire can be found. Such revisions get complicated when the donors are no longer living. Bottom line: a lot of the money in those big endowments has claims on it, including at Harvard (where, by the way, I am a member of the visiting committee at the Graduate School of Education.) 5. Endowments are not all cash. Remember the various exotic investments that helped trigger the financial meltdown? Just like other big-time investors, endowments were attracted to private-equity deals, real estate, hedge funds, commodities and the like. NACUBO estimates that 54% of endowments are tied up in these alternative and illiquid investments. This style of endowment investing was pioneered by Yale’s David Swenson and subsequently became known as the “Harvard-Yale” model. A few years ago, when the downturn began, the endowments of those two schools — and all the others that had followed their example — got hammered. Back then, everyone wanted to be like Harvard and Yale — and they got their wish. When Ken Redd, NACUBO’s director of research and policy analysis, asked endowment leaders what they’re most worried about, they said another fiscal crisis that could trigger a shortage of cash. In that way, endowments are just like many Americans: overextended, with big dreams and not enough cash on hand.

### DA – Econ Competitiveness

#### C/a Smith and Garrison 05 – tests are horrible predictors when it comes to race

#### Shaw is incredibly biased – she’s an executive director at college board. Doesn’t even talk about combinations

### DA - Elections

#### No link – the aff defends colleges and universities, not the state. Colleges and Universities are completely separate from Trump.

#### Plenty of alt causes – abortion, healthcare, gun control, climate change, tax reform, the welfare state, prison reform, and Trump’s foreign policy are all reasons why voters are turning out.

#### Trump’s unique hegemony and foreign policy deters all war – setes great powers off balance and emboldens regional allies

Twining 4/18 (Daniel, Counselor and Asia Director at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. As director of the Asia Program, he leads a 15-member team working on the rise of Asia and its implications for the West through a program of convening and research spanning East, South, and Southeast Asia. Dr. Twining previously served as a Member of the U.S. Secretary of State’s Policy Planning Staff, as the Foreign Policy Advisor to U.S. Senator John McCain, and as a staff member of the U.S. Trade Representative. He is an Associate of the U.S. National Intelligence Council, has taught at Georgetown University, and served as a military instructor associated with the Naval Postgraduate School. He holds a BA with Highest Distinction from the University of Virginia and MPhil & DPhil degrees from Oxford University, where he was the Fulbright/Oxford Scholar from 2004-07. He writes regular columns for Nikkei and Foreign Policy and has served as an advisor to six presidential campaigns. foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/18/trump-might-be-a-traditional-president-after-all/)LH

Trump may seem an odd champion of some of these causes. But his national security Cabinet, which now seems to be finding its feet, is in keeping with American foreign-policy traditions. In international affairs, Trump relies on two of the leading general officers of their generation, James Mattis and H.R. McMaster; a pillar of America’s globalist-corporate establishment, former ExxonMobil CEO Rex Tillerson; and the former president of Goldman Sachs, Gary Cohn, who has led a so-far-successful effort to check the mercantilist instincts of White House advisers Steve Bannon and Peter Navarro. The internationalists have an ally in Jared Kushner, Trump’s son-in-law and key adviser, who takes a pragmatic view of U.S. policy priorities. For all the focus on Trump’s personality, his unorthodox presidency may yield a more traditional focus on deploying American power for broader ends. Obama decried American exceptionalism, emphasized “nation-building at home,” and pursued a dedicated policy of retracting American power from pivotal theaters like the Middle East, enabling revisionist regional powers to go on the offensive. He did not do enough as the humanitarian tragedy of Syria played out in slow motion, destabilizing not only the Middle East but also Europe, dividing and weakening Washington’s closest ally in world affairs. His rhetorical “pivot” to Asia left U.S. allies wanting more American presence and leadership than they got. Trump remains at odds with much of Washington’s bipartisan foreign-policy establishment. He has yet to embrace the trade leadership that makes the world’s biggest economy more competitive and dynamic, and Americans more prosperous. But his willingness to employ limited military force — including ramping up military action against the Islamic State in Syria and Afghanistan — and to stand up to the regional power plays of revisionist states, creates opportunities to more effectively manage complex conflicts, from the Levant to the Korean Peninsula. It is telling that a modest set of missile strikes against a remote Syrian airbase represents the boldest use of American military power against the murderous regime of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. It is also telling that the tangible threat of U.S. military action against North Korea is on the table after eight years of a policy the Obama administration termed “strategic patience,” which created a window of opportunity that Pyongyang used to continue to perfect its intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons programs while America looked away. Even China and Russia look off-balance after early fears in Washington that an inexperienced president would appease the leaders of these countries. Chinese President Xi Jinping came to Trump’s Mar-a-Lago estate bearing concessions designed to fend off an American trade war. At their inaugural summit, Trump was clear with Xi that the quality of U.S.-China relations would be tied to Beijing’s cooperation in tightening economic pressure on North Korea. Having secured strategic gains during the Obama presidency, and given the five-year leadership plenum approaching this fall, Xi would be wise to exercise strategic restraint during Trump’s first term, and demonstrate China’s utility by tightening the pressure on its ally North Korea to deter further nuclear tests. Given that Trump wants to manage trade with what he sees as a mercantilist superpower that does not play by the rules, China would also be prudent to pursue the kind of voluntary export restraint agreements that Japan struck with the Ronald Reagan administration in the 1980s, when trade frictions with Tokyo peaked. Trump’s threat to use trade barriers as leverage to move China to assume a tougher posture with its client in Pyongyang clearly has gotten Beijing’s attention and may even yield dividends. Ironically, Trump is likely to be the first American president since the end of the Cold War not to pursue a “reset” in relations with Russia. The ongoing investigations into the Trump campaign’s dealings with Russian agents of influence severely restrict the ability of this administration to pursue any kind of improvement in relations with a regime that invades democratic neighbors, threatens NATO allies with nuclear attack, attempts as a matter of state policy to subvert Western elections, and murders political opponents. Indeed, the mounting domestic opposition to Russian President Vladimir Putin’s autocratic rule — as manifested in popular protests in cities across Russia — creates a new pressure point that the United States could leverage through a heightened force posture in Europe and more robust campaign for Russia to conform to international law by severing dealings with the outlaw Syrian regime. As Tillerson pointed out on his way to Moscow to meet Putin, Assad has become a liability rather than an asset to Russia’s geopolitical ambitions. The Trump administration is still in its first 100 days. It has not been subjected to the kind of international crisis that tests every administration, and which will call into question not only its statecraft but the judgment of the commander-in-chief. There remain reasons to be concerned, particularly about the administration’s trade agenda. But anxious allies are breathing a sigh of relief that American power is back as a force to be reckoned with in a dangerous world, after what many see as Obama’s abdication of the U.S. role as global guarantor and following a political campaign in which America was presented as a victim of globalization rather than as its engine. In Asia in particular, friends of the United States seek a robust commitment to U.S. military and diplomatic leadership as well as skill in stewarding the pivotal U.S.-China relationship in ways that preclude both condominium and conflict. North Korea poses a harder test than Syria: Asian allies will want to see that the Trump administration is as adept at diplomacy on the Korean Peninsula as it is at projecting military power in the Middle East. The White House will also need to be willing to risk an increase in tensions with Beijing by imposing secondary sanctions on Chinese banks and businesses that are the lifeline of the North Korean economy.

#### Warming takes too long and adaptation will solve by then

Mendelsohn 9(Robert O. the Edwin Weyerhaeuser Davis Professor, Yale School of¶ Forestry and Environmental Studies, Yale University, June 2009, “Climate Change and¶ Economic Growth,” online: http://www.growthcommission.org/storage/cgdev/documents/¶ gcwp060web.pdf

The heart of the debate about climate change comes from a number of warnings from scientists and others that give the impression that human induced climate change is an immediate threat to society (IPCC 2007a,b; Stern 2006.) Millions of people might be vulnerable to health effects (IPCC 2007b) crop production might fall in the low latitudes (IPCC 2007b), water supplies might dwindle (IPCC 2007b), precipitation might fall in arid regions (IPCC 2007b), extreme events will grow exponentially (Stern 2006), and between 20-30 percent of species will risk extinction (IPCC 2007b). Even worse, there may be catastrophic events such as the melting of Greenland or Antarctic ice sheets causing severe sea level rise, which would inundate hundreds of millions of people. (Dasgupta et al. 2009) Proponents argue there is no time to waste. Unless greenhouse gases are cut dramatically today, economic growth and wellbeing may be at risk (Stern 2006). These statements are largely alarmist and misleading. Although climate change is a serious problem that deserves attention, society’s immediate behavior has an extremely low probability of leading to catastrophic consequences. The science and economics of climate change is quite clear that emissions over the next few decades will lead to only mild consequences. The severe impacts predicted by alarmists require a century (or two in the Case of Stern 2006) of no mitigation. Many of the predicted impacts assume there will be no or little adaptation. the net economic impacts from climate change over the next 50 years will take more than a century or even a millennium to unfold and many of these “potential” impacts will never occur because people will adapt. It is not at all apparent that immediate and dramatic policies need to be developed to thwart long‐range climate risks. What is needed are long-run balanced responses.

#### Trump is statistically the best president for low-income families – he’s raised wages and educated minority workforces. Leftist presidents cannot deliver.

Moore 17 (<https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/opinion/commentary/ct-perspec-race-trump-economy-progress-0822-story.html>) LHSLA LH

One lesson I've learned from working for Donald Trump is that you have to pay attention to what he does, not what he says. The left and the media are on a rampage accusing Trump of being a ‎racist and Nazi and Ku Klux Klan sympathizer because of his words in response to the horrid events in Charlottesville, Va. Let's all accept two truths: First, that every sane person denounces the ‎violence and racial hatred displayed in Charlottesville by far-right, fringe white supremacists. And second, that Trump should have shown better judgment in his seeming defense of these crazed groups carrying around torches and Confederate flags as if celebrating a darker period in our history. Words matter for sure, but actions do speak louder than words. Leftists believe that good intentions are more important than results. If you meant well and your heart is in the right place, that's what really matters, according to this creed. As Bill Clinton put it so famously: "I feel your pain." And that was enough. No one cared more about the plight of black Americans than Barack Obama — our first African-American president — who won well more than 90 percent of the black vote. But the sad paradox of Obama's presidency is that a president who was going to lift up black America economically didn't deliver. From 2009 to 2015, the incomes of black Americans fell by more than $900 per family adjusted for inflation. So far under Trump, median family incomes have risen by more than $1,000, according‎ to Sentier Research and based on Census Bureau numbers. These numbers are not broken down by race, but it's a pretty good bet that black incomes have risen with those of other races under Trump. What about other metrics of black economic progress under Trump? It's early for sure, but we have some preliminary results since Election Day, when the stock market started its latest bull market run. The black unemployment rate has fallen by a full percentage point in the last year, black labor force participation is up and the number of black Americans with a job has risen by 600,000 from last year. Preliminary data show black wages and incomes are up since the election. The rate of job growth per month for blacks under Trump has so far been 40 percent higher than the monthly average under ‎Obama. Trump has averaged nearly 30,000 new black jobs per month. That's especially remarkable because Obama was elected when employment was way down. Another issue that is critically important to black and Hispanic economic progress is good schools. Trump is advancing the idea of school choice so that every child can attend a quality school, public or private. In cities such as Washington, D.C., and Milwaukee, the children who benefit from voucher and scholarship programs are predominantly black. Trump wants to increase by tenfold the number of black children who benefit from these vouchers and scholarships. The goal here is to give every poor or minority child the same range of education choices that wealthy families have. The same people who denounce Trump for being a racist hypocritically oppose Trump's plan for better school options for black children. I have heard many liberal commentators compare Trump to George Wallace, the late Alabama governor who defended school segregation and stood in front of the white public schools with armed guards to keep the black children out. Now we have liberals and teachers unions figuratively standing in front of the high-quality white private schools like modern-day George Wallaces trying to keep black children out. Trump also wants more infrastructure spending, more energy jobs and more apprenticeship programs so our youth have access to better jobs and better training. Disproportionately, blacks and other minorities will benefit from these programs, because fewer have the financial capability to go to a four-year college. So is Trump a racist who doesn't care about the future of black Americans? Let's face it. He's no Jack Kemp when it comes to talking about race and healing wounds with his words. But Trump is creating more jobs and higher incomes for blacks and other minorities and is trying to give a better education to every disadvantaged black child in America. That is a pretty impr

#### Best models prove Trump wins.

Jeff Cox, 10-15-2019, “Trump is on his way to an easy win in 2020, according to Moody’s accurate election model,” CNBC, https://www.cnbc.com/2019/10/15/moodys-trump-on-his-way-to-an-easy-2020-win-if-economy-holds-up.html

President Donald Trump looks likely to cruise to reelection next year under three different economic models Moody’s Analytics employed to gauge the 2020 race.

Barring anything unusual happening, the president’s Electoral College victory could easily surpass his 2016 win over Democrat Hillary Clinton, which came by a 304-227 count.

Moody’s based its projections on how consumers feel about their own financial situation, the gains the stock market has achieved during Trump’s tenure and the prospects for unemployment, which has fallen to a 50-year low. Should those variables hold up, the president looks set to get another four-year term.

The modeling has been highly accurate going back to the 1980 election, missing only once.

 “If the economy a year from now is the same as it is today, or roughly so, then the power of incumbency is strong and Trump’s election odds are very good, particularly if Democrats aren’t enthusiastic and don’t get out to vote,” said Mark Zandi, chief economist at Moody’s Analytics and co-author of the paper along with Dan White, the firm’s director of government counsulting and fiscal policy research, and Bernard Yaros, an assistant director and economist. “It’s about turnout.”

Three models show Trump getting at least 289 electoral votes, assuming average turnout. His chances decrease with maximum turnout on the Democratic side and increase with minimum turnout expected.

Of the three models, he does best under the “pocketbook” measure of how people feel about their finances. In that scenario, assuming average nonincumbent turnout, he gets 351 electoral votes to the generic Democrat’s 187. “Record turnout is vital to a Democratic victory,” the report said.

In the stock market model, Trump gets a 289-249 edge, while the unemployment model shows a 332-206 advantage. Across all three models, Trump wins 324-214.

“Our ‘pocket¬book’ model is the most economically driven of the three. If voters were to vote primarily on the basis of their pocketbooks, the president would steamroll the competition,” the report said. “This shows the importance that prevailing economic sentiment at the household level could hold in the next election.”

### DA - Grade Inflation

#### Meltzer is a private testing tutor for a test tutoring company – clearly biased and it’s studies are bunk

#### Kuncell and Sackett are biased

Sackett et al. 12 [Sackett, Paul R.; Kuncel, Nathan R.; Beatty, Adam S.; Rigdon, Jana L.; Shen, Winny; and Kiger, Thomas B., September 2012, “The Role of Socioeconomic Status in SAT-Grade Relationships and in College Admissions Decisions”, Psychological Science, Vol. 23, No. 9 (SEPTEMBER 2012), pp. 1000-1007, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23260359?Search=yes&resultItemClick=true&searchText=%22college+admissions%22&searchText=AND&searchText=%22standardized+tests%22&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoBasicSearch%3FQuery%3D%2522college%2Badmissions%2522%2BAND%2B%2522standardized%2Btests%2522%26amp%3Bacc%3Doff%26amp%3Bwc%3Don%26amp%3Bfc%3Doff%26amp%3Bgroup%3Dnone&ab_segments=0%2Fdefault-2%2Fcontrol&refreqid=search%3Adbcf49c96c2891be633b0e0cb711e6a9&seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents> LHS AP]

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#### Buckley is biased

AIFR [American Institutes For Research, 10-26-2018, "Jack Buckley," American Institutes for Research, https://www.air.org/person/jack-buckley, accessed 9-15-2019] LHSBC

Dr. Buckley has a deep background in applied statistics and education research. He served as AIR’s Senior Vice President for Research and Evaluation (Dec. 2016-Jan. 2019), where he oversaw projects across a range of subject areas including education, health, and the workforce both in the United States and internationally. Before joining AIR, he helped lead the redesign of the SAT at the College Board, where he served as senior vice president of research and was responsible for all research and psychometrics across their entire range of products and services. Prior to the College Board, he served as Commissioner of the U.S. Department of Education’s National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). In that role he was responsible for the measurement of all aspects of U.S. education, including conducting the National Assessment of Educational Progress and coordinating U.S. participation in international assessments. While at NCES he also acted as a senior technical adviser to Department of Education leadership and co-chair of its Data Strategy team. He also served as Deputy Commissioner of NCES earlier in his career.

#### Testing doesn’t predict – Large volumes of data prove that minorities are underrepresented and GPA’s are higher than SAT’s would suggest.

Syverson et al. 18 [Steven T. Syverson, Valerie W. Franks, William C. Hiss , Spring 2018, " DEFINING ACCESS: How Test-Optional Works ," National Association for College Admission Counseling , https://www.nacacnet.org/globalassets/documents/publications/research/defining-access-report-2018.pdf, accessed 8-9-2019] LHSBC

* First paragraph is covers 122,916 students overall

The 2014 research revealed that—when given the option at one of those 33 TOP institutions —roughly a third of enrolled students chose to apply without standardized test scores (Non-Submitters). These Non-Submitters went on to graduate at virtually the same rates (a 0.6% difference) and with nearly the same college GPA (0.05 of a Cum GPA point) as the Submitters whose test scores were considered in the admission process. Their research also concluded that Non-Submitters were more likely to be first-generation-to-college, underrepresented minority students, women, Pell Grant recipients, and students with Learning Differences. And, using large volumes of HSGPA data, their findings underscored the sturdiness of the HSGPA as a predictor of college performance.

This research highlighted an interesting intersection between the testing agencies and that of the counter views. A meta-analysis of studies of “discrepant performance” revealed that “a quarter to a third of tested students exhibit some degree of mismatch between their grades and their test scores.” Within this group, approximately half of them have high school grades that are higher than what the tests would predict. Across the studies cited, the range appears to be between 11% and 18% of the sample population (Sanchez & Mattern [Making the Case for Standardized Testing] in Buckley, 2018).

Another related study identified the students most likely to have strong HSGPAs and low testing: women, FirstGeneration to college, low income students, and students who speak a second language at home. Furthermore, those most likely to be discordant with weaker HSGPAs and stronger testing are males, whites, and those of higher income (Sanchez and Edmunds, 2015).

#### Wolf relies on winning tests are the most objective—our Au evidence and cycles of removing questions that minorities got right on the experimental sections of the SAT prove it’s arbitrary.

### DA - Holistic Review Econ/New Hampshire

#### We make the admissions process easier by making colleges evaluate less things—no college looks exclusively at standardized tests so we simplify the squo.

#### Fundraising solves budgets—New Hampshire will admit a class in 2020

Christensen 6-25 (Dusty Christensen, 6-25-2019, "Hampshire College plans to admit full class in 2020," Daily Hampshire Gazette, <https://www.gazettenet.com/Amid-scrutiny-from-accrediting-agency-Hampshire-College-will-admit-fall-2020-class-26554493>) LHSLA LH

AMHERST — Amid scrutiny from its accrediting agency, Hampshire College’s board of trustees has voted to admit a full class in the fall of 2020.

Interim President Ken Rosenthal made the announcement last week in an email to campus, saying the board voted to “resolve to admit a class for fall 2020 and proceed with the steps necessary to do so successfully.”

To that end, Rosenthal said, Hampshire plans to actively recruit prospective students, and is in the process of rebuilding its admissions and financial aid offices, which had been hit by layoffs.

Rosenthal’s tone was optimistic — both in his message to campus and in an interview Tuesday. He noted that the college has raised $4.5 million in cash toward a goal of raising $20 million by June 2020, as well as another $4.5 million in pledges toward the school’s multiyear fundraising campaign.

“People have asked, why is the Board confident they can enroll a new class next fall 2020 when they voted four months ago not to accept a full class for fall 2019 and spring 2020? What changed?” Rosenthal wrote. “The answer is, the remarkable, historic outpouring of support this spring from Hampshire alums, friends, and people who believe in our College.”

#### Correlation not causation—New Hampshire was one of the most radical colleges ever and failed for other reasons.

Fitzpatrick 2-27 (Ellen Fitzpatrick, 27 Feb 2019, "Remembering the Bold Thinking of Hampshire College," Atlantic, <https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2019/02/hampshire-college/583711/>) LHSLA LH

The college conceived of by the “New College Plan” and then created by Hampshire’s founders did, indeed, mark a notable departure in collegiate education. It encouraged an extraordinary level of independence among its students, allowing undergraduates a primary role in organizing their own education. Taught in small classes, Hampshire students were free of grades, required courses, rigid distribution requirements, lecture courses with periodic exams, fixed majors, and the predictable four-year college sequence. Instead, they progressed by examination through three divisions—the first allowing exposure to broad areas of knowledge, the second a concentration equivalent to a major but self-designed, and the third a time of advanced study of a topic that would usually consume most of the student’s final year. Interdisciplinary work was encouraged; the college did not have departments organized by traditional academic disciplines such as biology, English, political science, or art. Instead, it established schools of natural science, social science, language and communication, and humanities and arts, to which faculty were assigned by expertise and interest.

Ironically, many of the innovations that Hampshire’s founders proposed in order to answer the perceived problems of their day complicate the school’s current crisis. The structure of the school’s faculty provides a revealing case in point. The college’s founders wanted Hampshire to have a young faculty, “relatively close to college age themselves,” joined by a much smaller number of senior and mid-career professors. The cost savings in salaries of such a system are obvious enough, though the college promised competitive pay and benefits comparable to elite, private liberal-arts institutions. (That pledge gave way in time as financial challenges mounted.) All faculty would serve under a contract system with review before renewal; no tenure would exist at Hampshire College.

Amazingly, the appeal of the college was such that it attracted at its start outstanding professors from first-rank institutions who gave up tenure to teach at Hampshire. Salary compression in the academic job market has allowed the college to continue to recruit, hire, and retain talented faculty, even without the promise of tenure. However, the faculty turnover that college administrators expected did not pan out; Hampshire professors tended to stay at the institution. Although the contract system remained in place, it gave way to reappointments of longer duration such that 10-year contracts in time provided some semblance of the stability conferred by tenure. Amid the current duress, this structure augments the vulnerability of professors who face the downsizing, layoffs, and cutbacks that Hampshire’s current administration is now pursuing aggressively.

Another innovation—the college’s unusual model of governance—figures centrally in the present-day upheaval on the campus. Although Hampshire is overseen by a traditional board of trustees and led by a president with accompanying officers who set “basic policy,” Hampshire’s founders gave to “all of the community’s constituencies” a primary role in determining “the internal governance of the College.” “The major governing bodies of the community will be few,” Patterson and Longsworth promised, “but students will have representation on each of them.” The assumption was that anyone in the community could propose “innovations and evaluations.” Members of the college community more than rose to these expectations over the ensuing decades—to the chagrin, no doubt, of its leadership on many occasions. Shared governance in nearly every aspect of college life became the norm, and a tradition of participatory democracy was thereby established, however imperfectly executed at times.

This history provides an important backdrop to the announcements earlier this year by the president and board of trustees that Hampshire is pursuing a yet-to-be-defined strategic partnership—presumably with a larger university that could help stabilize the college financially—and will not be admitting a full class of new students in the fall. The news came as a shock to most of the current faculty, staff, and students, as well as to alumni and friends of the college. A storm of protest has followed, with student sit-ins of administrative offices, including that of the Hampshire president. Ultimate responsibility over the college’s institutional and fiduciary well-being has always rested with the board of trustees. Today it is a large body of 29 members, the majority of whom are alumni of the college. Nonetheless, Hampshire’s long tradition of shared and decentralized governance offered little preparation for the top-down nature of decisions of such great institutional consequence.

A key factor in Hampshire’s current vulnerability derives from what was a critical element of the planned experiment— the college’s unorthodox financing. It was one of the proposed innovations that seemed most promising, if daring, at the college’s founding. In making “a virtue out of the necessity,” Hampshire sought to meet its costs primarily through tuition and fees—a bold move that would demonstrate that it was possible to offer, as the “New College Plan” suggested, a high-quality education at minimum cost.

Economies of scale were to be achieved at the new college in several ways. Financial aid would be limited to a modest number of mostly full scholarships based entirely on need. The college would instead meet what it felt to be its social responsibility through an “early-identification program,” which would nurture a small number of poor elementary-school children who would subsequently be offered full scholarships to Hampshire. Student self-direction would, in theory, free up professorial time and allow for a smaller faculty. (In fact, students demanded and received a great deal of individual attention from a very hardworking and dedicated faculty.) Cost savings would ideally be achieved by having a relatively high student-to-faculty ratio of roughly 20 to 1. Five College cooperation would allow students from all five institutions in the valley to take courses at neighboring campuses. Hampshire would be especially advantaged by this opportunity, permitting the new school to escape the need of duplicating everything from obscure fields of study to library resources available elsewhere. There would be no formally organized, and expensive, system of intercollegiate athletics.

### DA - Homeschool

#### Homeschooling is bad – it creates a bubble of homophobia and white supremacy

Gallagher 18 [John Gallagher, 4-30-2018, "What’s the common thread between recent high profile attacks? Christian homeschooling," No Publication, https://www.lgbtqnation.com/2018/04/whats-common-thread-recent-high-profile-attacks-christian-homeschooling/, accessed 9-20-2019] LHSBC

What do the Waffle House shooting, the Austin bombings and a deadly explosion in Wisconsin have in common? The suspects in each case was [a young, white Christian man who was homeschooled.](https://www.patheos.com/blogs/lovejoyfeminism/2018/04/the-waffle-house-shooter-was-homeschooled-and-so-was-the-austin-bomber.html)∂ For decades, homeschooling has been the refuge of conservative Christians who are convinced that the public school system [only teaches secularism and sex.](https://www.lgbtqnation.com/2018/04/activist-mommy-claims-schools-forcing-kids-learn-anal-sex/) But a series of high-profile violent incidents shows that homeschooling isn’t exactly the panacea it’s been made out to be.∂ The most recent episode was the shooting deaths of four black people at a Waffle House outside Nashville April 22. The suspect in that case, Travis Reinking, [was homeschooled](https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/breaking/ct-met-waffle-house-shooting-suspect-morton-20180423-story.html) in the small town of Morton, IL. Reinking briefly attended the local high school and a Christian academy, but most of his education was at home.∂ “They’re born-again Christian people,” family acquaintance Tammy Lake [told The Tennessean.](https://www.tennessean.com/story/news/2018/04/26/waffle-house-shooting-travis-reinking-morton-illinois/545679002/) “Super nice people. They’re very soft-spoken, quiet people.”∂ Similarly, Mark Anthony Condit, who authorities identified as the man behind a series of racially motivated bombings in Austin, was the product of homeschooling as well.∂ Cassia Schultz, who attended the same conservative survivalist groups as Condit growing up, described the Condit family to Buzzfeed as [“more conservative, strictly religious.”](https://www.buzzfeed.com/tasneemnashrulla/austin-bombing-suspect-mark-anthony-conditt?utm_term=.fqx4z8X1d#.sf54mklVy) Condit blew himself up as he was being pursued by police last month.∂ Then there’s the case of Benjamin Morrow of Beaver Dam, WI.∂ Morrow also blew himself up (although accidentally) last month. Police found white supremacist literature in Morrow’s apartment, which was so filled with hazardous materials for bomb making that they had to destroy the entire apartment complex.∂ Morrow was homeschooled through high school. [His obituary noted](https://www.ajc.com/news/national/warrants-bomb-maker-killed-apartment-explosion-had-white-supremacist-bent/y6Y8rfDEIv5SC9zCbbkloL/) that he “accepted Jesus as his personal Saviour at the age of four-and-a-half.”∂ None of this is to say that homeschooling leads to domestic terrorism. For example, Reinking has [exhibited bizarre behavior in the past](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2018/04/25/waffle-house-shooting-suspect-had-displayed-odd-behavior-but-did-not-seem-violent-former-co-workers-recall/) and had his guns taken away from him, only to have his father return them.∂ However, Christian homeschooling is a closed universe, with its own historical revisionism. Blogger Libby Anne, herself the product of conservative Christian homeschooling, has noted that many popular homeschool books are racist and that you [“actively have to work to avoid white supremacist materials.”](https://www.patheos.com/blogs/lovejoyfeminism/2017/09/how-a-white-supremacist-book-found-its-way-into-a-familys-homeschool.html) ∂ Of course, opposing LBGTQ rights is part and parcel of that line of thinking. Homeschool advocates [regularly cite the LGBTQ “agenda”](https://deeprootsathome.com/gay-agenda-permeates-public-schools-with-childrens-books/) as reason for condemning public schools. So you can only imagine what is being taught in those home classrooms.∂ It would be a mistake to argue that homeschooling causes violence. The Parkland shooter wasn’t homeschooled.∂ But it’s a handy outlet for parents with some extreme views. And there’s little doubt that it is being used to reinforce homophobia.∂ The more kids are exposed to the world, the more comfortable they are with the differences within it. That’s the very thing that many homeschooling parents are trying to prevent.

#### They have no statistics about how many homeschool students go to college let alone a break down by race – prefer disadvantaged applicants from public schools instead of privileged white suburban families.

### DA - Shift

#### Holistic admissions better—empirics

Jackson 16(Sheryl Jackson, 9-30-2016, "Holistic Admissions Review," No Publication, <https://www.insightintodiversity.com/holistic-admissions-review/>) LHSLA LH

Diversity at Miami University, Schaurer explains, is not defined solely by race or gender. “We look at race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status, geography, lifestyle, worldview, and extenuating circumstances in [applicants’] lives,” she says, adding that these factors are culled from short answers, essays, and letters of recommendation submitted with a student’s application.

But beyond these easily identifiable characteristics, Schaurer says the university also looks for evidence of creativity, curiosity, integrity, altruism, and ambition. “A diverse student population that includes all of these different perspectives and attributes creates a rich and dynamic learning environment,” she says.

Miami University students during class; the university has experienced an increase in student diversity since implementing a holistic admission review process.

Miami University students during class; the university has experienced an increase in student diversity since implementing a holistic admission review process.

Due to its consideration of factors beyond academic achievement and race in admissions, Miami has actually seen an increase in both the number of underrepresented minority students applying and enrolling. Specifically, the number of applications from students of color increased 116 percent between 2009 and 2016. Subsequently, Schaurer says, the university experienced 95 percent growth in minority student enrollment during that time.

“We talk about the holistic review as a way to offer greater access to groups that improve diversity, because diversity benefits everyone,” she says.

### DA - Student Loans

#### No impact to economic decline --- countries respond with cooperation not conflict. Five Warrants

Clary 15—PhD in Political Science from MIT and a Postdoctoral Fellow at the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs at Brown [Christopher, “Economic Stress and International Cooperation: Evidence from International Rivalries,” *MIT Political Science Department*, Research Paper No. 2015-8, p. 4]

Economic crises lead to conciliatory behavior through five primary channels. (1) Economic crises lead to austerity pressures, which in turn incent leaders to search for ways to cut defense expenditures. (2) Economic crises also encourage strategic reassessment, so that leaders can argue to their peers and their publics that defense spending can be arrested without endangering the state. This can lead to threat deflation, where elites attempt to downplay the seriousness of the threat posed by a former rival. (3) If a state faces multiple threats, economic crises provoke elites to consider threat prioritization, a process that is postponed during periods of economic normalcy. (4) Economic crises increase the political and economic benefit from international economic cooperation. Leaders seek foreign aid, enhanced trade, and increased investment from abroad during periods of economic trouble. This search is made easier if tensions are reduced with historic rivals. (5) Finally, during crises, elites are more prone to select leaders who are perceived as capable of resolving economic difficulties, permitting the emergence of leaders who hold heterodox foreign policy views. Collectively, these mechanisms make it much more likely that a leader will prefer conciliatory policies compared to during periods of economic normalcy. This section reviews this causal logic in greater detail, while also providing historical examples that these mechanisms recur in practice.

#### Best scientific models prove growth makes extinction-level warming inevitable---only dedev solves

Dr. Minqi Li 10, Assistant Professor Department of Economics, University of Utah, “The 21st Century Crisis: Climate Catastrophe or Socialism” Paper prepared for the David Gordon Memorial Lecture at URPE Summer Conference 2010 The global average surface temperature social ownership of the means of production and society-wide planning (Section 6).

The global average surface temperature is now about 0.8°C (0.8 degrees Celsius) higher than in pre-industrial times. Under the current trend, the world is on track towards a long-term warming between [4 and 8 degrees Celsius] 4°C and 8°C. At this level of global warming, the world would be in an extreme greenhouse state not seen for almost 100 million years, devastating human civilization and destroying nearly all forms of life on Earth (Conner and McCarthy 2009). The scientific community has reached consensus that the current global warming results from the excessive accumulation in the atmosphere of carbon dioxide (**CO2** ) and other greenhouse gases (such as methane and nitrous oxide**) emitted by human economic activities.** 1 The capitalist historical epoch has been characterized by the explosive **growth** of material production and consumption. The massive expansion of the world economy **has been powered by fossil fuels** (coal, oil, and natural gas). Since 1820, the world economy has expanded by about seventy times and the world emissions of carbon dioxide from fossil fuels burning have increased by about sixty times (see Figure 1). At the United Nations Conference on Climate Change concluded in Copenhagen in December 2009, the world’s governments officially committed to the objective of limiting global warming to no more than 2°C. However, according to the “Climate Action Tracker,” despite the official statement, the national governments’ current pledges regarding emission reduction in fact imply a warming of at least [3 degrees] 3°C by the end of the 21st century with more warming to come in the following centuries (Climate Action Tracker 2010). In reality, all the major national governments are committed to infinite economic growth and none of them is willing to consider any emission reduction policy that could undermine economic growth. This is not simply because of intellectual ignorance or lack of political will. The pursuit of endless accumulation of capital (and infinite economic growth) is derived from the basic laws of motion of the capitalist economic system. Without fundamental social transformation, human civilization is now on the path to self-destruction. The next section (section 2) reviews the basic scientific facts concerning the climate change crisis. **Without an end to economic growth, it is virtually impossible for meaningful climate stabilization to be achieved** (section 3). However, both capitalist enterprises and states are constantly driven to expand production and consumption. The system of nation states effectively rules out a meaningful global political solution to the climate change crisis (section 4). The climate change crisis is but one of several long-term historical trends that are now leading to the structural crisis of capitalism (section 5). The resolution of the crisis and the survival of humanity require the building of a fundamentally different social system that is based on social ownership of the means of production and society-wide planning (section 6).

#### Warming causes nuclear resource wars – action now is key.

Dyer 9 – PhD in ME HistoryGwynne, MA in Military History and PhD in Middle Eastern History former @ [Senior Lecturer](file:///C%3A%5Cwiki%5CSenior_Lecturer) in War Studies at the [Royal Military Academy Sandhurst](file:///C%3A%5Cwiki%5CRoyal_Military_Academy_Sandhurst), Climate Wars

THIS BOOK IS AN ATTEMPT, peering through a glass darkly, to understand the politics and the strategies of the potentially apocalyptic crisis that looks set to occupy most of the twenty­first century. There are now many books available that deal with the science of climate change and some that suggest pos­sible approaches to getting the problem under control, but there are few that venture very far into the grim detail of how real countries experiencing very different and, in some cases, overwhelming pressures as global warming proceeds, are likely to respond to the changes. Yet we all know that it's mostly politics, national and international, that will decide the outcomes. Two things in particular persuaded me that it was time to write this book. One was the realization that the first and most important impact of climate change on human civiliza­tion will be an acute and permanent crisis of food supply. Eating regularly is a non-negotiable activity, and countries that cannot feed their people are unlikely to be "reasonable" about it**.** Not all of them will be in what we used to call the "Third World" -the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The other thing that finally got the donkey's attention was a dawning awareness that**,** in a number of the great pow­ers, climate change scenarios are already playing a large and increasing role in the military planning process. Rationally, you would expect this to be the case, because each country pays its professional military establishment to identify and counter "threats" to its security, but the implications of their scenarios are still alarming. There is a probability of **wars, including even** nuclear wars, if temperatures rise two to three degrees Celsius. Once that happens, all hope of international cooperation to curb emissions and stop the warming goes out the window**.**

### DA - Scholarships

#### Schools use GPA and other metrics to determine merit based aid—schools like New Hampshire prove tests aren’t necessary for aid.

Sienkiewicz 4-19 (Taylor Sienkiewicz, 4-19-2019, "Merit Scholarships," Peterson's, <https://www.petersons.com/blog/how-colleges-determine-merit-scholarship-awards-how-students-are-selected-and-how-money-amount-is-set/>) LHSLA LH

When the exciting day comes for students to receive their acceptance letters from colleges and universities, many contain a dollar amount that the student will receive as a merit-based admissions scholarship. Many students will also receive financial aid, but the approval process for financial aid comes with fewer questions, as there are national standards for determining who receives financial aid and a universal application–the FAFSA. Merit scholarships however, are nuanced and the selection process and awards vary from school to school.

“Each school has their own criteria that they use [to determine eligibility for merit scholarships], but the way that we do it at Pacific is we look at the student’s high school GPA. We also look at student’s test scores, so either ACT or SAT test scores,” said Leslie Limper, Director of Financial Aid at Pacific University.

Pacific University uses a very straightforward method of determining merit scholarship eligibility. The combination of an admitted student’s GPA and test scores are put into a formula that breaks students who meet scholarship levels down into five different scholarship levels: increments of $12,000, $15,000, $18,000, $21,000, and $24,000.

Pacific University is a small, private, four-year institution rooted in the traditional liberal arts and sciences. Contrast this with Duquesne University, which is a slightly larger, private, four-year Catholic university in Philadelphia. While the schools are fairly similar in structure, Duquesne has a different approach to merit scholarships.

“It’s about doing research to find out how much money you have to give certain subsets of students to enroll at your institution,” said Paul-James Cukanna, Vice President for Enrollment Management at Duquesne University. “There’s a science to it all. You look at conversion rates. We also think about not just getting students here but retaining them, and so there is a correlation between the amount of scholarship [money] that you give students coming in and the retention of students.”

Cukanna has worked in admissions for 20 years, and has seen the processes at both large public schools and more selective private schools. He shared the logic that goes behind making scholarship decisions for colleges.

“It has to be about your market position, because each of us has a different market position and dependent upon your market position you could be bullish and give less money or maybe you have to give more money to enroll students, and sometimes the behaviors of your competitors influence how much money you have to give,” said Cukanna.

He also explained why it’s necessary to differentiate the needs of different programs.

“Sometimes your strategy has to be major or program specific because each one of them can have different qualifications,” said Cukanna.

Cukanna gave the example of more impacted departments, such as the health sciences that have a large demand and a limited number of seats, reducing the need for scholarship money. On the other hand, a department that is less impacted and that the school has trouble enrolling enough students for may require that the school gives more scholarship money.

Due to these factors, merit scholarships are given based on some of the more traditional qualifications as well as segmented elements.

“Program of study is one [qualification, and then] how they perform academically for grades 9-12, and standardized test score plays a role. We also look at activities, what they’ve been engaged in in high school, and then we look at admission and access. When we’re looking at special populations we also consider that in the merit based or academic based monies,” said Cukanna.

Another piece to the scholarship puzzle is if admissions officers see a student as a good fit.

“The scholarships for this current year range anywhere from $10,000 up to $16,000. It’s not a system where an ACT and a grade point average equals a scholarship, it’s a holistic review. So we review students based on what major interest area they’re applying to, their extracurricular involvement and really the basis for the scholarships is, is this student a good fit for Bradley, and is Bradley a good fit for the student,” said Justin Ball Vice President for Enrollment Management at Bradley University.

Although these scholarships are largely based on a student’s success in high school, receiving some sort of merit scholarship is very common. All three schools reported awarding 92% to 98% of incoming students a merit scholarship. Many schools use a discount rate to determine the money given. Cukanna said Duquesne University uses an independent consultant to calculate their discount rate, which is the portion of the tuition dollars that is given back to students in the form of grant money.

## CP

### Competition

#### Permutation do the counterplan – the aff defends these tests

International Student [International Student, No Date, "Standardized Tests Overview," https://www.internationalstudent.com/study\_usa/application-process/standardized-tests/overview/, accessed 8-18-2019] LHSBC

Types of Standardized Tests

Most undergraduate and graduate programs will require the TOEFL exam for all international students to ensure that they have adequate proficiency in English to succeed in U.S. colleges. All standardized tests listed here are given in English.

For undergraduate admissions, required standardized tests usually include:

1. Scholastic Assessment Test [(SAT)](https://www.internationalstudent.com/test-prep/sat/)

2. Test of English as a Foreign Language [(TOEFL)](https://www.internationalstudent.com/test-prep/toefl/)

3. American College Testing (ACT)

#### Permutation do the counterplan – the aff defends these standardized tests.

Federal Student Aid [Federal Student Aid, Federal Student Aid, a part of the U.S. Department of Education, is the largest provider of student financial aid in the nation, "Taking Required Tests," https://studentaid.ed.gov/sa/prepare-for-college/tests, accessed 9-9-2019] LHSBC

Tests for Undergraduate Programs∂ Most colleges require you to take one of the most common tests, the SAT or the ACT. Check with the colleges you plan to apply to for their testing requirements.∂ Most community colleges have open enrollment and don’t require standardized test scores. However, they will usually require placement tests. SAT or ACT scores may exempt you from placement tests. If you want to enroll in a selective program at a community college (nursing, computer science, law enforcement), then standardized test scores may be required. Later, if you transfer from a community college to a university or another school, test scores may be required.∂ SAT∂ The SAT measures your ability rather than knowledge. The 3 ¾-hour test contains three sections: writing, critical reading, and math. Most of the questions are multiple-choice.∂ Some colleges may also require you to take an SAT Subject Test. SAT Subject Tests measure your knowledge in specific subjects within five general categories: English, mathematics, history, science, and languages. Specific subjects range from English literature to biology to Modern Hebrew. SAT Subject Tests are primarily multiple-choice, and each lasts one hour.∂ Both the SAT and SAT Subject Tests are offered several times a year at locations across the country. The College Board provides detailed information about the [SAT and SAT Subject Tests](http://sat.collegeboard.org/home), including information about preparing to take the test, what to take with you on test day, and understanding your scores.∂ ACT∂ Like the SAT, the ACT is accepted by almost all colleges and universities. But instead of measuring how you think, the ACT measures what you’ve learned in school.∂ The ACT consists of four multiple-choice tests: English, reading, mathematics, and science. If your college requires a writing test, you can take the ACT Plus Writing, which includes a writing test in addition to the other four tests. These tests are offered several times a year at locations (usually high schools and colleges) across the country.∂ [Check out detailed information about the ACT](http://www.act.org/), including preparing to take the test, what to take with you on test day, and understanding your scores.∂ Other Common Tests∂ Test∂ Description∂ Preliminary SAT/National Merit [Scholarship](https://studentaid.ed.gov/sa/taxonomy/term/134?width=300px&height=auto&className=glossaryterm&closeButton=true) Qualifying Test (PSAT)**∂** A good way to practice for the SAT tests. Students typically take the PSAT in their junior year of high school. The test also serves as a qualifying exam for the National Merit Scholarship Corporation’s scholarship programs. The PSAT measures skills in critical reading, mathematics, and writing. [Check out detailed information about the PSAT](http://www.collegeboard.com/student/testing/psat/about.html), including preparing for the SAT and qualifying for scholarships.∂ Advanced Placement (AP) exams∂ You usually take AP exams after you’ve completed an AP course in the relevant subject at your high school. A good grade on an AP exam can qualify you for college credit and/or “advanced placement” in that subject in college. For example, if you score well on the AP English Literature exam, you may not have to take the college’s required freshman-level English course. If you are interested in taking an AP class at your school, talk to your high school counselor.∂ Most AP exams last two to three hours, and include essay questions and possibly multiple-choice questions. The tests are offered each spring. Each test is offered only once, with a makeup day a few weeks later. [Check out detailed information about AP exams](http://apcentral.collegeboard.com/apc/Controller.jpf), including courses and exams.∂ College-Level Examination Program (CLEP)∂ CLEP gives you the opportunity to earn college credit in different subjects by taking exams. Not all colleges offer credit based on CLEP tests, and different colleges offer different amounts of credit for the same test, so do your research before committing to an exam. Your best source of information is your college. [Check out detailed information about the CLEP](http://clep.collegeboard.org/), including getting college credit for what you already know.∂ International Baccalaureate Diploma Programme (IB)∂ The IB is a two-year curriculum designed for college-bound high school students. It is accepted by hundreds of colleges and universities in the U.S. and can help you earn college credit. Ask your high school counselor if your school offers the IB.

### PIC – GED

#### C/A overview – stereotype threat

#### The GED fails – It replicates inequality and encourages dropping out.

Greene 02 [Greene, Jay P. (Senior Fellow at the Manhattan Institute, endowed chair and head of the Department of Education Reform at the University of Arkansas, professor of government at the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Houston, Ph. D. from the Government Department at Harvard University), Winter 2002 “GEDs Aren’t Worth the Paper They’re Printed On”, City Journal, <https://www.city-journal.org/html/geds-aren%E2%80%99t-worth-paper-they%E2%80%99re-printed-12219.html> LHS AP]

If you believe the official U.S. government education statistics, nearly nine Americans out of ten graduate from high school, and the rate has been moving steadily upward for two decades. Alas, this happy scenario is a complete illusion. The real percentage of kids graduating is much lower—dismally low for blacks and Hispanics—and things are getting worse, not better. The conjuring trick that makes the real graduation rates disappear is to treat the General Education Development (GED) credential as equivalent to a standard high school diploma. But the GED isn’t the “high school equivalency diploma” that many of its recipients mistakenly call it—far from it. The GED test got its start in World War II as a way to help out returning veterans who had entered military service before getting their high school diplomas. By passing the new government-approved test, designed by the creators of the American College Testing Program and the National Assessment of Educational Progress, these older students, without trudging back to high school, could prove to colleges or to prospective employers that they had sufficient mastery of required high school subjects to qualify for a diploma. Today, the GED’s raison d’être is essentially the same as it was in the 1940s—to give those diploma-less students who deserve it a way to pursue educational or job opportunities that require a secondary education. But the clientele, mostly high school dropouts in their late teens or early twenties, is far more dysfunctional than the solid vets of decades ago. “Some students,” says Sarah Marvin, a GED preparatory course instructor in Davie, Florida, “dropped out of high school because their mothers threw them out of the house for a boyfriend: the mother might seem too old by having a 16-year-old kid around.” Others, she adds, simply messed up and need a second chance. Carlos (by teacher request, I have changed most student names), a GED student at Sheridan Technical Center in the nearby town of Hollywood, is a case in point: he was cruising through high school, getting As and Bs, but grew bored and quit. Other GED students I spoke with left school after their families ran into economic difficulties, or dropped out because of an unexpected pregnancy. Some of these students will no doubt use the credential as a springboard to future accomplishment. New Yorker Jane Berger, to take a striking GED success story, dropped out of high school in the 1960s after going astray as a teenager. By 1990, older and wiser, she wanted to apply to Hunter College in Manhattan to work toward her B.A., and so needed a GED. (In order to tap federal funds, even schools with de facto open enrollment like Hunter require the credential in the absence of a regular diploma.) Passing the test with ease—“for the most part, the answers were in the questions,” she says—she eventually completed her Hunter degree and now coordinates research projects at the Rockefeller Institute. But Berger is far from typical. For most GED holders, the credential makes little real difference in life outcomes. Nobel Prize–winning economist James Heckman and colleague Stephen Cameron have found GED holders to be “statistically indistinguishable” from high school dropouts: they’re not significantly more likely to land a job or to have higher hourly wages. Other studies find that GED holders do slightly better than dropouts but still lousy compared with regular high school grads—who themselves, in today’s knowledge-based economy, earn only 54 percent of what college grads make, according to 1999 Bureau of Labor Statistics figures. The GED holders who go on to post-secondary education (about 60 percent) also compare poorly with high school grads who do so. Almost three-quarters of GED holders who enroll in community colleges fail to finish their degrees, compared with 44 percent of high school graduates. In a four-year college, the prospects are even grimmer: unlike Jane Berger, an astonishing 95 percent of GED holders don’t finish, compared with 25 percent of high school grads. Clearly, the GED doesn’t come close to being equivalent to a high school diploma in terms of life chances. But why do GED holders fare so poorly? One reason is that jumping the GED hurdle—the test is actually five exams, covering literature, math, science, social studies, and writing, and lasting seven and a half hours from start to finish—requires scant knowledge of the academic content that even our knowledge-lite high schools manage to get across. The GED Testing Service, the national organization that designs and administers the GED, has made it remarkably easy to pass, and about 60 percent of the 833,000 or so students taking it yearly do. “It’s the Wizard of Oz; they give you a piece of paper,” recently noted a skeptical Lois Quinn, a researcher at the University of Wisconsin, who has written a critical history of the GED. The GED test taker doesn’t need to know much factual information. A history question on the social studies component, for example, doesn’t require him to know that most U.S. immigrants between 1920 and 1929 came from Europe; it only asks him to identify this fact correctly in a multiple-choice question after reading a short, simple paragraph about it. The exam tests only basic reading comprehension, in other words, not historical knowledge. Science questions often consist of interpreting a graph or a chart correctly rather than knowing anything about chemical properties or physical laws. The literature exam, like its social studies counterpart, tests reading ability, not whether the student has ever read The Great Gatsby or Moby Dick. True, the GED’s math section does require some factual knowledge, but the requirement isn’t demanding. A typical question might ask students to identify how many feet and inches equal 45 inches; the test taker merely needs to remember how many inches are in a foot. Plus, students can use calculators on all computation questions. The writing section mostly asks students to choose from among different versions of a sentence the one that’s grammatically correct. The most intimidating part of the section is the essay composition. The grading of the GED is anything but tough. To pass the math component, for example, a student needs to answer only 22 out of 56 questions correctly. If he just guessed, odds are he’d get 11 right. On the social studies, literature, and science exams, he needs to answer only about one-third of the questions correctly to pass. Making the GED easier still, test takers can retake each subject exam as many times as they want, until they get over the hurdle. Though the GED will be updated in 2002, it won’t get any harder to pass. Small wonder that students don’t need to go through anything like a full-fledged program of study to get their GEDs. The average GED recipient passes the test after just 30 hours of class time and study. If that same student dropped out of school before the tenth grade (as many school leavers do), he would have lost more than 850 hours of class time. The Jobs Corps found that GED students with a fifth-grade education—that’s right, fifth-grade—could pass the test after 200 hours of instruction. GED student Carlos admits the road to the GED is a lot shorter than the one to high school graduation. “In high school, you spend time on something like Thomas Jefferson and stuff,” he says matter-of-factly, “but we don’t need that.” Recalls GED holder and Hunter College grad Jane Berger, “The GED definitely didn’t test the material covered in high school.” Melinda, another student at Sheridan Tech, agrees. “Everyone here just wants to pass the test and get on with it,” she stresses. Melinda’s impatience points to a second reason that GED recipients do so much worse than regular high school grads. Preparing for the GED does not offer the kind of social discipline—the lessons in perseverance and self-control—that one gains by sticking it out in high school, however much it drives you nuts. Janice Laurence of the Human Resources Research Organization, a longtime critic of the GED, calls this process of sticking it out in high school “seat time,” and she sees it as crucial to life success. In high school, you learn to put up with all sorts of irritations, from mind-numbing boredom to taking an exam you don’t feel like studying for or dealing with a teacher who treats you like a moron—or is one herself. “To graduate,” Laurence tells the Chicago Tribune, “students must learn to cooperate with their instructors and get along with their peers.” The kind of maturity and tolerance for rules that one develops in submitting to such common trials proves invaluable later on in higher education and in the workforce, where unwelcome tasks and maddening people can be regular facts of life. GED preparatory courses don’t offer anything comparable. GED students come when they want, leave when they want, and work at their own pace; they lack formal instruction, assignments, and due dates. “They’re adults,” remarks Leo Seewaldt, a GED instructor at Sheridan Tech. “I can’t make them be here if they don’t want to.” This loosey-goosey approach might make it easier for some motivated students to jump the GED hurdle swiftly and move on to college or work. But it’s a recipe for further failure for the many GED seekers who are poorly socialized and lacking in structure and discipline already: economist Heckman has found that GED recipients admitted on a survey to higher rates of vandalism, shoplifting, drug use, and fighting at school than did diploma holders and high school dropouts. Of course, it’s possible that GED holders dropped out of high school in the first place and then don’t do as well as high school grads in later life because they are not very smart. On the Armed Forces Qualifying Test, which measures both academic knowledge and cognitive ability, the average GED recipient gets a grade of 65, compared with the average high school graduate’s 76 and the average high school dropout’s 46. Because GED holders scored so poorly compared with grads—and because a disastrous 37 percent of them were dropping out of military training, compared with a similarly dismal 39 percent of high school dropouts but only 20 percent of diploma holders—armed-forces recruiters have stopped treating the GED as equivalent to a regular high school diploma. In all likelihood, GED holders’ relatively limited life chances result from a combination of all three of the above causes—lack of information, lack of social skills, and low I.Q.—in unknown proportions. Calling the GED the equivalent of a standard high school diploma isn’t just a problem of semantics. It has profoundly distorted the way we calculate and interpret education statistics. In one bit of legerdemain, some states and school districts with sky-high dropout rates partly hide their problems by refusing to call GED-seekers, many of who will never get their credential, dropouts. The Dallas Independent School district, for example, claims an annual dropout rate of just 1.3 percent. But the district had nearly 10,000 eighth-grade students in 1993 and only 5,659 graduates in 1998, when those eighth-graders should have graduated. Controlling for student population fluctuations, my calculations show the real dropout rate is close to 50 percent: the 1.3 percent figure is risible. New York City pulls the same scam. By refusing to count GED students as dropouts, it comes up with a 19.3 percent dropout rate. The true rate is much worse, almost 50 percent. Another example: when the U.S. Census announces that 87 percent of all U.S. students complete high school, this figure winds up repeated by the Department of Education, education researchers, and school officials as proof of a generally decent state of affairs in the nation’s schools. But if we subtract the GED (and other alternative degrees) from the census numbers, we find that only 77 percent of students graduate. For minority students, the percentages are even lower, with just 73 percent of blacks and 55 percent of Hispanics gaining standard diplomas. Worse, these numbers are almost certainly too high. The census assumes that respondents grasp the difference between the GED and a regular diploma and honestly describe which one, if either, household members have obtained—a dubious supposition, given the widely perpetuated falsehood that they’re basically the same. Compare eighth-grade enrollments in the fall of 1993 with diplomas from 1998 (when those students should have been graduating), and then correct for changes in the size of the student population, and you get a more accurate national graduation rate of 74 percent, a black rate of 56 percent, and a Hispanic rate of 54 percent—a far cry from what the government numbers convey.These real graduation rates are deplorable, but the trend over time is even more dismaying, since it is dipping. As the number of GEDs has skyrocketed, going from 227,000 in 1970 to 516,000 in 1999, the number of students—high school and GED added together—has stayed roughly the same, which means that the percentage of graduation-age students who have received a regular diploma has been gradually declining since the late 1960s. There’s some evidence to suggest that the easier GED route may even be causing some students to drop out. GED student Carlos tells me that the existence of the test played a central role in his decision to leave high school in 1998. “I saw some friends get their GED, and I thought: ‘Why should I wait around here? I’ll just get my GED.’” A few years later, he regrets his decision. “I should’ve stayed in school. It’s hard coming back after being out of the routine, and I’ve forgotten a bunch of stuff.” Fellow GED-seeker Melinda also says that the GED was a big factor in her leaving school. Her family, struggling economically, was in danger of losing the family van. “I said, ‘No way: that’s our van,’” she recalls. “I told my mom that I was going to go to work so that we could keep it. She told me not to, but I said it was okay—I could always get my GED.” That was seven years ago. Melinda is struggling for the third time to start a GED prep course. She’s been unable to stick with previous classes, she says, because she has been too tired after long days at the copy shop where she works. The existing data support these students’ stories. The Urban Institute’s Duncan Chaplin found that the easier a state makes it to get a GED—procedures differ from state to state—the higher the dropout rate. States with restrictions, such as making students wait longer after dropping out of school before they can obtain the credential, had lower rates. The mere existence of the GED, in other words, appears to have altered susceptible students’ behavior. If the GED truly were the equivalent of a standard diploma, this unintended consequence wouldn’t be so worrisome. That it is not means that the GED may be hurting some of the very people it is intended to help. The GED establishment is complicit in establishing the myth of equivalence. Joan Auchter, executive director of the GED Testing Service, claims that “the only thing [the test] can do is certify that people have an adequate understanding of a body of academic knowledge in the major content areas of high school”—though to suggest, as this statement does, that the GED exam in any way covers the standard high school curriculum is misleading in the extreme. But Auchter, in another mood, seems aware of the vast gulf between the GED and the high school diploma. She is blunt about how GED holders ought to count in education statistics: “They are dropouts,” she says. “That is what they are. They are dropouts that went on to get a certificate.” If Auchter seems equivocal, the GED Testing Service website borders on the deceptive. It reports that “one out of every seven people who graduate each year earns that diploma by passing the GED tests”—completely obscuring the distinction between graduating high school and getting a GED. Even worse, it boasts that “more than 95 percent of employers in the U.S. consider GED graduates the same as traditional high school graduates in regard to hiring, salary, and opportunity for advancement”—a claim sharply at odds with everything that we know about GED holders in the workplace. The site proudly claims comedian Bill Cosby and Dave Thomas (founder of Wendy’s restaurant chain) as GEDs who’ve excelled. A major force behind the desire to declare the GED equal to a normal high school degree is that everyone involved in the process, from the GED bureaucrats to the instructors to the students themselves, believes that obtaining the alternative degree boosts the self-esteem of recipients. It is perhaps the ultimate social promotion in an educational culture of social promotion. GED instructor Seewaldt holds up a copy of the diploma the students get when they pass. “See,” he says, pointing to the lettering. “It doesn’t say GED anywhere on it. It says HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA.” Though the prospect of getting a “real” diploma pleases students, one wonders whether the self-esteem produced wouldn’t be more lasting and meaningful if the degree demanded greater skills and correlated more strongly with completing college and boosting earnings. How might we devise a system that offers students a second chance but that doesn’t obfuscate reality or entice students to drop out? For starters, we should make the GED harder. To discourage students from dropping out in the belief that they can just pick up a GED, we might also want to follow some states and require a national increase in the minimum age for taking the test, up from the current floor of 16, and lengthen the waiting period before a student leaving high school can take it. Above all, though, we need to be honest about what the GED is—a poor substitute for the real thing.

**GED fails – doesn’t help people in college and creates socio-economic inequality – also encourages dropouts**

**Eldeib 13:** Duaa Eldeib. “GED Test Fails Students Critics Say”. Chicago Tribune. September 30th, 2013. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/news/ct-xpm-2013-09-30-ct-met-ged-changes-sidebar-20130930-story.html>. FD-RW

For decades, the creators of the GED program have promoted it as a second chance for high school dropouts. "One decision shouldn't define a lifetime — transform your life with the GED test," the GED Testing Service website urges. As promising as that sounds, the GED program is actually failing many of the students it purports to help, argues John Eric Humphries, co-author of the upcoming book, "The Myth of Achievement Tests: The GED and the Role of Character in American Life." Humphries penned the book with his [University of Chicago](https://www.chicagotribune.com/topic/education/colleges-universities/university-of-chicago-OREDU0000151-topic.html) associates Tim Kautz and James Heckman, a [Nobel Prize](https://www.chicagotribune.com/topic/arts-culture/nobel-prize-awards-8006070-topic.html)-winning economist who has studied GED data since the early 1990s. While the authors are quick to note that some have benefited from the test, they contend the GED exam alone isn't enough. Their research found that although those taking the test score roughly the same as high school graduates who didn't go on to college, many lack what are referred to as "character skills," such as persistence, motivation and reliability. Graduation from high school takes a combination of skills, but the GED tests only cognitive skills, Humphries said, and as a result, only a fraction of test-takers go on to graduate college. Many people who take the GED exam "were smart enough to graduate from high school, but didn't," Humphries said. "The things that held them back in high school prevent them from graduating from college." What's more, he said, the test actually encourages some teens to drop out of high school by offering what they believe will be an easy alternative. The effects are far-reaching given the ubiquity of the exam, Humphries added. Last year, more than 700,000 people took the test. Millions have taken it since it was introduced in 1942 as a path to college for returning World War II veterans. GED officials said they've heard the criticisms before. "I think it's easy to sit in an ivory tower and poke holes at things, but what I think is lacking in their research are solutions," said CT Turner, spokesman for GED Testing Service. A new version of the test, which launches in January, will "drastically improve" its efficacy and prepare test-takers for postsecondary education, Turner said. The new test will be aligned with state and national academic standards, and an online portal will offer materials to help students study for the test, as well as information on college requirements, financial aid and job availability. A 2011 partnership between the nonprofit American Council on Education, which has administered the test since its inception, and the for-profit company Pearson made the changes possible, Turner said. The partnership and changes to the test also coincide with a hike in its cost. In Illinois, the price to take the test will increase to $120 from $50 next year — a concern to critics who fear it will move the GED exam out of reach to those who most need it. "Without (the joint venture), we would have had a rehash of the old GED test, and we would have had 12 percent of people prepared for college and career-training programs while job expectations of education were going to continue to rise," Turner said. A Pearson official could not be reached for comment. Illinois considered dropping the test after the price hike was announced, but state officials ultimately voted to keep it. New York and Missouri are among a few states that have opted to nix the GED exam for an alternative. "Cost, rigor and mode (computer-based only) were all issues," Dennis Tompkins, spokesman for the New York State Education Department, said in an email. Revamping the GED test appears to be a step in the right direction, but only time will tell how meaningful the changes will be, said Jeff Strohl, director of research at [Georgetown University](https://www.chicagotribune.com/topic/education/colleges-universities/georgetown-university-OREDU000075194-topic.html)'s Center on Education and the Workforce. "If you go to a bad restaurant a bunch of times, even if somebody tells you it's under new management, you're hesitant to go, and so a new GED might suffer the same problem," Strohl said. "Let's hope that the program that they're implementing is extra-rigorous and doesn't suffer any immediate failures in its first launch because it has a reputational effect that it needs to overcome."

#### There are 4 alternatives

Mccormick [Maggie Mccormick, xx-xx-xxxx, "Alternatives to GED Education Programs," No Publication, https://education.seattlepi.com/alternatives-ged-education-programs-1729.html, accessed 10-19-2019] LHSBC

Standard advice states that if you're not going to graduate from college, you should still take the General Educational Development exam to give you a better chance at career success. After all, many employers do look for candidates with a GED as a minimum requirement. However, getting a GED is not the only path to a successful life. If the school-like test isn't your thing, consider some of your educational alternatives.∂ Vocational Schools∂ Vocational schools train students to work in a particular career. Examples include auto mechanics, medical or dental assistance, massage therapy, truck driving and hair styling. The classes you take make practical sense and advance you toward your career. In most cases, the entire program takes two years or less to complete. Before you sign on, the Federal Trade Commission warns that most vocational schools are for-profit institutions and may paint an excessively rosy picture of what your future will look like. You may be able to find cheaper alternatives through a community college or government job-training program.∂ Test Alternatives∂ Due to increased costs of an upcoming change in the format of the GED, some states, such as New York, are considering alternative tests. According to the Wall Street Journal, the alternatives may be based more on practical life rather than academics, such as figuring the amount of carpet needed for a room or calculating interest on an account.∂ Apprenticeships∂ Through your state's Department of Labor, you may be able to find an apprenticeship program to teach you the skills you need to get a job. Apprenticeships are often in the trades, such as carpentry, appliance repair or plumbing, but once you learn the skill, it can result in a well-paying job. Your state's Department of Labor will be able to tell you which apprenticeships are currently available and how you can qualify.∂ Starting a Small Business∂ You don't need a business degree to start a profitable business. Think of skills or talents you have that could help in your community. For example, you might offer house cleaning, lawn care or child care services. You could sew cloth diapers, make gift baskets or design websites. In many cases, these are professions that rely on your skill and knowledge, not your educational background.

#### External diploma solves

Learningpath [Learningpath, xx-xx-xxxx, "Alternatives to Earning a Traditional High School Diploma," No Publication, http://learningpath.org/articles/Alternatives\_to\_Earning\_a\_Traditional\_High\_School\_Diploma.html, accessed 10-19-2019] LHSBC

External High School Diploma

An external high school diploma is another alternative to the traditional high school diploma. A student can receive this certificate by showing they have basic high school skills through a series of workbooks. These skills have probably been learned through job experience or other personal experiences. This type of approach is similar to distance learning.

#### Rigorous studies prove that GED holders are at a major disadvantage.

Tyler and Loftstrom 08 [John Tyler Magnus Lofstrom, \*Professor of Education, Economics, and Public Policy Associate Dean of the Graduate School. PhD from Harvard Grad School \*\* Magnus Lofstrom is policy director of corrections and a senior fellow at PPIC, and a visiting professor at the Goldman School of Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. PhD UCSD∂ , January 2008, " Is the GED an Effective Route to Postsecondary Education for School Dropouts?∂ ," Institute for the Study of Labor∂ , http://ftp.iza.org/dp3297.pdf, accessed 10-14-2019] LHSBC

This study has shown that among at-risk students who look very similar in the 8th grade, individuals who subsequently drop out and obtain a GED acquire substantially less postsecondary education in the first post-credential years than do the high school graduates. Given the importance of postsecondary education in today’s economy and society, this is a fact that should attract public attention. Our closing discussion points to the importance of trying to understand the underlying causes of the discrepancy in outcomes between GED holders and high school graduates. The reason is that both the policy prescriptions and the potential for the success of such prescriptions are very different depending upon whether the observed differences in outcomes are the result of 44 behavioral factors related to GED acquisition, persistent negative effects associated with drop-out-inducing shocks, or practices and policies of the GED program itself. Research that could help sort out these explanations could inform public policy, lead to the more efficient use of public monies, and potentially increase the postsecondary education levels of students who are currently at the mercy of an economy that offers few routes to economic stability and self-sufficiency for those lacking any postsecondary education.

#### Other tests compensate

Best GED Classes [Bestgedclasses, xx-xx-xxxx, "What Are Alternative Test to the GED Test by State," Best GED Classes, https://bestgedclasses.org/alternatives-ged-test-state/, accessed 10-19-2019] LHSBC

In most states, you will need to pass the GED (General Education Development) exam, but there are states that require you to take the TASC (Test Achieving Secondary Completion).∂ In other states, you need to take the HiSET (High School Equivalency Test) to demonstrate that you master the knowledge and skills that are usually expected of graduating high school seniors.

#### Dropping out of high school is bad – money, criminality, and carrers.

Lynch 15 [Matthew Lynch, 12-11-2015, "6 Reasons Why You Should Care About High School Dropout Rates," Edvocate, https://www.theedadvocate.org/6-reasons-why-you-should-care-about-high-school-dropout-rates/, accessed 9-11-2019] LHSBC

Having too many high school dropouts is costly. Here are reasons why we should focus on reducing them even further:

The dropout rates cost individuals a lot of money. The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that dropouts bring in just $20,241 annually, which is $10,000 less than high school graduates and over $36,000 less than a person holding a bachelor’s degree. The poverty rate for dropouts is over twice as high as college grads, and the unemployment rate for dropouts is generally 4 percentage points higher than the national average. In the end, the lifetime earnings of high school dropouts are $260,000 LESS than peers who earn a diploma.

The dropout rates cost our society a lot of money. The financial ramifications of dropping out of high school hurt more than the individual. It’s estimated that half of all Americans on public assistance are dropouts. If all of the dropouts from the class of 2011 had earned diplomas, the nation would benefit from an estimated $154 billion in income over their working lifetimes. Potentially feeding that number is the fact that young women who give up on high school are nine times more likely to be, or become, young single mothers. A study out of Northeastern University found that high school dropouts cost taxpayers $292,000 over the course of their lives.

The rates are linked with heightened criminal activity and incarceration rates. It’s not just about the money though. Over 80 percent of the incarcerated population is high school dropouts – making this an issue that truly impacts every member of the community. Numbers are higher for dropouts of color; 22 percent of people jailed in the U.S. are black males who are high school dropouts. As a society, we are not just paying into public assistance programs for dropouts, but we are paying to protect ourselves against them through incarceration.

I wonder what these numbers would look like if we took the nearly $300K that taxpayers put in over the course of a dropout’s lifetime and deposited it into their K-12 learning upfront. If we invested that money, or even half of it, into efforts to enhance the learning experience and programs to prevent dropping out, what would that do to dropout, poverty and incarceration rates? Right now the process seems to be reactionary. What would it look like if more preventative actions were put in place?

Those who don’t stay in school are not likely to value a career path over a job. Over [68 percent of high school graduates begin college](http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=372) coursework the following fall. Students who earn high school diplomas are that much more inspired to continue their academic journey and seek out a lifelong career match, not just clock hours at a “job” until retirement. The fulfillment people receive from a job they enjoy should not be underestimated. Studies have found that [happier people are healthier](http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2006/11/061108103655.htm)and are even able to better fight off common illnesses like colds and the flu. Considering more time is spent working than in any other pursuit, job satisfaction plays a major role in overall happiness. The value of careers go beyond individual satisfaction, however. As a nation, everyone benefits from well-educated workers who earn a living in areas where they possess natural talent too.

#### Don’t buy the hype – a GED is the equivalent of dropping out.

Sanchez 12 [Claudio Sanchez, 2-18-2012, "In Today's Economy, How Far Can A GED Take You?," NPR.org, https://www.npr.org/2012/02/18/147015513/in-todays-economy-how-far-can-a-ged-take-you, accessed 9-12-2019] LHSBC

Every year, roughly 750,000 high school dropouts try to improve their educational and employment prospects by taking the General Educational Development test, or GED, long considered to be the equivalent of a high school diploma.∂ The latest research, however, shows that people with GEDs are, in fact, no better off than dropouts when it comes to their chances of getting a good job.∂ This is raising lots of questions, especially in school districts with high dropout rates and rising GED enrollments.∂ A Second Chance, But Is It Enough?∂ The GED was created in 1942 for the U.S. military to test World War II veterans in reading, writing, math, science and social studies. It was in lieu of a high school diploma so that returning soldiers could apply for a job or enroll in college.∂ The GED is a credential. Is it adequate for gainful employment and a living wage in the United States of America today? I do not think so.∂ Today, the GED is a credential for high school dropouts looking for a second chance.∂ Josue Benjamin Bolano De Paz is among the 12,000 dropouts in Los Angeles who returned to school this year. He dropped out of high school 10 years ago.∂ Bolano passed his GED at the Abram Friedman Occupational Center, and then got hooked there on giving people haircuts — but not just any haircut.∂ "I'm able to do faces in people's heads," he says.∂ That's right: Bolano can draw Bob Marley, Marilyn Monroe, Malcolm X — anyone you want on a person's head with an electric razor — for as much as $125.∂ Bolano says it may not be one of those "21st century skills" some teachers talk about, but he's making a good living as a barber — and none of it would have been possible, says Bolano, if he had not come back for his GED.∂ "A lot of people try to downsize the GED," he says, "but see, to me, in my opinion, it tells others that at least he has some type of knowledge."∂ In this economy, though, that may not be enough.∂ "The GED is a credential. Is it adequate for gainful employment and a living wage in the United States of America today? I do not think so," says Los Angeles Schools Superintendent John Deasy. His top lieutenant in charge of adult and career education, Ed Morris, is even more blunt.∂ "If I were prepared today with a GED, and that's what I had as an 18-year-old, I'd be scared to death of the future," he says.∂ Morris says employers require so much more than what the GED delivers, which is why some students question its value.∂ "Truth is," says 18-year-old Juan Valera, "I don't want a GED."∂ Unlike older dropouts at the Friedman center, Valera can still earn a high school diploma by retaking the courses he failed in high school.∂ He wants to pursue a degree in criminal justice and eventually join the FBI. But right now, he says, a GED wouldn't even get him in the door at Burger King.∂ "Every day when I leave here and I go home, I stop by [Burger King] and ask, 'Are you trying to hire?' " he says. "I bother them."∂ Let's say they interview two people for the same job, says Valera. "But one has a GED, one has a high school diploma — someone is far more likely to hire someone who has a high school diploma."∂ 'Not As Good As A Diploma'∂ Valera's experience has been the same everywhere he has applied — Costco, Walmart, Sears and Best Buy. Companies want a credential that says, "I have the knowledge and skills to handle a job."∂ And that's where the GED falls short, says Russell Rumberger, author of the book Dropping Out.∂ "If you look at employer surveys," he says, "the things that employers generally most look for or think are important, especially at lower-end jobs, are the things like perseverance and tenacity, and those kinds of qualities that are not measured by the GED."∂ Rumberger, a professor of education at the University of California, Santa Barbara, says a high school diploma means you went to school for four years, did the work, passed the classes and didn't quit. A GED, on the other hand, is a shortcut.∂ The things that employers generally most look for or think are important, especially at lower-end jobs, are the things like perseverance and tenacity, and those kinds of qualities that are not measured by the GED.∂ Russell Rumberger, author of 'Dropping Out'∂ "The GED is better than no credential for a dropout," he says, "but it's not as good as a diploma. It doesn't replace a diploma, in terms of labor market outcomes."∂ The research also shows that only 1 in 10 GED recipients earns a college degree. Today, this is perhaps the GED's biggest challenge.

### PIC – ASVAB

#### Permutation do the counterplan – the test is for direct military enlistment from high school, not college admissions

#### Their ev – I’ll read green

AP 15 "Study: Nearly 1 in 4 Students Fails Military Entrance Exam," Fox News, https://www.foxnews.com/us/study-nearly-1-in-4-students-fails-military-entrance-exam 3-20-2015 RE

The report by The Education Trust bolsters a growing worry among military and education leaders that the pool of young people qualified for military service will grow too small. "Too many of our high school students are not graduating ready to begin college or a career — and many are not eligible to serve in our armed forces," U.S. Education Secretary Arne Duncan told the AP. "I am deeply troubled by the national security burden created by America's underperforming education system." The effect of the low eligibility rate might not be noticeable now — the Department of Defense says it is meeting its recruitment goals — but that could change as the economy improves, said retired Navy Rear Admiral Jamie Barnett. "If you can't get the people that you need, there's a potential for a decline in your readiness," said Barnett, who is part of the group Mission: Readiness, a coalition of retired military leaders working to bring awareness to the high ineligibility rates. The report by The Education Trust found that 23 percent of recent high school graduates don't get the minimum score needed on the enlistment test to join any branch of the military. Questions are often basic, such as: "If 2 plus x equals 4, what is the value of x?" The military exam results are also worrisome because the test is given to a limited pool of people: Pentagon data shows that 75 percent of those aged 17 to 24 don't even qualify to take the test because they are physically unfit, have a criminal record or didn't graduate high school. Educators expressed dismay that so many high school graduates are unable to pass a test of basic skills. "It's surprising and shocking that we are still having students who are walking across the stage who really don't deserve to be and haven't earned that right," said Tim Callahan with the Professional Association of Georgia Educators, a group that represents more than 80,000 educators. Kenneth Jackson, 19, of Miami, enlisted in the Army after graduating from high school. He said passing the entrance exam is easy for those who paid attention in school, but blamed the education system for why more recruits aren't able to pass the test. "The classes need to be tougher because people aren't learning enough," Jackson said. This is the first time that the U.S. Army has released this test data publicly, said Amy Wilkins of The Education Trust, a Washington, D.C.-based children's advocacy group. The study examined the scores of nearly 350,000 high school graduates, ages 17 to 20, who took the ASVAB exam between 2004 and 2009. About half of the applicants went on to join the Army. Recruits must score at least a 31 out of 99 on the first stage of the three-hour test to get into the Army. The Marines, Air Force, Navy and Coast Guard recruits need higher scores. Further tests determine what kind of job the recruit can do with questions on mechanical maintenance, accounting, word comprehension, mathematics and science. The study shows wide disparities in scores among white and minority students, similar to racial gaps on other standardized tests. Nearly 40 percent of black students and 30 percent of Hispanics don't pass, compared with 16 percent of whites. The average score for blacks is 38 and for Hispanics is 44, compared to whites' average score of 55. Even those passing muster on the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery, or ASVAB, usually aren't getting scores high enough to snag the best jobs. "A lot of times, schools have failed to step up and challenge these young people, thinking it didn't really matter — they'll straighten up when they get into the military," said Kati Haycock, president of the Education Trust. "The military doesn't think that way." Entrance exams for the U.S. military date to World War I. The test has changed over time as computers and technology became more prevalent, and skills like ability to translate Morse code have fallen by the wayside. The test was overhauled in 2004, and the study only covers scores from 2004 through 2009. The Education Trust didn't request examine earlier data to avoid a comparison between two versions of the test, said Christina Theokas, the author of the study. The Army did not immediately respond to requests for further information. Tom Loveless, an education expert at the Brookings Institution think tank, said the results echo those on other tests. In 2009, 26 percent of seniors performed below the 'basic' reading level on the National Assessment of Education Progress. Other tests, like the SAT, look at students who are going to college. "A lot of people make the charge that in this era of accountability and standardized testing, that we've put too much emphasis on basic skills," Loveless said. "This study really refutes that. We have a lot of kids that graduate from high school who have not mastered basic skills." The study also found disparities across states, with Wyoming having the lowest ineligibility rate, at 13 percent, and Hawaii having the highest, at 38.3 percent. Retired military leaders say the report's findings are cause for concern. "The military is a lot more high-tech than in the past," said retired Air Force Lt. Gen. Norman R. Seip. "I don't care if you're a soldier Marine carrying a backpack or someone sitting in a research laboratory, the things we expect out of our military members requires a very, very well educated force."

#### It's the negative’s burden to prove competition – anything else encourages infinite non-competitive counterplan sandbagging in the 1NC

#### No negligible gap in performance and low scoring people stay longer

Roades and Madaus 03 [Kathleen Roades and George Madaus, May 2003, "Errors In Standardized Tests," No Publication, https://www.bc.edu/research/nbetpp//statements/M1N4.pdf, accessed 9-22-2019] LHSBC

Another famous testing error transpired from 1976 to 1980. During this time, a test-score calibration error resulted in the acceptance of more than 300,000 army recruits who normally would have been rejected because of low Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB) scores (National Commission on Testing and Public Policy, 1991). Sticht (1988) showed that, while the low-scoring recruits performed slightly less well than their higher-scoring counterparts, the difference was very small. Most of these low-scoring recruits performed well, many of them better than their higher-scoring peers. In fact, attrition for this period (a major performance indicator identified by the military as predictable by test scores) actually decreased slightly. This error may be considered a “naturally-occurring experiment”because it showed that those who “fail”tests might do notably better than predicted by test scores.

### PIC – CLT

#### Reject the CLT – it’s meant to promote white christian conservative values.

Classic Learning Initiatives 5/9 ([Classic Learning Initiatives on *Cathy Duffy Reviews*] “CLT Exam (Classic Learning Test)” *Cathy Duffy Reviews*, 9 May. 2019, [https://cathyduffyreviews.com/homeschool-extras/college-career-preparation/clt-exam-classic-learning-test#](https://cathyduffyreviews.com/homeschool-extras/college-career-preparation/clt-exam-classic-learning-test).) LHSLA LH

The CLT (Classic Learning Test) was developed in 2015 as an alternative to the two widely-used college and university admission exams, the SAT and the ACT. The founders of CLT were concerned about the content of the two major exams as they have become more closely tied to Common Core and have exhibited increasing bias against beliefs held by conservative Christians. The CLT assesses aptitude and skills rather than a specified body of knowledge. Despite the name—Classic Learning Test— the exam is not limited to students receiving a classical form of education. As they explain on their website, the CLT is structured and supported by principles and values which come from the rich heritage of the Western academic and theological tradition, what Mortimer Adler called the Great Conversation. To succeed at the Classic Learning Test does not require any specific religious affiliation; the CLT is open to students of all faiths who are serious about their academic work, the pursuit of virtue, and the beauty, truth, and goodness found in our Western heritage (https://www.cltexam.com/faq). This means, among other things, that reading passages often reflect a Judeo-Christian worldview including belief in a transcendent God. You can view a read-only sample test or take a practice test by clicking here.

### PIC – Military Colleges

#### Diversity is key to military recruitment, retention, operational success, and innovation

Forsling 15 [Carl Forsling, 4-28-2015, "Why The Military Needs Diversity," Task &amp; Purpose, https://taskandpurpose.com/why-the-military-needs-diversity, accessed 8-17-2019] LHSBC

For whatever scoffing the overused term “diversity” engenders, it has significant payoffs. All else being equal, a team with more than one represented demographic [will tend to perform better](http://www.scientificamerican.com/article/how-diversity-makes-us-smarter/), especially when it comes to producing innovation, which becomes more important to the military with each passing day. Groups with members of varied backgrounds generate more ideas and encourage individuals to “up their games.

In the military, we sometimes add tactical necessity to the mix — the [Marine Lioness](http://americanveteranmagazine.blogspot.com/2010/03/women-in-service-marine-corps-lioness.html) program is an example. It allowed female Marines in units to conduct searches and collect actionable intelligence among local women in Iraq. Additionally, in a military operating in far-flung reaches of the world, having diverse backgrounds often leads to units having individuals conversant in the [culture](https://books.google.com/books?id=PFp8AgAAQBAJ&pg=PT10&dq=military+looks+for+language+proficiency+diversity&source=gbs_toc_r&cad=3#v=onepage&q=military%20looks%20for%20language%20proficiency%20diversity&f=false) or [language](https://books.google.com/books?id=gGrAflAL8cEC&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=military+looks+for+language+proficiency+diversity&source=bl&ots=H0gUBzDydU&sig=9fHr_tK3epWuCsLN5WYIN2LCvVg&hl=en&sa=X&ei=j9w6Vdy3F4HutQWVs4DoDw&ved=0CDwQ6AEwBg#v=onepage&q=military%20looks%20for%20language%20proficiency%20diversity&f=false) of an area of operations.

Additionally, the corporate world already widely recognizes diversity as a necessity for [recruitment and retention](http://www.entrepreneur.com/article/240550) and the military should as well. Having minorities and women in a workplace helps to recruit and retain them — seeing people like you makes a difference. White men have benefited from this principle for generations — they just never consciously think about it.

It’s not a choice between diversity and high standards. They aren’t mutually exclusive. With the right approach diversity can actually increase the military’s standards.

Let’s start by saying that there’s nothing wrong with being a white Christian male. I’m one myself. I know that senior military leaders of that persuasion worked hard to get to their positions, but only the most naive would not admit that some others of different backgrounds might have to exercise more initiative or work a little harder to reach the same level.

A major issue here is that from adolescence on, white males stare military service in the face as a primary option. It’s not uncommon for them to have an unbroken male lineage of military service going back to their grandfathers and sometimes beyond. Their families and communities wholeheartedly endorse them joining. [That doesn’t occur nearly as often for those from other demographics](http://wiisglobal.org/2014/02/03/diversity-and-inclusion-imperative-for-the-u-s-militarys-future-success/). For many women and some minorities, joining the military, especially as an officer, is not as obvious an option as it is for a typical white male.

This is where an opportunity to encourage diversity without compromising standards comes in. Diversity doesn’t have to be some plan by which a thumb has to be put on the scale favoring the minority or the woman in any selection; like the type of affirmative action where a racial or gender-based golf handicap gets figured into the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery score for enlisted service members, SAT scores for officer programs, or some other standard.

By just making a bigger effort to broaden the pool of applicants we select from, we have the ability to increase, not decrease, quality. If there’s a large pool of potential applicants who are ignoring the option of joining the military for whatever reason, then by taking steps to encourage more of them to apply, quality goes up, not down. To use a simplified example, if you need to pick 10 people for a job, are you more likely to get higher quality recruits from a group of 50 applicants or 100?

#### Leader diversity from undergrad service academies and war colleges is especially key

Granville 15 [Anna Granville, 4-13-2015, "4 Reasons I Am Resigning My Commission As A Naval Officer," Task &amp; Purpose, https://taskandpurpose.com/4-reasons-i-am-resigning-my-commission-as-a-naval-officer, accessed 8-17-2019] LHSBC

3. The military is a homogeneous, anti-intellectual organization.

Finally, the factor that I found most frustrating is the toxicity of a perpetually anti-intellectual, change-resistant organization. My given reasons for resigning are extremely common among junior officers — both men and women — and have been recently quantified by the [2014 Navy Retention Study](http://www.dodretention.org/). Yet many senior leaders would look at my reasons for resigning and find a way to discredit them because they do not like what they say, possibly because they feel these motives question their own career choices.

When I was a week into my first deployment, I was preparing my slides for a watch turnover brief as the assistant chiefs of staff all filed in. A fellow junior officer, whose watch station was adjacent to mine, muttered, “Man, the Navy has a never-ending supply of middle-aged white men.”

And she was absolutely right. The majority of senior military leaders are white, Christian, conservative men with engineering degrees from a service academy, masters’ degrees from a war college, who grew up middle-class or privileged and whose wives do not have a career outside the home. There is nothing wrong with any of this — indeed, this is probably the profile of most executives in America. But this also means there’s a lack of diversity of ideas, a resistance to alternative ways of thinking, and the lethality of group think.

Unfortunately, this is also the profile of the same kind of individual who will wax on about how the military should not be a vehicle of social change — something that is very easy for someone in a position of privilege to say. Yet the American military has been a vehicle of social change since its inception; that is something to be proud of.

In order to succeed as an organization that is in the business of outsmarting and out-maneuvering an adversary who wants to kill us and our allies, shouldn’t we encourage diversity of thought in the force, and strive to recruit and retain leaders who think differently, rather than writing them off as disruptive?

#### DON’T READ THE LINK TURN ABOVE WITH THE IMPACT TURN BELOW

#### **Data disproves heg impacts**

Fettweis, 11 Christopher J. Fettweis, Department of Political Science, Tulane University, 9/26/11, Free Riding or Restraint? Examining European Grand Strategy, Comparative Strategy, 30:316–332, EBSCO

It is perhaps worth noting that **there is no evidence to support a direct relationship between** the relative level of **U.S. activism and international stability**. In fact, **the limited data we do have suggest the opposite may be true**. During the 1990s, the United States cut back on its defense spending fairly substantially**. By 1998, the United States was spending $100 billion less on defense in real terms than it had in 1990**.51 To internationalists, defense hawks and believers in hegemonic stability, this irresponsible “peace dividend” endangered both national and global security. “No serious analyst of American military capabilities,” argued Kristol and Kagan, “doubts that the defense budget has been cut much too far to meet America’s responsibilities to itself and to world peace.”52 On the other hand, **if** the pacific **trends were not based upon U.S. hegemony but** **a strengthening norm against interstate war, one would not have expected an increase in global instability and violence.** The verdict from the past two decades is fairly plain: **The world grew more peaceful while the** United States **cut its forces. No state seemed to believe that its security was endangered by a less-capable U**nited **S**tates **military**, or at least **none took any action that would suggest** **such a belief**. **No militaries were enhanced to address power vacuums, no security dilemmas drove insecurity or arms races, and no regional balancing occurred once the stabilizing presence of the U.S. military was diminished**. The rest of the world acted as if the threat of international war was not a pressing concern, despite the reduction in U.S. capabilities. Most of all, the United States and its allies were no less safe. The incidence and magnitude of global conflict declined while the United States cut its military spending under President Clinton, and kept declining as the Bush Administration ramped the spending back up. No complex statistical analysis should be necessary to reach the conclusion that the two are unrelated. Military spending figures by themselves are insufficient to disprove a connection between overall U.S. actions and international stability. Once again, one could presumably argue that spending is not the only or even the best indication of hegemony, and that it is instead U.S. foreign political and security commitments that maintain stability. Since neither was significantly altered during this period, instability should not have been expected. Alternately, advocates of hegemonic stability could believe that relative rather than absolute spending is decisive in bringing peace. Although the United States cut back on its spending during the 1990s, its relative advantage never wavered. However, **even if it is true that either U.S. commitments** or relative spending **account for global** pacific **trends**, then at the very least stability can evidently be maintained at drastically lower levels of both. In other words, even if one can be allowed to argue in the alternative for a moment and suppose that **there is in fact a level of engagement below which the U**nited **S**tates **cannot drop without increasing international disorder, a rational grand strategist would still recommend cutting back on engagement and spending until that level is determined**. **Grand strategic decisions are never final**; continual **adjustments can** and must **be made** as time goes on. Basic logic suggests that the United States ought to spend the minimum amount of its blood and treasure while seeking the maximum return on its investment. And if the current era of stability is as stable as many believe it to be, no increase in conflict would ever occur irrespective of U.S. spending, which would save untold trillions for an increasingly debt-ridden nation. It is also perhaps worth noting that if opposite trends had unfolded, if other states had reacted to news of cuts in U.S. defense spending with more aggressive or insecure behavior, then internationalists would surely argue that their expectations had been fulfilled**. If increases in conflict would have been interpreted as proof of the wisdom of internationalist strategies, then logical consistency demands that the lack thereof should** at least **pose a problem**. As it stands, **the only evidence we have regarding the likely systemic reaction to a more restrained** U**nited** S**tates suggests that the current peaceful trends are unrelated to U.S. military spending**. Evidently **the rest of the world can operate** quite **effectively without the presence of a global policeman. Those who think otherwise base their view on faith alone.**

### PIC – Common Core

#### The racialized gap perpetuated by the Common Core marks black and brown students as disposable and burdensome to the state’s “Race to the Top” – they are marked to become the next victims of the school-to-prison pipeline.

Reese 14
(Frederick Reese is a freelance writer. MintPress News, ‘Who’s Getting Caught In The “School-to-Prison” Pipeline? And Why?” 22 September 2014, http://www.mintpressnews.com/whos-getting-caught-school-prison-pipeline/196812/ Edited for transphobic language. cVs)

In the years since the Columbine High School Massacre, in which two high school students — Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold — killed 13 students and teachers and injured 21 others at Columbine High School in Columbine, Colorado, schools have increasingly taken a “zero-tolerance” approach to in-school disruptions. While this approach may help ease parents’ concerns about a school’s safety, the realities of these policies cast a troubling image. In 2009, for example, the Los Angeles Unified School District reported that among its students who were given out-of-school suspensions, 62 percent were Hispanic and 33 percent were black. Only 3 percent were white. Similarly, the West Valley School District in Spokane, Washington, reported that of the students who were expelled that year, 20 percent were black and 60 percent were white — this, for a school district whose student body is 86 percent white and 4 percent black. Also in 2009, in the Normandy School District of St. Louis, 100 percent of all students who received more than one out-of-school suspension, 100 percent of all students expelled without educational services, and 100 percent of all students referred to law enforcement were black. In New Orleans, all of the Orleans Parish School Board’s expulsions under its “zero-tolerance” policy were black, as were 67 percent of the board’s school-related arrests. New Orleans’ RSD-Algiers Charter School Association reported that black students made up 75 percent of students expelled without educational services, 100 percent of expulsions under a “zero-tolerance” policy, and 100 percent of school-related arrests. These examples, however, are far from unusual. According to the U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, no state — on average — has suspension rates that show white students being punished at a rate on par with the suspension rate for black students (see Figure 1). While New Jersey, New York and North Dakota reported rates below the national average — three black males suspended per every white male suspended, six black females suspended per every white female suspended — the most equitable state reported, New York, still had a rate of 2 black males suspended per every suspended white male. Wisconsin, the most inequitable state listed, reported a black-to-white suspension rate of 8 to 1 for males and 10.5 to 1 for females. Similarly, black students constitute only 16 percent of the nationwide student population, but they comprise 27 percent of students referred to law enforcement and 31 percent of students subjected to school-related arrest. White students, meanwhile, make up 51 percent of the national student body, 41 percent of the students referred to law enforcement, and 39 percent of those arrested. This disparity is commonly known as the “school-to-prison pipeline” and is thought to be the major driver of the disparity in black incarceration rates in the state and federal prison systems. When a student is referred to law enforcement, ~~he or she becomes~~ [they become] part of the judicial system — he or she receives a police and/or court record that may or may not be sealed; he or she is potentially exposed to incarceration; and ~~his or her~~ [their] family is subjected to fines and court fees that the family may be unable to pay. The referral also “marks” the student. Even if the student receives no jail time as a result of the referral, the referral itself suggests to law enforcement and to school officials that the student is a potential troublemaker, prompting heightened scrutiny of the student’s actions both in and out of school. This may also increase the likelihood of that student being rearrested, removed from school and placed in alternative education programs, or expelled. It could also increase the likelihood of that student dropping out of school altogether. “We know now that some kids are being suspended disproportionately compared to other kids,” Jody Owens, the managing attorney for the Mississippi office of the Southern Poverty Law Center, told MintPress. “We also know that this disparity between school punishment between these targeted kids and their white counterparts for the same offenses is at an alarmingly high rate. This disparity is causing a large number of these kids to be introduced to the juvenile justice system, which is the first stop on a long slide toward eventual placement in the adult prison system.” No one is sure why the “school-to-prison” pipeline exists. One theory ties it back to the for-profit prison system. It has been recognized that it costs less to house a minority in a for-profit prison than it is to house a white prisoner. The reason for this is age; the average white prisoner is significantly older than the average black or Latino prisoner. This means that the health costs for a black or Latino prisoner would be less than that of a white prisoner. As there is a higher profit motive for housing black and Latino prisoners, it follows that for-profit prisons would lobby for laws and policies which encourage the detention of young minority offenders. This was the case in the “kids for cash” scandal in which two Luzerne County Court of Common Pleas judges in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, were accused of accepting kickbacks from the developers of two for-profit juvenile detention facilities for their support toward receiving the county’s contracts and for imposing undue sentences in order to increase the number of inmates in the detention centers. Detainees were sentenced to incarceration for charges as petty as mocking a principal on MySpace, trespassing in a vacant building and shoplifting DVDs from Wal-Mart. Another theory is that as the students most likely to be suspended are underachieving students who, due to a lack of resources or parental involvement at home, are unlikely to perform well on standardized achievement tests, school officials knowingly and excessively refer these students to law enforcement. An arrest gives the school officials justification to remove the low-performing student from the school, which improves the school’s potential for a strong show in academic performance tests, such as the Common Core assessments. This would lead to an increase in state and federal funding, which the school can use to make up for austerity cuts due to the “Great Recession.” A third theory states that the problem involves “over-policing” on the part of law enforcement. This notion posits that a police officer or police department will eventually grow “hardened” upon having to respond to repeat school referrals for non-white students. The police will eventually start to see all non-white youth as potential criminals — both on school grounds and in everyday society, thus leading to a permanent aggressive attitude and responses that tend to be based on statistics rather than on the actual needs of the community. Moreover, this theory is a reflection of the “broken-window” theory, in which police are expected to respond to even the slightest infraction, such as a broken window, as ignoring it could contribute to a sense that no one cares. This notion of indifference, then, might lead to larger infractions, like vandalism or violence. As seen with the death of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and with the New York Police Department’s use of “stop & frisk,” this approach can make it seem as if police are needlessly overbearing or militaristic, even if their intentions are arguably benign. The most likely theory, however, is that many low-income school districts and communities lack the financial resources to implement alternative education programs and provide community intervention. According to the Sentencing Project, studies have found that intervention programs can have a tremendous effect. For instance, the Prenatal/Early Infancy Project, of Elmira, New York, in which a nurse makes 20 home visits during a pregnant teen’s prenatal period and during the first two years of the resultant child’s life, was found to significantly reduce the risk of child abuse and neglect. Further, the arrest rates decreased for both the mothers and children who participated in the program. Programs such as the Prenatal/Early Infancy Project and the High/Scope Perry Preschool Project — which tracked the short- and long-term effects of preschool programs such as Head Start — show that behavior patterns are established early in life. Children who come from a stable environment, who have access to the resources needed to thrive, and who are given early access to education are less likely to be socially disruptive later. The RAND Corporation has found that every dollar invested in preschool education produces $7.14 in societal savings. This lack of funding also plays a role in the suspension rates of disabled students and non-disabled students (see Figure 1). Many low-budget schools do not have the resources to train staff on how to handle special needs students — as defined by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act — or toward offering special programs for students with behavioral problems or other special needs students. This leaves these schools to refer special needs students to law enforcement or remove them from classes, thus endangering the lifetime learning capability of these students who are already on the fringe. “If you go into the suburbs of most big cities, which are typically white, there are few problems with their school budgets; their tax base is sound,” said Gallagher, the criminology and sociology chair at La Salle University. “In the school my kids attend outside of Philadelphia, for example, only 2 percent of the students are on free-or-reduced lunches. One mile away in the city, the reverse is true. This suggests poverty and it suggests that for such schools, a host of other poverty-related issues are coming into the classroom with the student. “This is a vestige of racism. Wealthy communities have wealthy schools, so that those born to money have exclusive access to the resources and education needed to go to college and make money. Those outside of these communities must do without.”

### CP – AUMF

#### The AUMF is bad – it’s modeled, unneeded, causes massive human rights violations, turns terror, and decks congressional war powers

HRF 7/3 [Human Rights First, 7-3-2019, "The Problems with the 2001 AUMF and How to Fix Them," https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/resource/problems-2001-aumf-and-how-fix-them, accessed 10-15-2019] LHSBC

Importance for National Security, Human Rights, and U.S. Leadership in the World∂ Continued reliance on outdated and ill-defined war authorizations that blur the line between war and peace undermine national security, U.S. leadership in the world, and human rights both at home and abroad.∂ War authorizations confer extraordinary powers on the president—powers that outside of war would amount to egregious violations of human rights. Wartime rules were designed for the unique circumstances of armed conflict between opposing armed forces. As a result, the laws of war sometimes permit killing as a first resort, detention without charge or trial, and the use of military tribunals—actions that are otherwise contrary to basic American values and human rights.∂ The current status quo puts the United States at odds with allied nations, counterterrorism partners on the ground, and local populations whose help is critical to effective counterterrorism. Assuring these groups that the United States respects human rights and the rule of law—including important limits on wartime authorities—will improve cooperation, undermine terrorist recruitment and propaganda, and reduce attacks against U.S. forces.∂ Expansive interpretations of a state’s authority to use wartime powers—such as lethal force as a first resort, military tribunals, and detention without charge or trial—also embolden other states to use such practices. Constraining the use of these exceptional authorities will provide a model for other states on how to use wartime authorities lawfully, strategically, and responsibly.∂ Not only is it unlawful to apply wartime authorities to address terrorist threats off the battlefield, it is not necessary. The United States has a robust array of diplomatic, law enforcement, and intelligence resources to mitigate the threat of terrorism. Ultimately, partner nations in which terrorist threats reside must take the lead to address those threats effectively with the support of the United States.∂ Repealing the 2001 AUMF would bring an end to nearly two decades of creeping warfare and reflect the proper constitutional balance of war powers between the executive and legislative branches.∂ Repealing the 2001 AUMF now would not leave the United States vulnerable. In the past, Congress has demonstrated its ability to act swiftly when it believes that authorizing military force is necessary. Congress passed the 2001 AUMF within three days of the 9/11 attacks and historically has acted quickly in a number of similar contexts. Congress can easily pass a new authorization if it believes that doing so is necessary and wise after carefully assessing today’s threat landscape. Even without an AUMF in place, however, the President has Article II authority to defend the nation from any sudden attacks if necessary.

#### No restraint goes nuclear --- accidents and miscalc

Adler 8 [David Gray, Professor of Political Science at Idaho State University, “The Judiciary and Presidential Power in Foreign Affairs: A Critique”, 6-1, http://www.freerangethought.com/index.php?option=com\_content&task=blogsection&id=6&Itemid=41]

{11} The structure of shared powers in foreign relations serves to deter abuse of power, misguided policies, irrational action, and unaccountable behavior.[[31]](http://www.urich.edu/~perspec/adler.htm#31) As a fundamental matter, emphasis on joint policymaking permits the airing of sundry political, social, and economic values and concerns. Such a structure wisely ensures that the ultimate policies will not merely reflect the private preferences or the short-term political interests of the President.[[32]](http://www.urich.edu/~perspec/adler.htm#32) {12} Of course, this arrangement has come under fire in the postwar period on a number of policy grounds. Some have argued, for example, that fundamental political and technological changes in the character of international relations and the position of the United States in the world have rendered obsolete an eighteenth century document designed for a peripheral, small state in the European system of diplomatic relations. Moreover, it has been asserted that quick action and a single, authoritative voice are necessary to deal with an increasingly complex, interdependent, and technologically linked world capable of almost instantaneous massive destruction. Extollers of presidential dominance also have contended that only the President has the qualitative information, the expertise, and the capacity to act with the necessary dispatch to conduct U.S. foreign policy.[[33]](http://www.urich.edu/~perspec/adler.htm#33) {13} These policy arguments have been reviewed, and discredited, elsewhere; space limitations here permit only a brief commentary.[[34]](http://www.urich.edu/~perspec/adler.htm#34NAME=) Above all else, the implications of U.S. power and action in the twentieth century have brought about an even greater need for institutional accountability and collective judgment than existed two hundred years ago. The devastating, incomprehensible destruction of nuclear war and the possible extermination of the human race demonstrate the need for joint participation in any decision to initiate war. Moreover, most of the disputes at stake between the executive and legislative branches in foreign affairs have virtually nothing to do with the need for rapid response to crisis. Rather, they are concerned only with routine policy formulation and execution, a classic example of the authority exercised under the separation of powers doctrine.[[35]](http://www.urich.edu/~perspec/adler.htm#35) {14} Nevertheless, these joint functions have been fused by the executive branch and have become increasingly unilateral, secretive, insulated from public debate, and hence unaccountable.[[36]](http://www.urich.edu/~perspec/adler.htm#36) In the wake of Vietnam, Watergate, and the Iran-contra scandal, unilateral executive behavior has become ever more difficult to defend. Scholarly appraisals have destroyed arguments about intrinsic executive expertise and wisdom in foreign affairs and the alleged superiority of information available to the President.[[37]](http://www.urich.edu/~perspec/adler.htm#37) Moreover, the inattentiveness of presidents to important details and the effects of "groupthink" that have dramatized and exacerbated the relative inexperience of various presidents in international relations have also devalued the extollers' arguments. Finally, foreign policies, like domestic policies, are reflections of values. Against the strength of democratic principles, recent occupants of the White House have failed to demonstrate the superiority of their values in comparison to those of the American people and their representatives in Congress. {15} The assumption of foreign affairs powers by recent presidents represents a fundamental alteration of the Constitution that is both imprudent and dangerous. We turn now to an examination of the judiciary's contribution to executive hegemony in foreign affairs.

### CP – Baby Bonds or test-help

#### Permutation do both

#### Cross apply stereotype threat and question striking from the AC overview. CP doesn’t solve the aff – even if every minority had the same tutoring, same school, and same economic status they would still perform worse than whites.

### CP – DOE

#### DOE has no overreach into enrollment standards like the aff

DOE 10 [U.S. Department Of Education, 9-1-2010, "An Overview of the U.S. Department of Educatiom,” US Gov, https://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/focus/what\_pg3.html, accessed 10-15-2019] LHSBC

What Is Not Part of the Department of Education’s Role?∂ In creating the Department of Education, Congress specified that:∂ No provision of a program administered by the Secretary or by any other officer of the Department shall be construed to authorize the Secretary or any such officer to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution, school, or school system, over any accrediting agency or association, or over the selection or content of library resources, textbooks, or other instructional materials by any educational institution or school system, except to the extent authorized by law. (Section 103[b], Public Law 96-88)∂ Thus, the Department does not∂ establish schools and colleges;∂ develop curricula;∂ set requirements for enrollment and graduation;∂ determine state education standards; or∂ develop or implement testing to measure whether states are meeting their education standards.[\*](https://www2.ed.gov/about/overview/focus/what_pg3.html%22%20%5Cl%20%22fn%2A)∂ These are responsibilities handled by the various states and districts as well as by public and private organizations of all kinds, not by the U.S. Department of Education.

#### Their evidence is about intentional discrimination – i.e. laws that explicitly say to not admit certain people. Colorblind racism slips under the radar – Miliken v. Bradley proves that implicit racism will never get remedied to encourage desegregation.

#### They have no solvency advocate – can’t solve the case

### CP – Generic

#### Permutation do both

#### Permutation do the counterplan

#### The case overview identifies 1) three reasons why the SAT is racist and 2) the reason why the SAT is prioritized in admissions – acts as an implicit solvency deficit

### CP – Landscape

#### Perm do both

#### The overview has 3 reasons why the SAT is bad – high stakes test score is uniquely the worst and officers have an implicit bias towards the SAT.

#### Additionally,

#### They place a numerical and reductive indicator on a single person – ignores the particularities of families and households that live in wealthy areas.

#### It’s administered by college board so they would skew the stats to say that low sat scores aren’t caused by inequality

#### No uniqueness – environmental factor consideration is the squo

#### All of their ev – I’ll read blue

Trammell and Boyette 8/27, Tramell, Kendall [Producer on CNN Digital’s mobile news programming team]. Boyette, Chris [Works in newsgathering, writes for CNN Digital, and can be found both behind and in front of the camera]. “Remember that new SAT 'adversity score'? That's no longer happening”. *CNN*, 27 Aug 2019. <https://www.cnn.com/2019/08/27/us/college-board-sat-adversity-score-trnd/index.html>

The nonprofit that administers the SAT college admissions test is replacing its ["adversity score"](https://www.cnn.com/2019/05/18/us/sat-adversity-score-factors/index.html) with a tool that will not assign a single number combining high school and neighborhood information. The College Board had introduced the Environmental Context Dashboard as an index that would measure factors, such as crime rates and poverty levels in students' neighborhoods, to reflect their "resourcefulness to overcome challenges and achieve more with less," [David Coleman, the board's chief executive officer said in May.](https://www.cnn.com/2019/05/16/us/sat-adversity-score/index.html) Students would have been scored on a scale of 1 to 100 based on data from records such as the US Census and the National Center for Education Statistics. College Board announced Tuesday it improved the Environmental Context Dashboard and renamed it "Landscape." The new tool will allow schools, students and families to see the same information about high schools and neighborhoods that colleges see. Colleges have long considered information regarding students' high schools and neighborhoods when making admissions decisions.

### CP – PBL

#### PBL is bad – integration, time, performance, and different relevance

Studocu 18 [Studocu, 3-6-2018, "The Pros and Cons of Problem-Based Learning," StuDocu Blog, https://blog.studocu.com/en/uncategorized-en/pros-cons-problem-based-learning/, accessed 10-19-2019] LHSBC

Problem-based learning- THE CONS∂ ∂ 1. Requires a lot of time and effort for implementation∂ Good PBL curriculum implementations require a huge amount of time and work on the teachers’ end.∂ It also requires constant monitoring and recording of the performance of the student(s) throughout the process.∂ ∂ 2. Poor performance in theoretical tests∂ Devoting too much time in PBL activities can create issues when students appear for standardized tests.∂ This is because they may not have the right breadth of knowledge to achieve high scores in such examination.∂ ∂ 3. Integration of multiple disciplines∂ To make the PBL model a success, multiple disciples have to be integrated so students can understand the different aspects of a situation.∂ Hence, systematic organization and extensive research are required for proper PBL implementation.∂ ∂ 4. Varying degrees of applicability and relevancy∂ It can be exceptionally difficult to identify a problem that can be tangible enough for students to solve in relevance to the content of their studies. This automatically introduces 2 issues.∂ One, if it’s easy for students to get distracted from the challenges presented by the problem, they may miss out on pertinent information.∂ Two, you can swerve off the focus and the purpose of the problem to make students run into abrupt obstacles. Overcoming them may has its benefits, but it can also compromise the initial planning which you did at the beginning of your lessons

#### PBL doesn’t solve – it’s ableist and assumes an extroverted and equal playing ground.

Smith 18 [Charlotte Smith, 1-29-2018, "‘Soft skills’ and hard decisions: The problem with project-based learning," No Publication, https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/rsa-blogs/2018/01/soft-skills-and-hard-decisions-the-problem-with-project-based-learning, accessed 9-22-2019] LHSBC

This collaborative, social form of learning may help students to develop well-rounded social skills, but what of the students who start out on an uneven social footing to begin with? Students who are victims of bullying by their peers, or students with disabilities or mental health issues which affect their social or communication skills will likely struggle with project-based learning in a way their peers will not. While PISA did not cover neurodivergence or mental health in their assessment of groups that excelled or lagged behind at collaborative problem-solving, they did report that students with less positive attitudes towards interpersonal relationships and students who reported fewer positive peer interactions overall tended to underperform at these tasks when their English and Maths results were taken into account. Ideally, in a school which systemically embeds collaborative problem-solving through project-based learning, these students may be given a unique opportunity to ‘catch up’ with their peers in terms of social development.∂ However, most schooling does not take place in an ‘ideal’ environment. While the social benefits of project-based learning may be particularly helpful for neurodivergent or otherwise socially-excluded students, I worry that without serious thought to inclusion and accessibility in designing these curricula, the students who need these benefits most will be the ones left behind. Given sufficient support, neurodivergent students are capable of participating in and even [flourishing](https://library.iated.org/view/GONZALEZ2016COL) through collaborative learning exercises, but without this support, the pressure of enforced peer collaboration may pose another barrier to education rather than a doorway to improved social skills.∂ Students on the autistic spectrum seem particularly at risk of falling through the cracks of a project-based learning approach. Autistic children typically present difficulties with social communication and social interaction, and often find working in collaboration with their peers a difficult, stressful experience. These problems are not one-way, either: [a recent study](https://www.nature.com/articles/srep40700) has shown that autistic individuals tend to be judged by unfamiliar observers as ‘awkward’ or ‘odd’, and generally receive less peer-initiated interaction, and less positive peer interactions overall, than their neurotypical peers. While many of these students, categorised as ‘high functioning’, may be highly intelligent, forming relationships and interacting with their peers is a stumbling-block in their educational experience, and introducing more collaboration-based activity to the classroom could be more of a hindrance than a help, as they may end up ‘[socially excluded from part of the teaching and learning process](http://www.leeds.ac.uk/educol/documents/00003313.doc)’ if intense teacher support and facilitation is not in place from the start.∂ The environments most suitable for collaborative learning may also prove problematic for these students. Peter Hyman, the pioneer of project-based learning at School 21, calls for “[a noisy education](https://www.theguardian.com/education/2017/feb/26/revolution-in-uk-schools)” in UK classrooms, in which oracy and verbal communication are as highly-prized as reading and writing. In his dialogic classroom, “talk aids thinking and understanding; through Socratic seminars and exploratory talk, children of a young age learn to wrestle with moral issues, explore difficult concepts and hone their arguments.” But for students with the auditory processing issues common to autism, developmental or learning delays, or attention deficit disorders (ADD or ADHD), who find the volume of an ordinary school [difficult to cope with](https://www.listenandlearn.com.au/auditory-processing-difficulties-and-disorders/), a dialogic classroom of overlapping voices may quickly become an inaccessible one, and teachers must be highly aware of these potential issues in order to make sure their classroom dialogue is open to all students.

#### But the plan solves – they disproportionally affect students with disabilities.

KASA ND – [KASA, Kids As Self Advocates (KASA) is a national project created by youth with disabilities for youth. KASA knows youth can make choices and advocate for themselves if they have the information and support they need. KASA believes young people with disabilities will have control over their own lives and futures, ND, “Standardized Testing: What Youth with Disabilities Have to Say,” <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=20&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKEwjvi_XbiqrkAhXPHDQIHdZfBlE4ChAWMAl6BAgCEAI&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffvkasa.org%2Fabout%2FKASAStandardizedTestingWhitePaper.doc&usg=AOvVaw2aBgA2ur7UBVlARYi-rEDT>] TPHS//JS

* Brackets in the original article

In The Words of the High School Student Being Tested

Question:

What are the problems with standardized testing?

[Standardized testing is] Absolutely unfair!! In our state, it is keeping most youth with disabilities from getting a diploma. One problem is that they (administrators) don’t really want kids with special needs taking the tests to begin with, because that will "mess up" the results for that particular teacher, school, system, etc. Also, the list of accommodations is so limited in our state that many students don't have adequate support to take the tests. - High school student from Alabama

The norms are not based on people with disabilities. Some questions on standardized tests even assume an able-body majority based perspective. I think that this population [people with disabilities] needs to be considered not only while writing/compiling tests but also during the actions/consequences that follow [in response to the results]. Timed tests can especially be challenging for people with certain disabilities that can make the task of writing quickly a challenge. While accommodations may be available, they almost always rely on the student to take the initiative to ask for them. Students may not know these accommodations exist or they may be embarrassed to stop the test in the middle of the opening instructions. - High school student from Florida

I think that the standardized testing discriminates against all disabled students. They are "standardized" tests, not tests that have been conformed to each individual person's way of learning. Not everyone learns the same way… - High school student from Indiana

Some of the questions are not fair to people who are visually impaired. We have trouble visualizing images. - High school student from Texas

### CP – PIQE

#### Perm do both – shields link because better taught minorities means they teach their children and help w/ hw

### CP – Racial Audit

#### Race audits fail – localities lack funding

Lenhardt 10 [Robin Lenhardt, Fordham University School of Law, 2010, No Publication, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/69ae/6394dd7e29c8ef5df4b1c1872c795d5c2edd.pdf, accessed 10-15-2019] LHSBC

Last, the race audit raises real concerns about cost and scope. In the current economic climate, it seems unlikely that localities would carry out the expansive process envisioned by the race audit proposal without some difficulty. Competitive funding programs modeled on the Obama administration's Race to the Top Program, as indicated earlier, could be utilized to minimize the economic burden of implementation on localities, however. In the absence of such programs or similar state or federal government funding, localities interested in conducting the race audit might also productively seek outside financial support from philanthropic organizations or perhaps even universities.25 Such support would diminish substantially the costs associated with the race audit.

#### Doesn’t solve the case – their ev says the audit’s suggestions only apply to “proposed government policies”

#### Gets circumvented – funding, white invasion, and flight. Their ev

Boddie 16 (Elise, Professor of Law at Rutgers; B.A. from Yale College; M.P.P. from the John F. Kennedy School of Government; J.D. from Harvard. “Adaptive Discrimination” 94 N.C.L. Rev, 1235. Lexis Nexis)

David Luban theorizes that all "[l]egal argument is a struggle for the privilege of recounting the past." 411 In the area of race, however, legal argument also requires space for narratives that allow us to "name our reality." 412 Existing constitutional doctrine demands that we see racial discrimination as narrow, siloed, and time limited. Accordingly, it looks past the systemic, dynamic, and regenerative effects of disbanded government policies and the private choices that such policies have enabled. All of this raises an obvious question, which is whether law can do anything. This question naturally flows from the very premise of adaptive discrimination--that public and private actors reengineer racially subordinating schemes that evade law, the effects of which persist through social norms and practices that look past the resulting racial disadvantage. Previous sections also explored the linear assumptions that are embedded in constitutional doctrine, which has curbed judicial and legislative remedies and affirmative action policies that sought to address pervasive racial inequality. Therefore, one might reasonably ask whether I have too much faith in the power of law (and in the willingness of those entrusted to implement it) as a tool for advancing racial justice. I vacillate between optimism and pessimism about the possibilities for law-based reform. 413 For this reason, this Article has carefully suggested that adaptive discrimination may be "curbed," rather than "remedied." I use this distinction to convey some ambivalence about our ability to dislodge racial subordination and the utility of law as a means for undoing racial caste. Here I am channeling Professor Derrick Bell, who regarded the search for racial progress as something akin to a fool's errand. 414 Bell contended that [\*1303] the centuries-deep evidence of black oppression indicates that blacks will be forever consigned to a permanent, subordinate status. 415 He resisted the notion that racial struggle should be conceived as a quest for lasting progress. Instead, he urged that the purpose of struggle is to find meaning in the practice of resistance. 416 As Bell conceived it, however, achieving that meaning requires abandoning the futile search for permanent equality, which he described as "more illusory than real." 417 I agree with Bell that the long trajectory of racial subordination makes it impossible to have inordinate faith in the legal system. 418 However, I part ways with him on the view that racial progress over the long term is a lost cause and that the use of "law"--in the form of courts who enforce it, legal actors who implement it, and doctrine itself--for this purpose is senseless. While racial disadvantage is persistent and very real, we cannot credibly say that we have not made any progress. 419 Nor can we afford to sideline courts in this project. 420 Indeed, if we are to make meaningful headway, we must be able to draw on all instruments of law, including the courts, legislatures, elected officials, and, of course, the people themselves. 421 To state the obvious, not so long ago it was unimaginable that we would have a black president. Three-hundred years ago, it was likely inconceivable that slavery would eventually be declared unconstitutional. One-hundred years ago, few would have expected the Supreme Court to strike down de jure segregation. None of this just "happened," of course. Progress unfolded through the [\*1304] generations due to resistance by untold numbers of people pushing to change laws and behavior in large and small ways. Thus, to make another crucial point, I do not harbor any illusions that change originates with law. Although a deeper exploration of these points is beyond the scope of this Article, social movements are also essential for legal reform. 422 At bottom, this Article takes the view that racial progress is possible. But progress, like discrimination, ebbs and flows over time. Therefore, we need to extend our time horizons in evaluating our relative success. 423 As a practical matter, this means that law should treat racial discrimination as an endemic and complex problem that requires systemic, dynamic, and strategic responses and, just as importantly, indefinite vigilance. 424 More fundamentally, we have to accept that the improvements we seek now may not bear fruit until we are long gone. We can analogize systemic racial inequality to climate change to help illustrate the point. 425 The seeds of our current climatic activity were planted long ago, but the effects in many ways are only now becoming apparent. 426 As with climate change, it will take significant time to reengineer and reconstruct our racial system. To do this, we need more innovative enforcement mechanisms that are as continuous, responsive, and fluid as the problem itself. Although a complete exploration of these points is beyond the scope of this Article, the next Section sketches the framework for this enterprise and the contours of what it might look like. B. Creating an Ecosystem for Racial Equality How might we advance an adaptive enforcement mechanism to create an ecosystem for racial equality in places like Ferguson, Missouri and the St. Louis metropolitan area? Such an expansive [\*1305] project would necessarily involve the investment of federal, state, and local government resources and the attention of courts and legislatures, as well as individuals working within and across affected communities. 427 As discussed earlier in this Article, each of these constituencies has had a hand in the creation of adaptive discrimination over a period of generations. Each must be involved in curbing its operation. This enterprise neither begins nor ends with constitutional law, as it first requires the willingness of each of the above actors to commit to the problem itself. This, of course, presents its own set of daunting political and practical problems. However, in key respects, constitutional law is also a barrier. It is an impediment to affirmative litigation against governmental actors insofar as it requires a specific showing of racially discriminatory intent. And it limits both the authority of federal courts to redress discrimination that has persisted through time and the power of Congress to target adaptive discrimination through legislation that burdens states and local jurisdictions. Thus, constitutional law both shields adaptive discrimination from the efforts of those who seek to eradicate racial inequality and provides those who champion such inequality with a sword against remedial measures that seek to address it, particularly at the federal level. This is a problem given that federal institutions and resources will need to be involved in this enterprise. The subsections below suggest ideas for navigating some of this terrain, and end by focusing on strategies that can be enforced by communities at the state and local level--largely free of the constitutional constraints identified earlier. I also briefly discuss some of the barriers to their implementation. 1. Clearing the Path to Systemic Change As the previous Sections discussed, constitutional law denies federal courts, Congress, and proponents of voluntary affirmative action the flexibility to respond to adaptive discrimination. 428 This subsection proposes changes that would help clear the path for more [\*1306] systemic reform in ways that align with the respective institutional capabilities of these various actors. For example, we can readily conclude that courts cannot realistically (or even appropriately) manage discrimination's systemic and dynamic nature. In the context of the problems identified in this Article, courts are better suited for resolving challenges to specific institutional practices that foster racial inequality. 429 Legislatures and government agencies, on the other hand, can study discrimination's dynamic qualities and offer solutions that account for its complexity. The preclearance mechanism in the Voting Rights Act is a good example of an effective strategy and how it might work using the courts and the executive branch in a complementary enforcement framework. Though it has been disabled by the Court in Shelby County, Congress could still pass legislation that revives the provision using a different coverage formula. Moreover, there are no federal constitutional barriers for state legislatures to adopt the same kind of preclearance mechanism for their own state laws. However, as the federal preclearance provision itself shows, there are clear practical problems with relying on state legislatures to police themselves, especially (for reasons already discussed) with regard to racial discrimination. As discussed throughout this Article, the Court's express and implicit use of time as a sword against efforts to redress racial inequality is a continuing problem. The assumption that discrimination expires, or is no longer constitutionally cognizable, with the passage of time has led the Court to conclude that "de facto" racial segregation in public schools is beyond judicial remedy, to decide that Congress lacked constitutional authority to renew the Voting Rights Act's preclearance formula, and to observe that diversity-based affirmative action may no longer be necessary in twenty-five years. The same assumptions about time underlie the Court's determination that efforts to redress "societal discrimination"--which is "ageless in its reach into the past" 430 --cannot be the basis for voluntary, race-specific affirmative action in [\*1307] higher education and government contracting or voluntary integration programs in K-12 public schools. Of course, time has been a factor even in constitutional decisions that favor an adaptive framework. Recall that the Court's decision in Green invoked time in deciding that it was too soon to conclude that the school board had disestablished its dual system. 431 And, in Katzenbach, the Court determined that Congress could constitutionally shift the advantages of "time and inertia" from the "perpetrators of evil" to its "victims." 432 Still, for reasons already discussed, it is risky to legitimize time as a factor in adjudicating racial discrimination. Because discrimination mutates, it is easier to elude detection, which means that discrimination is likely to persist over some period. As demonstrated in the constitutional cases discussed earlier, accepting time as a consideration invites the possibility that it will be used to invalidate policies and practices that promote racial equality. Therefore, this Article calls for courts to abandon time, both as an explicit and implicit criterion, when judging the necessity of continuing discrimination remedies. The use of time as a factor in constitutional adjudication, however, will be difficult to overcome as long as intent is the standard and the plaintiff bears the burden of proving that present inequality is "traceable" to prior intent. The passage of time naturally makes it harder for the plaintiff to demonstrate (and a court to discern) an earlier decisionmaker's motivation, as recollections of prior events dim and records documenting such proof are lost. Ideally, we would abandon racial intent. 433 But, short of that scenario, we might look to Green for a possible solution. In Green, the Court shifted the burden to the school board to prove that it had eliminated "root and branch" the "vestiges" of its prior conduct. 434 As the Court observed in Freeman v. Pitts, the "school district bears the burden of showing that any current racial imbalance is not traceable in a proximate way to [a] prior constitutional violation." 435 [\*1308] Of course, as discussed earlier, Freeman also unhelpfully concluded that white flight was not proximately related to past intentional discrimination, 436 which limits its practical utility here. Nevertheless, the fact that the school board bears the burden of proof in desegregation cases changes the constitutional conversation by giving plaintiffs leverage to exact changes to school board practices that perpetuate racial inequality. The rebuttable presumption that continuing racial "imbalance" is connected to unconstitutional discrimination by the school district allows plaintiffs to negotiate changes to educational practices that harm black students and to require school districts to provide black students with more educational resources. 437 Ellen Katz describes comparable dynamics in the analogous context of Section 5's preclearance model. Placing the burden on the defendant, rather than on the plaintiff, creates "an affirmative tool of governance" 438 that, at least prior to Shelby County, enabled plaintiffs to challenge voting policies and practices that had a discriminatory impact while insulating government officials from some of the political pressures they might otherwise face not to "cave" to plaintiffs' demands. 439 An adaptive framework could apply the same burden to any public institution with a history of intentional racial discrimination. That institution would be under an affirmative obligation to show that the challenged practice was not traceable to its prior unconstitutional conduct. The benefit of this approach is that it hews reasonably closely to constitutional precedent. The disadvantage is that it remains tethered to findings of racial intent. Moreover, any remedies would be confined to the particular institution itself. The next subsection sketches components of an adaptive framework that would engage state legislatures, state courts, and state and local communities in this project. [\*1309] 2. Enforcement Strategies for Communities This subsection explores a set of interactive, dynamic strategies that could be implemented at the local and regional level. 440 Because states have plenary powers over municipalities, they could require localities to comply with these enforcement mechanisms. 441 The obvious drawback of course is that recalcitrant states could reject these mechanisms altogether, leaving localities that were otherwise receptive to such initiatives with minimal recourse. 442 Indeed, as discussed throughout this Article, there is good reason to be concerned about whether states with a recividist history of racial discrimination would agree to racial justice initiatives at the local level. On the other hand, enforcement against states would require some federal intervention and could potentially raise some of the federal constitutional problems discussed in previous sections. 443 Thus, any proposal would have to be evaluated and weighed in light of these advantages and disadvantages. The mechanism that I contemplate here draws on a proposal by R.A. Lenhardt to use "race audits" to identify local policies and practices that perpetuate racial inequality. 444 Again, we can look to the preclearance provision of the 1965 Voting Rights Act as a model for determining which jurisdictions would be subject to a race audit. As discussed above, the Act required certain jurisdictions with a history of persistent racial discrimination to submit any proposed voting changes for federal review. Under my framework, race audits would be performed in local jurisdictions and metropolitan areas that are symptomatic of adaptive discrimination. These symptoms might [\*1310] include, for example, high degrees of residential and public school segregation (intra- as well as interdistrict) and aggressive policing practices that target marginalized racial communities. How the jurisdiction allocates public resources and services and whether it concentrates the least desirable public facilities in distressed minority neighborhoods or towns would also be relevant. Localities and metropolitan regions that display these symptoms would be subject to a race audit. As conceptualized by Lenhardt, the audit team would bring together professionals and academics trained in the audit function, as well as community organizers and other affected individuals. 445 This team would be tasked with uncovering practices that have fostered racial inequality and with making recommendations for curbing those practices' present effects. Proposed government policies would also be evaluated for their racial impact. An "audit board" would design remedial measures that would take appropriate account of the adaptive nature of the targeted problems. 446 Because adaptive discrimination often crosses jurisdictional boundaries, ideally the audit board would consist of both local officials and officials from the surrounding metropolitan area. 447 A court consisting of appointed judges, which was specially constituted to examine and enforce the audit team's recommendations, would order remedies tailored to curb adaptive discrimination and preemptively bar implementation of other harmful measures. Because an adaptive enforcement model requires an active monitoring mechanism, the court's jurisdiction would be indefinite, rather than time limited, and would span the full range of racially impacted systems. Further, the court would be empowered to take account of time delays in evaluating a policy or program's relative success. The model contemplates that the court and the audit team would periodically revisit any solutions to reevaluate their effectiveness. [\*1311] A number of questions about the logistics of this enforcement system would have to be sorted out. One practical question is whether courts would have the power to enjoin local officials who refused to cooperate or comply with a race audit. Another question is whether localities would have recourse to appeal the orders of the specially constituted court. The audit team itself would also have to be appropriately staffed and monitored, which raises budgetary implications. Other political questions arise about how to constitute the audit board and its governance structure. How might we apply this framework to Ferguson? The account of adaptive discrimination in Ferguson and the surrounding St. Louis region described in Section I.B offers an example of what an audit team might uncover, as well as clues for diagnosing the reasons for persistent racial inequality in the town and the surrounding areas. 448 Adaptive enforcement measures might include a system of metropolitan zoning that would allow affordable housing to be sited throughout the region. Policies could be designed to address the intergenerational impact of poverty, such as intensive educational programs for both parents and children and various forms of funding to improve rates of homeownership among marginalized communities. The audit team could also make recommendations to improve relationships between the black community and the police, including the elimination of ticketing practices that target black residents. The monitoring mechanisms would have to be deployed to respond to any feedback effects that result from these policies. For example, we might imagine Ferguson shifting to new funding sources that continue to disadvantage the black community. The audit team, the board, and the court would have to remain active and alert to these kinds of adaptive strategies. 3. The Challenges of a Systemic Approach The framework described above has clear limitations that are inherent to systemic approaches. 449 For example, enforcement likely [\*1312] would have to be carried out in ways that track institutional and organizational structures and processes, including matters of funding, implementation, and management. As a result, enforcement itself runs the risk of replicating the very problems that an adaptive framework seeks to address. Although an enforcement framework could require collaboration among and between government officials and private citizens to avoid some pitfalls, political and practical challenges are inevitable. In addition, law itself could use some cultural and professional reorientation in its approach to racial discrimination. Lawyers are trained to atomize problems--to break them down into their specific components according to relevant standards of proof and to align proposed remedies with available legal theories. Thus, law does not offer a "one-stop shop" for addressing racial discrimination's systemic fluidity. Indeed, it is hard to imagine what that would look like. This is another reason why ongoing community engagement and feedback and continuing grassroots pressure on legal and political actors would be crucial to the success of an adaptive enforcement mechanism. Additional challenges might include a lack of resources and funding at the state and local level, 450 requiring federal support and intervention. Moreover, the entities that comprise the race audit team could be readily captured by political interests or compromised by the very white privilege norms, racialized class ideologies, and implicit racial bias I discussed earlier. It is also possible that those subject to the enforcement mechanism would simply decide to exit the new order altogether by moving to another jurisdiction or reconstituting new communities under new sets of laws and rules. 451 Thus, while the enforcement mechanism described here would allow useful and innovative techniques for addressing adaptive discrimination, additional work would have to be done to sort out its logistics and to reorient its participants on how to maximize its effectiveness. [\*1313] CONCLUSION We have made significant racial progress in this country. And yet, daunting problems remain. This Article has argued that these problems are a function of racial discrimination that is more complex than our limited cognitive models and constitutional doctrine allow and that public and private actors have been complicit in the creation and maintenance of our racially compromised systems. Our linear, time-centered approaches to addressing racial discrimination are destined to fail us, as they have again and again. Thus, our best hope for promoting racial justice is to embrace the precepts of adaptive discrimination. We must change the constitutional standards that prevent us from addressing it, and we must develop cross-institutional enforcement models that are more responsive to racial discrimination's systemic and dynamic nature. Finally, we must accept that the quest for racial equality and freedom may continue for some time and that such a quest requires persistence and vigilance through the generations.

### CP – Tracking

#### Perm do the counterplan: that’s Malsbury 15

#### Standardized tests is the way schools are able to track.

National Academies Press, 1999, "5 Tracking," <https://www.nap.edu/read/6336/chapter/7> LHSLA LH

Some standardized test scores can be used appropriately in making tracking decisions, and the following sections of this chapter describe criteria that are relevant in determining whether a particular test use is appropriate. At the same time, research suggests that some other standardized tests commonly employed for tracking are not valid for this purpose. For example, Darling-Hammond (1991) asserts that schools improperly use norm-referenced multiple-choice tests for tracking purposes; she argues that such tests are designed to rank students and not to support instruction, and that linking such test scores to student tracking can seriously limit students' learning.8 Tests that yield criterion-referenced interpretations may be preferable. Similarly, Glaser and Silver (1994) find evidence of negative consequences from the use of selection tests for placement in tracks.9 Meisels (1989) also contends that some standardized tests are used inappropriately for tracking purposes and recommends that other, more appropriate standardized tests be used in making tracking decisions.

#### Perm do both: Everything else they fiat is plan plus.

### CP – SAT for all

#### Permutation do both – shields the link to GPA. Tutoring that results from the CP would teach the analytical skills and work ethic that would help poorer students do well in school

#### The counterplan replicates inequality

Green 16 [Douglas W. Green, EdD, 3-10-2016, "SAT's for All? One More Bad Idea From the Political Elite," Education Week - Work in Progress, http://blogs.edweek.org/teachers/work\_in\_progress/2016/03/sats\_for\_all\_one\_more\_bad\_idea.html, accessed 10-18-2019] LHSBC

On March 2, 2016, juniors at 92 New York City high schools opened their test booklets and took the new SAT during regular school hours. Next year this program will expand to all city high schools thanks to mayor Bill de Blasio's conviction that it will serve to make college more accessible for more city students.∂ Just how low performing students who otherwise would not take this test benefit is beyond me. Just about all of these additional students are candidates for open-door two-year schools that don't require the test or even a high school diploma. These are not student who are candidates for the decreasing number of competitive schools that still require the SAT or its competitor the ACT.∂ Thanks to the vision of a politician, students in New York City now we have one more required standardized test that is sure to frustrate many poor and minority students and make them feel like failures. I know you can't technically fail an SAT, but students will know if they are doing well or not. This test will also take time away from something else in schools that have already been spending too much time prepping and taking ELA and math tests at the expense of things like social studies, science, the arts, physical education, and recess.∂ How does giving a test to poor kids help when the results of the SAT are already strongly correlated with income by zip code? If low SAT scores have kept successful students out of college as David O'Hara, the principal of Leaders High School in Gravesend, Brooklyn claims, how does simply giving the test to all make any difference? Mr. O'Hara also admits that there is no funding for a Saturday class for the additional students who will be taking the test. In essence, New York City is giving many students a test that they are not prepared for. If this isn't malpractice, I don't know what else to call it.∂ Keep in mind that this is happening in light of recent findings that one's GPA trumps the SAT in predicting college success, and that every year more colleges become test optional. By taking more time away from class activities that lead towards grades and one's GPA, it seems that diverting time to take the SAT could only have a negative impact on student access to college and success once they arrive.∂ To make matters worse, this is the first year for the "new SAT." A recent New York Times article reveals that the new test features longer and more difficult reading passages on the reading part, and more reading on the math part making it more of a reading test. The article claims that the average readability on the new test is at least a grade level higher. This is bad news for English Language Learners and other students with disabilities that make reading more of a challenge. It also means that the test is totally inappropriate for even more students. Giving the SAT to students near the bottom percentiles of student achievement seems like abuse to me.∂ While I'm all for making the test available for free to poor students, I see no reason for taxpayers to foot the bill for rich kids. This is just one more way the rich get richer as these are the same students whose parents can also afford to pay for SAT prep classes beyond the school day. It's ironic that a mayor who claims to be a champion of the poor has put in place a program that gives the haves another free step up the ladder of success.

#### The SAT for all lowers scores – increases inequality

Casalaspi 17 [David Casalaspi, 3-7-2017, "SAT For All, But High Performance Too? – Green &amp; Write," No Publication, https://edwp.educ.msu.edu/green-and-write/2017/sat-for-all-but-high-performance-too/, accessed 10-18-2019] LHSBC

A bigger problem with SAT For All plans, however has to do with their effect on overall performance. In the 1980s, SAT scores were higher than they are today, in part because during that time only a relatively small portion of high-performing high school students took the test—those who were planning to attend college. As more and more students have begun taking the test, and the population of test takers has become more diverse, aggregate scores have dropped. This is the case even though the scores for some subpopulations (like White students, Asian students, and Black students) have either remained flat or increased.∂ Take the table below, for example. As the table shows, between 2005 and 2015 the percentage of SAT test-takers who were White shrank from 56% to 47% while the percentage of students who were Black increased from 10% to 13% and the percentage of students who were Hispanic increased from 10% to 20%. Because Black and Hispanic students usually have lower test scores than white students, the overall SAT scores were almost guaranteed to drop. At the same time, the portion of non-college-ready students taking the test within every racial group has increased as well, diluting the overall score for each population subgroup over time.∂ All of this is to say that while SAT For All plans are borne of noble aspirations—the desire to see more students qualify for college admission—there is an inherent tradeoff in the short-term in the form of lower aggregate performance. In recent years, there has been much handwringing about declining SAT scores, and every year it seems the release of the College Board’s annual score data is met with fervent calls for faster education reform (see [here](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/education/sat-scores-at-lowest-level-in-10-years-fueling-worries-about-high-schools/2015/09/02/6b73ec66-5190-11e5-9812-92d5948a40f8_story.html), [here](http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/high_school_and_beyond/2015/09/latest_sat_scores_continue_downward_trend_college_board_reports.html?qs=SAT++scores), and [here](http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2015/09/09/2015-sat-act-scores-suggest-many-students.html?qs=states+require+SAT)). But until we are able to ensure that every student is college-ready, increasing the pool of students taking a college-readiness test will only result in lower scores. It is impossible to simultaneously expand the pool of test-takers to include people who are not college-ready and still expect universally high outcomes. Excellence and equality are inherently in conflict.

### CP - Select spots

#### The counterplan gets struck down – the Supreme court ruled it’s unconstitutional.

Strauss 16 [David A. Strauss, 1-24-2016, "Fisher V University Of Texas And The Conservative Case For Affirmative Action," The Supreme Court Review, https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795, accessed 8-25-2019] LHSBC

The third element of Justice Powell’s approach was that an affirmative action program may not simply set aside a certain number of places for minority applicants, as Davis’s did. The compelling interest, as Justice Powell saw it, “is not an interest in simple ethnic diversity” but instead “encompasses a far broader array of qualifications and characteristics of which racial and ethnic origin is but a single though important element.”[21](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn23) An admissions program must be “flexible enough to consider all pertinent elements of diversity in light of the particular qualifications of each applicant.”[22](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn24) In practice, this meant that “race or ethnic background may be deemed a ‘plus’ in a particular applicant’s file” as long as the university does not “insulate the individual from comparison with all other candidates for the available seats”[23](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn25) and as long as the admissions committee considers other qualities “likely to promote beneficial educational pluralism.”[24](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn26) Justice Powell cited Harvard College’s description of its affirmative action program as an example of an approach that met his standard.[25](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn27)

After Bakke, the Court did not decide a case about affirmative action in higher education for twenty-five years. During that time, though, in City of Richmond v J. A. Croson Company[26](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn28)—a case involving affirmative action in a local government’s award of construction contracts—a majority of the Court ruled, in agreement with Justice Powell’s Bakke opinion, that a state or local affirmative action plan is subject to strict scrutiny.[27](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn29) The Court also emphasized that, in order to satisfy strict scrutiny, a measure had to be “narrowly tailored,” and that one element of narrow tailoring was whether the government had considered “race-neutral” alternatives to affirmative action.[28](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn30) The Court in Croson, again echoing Justice Powell’s opinion in Bakke, suggested that the affirmative action plan in Croson was deficient because it used a “rigid numerical quota.”[29](https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/692795#fn31)

### CP – Test “blind”

#### Blindness metaphors are ableist – they associate disability with unknowing and ignorance.

Tremain 11 [Shelly Tremain, 7-19-2011, "Ableist language and philosophical associations," New APPS: Art, Politics, Philosophy, Science, https://www.newappsblog.com/2011/07/ableist-language-and-philosophical-associations.html, accessed 7-25-2019] LHSBC

Over the last couple of decades, disability theorists in the humanities have produced work that shows how signifiers of disability employed in literature, art, films, pop culture, the news media, and everyday discourse are paradigmatically and stereotypically oppressive to disabled people: the nasty villain with facial scars, the evil pirate with a prosthetic arm, the wicked witch with one eye, the determined cripple who overcomes all odds and is redeemed, and so on.  One focus of these efforts has been the ways that “blindness” is used as a rhetorical and representational device to signify lack of knowledge, as well as epistemic ignorance or negligence and the moral downfall it implies.

I first wrote about the use of blindness as a metaphor in 1996.  For the last few years, I have tried to get the APA to remove the phrase “blind review” from its publications and website.  The phrase is demeaning to disabled people because it associates blindness with lack of knowledge and implies that blind people cannot be knowers.  Because the phrase is standardly used in philosophy and other academic CFPs, it should become recognized as a cause for great concern.  In short, use of the phrase amounts to the circulation of language that discriminates.  Philosophers should want to avoid inflicting harm in this way.  Now, one might think that the term “blind review” means, literally, that reviewers cannot “see” the name of an author (or authors) of a given paper.  But consider that under the terms of this form of refereeing, it would be not be acceptable for an editor to verbally communicate the name (or names) of an author (or authors) to a referee, while preventing the referee from seeing the name or names.  Equally, it would not be acceptable if a blind philosopher heard the name (names) read out by her screen-reader software, even though she can’t see them.

#### Using disabling language de-values people with disabilities

Ben-Moshe, Doctorate in Disabilities studies, 5

(Liat, 4-1-05, The Graduate School, Syracuse University, “Building Pedagogical Curb Cuts: Incorporating Disability in the University Classroom and Curriculum,” http://www.syr.edu/gradschool/pdf/resourcebooksvideos/Pedagogical%20Curb%20Cuts.pdf, accessed: 7-5-2012, p.110, CAS)

Using disability as a metaphor to represent only negative aspects of a situation is problematic. It is made worse by the fact that blindness, deafness, paralysis, etc., are not floating signifiers, but have real referents behind them—people with disabilities. When using disabling language, we do not only de-value the lived experience of people with disabilities, but we also appropriate these lived experiences for our own use. This means that disabled people have been presented as socially flawed able-bodied people, not as people with our own identities. As responsible instructors, we must ask ourselves, when was the last time we discussed disability in our classrooms, not as metaphors, but as lived experiences?

#### Voter for accessibility – ableism excludes disabled folx from the debate space. They force out current debaters and alienate new ones.

### CP - Test Optional

#### Top level – Cp links to the net benefit and the case solves better because it goes a step further.

#### Test optional sucks – it’s selectively applied, abused for ranking spots, and used for applicant gain

Stier 13 [Debbie Stier, Debbie Stier is the author of the forthcoming book, The Perfect Score Project: Uncovering the Secrets of the SAT., 10-31-2013, "SAT-Optional Schools Not Such a Great Option After All," TIME, http://ideas.time.com/2013/10/31/sat-optional-schools-not-such-a-great-idea-after-all/, accessed 8-9-2019] LHSBC

Critics argue that test-optional colleges are simply gaming the system to gain status in the rankings, most notably the U.S. News & World Report rankings, which have created a frenzy of colleges vying to move up in prestige. A test-optional policy means more applicants, which means more applicants to reject, which means appearing more “selective” as far as the rankings go. Also, a test-optional school’s SAT average will be artificially inflated because applicants who do submit scores [have higher scores](http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ856358.pdf) — 100 to 150 points better, on average — than applicants who don’t.

There’s also the fact that “test optional” means different things to different schools. Students with low SAT scores may be hoping for the chance to be considered as a whole person rather than a test score, but it’s not always that simple. There are policy nuances, as when colleges are test-optional for students with a certain GPA or state schools are test-optional for in-state applicants but not for applicants from out of state or abroad.

On the flip side, there’s a chance for some students with high test scores to work the system to their advantage because the applicant pool at test-optional schools is presumably filled with score-free applications. At a test-optional college, high scores might even mitigate the consequences of a low GPA.

There is no doubt that one test should not determine an applicant’s chances, but in 2009, the College Board began offering “Score Choice,” which allows students to decide whether to send SAT scores from a certain test day or, if they had a particularly bad morning, omit the scores for that day. And yes, there are definitely other limitations to the SAT’s ability to capture a whole person and certainly inequalities whereby those who can afford expensive test prep and multiple testings can gain an advantage. But for most students, “test optional” winds up complicating their choices rather than expanding them.

#### Test optional is still racist. Even if admissions has equalized, aid distribution, the key factor for many under privileged students, has not.

Syverson et al. 18 [Steven T. Syverson, Valerie W. Franks, William C. Hiss , Spring 2018, " DEFINING ACCESS: How Test-Optional Works ," National Association for College Admission Counseling , https://www.nacacnet.org/globalassets/documents/publications/research/defining-access-report-2018.pdf, accessed 8-9-2019] LHSBC

A financial analysis, though inconclusive, suggested that some degree of financial investment was required to support the success of a TOP policy. While the proportion of students with need did not necessarily increase after policy adoption, average demonstrated need and gift aid per capita did. Non-Submitters were generally needier than Submitters. They also, however, included a sizable proportion of No-Need students, only modestly lower than that of Submitters. We noted that well over half of all No-Need students were offered some gift aid, but No-Need NonSubmitters were less likely than Submitters to receive gift awards, in spite of the fact that these two groups were shown to graduate at comparable rates.

### CP - USFG

#### Agent CPs are a voting issue – there are no solvency deficits or weighing in the lit of the counterplan vs. the plan – means they’re one step ahead in engagement and research and clash are impossible.

#### Even if there are minor ones, the disad always outweighs.

#### Fairness controls your evaluation of all arguments.

#### Drop the debater – I’ve already invested time from the time-skewed 1AR.

#### Reasonability is always either arbitrary or devolves to competing brightlines.

#### [read if cp is uncondo] Trump needs the black vote to win 2020 – he doesn’t need a majority but just enough the edge the margins

Wegmann 6/7 [Philip Wegmann, RCP Staff, 6-7-2019, "Trump Bets on More Black Support in 2020. (He Might Need It.)," Real Clear Politics, https://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2019/06/07/trump\_bets\_on\_more\_black\_support\_in\_2020\_he\_might\_need\_it.html, accessed 9-11-2019] LHSBC

Behind and, by most accounts, a bit desperate in August of 2016, Donald Trump made a wager.

The bet was with the black electorate, but the candidate made it in front of a mostly white crowd in a predominantly white suburb of Lansing, Michigan. His opponent, he said, didn’t care about black people. She only saw black communities as reliable political reservoirs and their citizens as blindly loyal Democratic voters who get little in return.

Why not do something different? Trump asked on stage, reading carefully from twin teleprompters and directing his remarks to “every single African American citizen” who wanted to see a better future.

“What do you have to lose by trying something new like Trump?” he said. And then, after watching the crowd erupt, he went off script and doubled down: “You're living in poverty, your schools are no good, you have no jobs, 58% of your youth is unemployed — what the hell do you have to lose?”

Hillary Clinton would later call that pitch “so ignorant it’s staggering.” But Trump made it a stump speech staple and, three months later, went on to win Michigan, win over more black voters than either of the last two Republican presidential nominees, and win the White House.

With another election around the corner, the Trump campaign has returned to the question, albeit with a slight adjustment: What do black voters have to lose by voting against the incumbent?

According to Republicans, a lot.

Kamilah Prince, who directs African American engagement for the Republican National Committee, rattled off a list of Trump accomplishments, from near-record-low unemployment numbers for black workers and a healthy business environment for black entrepreneurs to support for historically black colleges and criminal justice reform.

The black voter calculus will boil down, Prince told RealClearPolitics, to either “four more years of record-setting growth and opportunities or a return to Democrat policies that have failed the black community in the past.”

It is a convenient dichotomy that Trump will soon present in one iteration or another on the campaign trail. Whether it will work, and to what degree, remains to be seen, of course. But the president certainly cannot expect, as he promised at that 2016 rally in Michigan, to win 95% of the black vote. According to data analysis by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, the party of Lincoln hasn’t won more than 40% of the black vote since 1956. A hugely popular war hero, Dwight Eisenhower, set that high mark in his reelection race, and no other GOP candidate has come close.

All the same, Trump managed 8% black support in 2016. And despite the GOP’s unpromising history, his campaign manager thinks the president can more than quadruple that number next year.

This time around the Trump wager has more weight behind it, as his camp is hyping criminal justice reform as its hallmark achievement. After black voters learn about that accomplishment, 2020 Campaign Manager Brad Parscale told RCP, “we notice a significant uptick in support.”

Specifically, the Trump team recorded support for the president in the “low double digits” while knocking on the doors of 1,200 black households. When those same households were told about criminal justice reform, things changed. According to Parscale, support jumped to nearly 38%.

The campaign knows that gaining majority support is impossible. They don’t need it, though. To win a second term, the president must do one of two things. Either improve on his 2016 record slightly or ensure the opponent, whoever it may be, does not rally black turnout in 2020.

This means winning at the margins, explained Ken Blackwell, a former Republican mayor of Cincinnati and Ohio secretary of state, because “it is a mistake to think there will be a seismic shift in black voter behavior.”

“At the end of the day, Democrats know this is the one voter base they cannot afford to have fractionalized,” Blackwell told RCP. “We know they have to get a 93%-7% split, but a win for us, a technical knockout for us, would be something like 88%-12%.”

#### The counterplan sticks and makes him win. Education is a key issue in 2020 – 8 warrants

Harris 6/3 [Douglas N. Harris, Nonresident Senior Fellow - Governance Studies, Brown Center on Education Policy, 6-3-2019, "8 reasons why education may be pivotal in the 2020 election (and beyond)," Brookings, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2019/06/03/8-reasons-why-education-may-be-pivotal-in-the-2020-election-and-beyond/, accessed 9-11-2019] LHSBC

It is worth starting with a brief recap of the recent federal role in K-12 education. President George W. Bush’s No Child Left Behind (NCLB) law in 2001 represented an unprecedented increase in the federal role in K-12 education at the time. President Barack Obama increased the federal role even more—introducing [$100 billion](http://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/campaign-k-12/2019/02/stimulus-education-race-to-the-top-sig-education-funding.html) in federal education spending (prompted by the financial crisis) and leveraging NCLB to make deals with states that allowed the U.S. Department of Education, through a waiver process, to pressure states to adopt the Obama administration’s preferred accountability-driven policies without getting congressional approval. Indirectly, this gave the federal government a hand in academic standards, which had been previously left to the states, and in teacher evaluation, which few governments, at any level, had ever really tried to touch.

Republicans saw this as executive overreach and Democrats became more disenchanted with the policies themselves, especially their focus on high-stakes testing. This led to the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), which pulled federal law back to something closer to, and a bit less aggressive than, the original NCLB (but still more active than the pre-NCLB era). Many long-term members of Congress even recanted their original support for NCLB and their support for ESSA was meant to send just that message.

Given the NCLB-ESSA story, one might think the federal role would fade as a political issue in presidential elections, but this has not happened. In fact, I argue that education might be more important than ever in the 2020 election and for years to come:

1. EDUCATION IS BECOMING MORE IMPORTANT IN DAILY LIFE

In perception and reality, education is becoming [more and more important](https://www.clevelandfed.org/newsroom-and-events/publications/economic-commentary/economic-commentary-archives/2012-economic-commentaries/ec-201210-the-college-wage-premium.aspx) to parents and the long-term life success of their children. It is also a key cog in the macroeconomy, with [over $1 trillion](https://www.usgovernmentspending.com/breakdown) in spending annually (mostly from [public sources](https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=66&utm_source=twitterfeed&utm_medium=twitter)). These are the underlying forces that led to NCLB and the importance of education has only continued to grow. The sector has simply become too important for politicians at any level to ignore.

2. EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

Education has increasingly become a pocketbook issue as the share of women in the workforce has increased. Working parents need someone to care for their children, and given what we know about social and cognitive growth in the early years, publicly-funded early childhood education has many potential advantages. Meanwhile, federal policy has been remarkably stagnant, still rooted in LBJ-era policies like Head Start and federal tax credits. The issue is ripe for policy change and offers yet another reason for voters and presidential candidates to pay attention to education. Support for early childhood is [very high in polls](https://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/early_years/2017/06/national_poll_finds_bipartisan_support_for_making_early_childhood_education_affordable.html), with bipartisan appeal.

3. HIGHER EDUCATION

The federal government has long played a significant, though quiet, role in funding colleges and universities with Pell Grants, student loans, and regulations. However, as student loan debt has skyrocketed, the federal government is a natural place to look for solutions. While more contentious than early childhood, many of these ideas also [poll well](https://morningconsult.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/170911_crosstabs_Politico_LIM_v1_AP-1.pdf) across the political spectrum.

4. TIGHT STATE BUDGETS

Education—especially any new programs addressing early childhood education and college affordability—requires resources, something in short supply at the state and local levels. Health care and pension benefits are taking on a larger and [larger share](https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/research-and-analysis/data-visualizations/2014/fiscal-50#ind7) of state spending. States have also shown a strong inclination to cut higher education first when budgets are tight. The federal government, with its borrowing power, almost has to be involved in any major spending effort.

5. INEQUALITY PROBLEMS

Inequality is real and fast-rising issue, and one of the key concerns among Democrats. Income inequality is partly caused by unequal educational opportunity (though [not as much](https://www.epi.org/blog/higher-returns-on-education-cant-explain-growing-wage-inequality/) as some education advocates would have it). Early childhood education is also a factor in gender-based income inequality since child care and early education are central to allowing women—still the primary caregivers—to have equal access to opportunities in the labor market.

6. POLITICAL PRACTICALITY

More so than other issues, because most people interact with public education in some way, education positions can be used to attract support from very specific constituencies. Want to attract younger voters? Promise more money for higher education, like free college and loan forgiveness. Want to attract African-Americans? Support for historically black colleges and universities. Want to attract rural voters? Create a rural education proposal. Want to attract women? Focus on early childhood education. Education is the Swiss army knife of policy and politics.

7. DIPLOMA AND GENDER DIVIDES

In the early 2000s, voters with more formal education voted fairly equally for Democrats and Republicans. [Not anymore](https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/education-not-income-predicted-who-would-vote-for-trump/)—53% of college-educated white voters [went for Democrats](https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2018/11/education-gap-explains-american-politics/575113/) in 2018 compared with 37% of non-college-educated whites (I could not find the same numbers for people of color or the whole population). It stands to reason that voters with more formal education are especially likely to see education as an important policy issue. Education is also more of a pocketbook issue for women, [who also vote](https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/11/08/the-2018-midterm-vote-divisions-by-race-gender-education/) disproportionately for Democrats.

8. BETSY DEVOS

DeVos is one of the [more reviled figures](https://www.politico.com/story/2017/09/27/playbook-donald-trump-cabinet-popularity-243191) in what is, for Democrats, a highly reviled Trump administration. Her lack of experience in education (especially public schools), early glaring missteps (“guns and bears”?), and strong support for vouchers and online schooling, generally opposed by Democrats, make her [an easy target](https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2018/09/27/betsy-devos-an-attractive-boogeyman-for-political.html) for generic political attacks. (Not that it matters for purposes here, but her ideas also [lack research support](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/25/opinion/betsy-devos-and-the-wrong-way-to-fix-schools.html) to recommend them.)

#### Trump reelection ruins efforts to combat climate change, causes a new global arms race, and cedes control of the Supreme Court.

Starr, 19 [Paul, professor of sociology and public affairs at Princeton and a winner of the Pulitzer Prize for General Nonfiction, May 2019, “Trump’s Second Term,” <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2019/05/trump-2020-second-term/585994/>, BP]

This is one of those moments. After four years as president, Trump will have made at least two Supreme Court appointments, signed into law tax cuts, and rolled back federal regulation of the environment and the economy. Whatever you think of these actions, many of them can probably be offset or entirely undone in the future. The effects of a full eight years of Trump will be much more difficult, **if not impossible, to undo.** Three areas—climate change, the risk of a renewed global arms race, and control of the Supreme Court—illustrate the historic significance of the 2020 election. The first two problems will become much harder to address as time goes on. The third one stands to remake our constitutional democracy and undermine the capacity for future change. In short, the biggest difference between electing Trump in 2016 and reelecting Trump in 2020 would be **irreversibility**. Climate policy is now the most obvious example. For a long time, even many of the people who acknowledged the reality of climate change thought of it as a slow process that did not demand immediate action. But today, amid extreme weather events and worsening scientific forecasts, **the costs of our delay are clearly mounting, as are the associated dangers**. To have a chance at [keeping global warming below 1.5 degrees Celsius](https://www.ipcc.ch/site/assets/uploads/sites/2/2018/07/SR15_SPM_version_stand_alone_LR.pdf)—the objective of the Paris climate agreement—the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change says that by 2030, CO2 emissions must drop some 45 percent from 2010 levels. Instead of declining, however, **they are rising.** In his first term, Trump has announced plans to cancel existing climate reforms, such as higher fuel-efficiency standards and limits on emissions from new coal-fired power plants, and he has pledged to pull the United States out of the Paris Agreement. His reelection would put off a national commitment to decarbonization until **at least the second half of the 2020s**, while encouraging other countries to do nothing as well. And change that is delayed becomes more economically and politically difficult. According to the Global Carbon Project, if decarbonization had begun globally in 2000, an emissions reduction of about 2 percent a year would have been sufficient to stay below 2 degrees Celsius of warming. Now it will need to be approximately 5 percent a year. If we wait another decade, it will be about 9 percent. In the United States, the economic disruption and popular resistance sure to arise from such an abrupt transition **may be more than our political system can bear**. No one knows, moreover, when the world might hit **irreversible tipping points** such as the collapse of the West Antarctic Ice Sheet, which would likely **doom us to a catastrophic sea-level rise.**

### CP – PSAT

#### The national merit scholar program is used to give scholarships to white people—black students make up only 1% of scholarships from the PSAT—efforts to help black students were ended.

Hunter 15 (Sharron Hunter-Rainey, 9-29-2015, "National Merit Scholarship Corporation Ends Its Program for Black Students Entering College," Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, <https://www.jbhe.com/2015/09/national-merit-scholarship-corporation-ends-its-program-for-black-students-entering-college/>) LHSLA LH

The National Merit Scholarship Corporation (NMSC) in Evanston, Illinois, was founded in 1955 with funding from the Ford Foundation to give scholarship awards to new college students based on their performance on the PSAT test. While the NMSC claims to have no data on the race of who receives their scholarships, data from the College Board shows that Blacks typically make up between 1 and 2 percent of the very top scorers on these types of standardized tests.∂ It is likely that very few Black students were qualifying for National Merit Scholarships. So, in 1964, the organization founded the National Achievement Scholarship Program for Outstanding [Black] Students. This was subsequently shortened to the National Achievement Scholarship Program. Over the past 51 years, 34,000 Black students have received about $108 million in scholarship awards under this Black-only program.∂ Now the last cohort of National Achievement Scholars has entered college. The NMSC has announced that a new program will be administered by the United Negro College Fund called the Achievement Capstone Program. No longer will entering college students receive scholarships to help them pay for college. Now students who graduate from historically Black colleges or universities or predominantly Black educational institutions will be eligible to receive money to help them pay off college loans or to help them finance graduate study.∂ Bob Schaeffer, public education director of FairTest: National Center for Fair & Open Testing, told JBHE that he has no idea why the NMSC decided to end its program for Black students entering college. He said that “the termination of the National Achievement Scholars Program means that even fewer top African American high school students will receive college tuition aid from the National Merit Scholarship Program. The misuse of PSAT results to select semifinalists in the main competition has long guaranteed that very few Blacks win awards from the main program, because of historic racial gaps in test scores. The separate-but-unequal National Achievement Scholar competition provided a partial offset to that inequity. What will replace those funds for talented, low-income teenagers?”

## T

### ASpec

### Body Politics

### Consider

#### Counterinterp: Consider means to take into account.

Merriam Webster (Definition of consider. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/consider#synonyms>) LHSLA LH

: to think about carefully: such as

a: to think of especially with regard to taking some action

is considering you for the job

considered moving to the city

b: to take into account

The defendant's age must be considered.

2: to regard or treat in an attentive or kindly way

He considered her every wish.

3: to gaze on steadily or reflectively

The old gentleman considered him attentively.

— Edith Wharton

4: to come to judge or classify

consider thrift essential

#### Prefer:

#### The resolution was intended to discuss debates over whether colleges should consider test scores in their admissions.

#### Use reasonability, try or die for substantive education – we only have the topic for 2 months, competing interps creates a race to the top where every round will devolve to theory.

#### Make them clearly articulate how we were being abusive by copy and pasting the RESOLUTION as our plan text and why that ground loss warrants a loss.

#### Their definition has multiple definitions of consider – one of them says use – they just cherry picked and it’s talking about taxes

### General Spec

### Nebel

### New Affs

#### Counter Interpretation: Affs can read New affirmatives

#### Counter Interpretation: Affs can read new affirmatives if the aff is whole rez

#### Innovation – New affs are key to actual debates

#### Use reasonability ­ ­– the aff is the entire resolution with the most stock advantage which means if they have no prep then they’re just lazy.

### Spec Alternative

#### The alternative is current review processes absent standardized tests. It’s what we change from the squo and a logical conclusion of the aff.

#### Extra-T – Aff alternative spec becomes a gray area for aff plans because the aff can fiat switches that aren’t in the literature and the creation of tests that don’t exist.

#### There’s no basis in the resolution which means this isn’t a predictable norm and infinitely regressive – it makes the aff spec every part of the plan until the aff becomes just spec.

#### Potential abuse – I could’ve done it but you shouldn’t vote me down – the 1NC could’ve read 18 NIBs and the 2NR could’ve triggered skep but that doesn’t mean they’re bad

#### CX checks – would’ve specified if you asked me. 30 seconds at most in CX matters less than their 1 minute shell. Terminal defense to the interp – I could’ve met.

### State Mandated

#### We meet – it is mandated in states

Heimbach 18 [Alex Heimbach, Alex is an experienced tutor and writer., 9-10-2018, "Which States Require the SAT? Complete List," No Publication, https://blog.prepscholar.com/which-states-require-the-sat, accessed 9-15-2019] LHSBC

The College Board offers a program called SAT School Day, which, as the name suggests, allows schools to offer the SAT to students during the week, generally for free.

In some states, all high school juniors are required to take the SAT under this program, while in others only some are. Read on to learn more about this program and what it means for you.

#### No affs under their interpretation – the United States doesn’t mandate any exams considered for college admissions.

### Defend USFG/Multi actor fiat

#### Counter interpretation: If the topic’s actor is colleges and universities, then the aff can have colleges and universities implement the plan

#### The resolution says “colleges and universities ought not consider” – resolved can include a resolution considered by a university’s board of directors.

#### Ground – no one writes about how the government should intervene in private higher education. That decks quality of debate because the aff is pigeonholed into a bad process and the neg gets multiple links to politics.

#### Topicality – the resolution says that “colleges and universities ought” meaning colleges and universities take the action. Other actors aren’t part of the topic – destroys predictable limits for the neg and the aff always loses to T.

#### Topic Lit ­– no author writes about federal intervention in public and private colleges and universities. Destroys affs because they’re forced to have affs with no solvency, no advantages, and decimating links to politics and 50 states.

## K

###  1 – Framework

#### Framework---the K must prove the whole plan is bad---weighing the aff is vital to fair and educational engagement – outweighs because clash is the only unique form of edu prefer

#### a) Fairness---they moot the 1AC which makes it impossible to engage them since we’re always one step behind

#### b) Plan focus good it’s key to education---it’s predictable and stable and they can’t reject the entirety of the 1AC for one bad part

### Afropess

#### Framework---the K must prove the whole plan is bad---weighing the aff is vital to fair and educational engagement – outweighs because clash is the only unique form of edu prefer

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#### We’ll impact turn their futurity link. Orientation towards progress in the university is good – not considering standardized tests changes racial attitudes and increases diversity. Only through inclusion can we create black scholarship.

#### There’s a totalization DA to the alt – saying we should do away with all colleges ignores the particularisms of all-black colleges like Howard, Spelman, and Hampton. Independent voter – you can’t tell black people what to do.

#### Permutation do both – The alternative isn’t incommensurate with the plan. The alt is a way of looking at the world, NOT a material action that acts to resolve all anti-blackness.

#### Ontology is false is offense – their alternative and theory reject material solutions

#### Performative contradiction and Independent voting issue – Wilderson’s claim of libidinal economy as the foundation of his theory means that non-black people are always oriented against antiblackness which means they commodify the ballot for their racist desires.

#### Psychoanalysis is false – takes out ontology, especially dishonor and gratuitous violence.

#### Psychoanalysis by Fanon on a few people in the 50’s doesn’t scale up to entire ethnicities and societies.

#### Psychoanalysis is non-falsifiable – it just asserts its thesis and the only way to prove it is through more psycho analysis

#### Their criticism ignores history, the structures of society, and humans — their threshold for winning ontology is 100%.

Gordon 15 --- Lewis, Afro-Jewish philosopher, political thinker, educator, and musician, Professor at the University of Connecticut in Philosophy and Africana Studies, European Union Visiting Chair in Philosophy; Nelson Mandela Visiting Professor of Politics and International Studies at Rhodes University, South Africa; and Chairman of the Frantz Fanon awards committees of the Caribbean Philosophical Association, transcribed from <https://youtu.be/UABksVE5BTQ>, presenting and discussing his book “What Fanon Said”

\*\*\*Theonaturalism – religion based difference

-Gordon: debate about proof of pessimism is red herring b/c no way to know, even based on history, to project 10 years in the future what social systems will look like, no metaphysical basis to say that things will never change, functions as a tiebreaker

-Answers ontology: ontological structures themselves are inherently paradoxes, to say that anti blackness is ontological imposes the condition itself, persons marked by political systems, justifications they’ve made for ontology rely on a flawed premise that ignores that systems of power can only be relational and contingently imposed

-Impact turn: no inherent trajectory or arc to how things happen, fact this debate is messy and examples on both sides proves shouldn’t invest mental energy in debating these theoretical endpoints, sort out contingent applications

The first thing to bear in mind you may wonder why in the beginning of the talk I talked about philosophical anthropology. And many people when they are trying to talk about social change they never think about *what a human being is* and this is something Fanon pays attention to. **Many people want to have closed conceptions of human beings because then human beings can be predicable**. In fact, in fanons writing he gave an example. One of the problems is that when he would walk in reason seems to walk out. One problem we have to bear in mind when we try to look at the question of human beings **in terms of rigid closed systems** is that we often are trying to get as a model of how we work as theorists on issues of social change that are actually based on what we can call **law like generalizations**. Now what is a law like generalization? It is when you make sure that whatever you say has no contradiction down the line. So if you are to say this much [gestures with hand] the next stage must be consistent with that, and the next stage until you are maximally consistent. Do you get that? But here is the problem – and I can just put it in a nut shell- nobody, nobody in this room would like to date, be married to, or be a best friend with a maximally consistent person. You know what that is. Its hell. And this tells you something, because if somebody where maximally consistent, you know what you would say that person is not reasonable. And we have a person here who does work on Hegel that can point out this insight, that a human being has the ability to evaluate rationality. Now why is that important? Because you see the mistake many of us make is **many of us want to push the human being into that maximized law like generalization model**. So when we think about our philosophical anthropology, some people, our question about intersectionality for instance, what some people don’t understand is nowhere is there ever a human being who is one identity. People talk about race – do you ever really see a race walking? You see a racialized man or woman, or transman or transwoman. Do you ever see a class walking? Class is embodied in flesh and blood people. And we can go on and on. So if we enrich our philosophical anthropology we begin to notice certain other things. And one of the other things we begin to realize is that **we commit a serious problem when we do political work.** And the problem is this. The question about **Wilderson** for instance. There is this discussion going on (and allot of people build it out of my earlier books). I have a category I call, as a metaphor, an antiblack world. You notice **an indefinite article** – **an anti-black world**. The reason I say that is because **the world is different from an anti-black world**. The project of racism is to create a world that would be **completely anti-black or anti-woman.** **Although that is a project, it is not a fait accompli**. People don’t seem to understand how recent this phenomenon we are talking about is. A lot of people talk about race they don’t even know the history of how race is connected into theonaturalism. How, for instance, Andalucia and the pushing out of the Moors. The history of how race connected to Christianity was formed. A lot of people don’t understand – from the standpoint of a species whose history is 220,000 years old, what the hell is 500 years? **But the one thing that we don’t understand to is we create a false model for how we study those last 500 years**. We study the 500 years as if the people who have been dominated **have not been fighting and resisting.** Had they not been fighting and resisting we wouldn’t be here. And then we come into this next point because you see the problem in the formulation of **pessimism** and **optimism** is they are both based on forecasted knowledge, a prior knowledge. **But human beings don’t have prior knowledge.** And in fact – what in the world are we if we need to have guarantees for us to act. You know what you call such people? Cowards. The fact of the matter is our ancestors – let’s start with enslaved ancestors. The enslaved ancestors who were burning down those plantations, who were finding clever ways to poison their masters, who were organizing meetings for rebellions, none of them had any clue what the future would be 100 years later. Some had good reason to believe that it may take 1000 years. But you know why they fought? Because they knew it wasn’t for them. One of the problems we have in the way we think about political issues is we commit what Fanon and others in the existential tradition would call a form of political immaturity. Political immaturity is saying it is not worth it unless I, me, individually get the payoff. When you are thinking what it is to relate to other generations – remember Fanon said the problem with people in the transition, the pseudo postcolonial bourgeois – is that they miss the point, you fight for liberation for other generations. And that is why Fanon said other generations they must have their mission. But you see some people fought and said no I want my piece of the pie. And that means the biggest enemy becomes the other generations. And that is why the postcolonial pseudo-bourgeoisie they are not a bourgeoisie proper because they do not link to the infrastructural development of the future, it is about themselves. And that’s why, for instance, as they live higher up the hog, as they get their mediating, service oriented, racial mediated wealth, the rest of the populations are in misery. The very fact that in many African countries there are people whose futures have been mortgaged, the fact that in this country the very example of mortgaging the future of all of you is there. What happens to people when they have no future? It now collapses the concept of maturation and places people into perpetual childhood. So one of the political things – and this is where a psychiatrist philosopher is crucial – is to ask ourselves what does it mean to take on adult responsibility. And that means to understand that **in all political action it’s not about you**. **It is what you are doing for a world you may not even be able to understand**. Now that becomes tricky, because how do we know this? **People have done it before**. There were people, for instance, who fought anti-colonial struggles, there are people (and now I am not talking about like thirty or forty years ago, I am talking about the people from day one 17th 18th century all the way through) and we have no idea what we are doing for the 22nd century. And **this is where developing political insight comes in.** Because **we commit the error of forgetting the systems we are talking about are human systems**. They are not systems in the way we talk about the laws of physics. A human system can only exist by human actions maintaining them. **Which means every human system is incomplete.** **Every human being is by definition incomplete**. Which means you can go this way or you can go another way. The system isn’t actually closed.

#### Ontology is false

#### Historical events can’t create ontological conditions- the Holocaust was another historical atrocity that didn’t prevent the upward mobility of the Jewish body.

#### Blackness is able to reclaim white culture- things like Hip-Hop, Black Christianity, prove that blackness is able to reclaim cultural roots lost during the Middle Passage. Also non-uniqued by orphans who have no lineage to trace.

#### General dishonor is wrong – there can also be positive images and meanings of blackness like “being in the black” or “black friday.”

#### Make them explain other forms of gratuitous violence that happens to queer people like Matthew Shephard in Wyoming where they were was tortured and killed for no reason besides their queerness.

#### Empirics disprove – the desegregation of the armed forces, Grutter v. Bollinger (affirmative action), and the Voting Rights act of 1965 prove that material progress is possible.

#### Optimism is good for black health – stats prove generational advancements which takes out their time is non-linear arguments

Graham 18 (Carol Graham; Leo Pasvolsky Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution, a College Park Professor at the University of Maryland, and a Senior Scientist at Gallup, served as Vice President and Director of Governance Studies at Brookings, A.B. from Princeton University, an M.A. from The Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and a Ph.D. from Oxford University; 1/30/18; “Why are black poor Americans more optimistic than white ones?”; <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/why-are-black-poor-americans-more-optimistic-than-white-ones/>; accessed 2/20/19)

America has seen a dramatic increase in the number of so-called “deaths of despair”. Caused by opioid addiction, alcohol or drug overdose and suicide, these deaths have hit middle-aged white people without a college education particularly hard. The trend is extensive enough to have driven up the overall mortality rate, with the U.S. in the unusual position of being a rich country where life expectancy is falling rather than going up. Amid all this is a perhaps unexpected reality—the people who are most optimistic about their future are the most disadvantaged: poor black Americans, who are even slightly more optimistic than rich black people. And by poor, we mean a household of four earning less than $24,000 (£16,800) per year, which is effectively the official U.S. poverty line. Very different outlooks are revealed when black and white people are asked about their wellbeing. To measure the differences, we use an 11-point scale, where 0 is desperate and 10 is very optimistic.On this scale, black people are, on average, 1.1 points higher on the optimism scale than white people are. Black people on average score above 8, while the average for white people is 7. The gap across poor black people and poor white people is even larger, at 1.4 points. That is a significant gulf—greater than the difference between rich and poor people, which is 0.6 points. The average score for rich people is 7.5, while for poor people it is 6.9. The starkest disparity is found in the detail that poor black people are almost three times as likely to be a point higher on the optimism scale than poor white people. And poor black people are half as likely to report experiencing stress the previous day than poor white people. Desperation, stress, and worry are closely linked to a greater risk of premature death, regardless of income or race. People with low levels of optimism and high levels of stress and worry are more likely to die from deaths of despair, or to live in areas with high levels of such deaths. The link is strongest for poor white people without a college education, especially those who live in rural areas. Of course, this relationship can run both ways. Desperation can lead to premature death,but living in an area where many such deaths occur can itself be a potential cause of lack of hope, stress, and worry. The link between optimism and longevity is strong. Among Americans born between 1935 and 1945, those who reported higher levels of optimism as young adults were much more likely to be alive in 2015 than less optimistic people. We found that 86 percent of pessimists died by 2015, while only 77 percent of the optimists did. The explanations for these trends are complex, but economics and ambition play a part. For many years, blue-collar white people had some advantages over minorities, but they are now among the most disaffected parts of society and the most vulnerable to deaths of despair. Crucially, they are much more likely to report that their lives are worse than those of their parents and, in terms of stable employment and status, that is often the case. In contrast, black and Hispanic people are more likely to report that their lives are better than their parents’ lives. While disadvantage and discrimination still exist, minorities have been making gradual progress in narrowing gaps with white people in terms of their education, wages, and life expectancy. Some of this is because of concrete gains made by those communities. But much of the improvement is due to the relative decline in the incomes and status of poor white people—a trend associated with the hollowing-out of blue-collar jobs, which are decreasing in both number and stability at the same time as the market for high-skilled labor continues to prosper and grow.

### Cap

#### Framework---the K must prove the whole plan is bad---weighing the aff is vital to fair and educational engagement – outweighs because clash is the only unique form of edu prefer

#### a) Fairness---they moot the 1AC which makes it impossible to engage them since we’re always one step behind

#### b) Plan focus good it’s key to education---it’s predictable and stable and they can’t reject the entirety of the 1AC for one bad part

#### Permutation Double Bind- Do the alternative in all instances except for the aff. The alternative should either be able to overcome one tiny instance of capitalism or it can’t solve for capitalism at all.

#### Permutation do both

#### No link – 1) the aff spikes out of the capitalist practice of testing and thus meritocracy – their link is our solvency advocate 2) private and public higher ed isn’t neoliberal – key to creating movements like occupy wall street

1. **Capitalism is sustainable and self-correcting---they can’t solve**

Seabra 12 (Leo, has a background in Communication and Broadcasting and a broad experience which includes activities in Marketing, Advertising, Sales and Public Relations, 2/27, “Capitalism can drive Sustainability and also innovation,” http://seabraaffairs.wordpress.com/2012/02/27/capitalism-can-drive-sustainability-and-also-innovation/)

There are those who say that if the world does not change their habits, even the end of economic growth, and assuming alternative ways of living, will be a catastrophe. “Our lifestyles are unsustainable. Our expectations of consumption are predatory.Either we change this, or will be chaos”. Others say that the pursuit of unbridled economic growth and the inclusion of more people in consumption is killing the Earth. We have to create alternative because economic growth is pointing to the global collapse. “What will happen when billions of Chinese decide to adopt the lifestyle of Americans?” I’ll disagree if you don’t mind… **They might be** wrong. **Completely wrong** .. Even very intelligent people wrongly interpret the implications of what they observe when they lose the perspective of time. In the vast scale of time (today, decades, not centuries) it is the opposite of what expected, because they start from a false assumption: the future is the extrapolation of this. But not necessarily be. How do I know? Looking at history. What story? The history of innovation, this thing generates increases in productivity, wealth, quality of life in an unimaginable level. It is innovation that will defeat pessimism as it always did. It was innovation that made life today is incomparably better than at any other time in human history. And will further improve. Einstein, who was not a stupid person, believed that capitalism would generate crisis, instability, and growing impoverishment. He said: “The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the true source of evil.” The only way to eliminate this evil, he thought, was to establish socialism, with the means of production are owned by the company. A centrally controlled economy would adjust the production of goods and services the needs of people, and would distribute the work that needed to be done among those in a position to do so. This would guarantee a livelihood to every man, women and children. Each according to his possibilities. To each according to their needs. And guess what? What happened was the opposite of what Einstein predicted. Who tried the model he suggested, impoverished, screwed up. Peter Drucker says that almost of all thinking people of the late nineteenth century thought that Marx was right: there would be increased exploitation of workers by employers. They would become poorer, until one day, the thing would explode. Capitalist society was considered inherently unsustainable. It is more or less the same chat today. **Bullshit. Capitalism, with all appropriate regulations, self-**corrects. It is **an adaptive system that learns and changes by design. The design is just for the system to learn and change.** There was the opposite of what Einstein predicted, and held the opposite of what many predict, but the logic that “unlike” only becomes evident over time. It wasn’t obvious that the workers are those whom would profit from the productivity gains that the management science has begun to generate by organizing innovations like the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone .. to increase the scale of production and cheapen things. The living conditions of workers today are infinitely better than they were in 1900. They got richer, not poorer .. You do not need to work harder to produce more (as everyone thought), you can work less and produce more through a mechanism that is only now becoming apparent, and that brilliant people like Caetano Veloso still ignores. The output is pursuing growth through innovation, growth is not giving up. More of the same will become unsustainable to the planet, but most of it is not what will happen, will happen more different, than we do not know what is right. More innovative. Experts, such as Lester Brown, insist on statements like this: if the Chinese also want to have three cars for every four inhabitants, as in the U.S. today, there will be 1.1 billion cars there in 2030, and there is no way to build roads unless ends with the whole area used for agriculture. You will need 98 million barrels of oil per day, but the world only produces about 90 million today, and probably never produce much more. The mistake is to extrapolate today’s solutions for the future. We can continue living here for 20 years by exploiting the same resources that we explore today? Of course not. But the other question is: how can we encourage the stream of innovations that will enable the Chinese, Indians, Brazilians, Africans .. to live so as prosperous as Americans live today? Hey, wake up … what can not stop the engine of innovation is that the free market engenders. This system is self correcting, that is its beauty. We do not need to do nothing but ensure the conditions for it to work without distortion. The rest he does himself. It regulates itself.

#### Capitalism solves warming – empirics prove capitalism’s dynamism solve

Rosenberg 17 (David, Haaretz contributor, 11/21/17, “Capitalism Is Our Only Hope of Rescue From Climate Change”, https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/.premium-capitalism-is-our-only-hope-of-rescue-from-climate-change-1.5626663, AZG)

How the world will get there without costly social upheaval he doesn’t say except to casually posit that climate change has removed class warfare from the anti-capitalist cause. Tell it to the coal miners Yeah, sure. Tell that to the coal miners and SUV owners who voted for Trump and can’t wait for instructions from Fong’s politburo about job reassignment and rules requiring them to take a bus to work. Climate change may unite the classes – against measures to fight it that require real sacrifice. On paper, Fong and other critics of capitalism have some points. But the reality is very different. In a modern capitalist economy, far from being the jungle that Fong and Klein portray it, business is subject to regulations, societal values and forces beyond its control. It may fight back, and sometimes fight back nasty, but it accepts the outcome. Take the energy crisis of the early 1970s, which combined all of these factors, and in some respects echoes the dilemma facing business in the era of global warning. Suddenly OPEC raised oil prices. But rather than threaten war (as leftists who see no bounds to capitalist rapaciousness would assume), the capitalist economies adjusted. Corporations became more energy efficient and developed products that provided the same savings for consumers, because that’s what the market demanded. Government stepped in with regulations that filled in the gaps where the market couldn’t or wouldn’t. It worked. If energy use per unit of GDP in the United States were still at 1973 levels, the country’s energy use would be over 40% greater than its current level. The fact is, capitalism’s critics are so focused on the system’s fundamental wickedness, as they see it, that they ignore its assets, namely its dynamism – its willingness to dispense with anything that doesn’t work and try something else, not because it has the good of humanity in mind, but because it wants to beat the competition and make bigger profits. Given the right set of incentives, businesses in capitalist economies will conform to rules that limit environmental damage. More importantly, they will develop the technologies to help mitigate climate change further. Electric and self-driving cars, solar and wind power, smart transportation and a host of other energy-saving technologies are being developed by corporations, not by government, and certainly not in the world’s last surviving bastions of socialism. Fong doesn’t go into the particulars of the democratic socialism that he fantasizes will rescue the world from warming. If it’s a kind of centralized economy, he might do well to look back at the environmental record of the old Soviet Union, which was a disaster. If he imagines some kind of squishy network of socialist collectives, what is to prevent them from engaging in the same selfish behavior as corporations? Capitalism is messy and uncooperative, but against climate change, it’s the best chance we’ve got.

#### Capitalism is making the world better – their pessimism mirrors Trump and causes Trump.

Gillespie and Norberg 17 (Nick, journalist and former editor-in-chief of Reason magazine, and Johan, author and historian, 3/6/17, “Capitalism and Neoliberalism Have Made the World Better: Q&A with Johan Norberg”, transcribed from: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TvZqSqLDhxI, AZG)

People think that the world is in chaos people think that the world is on fire right now and for all the wrong reasons I think that's partly because of how we consume information but also because there is a segment of politician to try to scare us to get because then we clamor for safety we need the strong man away I am Nicolas Gillespie with reason TV and today we're talking with Johan Norberg he's a Swedish economist and social theorist and his most recent book is progress in progress I mean you lay out an absolutely convincing case that most things are getting much much better what are the things that are getting better and what's guiding that kind of progress well basically the world is getting better a society economy culture politics is not getting better so it was really a book about how I get depressed - all the time especially when I follow the news about what politicians do and how they try to stifle Liberty this is a book about what people do what mankind does when we have freedom to explore strange new ideas and exchange the results and then what we see is like I mean in the last 25 years we've invented that have been considered as sort of neoliberalism capitalism run amok what has happened well we've reduced chronic undernourishment around the world by 40% child mortality and illiteracy by by half and extreme poverty from 37 to 10% so every minute that we're talking 100 people right gonna pop down you said though that you know politics it's not getting better and there's a lot of reason to believe that certainly in Europe we're seeing from it from a libertarian point of view we're seeing a rise of nativist kind of xenophobic groups to kind of turn to a fascist right which that's a kind of a fascist lasting using countries as varied as Hungary and Italy and France is what's going on with that and is it how is it connected to these other improvements yeah in a way I wrote this book not because I'm happy about the world but because I'm terrified about what's going on because people think that the world is in chaos people think that the world is on fire right now for all the wrong reasons I think that's partly because of how we consume information but also because there is a segment of politicians who try to scare us to get because then we clamor for safety we need the strong man in a way so I think that people who are afraid they aren't tolerant they aren't liberal they don't accept people moving across borders trade going on in and national where they afraid of but you know and and and the book is fantastic and we've talked about it in the past but if a lifespan like your grandparents lifespan at birth was thirty and you're living to be 71 what would Y would you be susceptible to somebody saying oh everything's getting fucked up why are people suckers for tales that say you know we're like we are one you know blown the circuit breaker from a complete collapse of society yeah it doesn't Bryce me too but in a way I think it's because we have so much to lose we now have this comfortable lifestyle but the world seems a bit strange we don't understand really what's going on and I think that it's partly two sides of the same coin and because people who live comfortable lives they only think about what they've got to lose when I go to Vietnam when I go to China when I go to India I meet optimistic people who think about all the new business models technologies that can improve their lives when I go to the US and Europe people are so depressed and so scared about what's going on and then they're following the news and then they see they don't notice that homicide has been halved in 20 years they notice one serial murderer on the loose summer and then with social media we see it all the time combine that with terrorism the financial crisis in a new geopolitical situation people are confused and when they're confused they're scared and they want a strong man who gives them well I think you're you know your book goes a long way to explaining and painting and it's not even it's not what is now in America known as alternative facts it's the actual facts but I was thinking while you were talking about Donald Trump is obviously a master of injecting a negative pessimistic narrative in which the only solution is him as the great men coming in and solve everything and it was fascinating after decades of declines in crime and violent crime property crime crime every sort of crime and there have been some minor up ticks in the past couple of years and it's not clear if it's a trend yet but he was able to campaign on being a law and order candidate which was the type of candidate you had in the late 60s and early 70s when crime actually was rapid rapidly growing and it was ubiquitous particularly in cities but then I guess the question is you know who why would anybody buy that because it's you know you've know in your own life that you're walking around a city like Washington DC even 20 years ago there were large large part so that you just couldn't walk around in and now it's you know people have you know gourmet dog biscuits tours in places that you would have blood cracking it ends up I mean is that what the role that politics is playing now is it it kind of feeds off the success that's happening outside of politics or beyond politics and then it's trying to pull it into its orbit when the way we discovered if you go back to the Industrial Revolution that was the moment in history when we discovered poverty when we discovered child labor and began to complain about those things and asking politicians why can't you deal with those things not because those things increase but for the first time they actually decrease so people began to think that I can live a decent comfortable life so if there are problems like that it's somebody's fault this is a huge problem that we have to deal with I think that's going on with with things like crime as well when would you take it for granted it's like you have to live your life and you just get on with it now it's an exception and then you want someone to be in charge of it and deal with they don't be a feel of populism they they can give you all those pie-in-the-sky things we'll deal with that and you would agree that something similar it might not be exactly the same but something similar is showing up in Europe as well and that it's not an accident that it's in relatively wealthy countries that we see this that's right it's the kind of collapse anxiety when you have a good life and it's kind of a luxury good right and in the sense of for poorer countries don't quite you know they can't afford to be dilute themselves yeah yeah the old things if you don't have food you have one problem if you have food you have thousands of problems right that's a I never heard that saying before but I'm getting I'm going to use it for the rest of my day at least want to rest of my life with rest named entity well you know because we're at this students for liberty conference which brings in 2000 students from all over the world who are interested in kind of classical liberal and libertarian ideas where do you find them or when you talk to young people or how do you do young people have a good grasp of the history that is necessary to contextualize current problems to move towards a more libertarian future or you know are they pessimistic I really think that children are future have that I've heard before that's the old xanga and definitely when it comes to trusting politicians because you have no one trusts politicians everybody hates what's going on in Washington or or Brussels but there is more of a tendency among an older court to think that all those politicians fail so let's just elect an even stronger guy who can solve these problems with an even bigger solution whereas I find more of cynicism when it comes to that among the young particles they've seen how technology and their own ways of organizing solutions to their problem is something that's being done voluntarily in in society rather than then through politics and when you look at this rise of populism around the were up in the

### Deschooling

#### Framework---the K must prove the whole plan is bad---weighing the aff is vital to fair and educational engagement – outweighs because clash is the only unique form of edu prefer

#### a) Fairness---they moot the 1AC which makes it impossible to engage them since we’re always one step behind

#### b) Plan focus good it’s key to education---it’s predictable and stable and they can’t reject the entirety of the 1AC for one bad part

#### Permutation Double Bind- Do the alternative in all instances except for the aff. The alternative should either be able to overcome one tiny instance of capitalism like the aff or it can’t solve for capitalism at all i.e. the IMF or World Bank.

#### Permutation do both Schooling is both legally and culturally entrenched---legal reforms are key to create cultural progress---an incremental approach is best

Kevin Currie-Knight 16, Teaching Assistant Professor of Education at East Carolina University, PhD in Education from University of Delaware, member of the FEE Faculty Network, “Why Is School Compulsory,” 06/29/2016, Foundation for Economic Education //

School has nothing to do with freedom. First, there are state laws mandating that you have either attended school or have learned the very specific kinds of things you’d learn in school. That form of education is not a choice: it is legally compulsory. ¶ But schooling is culturally compulsory as well. That’s what Austrian philosopher and Roman Catholic priest Ivan Illich said. ¶ Illich was a critic of state education systems who, in 1970, wrote a now celebrated book called Deschooling Society, in which he boldly argued that, like the separation of church and state, we need a corresponding right protecting people from state establishment of education. He suggested that the article should read, “The State shall make no law with respect to the establishment of education.” ¶ But his point didn’t end there. Illich recognized that preventing the state from making school compulsory might not be enough. We live in a society where even if schooling weren’t legally compulsory, we’ve grown to think of it as the only legitimate path to adulthood. In other words, schooling (or something like it) is not only legally mandatory, but it is culturally mandatory. ¶ After Illich proposed this separating-school-from-state amendment, he suggested that it might have to be accompanied by a “law forbidding discrimination in hiring, voting, or admission to centers of learning based on previous attendance at some curriculum.” ¶ Unfree Minds ¶ Think of it this way: even if schooling were not legally compulsory, if you live in a society where employers and others expect to see a school transcript as a condition of employment or of membership, or where the common question posed to children is “What did you learn in school today?” then most people will see school as the path to becoming an adult. ¶ Despite the title of Illich’s book, his end goal wasn’t the abolition of schools. At several points, he makes it clear that school is fine as an option for people who want it. His concern was that the legal establishment of schooling leads to the idea that the only way to learn the necessary skills for adulthood is through schools. Twelve-plus years of math and English, of grades and grade point averages. That schooling. ¶ How have we succumbed to such a narrow understanding of education? Simply put, when anything is legally mandatory, it becomes universal, and when anything is universal for long enough, the culture forgets that there were ever any alternatives. ¶ Step 1: Pass Laws ¶ Public school advocates in the early 19th century like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard sought to create tax-funded public school systems in the states that, because they wouldn't charge tuition, would outcompete private schools. Eventually, reformers pushed for laws making school attendance mandatory in all states (Massachusetts was first in 1851, and Alabama was the last in 1918). ¶ In the early 1900’s reformers also succeeded in mandating all teachers (at least in public schools) must pass through state-approved teacher education programs. As historian Diane Ravitch describes, “Teacher certification eventually came to be identified with the completion of teacher education programs rather than with the receipt of local certificates or the passing of subject-matter examinations.” ¶ The result was that, by the early 20th century, each state had laws mandating that the proper path to adulthood was to go through a set amount of schooling, and while one could go to a state-approved private school if one could pay tuition, the obvious choice for most was the local (“free”) public school — which only hired teachers who passed state licensing requirements. ¶ Step 2: The Culture Conforms ¶ Those legal requirements have cultural effects. Colleges and jobs that don’t require college degrees grow to expect or require high school transcripts as part of the application process. And culturally, we come to see schooling as a normal part of childhood — any parent out with their child during a school day can expect to hear, “Shouldn’t she be in school?” ¶ The question "How old are you?" has been all but replaced with "What grade are you in?" Suzy isn’t 11 or 12; she’s a sixth grader. ¶ Homeschooling and unschooling are on the rise, but even then, many states (like Louisiana, Maine, and New York) set strict guidelines on how homeschooling may or may not be done, including what subjects must be taught and annual testing of students that resembles testing done in public schools. ¶ Culturally, the current model of K–12 schooling is so entrenched that homeschooling and unschooling are often criticized for not properly "socializing" children, the assumption being that the proper socialization is the kind found in schools.

1. **Capitalism is sustainable and self-correcting---they can’t solve**

Seabra 12 (Leo, has a background in Communication and Broadcasting and a broad experience which includes activities in Marketing, Advertising, Sales and Public Relations, 2/27, “Capitalism can drive Sustainability and also innovation,” http://seabraaffairs.wordpress.com/2012/02/27/capitalism-can-drive-sustainability-and-also-innovation/)

There are those who say that if the world does not change their habits, even the end of economic growth, and assuming alternative ways of living, will be a catastrophe. “Our lifestyles are unsustainable. Our expectations of consumption are predatory.Either we change this, or will be chaos”. Others say that the pursuit of unbridled economic growth and the inclusion of more people in consumption is killing the Earth. We have to create alternative because economic growth is pointing to the global collapse. “What will happen when billions of Chinese decide to adopt the lifestyle of Americans?” I’ll disagree if you don’t mind… **They might be** wrong. **Completely wrong** .. Even very intelligent people wrongly interpret the implications of what they observe when they lose the perspective of time. In the vast scale of time (today, decades, not centuries) it is the opposite of what expected, because they start from a false assumption: the future is the extrapolation of this. But not necessarily be. How do I know? Looking at history. What story? The history of innovation, this thing generates increases in productivity, wealth, quality of life in an unimaginable level. It is innovation that will defeat pessimism as it always did. It was innovation that made life today is incomparably better than at any other time in human history. And will further improve. Einstein, who was not a stupid person, believed that capitalism would generate crisis, instability, and growing impoverishment. He said: “The economic anarchy of capitalist society as it exists today is, in my opinion, the true source of evil.” The only way to eliminate this evil, he thought, was to establish socialism, with the means of production are owned by the company. A centrally controlled economy would adjust the production of goods and services the needs of people, and would distribute the work that needed to be done among those in a position to do so. This would guarantee a livelihood to every man, women and children. Each according to his possibilities. To each according to their needs. And guess what? What happened was the opposite of what Einstein predicted. Who tried the model he suggested, impoverished, screwed up. Peter Drucker says that almost of all thinking people of the late nineteenth century thought that Marx was right: there would be increased exploitation of workers by employers. They would become poorer, until one day, the thing would explode. Capitalist society was considered inherently unsustainable. It is more or less the same chat today. **Bullshit. Capitalism, with all appropriate regulations, self-**corrects. It is **an adaptive system that learns and changes by design. The design is just for the system to learn and change.** There was the opposite of what Einstein predicted, and held the opposite of what many predict, but the logic that “unlike” only becomes evident over time. It wasn’t obvious that the workers are those whom would profit from the productivity gains that the management science has begun to generate by organizing innovations like the railroad, the telegraph, the telephone .. to increase the scale of production and cheapen things. The living conditions of workers today are infinitely better than they were in 1900. They got richer, not poorer .. You do not need to work harder to produce more (as everyone thought), you can work less and produce more through a mechanism that is only now becoming apparent, and that brilliant people like Caetano Veloso still ignores. The output is pursuing growth through innovation, growth is not giving up. More of the same will become unsustainable to the planet, but most of it is not what will happen, will happen more different, than we do not know what is right. More innovative. Experts, such as Lester Brown, insist on statements like this: if the Chinese also want to have three cars for every four inhabitants, as in the U.S. today, there will be 1.1 billion cars there in 2030, and there is no way to build roads unless ends with the whole area used for agriculture. You will need 98 million barrels of oil per day, but the world only produces about 90 million today, and probably never produce much more. The mistake is to extrapolate today’s solutions for the future. We can continue living here for 20 years by exploiting the same resources that we explore today? Of course not. But the other question is: how can we encourage the stream of innovations that will enable the Chinese, Indians, Brazilians, Africans .. to live so as prosperous as Americans live today? Hey, wake up … what can not stop the engine of innovation is that the free market engenders. This system is self correcting, that is its beauty. We do not need to do nothing but ensure the conditions for it to work without distortion. The rest he does himself. It regulates itself.

#### Capitalism solves warming – empirics prove capitalism’s dynamism solve

Rosenberg 17 (David, Haaretz contributor, 11/21/17, “Capitalism Is Our Only Hope of Rescue From Climate Change”, https://www.haaretz.com/world-news/.premium-capitalism-is-our-only-hope-of-rescue-from-climate-change-1.5626663, AZG)

How the world will get there without costly social upheaval he doesn’t say except to casually posit that climate change has removed class warfare from the anti-capitalist cause. Tell it to the coal miners Yeah, sure. Tell that to the coal miners and SUV owners who voted for Trump and can’t wait for instructions from Fong’s politburo about job reassignment and rules requiring them to take a bus to work. Climate change may unite the classes – against measures to fight it that require real sacrifice. On paper, Fong and other critics of capitalism have some points. But the reality is very different. In a modern capitalist economy, far from being the jungle that Fong and Klein portray it, business is subject to regulations, societal values and forces beyond its control. It may fight back, and sometimes fight back nasty, but it accepts the outcome. Take the energy crisis of the early 1970s, which combined all of these factors, and in some respects echoes the dilemma facing business in the era of global warning. Suddenly OPEC raised oil prices. But rather than threaten war (as leftists who see no bounds to capitalist rapaciousness would assume), the capitalist economies adjusted. Corporations became more energy efficient and developed products that provided the same savings for consumers, because that’s what the market demanded. Government stepped in with regulations that filled in the gaps where the market couldn’t or wouldn’t. It worked. If energy use per unit of GDP in the United States were still at 1973 levels, the country’s energy use would be over 40% greater than its current level. The fact is, capitalism’s critics are so focused on the system’s fundamental wickedness, as they see it, that they ignore its assets, namely its dynamism – its willingness to dispense with anything that doesn’t work and try something else, not because it has the good of humanity in mind, but because it wants to beat the competition and make bigger profits. Given the right set of incentives, businesses in capitalist economies will conform to rules that limit environmental damage. More importantly, they will develop the technologies to help mitigate climate change further. Electric and self-driving cars, solar and wind power, smart transportation and a host of other energy-saving technologies are being developed by corporations, not by government, and certainly not in the world’s last surviving bastions of socialism. Fong doesn’t go into the particulars of the democratic socialism that he fantasizes will rescue the world from warming. If it’s a kind of centralized economy, he might do well to look back at the environmental record of the old Soviet Union, which was a disaster. If he imagines some kind of squishy network of socialist collectives, what is to prevent them from engaging in the same selfish behavior as corporations? Capitalism is messy and uncooperative, but against climate change, it’s the best chance we’ve got.

#### Status quo conditions render deschooling obsolete---democracy and the Internet provide deschooled learning opportunities---even without those individuals would choose schooling

Sami Hautakangas 04, Lecturer on Economics and Management at University of Tampere, and Tomi Kiilakoski, Lecturer on Teacher Education at HUMAK University of Applied Sciences, “Technology and the Deschooled Information Society,” 09/22/2004, European Conference on Educational Research //

The common features with these cases is that they share ideas with the history of school criticism that we have been calling deschooling and that they have some kind of governmental or institutional support. On the other hand, there have been many experiences from private sector that different types of networked communities have been formed quite successfully, when the access for the users has been free of charge. And after the companies have started to implement their business plan and charge users of the access to the community and its communication services, many popular communities have withered away. ¶ In practice the issue of making the resources publicly available that Illich is raising in his work seems to be very hard to tackle. ¶ Grounds for criticising the deschooling paradigm ¶ From the viewpoint of social criticism the deschooling perspective as a paradigm for educational technology in an information society seems to have rather severe limitations. Firstly, on the conceptual level 'open learning environment' has been described as an opportunity for the individual to pursuit knowledge free from the restrictions of time and place in the pursuit of knowledge present in the traditional schooling. Secondly, the deschooling discourse sees technology as an existing nature-like environment, which gives an individual a positive freedom to choose whatever she pleases. Or rather, by lacking detailed discussion on the nature of technology, this nature-like quality is taken for granted - technology simply works once it is in place. This means that the deschooling perspective sees the ideal solution for education as meeting two basic requirements: the non-interference of formal educational institutions and the existence of accessible technical frameworks with the available learning objects. ¶ Within the post-traditional society (Giddens 1994) or the information society (Castells 1996) the structures of modern society are challenged: the logic which has shaped schooling is seen to be capable of producing citizens for a mode of work which is best exemplified by the conveyor belt. However, once the structure of work has changed this kind of schooling has lost its social justification. The main idea of the alternative perspective is to offer citizens opportunity to access knowledge whenever they feel this need. For society to be fully functional the requirement is that the educational system becomes far more flexible than the traditional school system. The wide accessibility and interconnectedness of the Internet seems to grant this dream to every citizen with the necessary technology and the ability to use to her advantage. In this discourse 'open learning environment' means absence of centralized governmental control over educational means and purposes. ¶ In defence of the deschooling idea, it can be claimed that all education has an element of self-education. The basic principle of democratic society is that people have options to fulfil their needs without significant harm to other people. From the point of view of the individual, deschooling could mean better opportunities to gather information or enjoy entertainment suitable for one's purposes. When the individual is so interpreted, the main metaphor of the individual is a customer, an entrepreneurial autonomous chooser. On the other hand, democratic society needs a participatory activity. An important educational goal would be securing social action for a better future. This could be jeopardised if an individual is seen to be capable of existing outside her social connection. ¶ Within the discourse of the deschooling movement, education for social transformation is seen to be dependent on the will of individuals. However, individual choice is greatly shaped by existing social institutions, such as market economy. The identity politics in general, and identity production in the Internet in particular, can be said to have ideological dimensions one may not be fully aware of. As Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002, xxi) state, the ideology of individualism "blatantly conflicts with everyday experience in (and sociological studies of) the worlds of work, family and the local community, which shows that the individual is not a monad but is self-insufficient, and increasingly tied to others, including at the level of worldwide networks and institutions."

### Queerpess

#### Framework---the K must prove the whole plan is bad---weighing the aff is vital to fair and educational engagement – outweighs because clash is the only unique form of edu prefer

#### a) Fairness---they moot the 1AC which makes it impossible to engage them since we’re always one step behind

#### b) Plan focus good it’s key to education---it’s predictable and stable and they can’t reject the entirety of the 1AC for one bad part

#### Permutation do both

#### No link – we say queer people should be able to enter college if they want

#### No link – we’re not futural. We say that it improves the material lives of black and brown people in the status quo.

#### Group the rant – it’s based on completely bogus science

**Bunge, McGill University philosopher, 2010**

(Mario, “Should Psychoanalysis Be in the Science Museum?”, 10-5, <http://www.newscientist.com/article/mg20827806.200-should-psychoanalysis-be-in-the-science-museum.html>)

We should congratulate the Science Museum for setting up an exhibition on psychoanalysis. Exposure to pseudoscience greatly helps understand genuine science, just as learning about tyranny helps in understanding democracy. Over the past 30 years, psychoanalysis has quietly been displaced in academia by scientific psychology. But it persists in popular culture as well as being a lucrative profession. It is the psychology of those who have not bothered to learn psychology, and the psychotherapy of choice for those who believe in the power of immaterial mind over body. Psychoanalysis is a bogus science because its practitioners do not do scientific research. When the field turned 100, a group of psychoanalysts admitted this gap and endeavoured to fill it. They claimed to have performed the first experiment showing that patients benefited from their treatment. Regrettably, they did not include a control group and did not entertain the possibility of placebo effects. Hence, their claim remains untested (The International Journal of Psychoanalysis, vol 81, p 513). More recently, a meta-analysis published in American Psychologist (vol 65, p 98) purported to support the claim that a form of psychoanalysis called psychodynamic therapy is effective. However, once again, the original studies did not involve control groups. In 110 years, psychoanalysts have not set up a single lab. They do not participate in scientific congresses, do not submit their papers to scientific journals and are foreign to the scientific community - a marginality typical of pseudoscience. This does not mean their hypotheses have never been put to the test. True, they are so vague that they are hard to test and some of them are, by Freud's own admission, irrefutable. Still, most of the testable ones have been soundly refuted. For example, most dreams have no sexual content. The Oedipus complex is a myth; boys do not hate their fathers because they would like to have sex with their mothers. The list goes on. As for therapeutic efficacy, little is known because psychoanalysts do not perform double-blind clinical trials or follow-up studies. Psychoanalysis is a pseudoscience. Its concepts are woolly and untestable yet are regarded as unassailable axioms. As a result of such dogmatism, psychoanalysis has remained basically stagnant for more than a century, in contrast with scientific psychology, which is thriving.

#### **Our impacts are produced by a flawed and ongoing present, which shields---AND, even if our impacts are futural, they don’t vest all value in reproduction---treating anti-suffering actions as anti-queer cements queer abjection**

Nina **Powers 09**. Prof @ Roehampton University.“Non-Reproductive Futurism,” borderlands, vol.8 No.2, <http://www.borderlands.net.au/vol8no2_2009/power_futurism.pdf>

Edelman’s desire to conflate all politics with reproductive futurism does an injustice to the politics behind some of the historical shifts in the way abortion, for example, has been conceived. Even in the examples Edelman himself gives of anti-reproductive movements, he is quick to state that these campaigns for abortion rights frame the argument in terms of a ‘fight for our future – for our daughters and sons’ (Edelman, 2004: 3). But, whilst it is true that the anti-abortion debate (especially in America) is often played out on the territory of the right (where the rhetoric of pro-life reigns), it is certainly not the case in other parts of the world that abortion is defended in the name of those children already born, i.e. trapped in the framework of reproductive futurity. Elsewhere, it is the rationality of the woman, her ability to make economic and pragmatic decisions that feature foremost in any debate about the rights and wrongs of abortion. Historically, too, discussions about abortion took place in broader contexts that stressed abortion alongside questions of the equal right to work, progressive notions of family structure and so on. Before Stalin repealed the laws, the Soviet Union under Lenin was the first to provide free and on demand abortions. These laws were couched not in terms of ‘life,’ but in terms of pragmatism predicated on a notion of political equality. As Wendy Z. Goldman puts it: Soviet theorists held that the transition to capitalism had transformed the family by undermining its social and economic functions. Under socialism, it would wither away and under communism, it would cease to exist entirely. (Goldman, 1993: 11) Unless the family is considered in its social and economic function, it makes no sense to speak of its power as an image, however powerful this image might be. Edelman ultimately concedes far too much to a very narrow ideological image of the family that, whilst pernicious, is easier to undo with reference to history and practice than he seems to think. As Tim Dean puts it: ‘the polemical ire that permeates No Future seems to have been appropriated wholesale from the rightwing rants to which he recommends we hearken’ (Dean, 2008: 126). In the first section I tried to identify some of the contradictions between the contemporary family and the demands of capitalism, while above I gave examples of politics not based on reproduction and reproduction not based on futurity: what follows from this is that there are important historical shifts in the way in which the family and the image of the child comes to shift in and out of focus. Take the discussions surrounding in vitro fertilisation. First viable as a reproductive practice in the late 1970s, early artificial insemination was regarded as a ‘paganistic and atheistic’ practice (Barrett and McIntosh, 1982: 11). Now, however, despite the wastage of potential viable embryos in the process, it is generally regarded as a practical option for infertile couples. Here the contradictions of contemporary social feeling towards children is exposed once again: reproductive futurism turns out not to be invested in all children, but only those it chooses to keep out of a pragmatism enabled by technology. Edelman talks about the ‘morbidity inherent in fetishization as such’ when opponents of abortion use photos of foetuses to highlight the proximity of the foetus to the ‘fully-formed child’ (Edelman, 2004: 41). He is right that morbidity and the politics of life seem to go hand-inhand, but then proceeds to argue that it is the queer alone that has a duty to remain true to this morbidity, to expose the ‘misrecognised’ investments of ‘sentimental futurism’: The subject … must accept its sinthome, its particular pathway to jouissance … This, I suggest, is the ethical burden to which queerness must accede in a social order intent on misrecognising its own investment in morbidity, fetishisation, and repetition: to inhabit the place of meaninglessness associated with the sinthome; to figure an unregenerate, and unregenerating, sexuality whose singular insistence on jouissance, rejecting every constraint imposed by sentimental futurism, exposes aesthetic culture – the culture of forms and their reproduction, the culture of Imaginary forms – as always already a “culture of death” intent on abjecting the force of a death drive that shatters the tomb we call life. (Edelman, 2004: 47-8) This does not exactly seem like a revelation. We live for the most part in pragmatic acceptance of this culture of death. It hardly shocks us when, for example, statistics reveal that, in 2004, 60% of women who had abortions had already given birth to at least one child (Sharples, 2008). Those people most identified with children – mothers – turn out, quite often, to deal with ‘life’ rather more pragmatically than we might otherwise believe. Edelman has to ignore historical and current examples of abortion rights campaigns, and other attitudes towards the family, in order to shoehorn all politics into a single vision to which he then opposes his notion of the queer. As Brenkman puts it: ‘To grant the Right the status of exemplary articulators of “the” social order strikes me as politically self-destructive and theoretically just plain wrong’ (Brenkman, 2002: 177). There are genuine moments of historical and political importance in terms of thinking about the family that seem to escape Edelman’s dismissal of politics as inevitably futural. We do not need to give up on politics altogether, whilst still accepting that the image of the child is a massive ideological obstacle. Rancière’s notion of political equality (‘Politics … is that activity which turns on equality as its principle’ (Rancière, 1999: ix)) neither concedes ground to politics as it appears (the ordering of the state, the police, a supposed consensus) nor does it think that politics is impossible or nondesirable, as Edelman does. We must ask: is all politics conservative by definition? Does negativity or resistance to existing power structures always translate back into some stable and positive form? The examples of the kibbutzim and the various contradictions in the ideology and practices of contemporary reproduction make it clear that Edelman, whilst having a strong argument about the shape that the ideology of the child takes, has to ignore the unstable compromises that the contemporary world has already made with itself regarding life and death in reproduction. Alan Sinfield has questioned whether we should really conflate all political aspirations with Edelman’s conception of reproductive futurism: ‘perhaps reproductive futurism is capturing and abusing other political aspirations and they should be reasserted’ (Sinfield, 2005: 50). It is not, then, that all politics is reproductively futural, but that this image has come to pervert other political desires, which may have a more complex relationship to children and a progressive conception of humanity. Edelman polemically dismisses the ‘left’ attitude to the queer, as ‘nothing more than a sexual practice in need of demystification’ (Edelman, 2004: 28). Whilst a certain strain of leftist thinking does pursue this demystificatory line (arguing, for example, that many forms of sexual expression are ‘natural’), Edelman reduces the left position on sexuality to a simple question of acceptance, as a way of arguing that the queer can mean nothing to the left. But there are, as indicated above, quite different ways of thinking about the family (in a non-futural, non-ideological way) and about politics, and the two together. When Rancière discusses the ‘subject of politics’, he makes it clear that: The subject of politics can precisely be identified neither with “humanity” and the gatherings of a population, nor with the identities defined by constitutional texts. They are always defined by an interval between identities, be these identities determined by social relations or juridical categories. (Rancière, 2006a: 59) Could this ‘interval between identities’ be the jouissance that Edelman aligns with the queer? Whilst Edelman’s psychoanalytic subject could in no way be understood as a similar (non)entity to Rancière’s ‘subject of politics,’ this idea of the interval seems to indicate a site of noncapture that could be described in a certain sense as ‘queer.’ In Edelman’s response to John Brenkman he states that: ‘Sexuality refuses demystification as society refuses queerness’ (Edelman, 2002: 181-5). By reifying sexuality as something that ‘refuses’ meaning, Edelman oddly substantialises it; Rancière’s way out of the identities determined by social relations or juridical categories is much less dependent on any pre-existing identity, even though he retains the very concept of politics that Edelman rejects. There seems to be no reason why the subject of politics for Rancière couldn’t be a ‘queer’ subject in Edelman’s sense, at the same time as reclaiming a notion of rationality away from the categories of the state. Before turning to a brief summary of this tentative queer rationalism, one more structural element of Edelman’s argument will be addressed: that of the death drive.

#### The death drive doesn’t exist, but their continued use of it to mimetically explain all violence means they link more

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The death-drive theory has not found wide acceptance among Freud's followers. With significant exceptions like Melanie Klein, it has been explicitly denounced as misconceived biology, unsubstantiated speculation, logically incoherent and/or without evidence. It has also been attributed to Freud's own painful personal circumstances: the death of his daughter, the death of a grandson, his own illness (cancer), and his lifelong preoccupation with death. Of those who have been sympathetic to the idea, most have tended to tame it - as indeed did Freud himself. One move was to rewrite the instinct as largely an instinct of aggression. But for Freud the aggressive aspect of the death drive had been secondary; the instinct was primarily self-destructive. Sadism derives from a more primordial masochism, which means in effect that human aggression is, originally, self destructiveness.∂ Of all subsequent theorists of psychoanalysis, Jacques Lacan takes the death drive most seriously, and most contemporary psychoanalytic attention to it comes via him. To his credit, Lacan does not underplay or tame the death drive, and he locates Freud firmly within the Western tradition when he remarks that Freud questioned life as to its meaning and his answer was not that it had none 'which is a convenient way of washing one's hands of the whole business' - but that life has 'only one meaning, that in which desire is borne by death' (Ecrits, p. 277).∂ According to Lacan, the Freudian world is one not of things, nor even of being, but rather of desire. More so even than Freud, Lacan finds in desire 'the paradoxical, deviant, erratic, eccentric, even scandalous character by which it is distinguished from need'. Although this distinction has been 'always obvious to moralists worthy of the name', psychoanalysis nevertheless misses the point by pursuing an obscurantist reduction of desire to need (p. 286). And that, for Lacan, is a cardinal error. This distinction belween desire and need leads him to dwell on something else in both Freud and earlier writers, moralists and otherwise: the relation between desire and lack. In modern psychoanalysis we find a secularized, intensified version of an existential perception that goes back a long way, even though the immediate influences here are Heidegger and Kojeve:∂ Desire is a relation of being to lack. This lack is the lack of being properly speaking. It isn't the lack of this or that, but lack of being whereby the being exists. (Lacan, Seminar, 11.222-3)∂ For Lacan, death is the name for a primordial absence intrinsic to presence; as John Forrester puts it, 'presence includes as its very condition the limit beyond which is its absence' (p. 176).16 To bind desire so resolutely into lack and absence means that it inevitably becomes a kind of essential negativity (Lacan, Seminar, 1.146)\*' - something premised on an initial failure of satisfaction and which, as such, comes to exist only by virtue of its own alienation; as Juliet Mitchell puts it, 'Desire persists as an effect of a primordial absence and it therefore indicates that, in this area, there is something fundamentally impossible about satisfaction itself (Lacan. Feminine Sexuality, p. 6). One consequence of this is a radical fragmentation of the human subject.18∂ In one respect Lacan recasts the familiar metaphysical idea that life is rooted in death: 'it is death that sustains existence' (Ecrits, p. 300). In his development of this idea he combines diverse elements of the Western tradition of desire's impossibility: a theology of desire as death, crossed with something more romantic if no less severe - desire as annihilating excess, a primordial discord. The two elements are fused in those places where, for example, he speaks of 'that desperate affirmation of life that is the purest form in which we recognize the death instinct' (p. 104). These ideas then get reworked according to structuralist and linguistic preoccupations, as when he speaks of the 'frenzy' of desire 'mocking Ihe abyss of Ihe infinite', and of how this amounts to 'no other derangement of instinct than that of being caught in the rails - eternally stretching forth towards the desire for something else - of metonymy. Hence its "perverse" fixation at the very suspension-point of the signifying chain where the memory-screen is immobilized and the fascinating image of the fetish is petrified' (p. 167).∂ In the same vein Lacan suggests that it is from death that existence takes on all the meaning it has; the lack which is at the heart of desire is also the price that human beings pay for their admission to language and culture. Death makes life possible in that it makes meaning and representation possible; it is not only before speech but 'primordial to the birth of symbols' (pp. 104-5, 300). Hence Lacan's most well-known formulation, that the unconscious is structured like a language, and his claim to have demonstrated 'the profound relationship uniting the notion of the death instinct to the problems of speech' (Four Fundamental Concepts, p. 20; Merits, p. 101). Richard Boothby regards this as the most radical and innovative aspect of Lacan. I remain unconvinced.19∂ Lacan's invocations of death's centrality to life are more derivative than their complex, often obscure, formulations suggest.20 When he declares that∂ All that life is concerned with is seeking repose as much as possible while awaiting death. This is what devours the time of the suckling baby at the beginning of its existence... Life is concerned solely with dying {Seminar. 11.233)∂ we can hear Freud and Schopenhauer most closely, but also Montaigne (especially in that last assertion - 'Life is concerned solely with dying'), who also, incidentally, consolidated his own perception of this truth with extensive citation of classical sources. In the giving over of the newborn child to death we might hear too the early Christian Fathers. Lacan does not exactly disguise his precedents; the passage just cited continues with a reference to Hamlet's 'to die, to sleep, perchance to dream' and to the idea developed by philosophers in antiquity that it would have been better not to have been born. But (and this recalls Freud's own evasive acknowledgment of his influences) in Lacan these allusions to the past are fleeting, in passing, almost secretive; the implication is that these past writers anticipate something which can only properly, and only now, be understood through the lens of Lacanian psychoanalysis, whose complexity is, at the same time, almost guaranteed to defeat the attempt. Some at least of that complexity is obscurantist.∂ In the wake of contemporary cultural developments, including the perceived failure of sexual radicalism and the trauma of AIDS, there are those who have turned to Lacan for a more honest view of desire, and, via him, are reconsidering a severe account of human desire. I should not speak for them; what I find in Lacan is an overtheorized expression of something more significantly and relevantly expressed elsewhere (in Freud and before). It this respect I believe he is symptomatic of a much wider tendency in (post-) modern theory. But in terms of his influence alone Lacan remains significant for this study. By crossing Freud's death drive with the philosophy of lack and nothingness derived from Kojeve's version of Hegel (itself influenced by Heidegger), he continues to drive death ever further into being; now, perhaps more inexorably than ever before, death is the lack which drives desire. In doing that he also exemplifies another significant tendency in modern thought which I have already remarked, namely the antihumanist wish to decentre 'man' in the name of a philosophy which is truly adequate to the complexity of being, yet which seeks to retain a residual human mastery in the very effort of articulating this complexity. As we have seen, the philosophical bid to comprehend the truth of being was always a form of intellectual empowerment - even, or rather especially, when issuing in the declaration that life, desire and the world have to be renounced. But modern theory, having lost faith in older philosophical notions of truth, now half-settles for the mastery of a new kind of complexity which it partly produces in order to enable this performance of mastery. Phoenix-like, the omniscient, masterful and above all complex analytic of the modern theorist rises above his sacrifice of 'man' to death.

#### Psycho is non-falsifiable

#### We need to learn the ABILITY of trickery when confronted with a heteronormative, anti-black, cis-normative world – their arguments on desire make tricking policymakers easier, but only engaging institutions by speaking their language can do this

Sullivan 17 (Shannon Sullivan, Chair of Philosophy and Professor of Philosophy and Health Psychology at the University of North Carolina, Charlotte, 2017, “Setting Aside Hope: A Pragmatist Approach to Racial Justice,” in Pragmatism and Justice, p. 231-245)

While West likely is right that black communities are crucial for black people to be able to withstand antiblack racism, it is important to note, in accordance with the above studies, that those communities that helped mitigate the harmful physiological effects of antiblack racism were not particularly based on hoping. They instead were based on coping. They were collective outlets for sharing experiences of and venting frustration about stressful racial encounters, for example, which is not the same thing as generating hope that antiblack racism can be eliminated. What might black communities that cope look like? For starters, "coping" as used here does not mean surrendering, selling out, or merely getting by. Communities that cope would be communities that recognize that "nothing has worked" against antiblack racism and that black people "have exhausted the discourses of humanism and the strategies of equality" (Warren 2015.228). I want to underscore the pragmatic significance of this recognition. Pragmatically understood, the value of things is found in their effects—including the ultimate effect of whether they enable flourishing (Sullivan 2001)—and the effect of humanism hasn't been the flourishing of black people. Pursuing strategies of racial equality hasn't worked. These realizations are important for the effects they can have: they allow a very different set of strategies in relationship to antiblack racism to emerge. Rather than defeatist, letting go of the goal of racial equality can be liberating and invigorating for black people. It can free them up to envision new goals, to develop new truths about how best to respond to racism, and thus to stop banging their heads against a wall that will not budge. "Casting off the equality ideology." Bell urges, "will lift the sights----From this broadened perspective on events and problems, [black people] can better appreciate and cope with racial subordination" (1992b, 378). For example. Bell claims that rather than spend energy and time trying to fully integrate American schools—which still has not happened sixty years after Brown v. Board of Education and has been reversed in some major cities (see, e.g., Michelson, Smith, and Nelson 2015)—black people should work on raising money for and strengthening all-black schools (1992a. 63). More generally, racial realism would urge that black people devise strategies that acknowledge the "white self-interest principle": white people will never do anything to improve the lives of black people unless it first and foremost benefits themselves as well, particularly economically (Bell 1992a. 54). In many ways, then, successfully fighting white racism is a very crude, nonsophisticated business. It isn't about devising fancy moral arguments or ideal forms of jurisprudence; it instead involves "making a shameless appeal to the predictable self-interest of whites" and their wallets (1992a. 107). One could add that it also relies on the predictable self-delusion, self-grandeur, and racial ignorance of while people. Bell (1992a, 62) argues that black people—both individuals and communities—need to be like Brer Rabbit of the Uncle Remus stories, who tricks Brer Fox into setting him free by convincing Brer Fox that throwing Brer Rabbit into the briar patch is the worst thing that Brer Fox could ever do to him. Brer Fox acts in what he thinks is his own best interest—an interest in harming Brer Rabbit by keeping him captive—and in so doing, he does the very thing that enables Brer Rabbit to escape. A masterful tactician at manipulating the canine ignorance and solipsistic focus of Brer Fox. Brer Rabbit doesn't rely on rational argumentation, nor does he depend on the law or any universal rights of animal kind to obtain his freedom. He instead is ruthlessly realistic about the malicious self-interest that motivates Brer Fox, and for that reason he is able to devise an effective strategy for getting out of his clutches. Brer Rabbit doesn't succeed in making any sort of large-scale or structural change in the relationship between foxes and rabbits, nor does he particularly hope to. He instead focuses practically on how to save his life in the midst of a particular struggle with Brer Fox. and through his struggle, he is able to flourish even if the overarching tyranny of foxes has not been eliminated.

### Reps bs

#### Framework---the K must prove the whole plan is bad---weighing the aff is vital to fair and educational engagement – outweighs because clash is the only unique form of edu prefer

#### a) Fairness---they moot the 1AC which makes it impossible to engage them since we’re always one step behind

#### b) Plan focus good it’s key to education---it’s predictable and stable and they can’t reject the entirety of the 1AC for one bad part

#### Reps focus is bad – It distracts from material violence. Instead of passing policies that help the material lives of black and brown people the left will always get caught up in one word that doesn’t even matter in the implication of the plan.

#### Reps don’t shape reality – No one really cares about the rhetoric that people use in the age of Trump. People brush off attacks as ad homs and they rush to fringe of relevance ignoring any actual implications their language has.

#### Floating PIK’s are a voting issue – They moot the entirety of the 1AC and skirt engagement – It’s not predictable because debaters sift through literally hundreds of thousands of words in hundreds of cards per topic.

### Setcol

#### Framework---the K must prove the whole plan is bad---weighing the aff is vital to fair and educational engagement – outweighs because clash is the only unique form of edu prefer

#### a) Fairness---they moot the 1AC which makes it impossible to engage them since we’re always one step behind

#### b) Plan focus good it’s key to education---it’s predictable and stable and they can’t reject the entirety of the 1AC for one bad part

#### Floating PIKs are a voter – moots the 1AC and makes us debate against ourselves by reading Das against our plan. Kills clash and education

#### Independently, don’t let them get out of DAs to everyone in the US adopting their praxis by shifting the alt to “just in this round” – that decimates rigorous contestation and causes academic insulation which reinforces privilege and internal link turns solvency. They force people to go back to violent countries and backgrounds.

#### There’s no link – we say natives should participate if they want to. Higher education is good for social mobility, decreasing racial prejudice, and campus demonstrations. The fact that Natives establish their own 4-year colleges proves that there is some redeeming good from higher education.

#### Make the 2NR explain the alternative – anything else allows for neoliberal cooption and definitely means we get the perm because the alt could be literally anything.

#### Permutation do both – Decolonization fails absent tackling particular forms of oppression and material barriers to solvency – their theory encourages inaction in the face of inevitability, ignores the contingencies of intersectional and relational violence, and commodifies decolonization for settler pleasure.

**Davis et al. 17**. Lynne Davis, Associate Professor, Indigenous Studies, Trent University; Jeff Dennis, Associate Professor, Sociology McMaster University; Raven Sinclair, Associate Professor, Social Work University of Regina. “Pathways of settler decolonization.” Settler Colonial Studies 7(4): 393-7.

In addition to interdisciplinarity, the papers also share a concern to move from analysis toward action. Scholars such as Macoun and Strakosch,1 and Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel2 have warned against an abdication of responsibility by settler activists because the structural nature of settler colonialism would seem to defy a transformed future. In assessing the strengths and limitations of settler colonial theory, Macoun and Strakosch challenge those who use settler colonial theory (SCT) to realize its transformative opportunities while acting consciously to counter limitations identified by various critics. They caution against a stance of inevitability of settler colonialism that would risk delegitimizing Indigenous resistance, and they worry about re-inscribing settler academics’ political and intellectual authority to the detriment of Indigenous voices. At the same time, they note the contribution of SCT in providing a theoretical language to understand colonialism as a continuing force in the present, including an analysis of how both conservative and progressive settler movements may detract from Indigenous political challenges to the state, thus problematizing settler efforts at reconciliation and decolonization. They identify as one of its strengths the ability of SCT to provide non-Indigenous people with ‘a better account of ourselves’, 3 and to generate new conversations and alliances between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples. Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel warn that SCT’s rapid ascendancy in the academy could overshadow Indigenous Studies and the voices of Indigenous peoples. They argue that: without centering Indigenous peoples’ articulations, without deploying a relational approach to settler colonial power, and without paying attention to the conditions and contingencies of settler colonialism, studies of settler colonialism and practices of solidarity run the risk of reifying (and possibly replicating) settler colonial as well as other modes of domination.4 In their view, Indigenous resistance and resurgence must remain central in discussions of changing relationships: Theorists of Indigenous resurgence, such as Taiaiake Alfred and Leanne Simpson, among others, also express the possibility for settler society listening, learning, and acting […] in accordance with and for what is being articulated [by Indigenous people]; Indigenous resurgence is ultimately about reframing the conversation around decolonization in order to re-center and reinvigorate Indigenous nationhood. Macoun and Strakosch, and Snelgrove, Dhamoon and Corntassel gesture towards action by settler society to follow the lead of resurgence theorists in transforming settler colonialism, despite the structural, relational and affective challenges of anti-colonial struggle, in order to ‘reinvigorate Indigenous nationhood’ The authors in this volume examine pathways to settler decolonization, analyzing the uneven terrain of settler efforts and experiences through the lenses of SCT, Indigenous scholars and grassroots communities, and specific disciplinary analyses. While SCT has been criticized for its inability to theorize a decolonial future, this volume interrogates what happens when settlers engage with and seek to transform the system. What does such action look like? What challenges, complexities and barriers are faced? What are the stumbling blocks? And what opportunities and possibilities emerge? The articles in this volume all note the need for settlers to transform our/their relations with the land and with Indigenous peoples, while recognizing the structural and psychological challenges of applying these principles in practice. It is one thing to care about the environment, and quite another to reorient one’s lifestyle around sustainable practices and the health of local ecosystems. It is one thing to feel a connection to a place, and another to accept the notion of ‘non-human agency’. 6 Likewise, it is easier for settlers to advocate for the return of land to Indigenous peoples ‘over there’ rather than right where settlers and settler states and corporations (claim to) own property.7 Transforming social relations is not just a matter of befriending Indigenous people; it means developing long-term relations of accountability, engaging in meaningful dialogue, and respecting Indigenous laws and jurisdiction. Learning to transform relationships in these ways – and to transform self-understandings and thinking and feeling patterns or ‘settler common sense’ 8 – is an ongoing process; it is not linear, but rather iterative, occurring in what Hiller in this volume calls ‘upward and downward spirals’. Moreover, settlers’ anti-colonial learning (and unlearning) does not simply precede action; it occurs through action, through meaningful relationships with Indigenous peoples and with other engaged settlers, and through experimentation with activism of various sorts. The Nehiyawak (Cree) refer to this relational and iterative social justice-focused process as kisāhkīwewin: love in action. Several papers in this volume also address the role of emotions in settler decolonization. While critical self-reflection is essential to this process, and while emotions such as guilt, shame and indignation can help motivate settlers to change their ways and support Indigenous resurgence (as Bacon shows in one of the articles collected here), it is equally important not to treat ‘unsettling the settler within’ 9 as an end in itself; rather than dwelling in discomfort, the point of unsettlement is to be a springboard to action that benefits Indigenous peoples. A related point of tension (or contention) is whether decolonization is in the interests of settlers. Boudreau (in this volume) argues that deep decolonizing solidarities must not be based on self-interest; decolonization for settlers entails sacrifice, or giving up power and privilege. This may be true and, therefore, if it is believed that there is nothing in it for settlers, why would they ever pursue it? Although decolonization may not be in settlers’ short-term economic or political interests, it may fulfill a humanistic, ethical and moral commitment. Moreover, decolonization may be in virtually everyone’s long-term interest, particularly if Indigenous resurgence assists in combatting climate change, ever-growing economic inequality, and other political and social problems. As Tuck and Yang make clear, decolonization is not a metaphor for other social justice projects.10 Nevertheless, settler colonialism does intersect with other systems of oppression, and decolonization would be incomplete without also tackling racism, capitalism and heterosexism.11

#### Standardized tests are western forms of colonialism that overcode indigenous epistemology

**Smith 18** (Smith, Kestrel (PhD Student in American Indian Studies at Univ of Arizona) "Invisible Barriers to Higher Education in Indian Country: Standardized Testing." PhD Thesis (2018))

While this gap in literature pertaining to Native students and standardized testing is still very wide, the body of knowledge is slowly growing. An increasing number of scholars have challenged the relatability and suitability of these tests’ content and epistemological approach to Native students’ learning styles. One of the main concerns is that standardized tests do not embrace multiple ways of learning and demonstrating knowledge, which is particularly important when considering Native students’ educational experiences. Native education scholars emphasize the ways in which Indigenous epistemologies differ from Western approaches to education, and argue that these differences can negatively affect a Native student’s educational performance when not acknowledged and integrated at their educational institutions (Barnhardt & Kawagley, 2005; Cajete, 1994; Deloria Jr. & Wildcat, 2001; Huffman, 2008; Huffman, 2013; Ingalls, Hammond, Dupoux, & Baeza, 2010; Tippeconnic III & Fox, 2012). Lawrence Ingalls, et al. (2010) clarifies, explaining that “culture plays an important role in influencing a child’s learning process and the skills that are learned. American Indian students’ cultural heritage often conflicts with mainstream school practices” such as rewards for competition and outspokenness (p. 45). While it is important to acknowledge that there is no universal way of learning that applies to all Native peoples, the commonalities shared by the majority of the population warrant recognition, and therefore must be considered in order to analyze and address the impacts standardized testing can have on Native students’ educational experiences and opportunities. Ray Barnhardt and Angayuqaq Oscar Kawagley (2005) explain: Although Western science and education tend to emphasize compartmentalized knowledge that is often decontextualized and taught in the detached setting of a classroom or laboratory, Indigenous people have traditionally acquired their knowledge through direct experience in the natural world. For them, the particulars come to be understood in relation to the whole…Western thought also tends to differ from Indigenous thought in its notion of competency. In Western terms, competency is often assessed based on predetermined ideas of what a person should know, which is then measured indirectly through various forms of “objective” tests. Such an approach does not address whether that person is actually capable of putting that knowledge into practice…In the traditional Native sense…One either has or does not have requisite knowledge, and it is tested in a real-world context. (p. 11) This conflict between ideologies may have a profoundly negative effect on some Native students’ test performance; if the tests do not correspond with Native students’ learning styles, these students are likely unable to accurately demonstrate their true level of knowledge and capacity for learning. As a result, some may face a disadvantage when it comes to the number of opportunities offered to them based on their test scores.

#### Reject settler colonialism as a structural analytic---it propagates a false consciousness that pacifies people out of improving lived conditions.

Manu Vimalassery 16, Assistant Professor of American Studies at Barnard College, Juliana Pegues, Alyosha Goldstein, “On Colonial Unknowing”, Theory & Event, 19(4), https://muse.jhu.edu/article/633283

The theorization of “settler colonialism” is indicative of these tensions. Activists and academics have increasingly taken up settler colonialism as an analytic to address the particular ways in which colonialism operates and persists in places such as Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, as well as Israel/Palestine. To a considerable extent, much of the work that has recently become associated with settler colonial studies has already been underway in Native American and Indigenous studies, as well as other fields including ethnic studies and colonial discourse studies. Our contention is that the particular ways in which settler colonialism has assumed predominance as an analytic risks obscuring or eliding as much as it does to distinguish significant features of the present conjuncture.22 Indeed, we suggest that when settler colonialism is deployed as a stand-alone analytic it potentially reproduces precisely the effects and enactments of colonial unknowing that we are theorizing in this introduction. Approaches to the analysis of settler colonialism, as isolated from imperialism and differential modes of racialization, are consequences of the institutionalization of this work as a distinct subfield, which is claimed and consolidated through analytic tendencies that foreclose or bracket out interconnections and relational possibilities. Settler colonial histories, conditions, practices, and logics of dispossession and power must necessarily be understood as relationally constituted to other modes of imperialism, racial capitalism, and historical formations of social difference. The key insights of settler colonial studies into the particularity of settlement as a manner of colonial power have also led to a tendency to focus on this distinction as constituting a discrete and modular form or ensemble of practices— such as Patrick Wolfe’s often cited contention that “settler colonialism destroys to replace”23—that can be applied across differences of geography or time. As such, settler colonialism appears as a self-contained type rather than a situatedly specific formation that is co-constituted with other forms and histories of colonialism, counter-claims, and relations of power. For instance, in the U.S. context, settler colonialism as a singular manner of colonialism entirely misses the ways in which the abduction and enslavement of Africans and their descendants was a colonial practice that, while changing in its intensities and modes of organization over time, was co-constitutive of colonialism as a project of settlement rather than a supplement that demonstrates the taking of land and labor as distinct endeavors. Wolfe’s description of settler colonialism as a structure, and not an event, has by now achieved the status of a truism in analyses of settler colonialism.24 Wolfe’s work has been crucial in bringing further attention to the fact that colonialism is an ongoing fact of life for indigenous peoples more than fifty years after the advent of the so-called era of decolonization. His scholarship insightfully underscored historical continuities in the shifting regimes and policies of settler states in relation to indigenous peoples, and challenged a certain produced ignorance about the “post” colonial character of societies like the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.25 Yet drawing an absolute distinction between structure and event, and as a result, discarding a focus on the historicity of settler colonialism, neglects some of the ways Wolfe distinguishes between the binary terms structure/event in the service of further analysis. For example, Wolfe emphasizes how settler colonialism is a “complex social formation” with “structural complexity” that emerges through process.26 When taken up as a modular analytic that travels without regard to the specificities of location or social and material relations, a categorical event/structure binary banishes deeply engaged historical knowledge from the landscape, turning away from historical materialism, devolving into a scholastic debate over identities and standpoints that are reduced to structural essences and divorced from politics or contingency. Emphasizing structure over event also limits the analysis of settler colonialism itself into a descriptive typology, orienting our vision narrowly within the technical perspective of colonial power (in the white Commonwealth countries), away from geographies from below, such as a hemispheric perspective of the Americas, with their multiple and distinct modes of colonialism, thus replicating the conditions of unknowing.27 Foregrounding structure against event might also divert attention away from imperialism. This binary perpetuates taking what Lisa Lowe calls the “colonial divisions of humanity” as given. Situating this compartmentalization as a consequence of imperial formations calls attention to how, as Lowe writes, “The operations that pronounce colonial divisions of humanity—settler seizure and native removal, slavery and racial dispossession, and racialized expropriations of many kinds—are imbricated processes, not sequential events; they are ongoing and continuous in our contemporary moment, not temporally distinct now as yet concluded.”28 If the analytic project is reduced to naming and delimiting settler colonialism as a distinct structure of power that exists in specific places, primarily the settler peripheries of Anglo imperium, we lose focus on the Caribbean and the Americas as the grounds of modern imperialism, abdicating the hard-won horizon of anti-imperialism. An emphasis on structure over event is symptomatic of the stabilization of colonial unknowing through binaries and schematic modes of thought. As Wolfe writes, “Territoriality is settler colonialism’s specific, irreducible element.”29 However, Wolfe’s cartographic model is that of the frontier, in which “the primary social division was encompassed in the relation between natives and invaders.”30 The frontier is a linear model, a binary opposition between civilization and savagery, reflecting both a colonizing subjectivity and its state form. What socio-spatial imaginaries, and concomitant critical models, might become visible if we thought from other spatial forms, such as circles or spirals, spatial forms that are often more relevant to indigenous epistemologies than straight lines? If we remapped the colonial condition through circular or spiraling forms, what new insights might we gain on the decolonial imperative? For one, we might be able to better grasp colonial, racial, and imperial simultaneities, as well as positions that do not easily fit into a settler/native binary. As Wolfe writes, “Settler-colonists came to stay. In the main, they did not send their children back to British schools or retire ‘home’ before old age could spoil the illusion of their superhumanity. National independence did not entail their departure.”31 Moreover, to inflect these insights through the lens of negritude produces a considerably more complex set of possibilities, where the verbs come and stay do not carry any simple or easily recoverable trace of agency or consent.32 As Iyko Day writes, “the logic of antiblackness complicates a settler colonial binary framed around a central Indigenous/settler opposition.”33

#### Tuck and Yang hate the K – the 1NC’s gap between theory and praxis is another move to settler innocence. Unless they get off the land you should never vote neg.

Tuck and Yang 12 [Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, \*State university of New York at New Paltz \*\*University of California, San Diego, 2012, "Decolonization is not a metaphor," Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, pp. 1-40, https://clas.osu.edu/sites/clas.osu.edu/files/Tuck%20and%20Yang%202012%20Decolonization%20is%20not%20a%20metaphor.pdf, accessed 9-30-2019] LHSBC

Fanon told us in 1963 that decolonizing the mind is the first step, not the only step toward overthrowing colonial regimes. Yet we wonder whether another settler move to innocence is to focus on decolonizing the mind, or the cultivation of critical consciousness, as if it were the sole activity of decolonization; to allow conscientization to stand in for the more uncomfortable task of relinquishing stolen land. We agree that curricula, literature, and pedagogy can be crafted to aid people in learning to see settler colonialism, to articulate critiques of settler epistemology, and set aside settler histories and values in search of ethics that reject domination and exploitation; this is not unimportant work. However, the front-loading of critical consciousness building can waylay decolonization, even though the experience of teaching and learning to be critical of settler colonialism can be so powerful it can feel like it is indeed making change. Until stolen land is relinquished, critical consciousness does not translate into action that disrupts settler colonialism. So, we respectfully disagree with George Clinton and Funkadelic (1970) and En Vogue (1992) when they assert that if you “free your mind, the rest (your ass) will follow.”

### University Baudrillard

#### Overview- Even if the university is bad, allowing equal access to the university is good, so double bind- either the alt solves university engagement so perm shields the link or the alt doesn’t solve for university participation so the alternative is elitist exclusion in the disguise of postmodernity-

#### Exclusion within the university is not enigmatic: we know black people make up only 1% of CalTech’s undergrads; their theorization is the tool by which rich colleges exclude minorities without caring about their calls to mobilization: this means if there’s a world where their theory is wrong then don’t buy the

#### Perm double bind- everything is simulation which means the aff is not uniquely bad- either the alt can resolve the instance of hyperreality in the aff or it cannot resolve the status quo so the K is terminally nonunique.

#### Actively opposing the university is bad, only accelerationism solves

Hoofd 10- (Ingrid M. The accelerated university: Activist- academic alliances and the simulation of thought, 2010, pdf) LHSCL

The way in which I argue that many new university and activist-research projects paradoxically contribute to this global re-stratification of otherness through technological acceleration, also connects well with Bill Readings’ work on the contemporary university. In The University in Ruins, Readings argues that the change from the ‘university of reason and culture’ to the present-day ‘university of excellence’ means that the centre of power has shifted largely away from the nation-state (Readings, 1996: 22). To read power as residing primarily in the sum of ideological and repressive state apparatuses hence no longer makes sense. It would therefore not suffice to critique the university simply as an institution that functions as the nurturer of national culture and the cultured elites for the nation-state. Readings points out that it is telling that strong oppositional critiques of the university seem to become possible precisely at the moment where its centralising power and knowledge have vacated its premises. More importantly, the function of the university of excellence – one that successfully transforms it into yet another trans-national corporation – relies on the fantasy that the university is or should be still that university of reason and culture, and that it originally did pursue universal truth, justice and knowledge. So the invocation of the fantasy of an originary university of knowledge and truth to which Edu-Factory’s and other similar activist-academics carefully seek to be responsible, facilitates the doubling of the production of information – as if it were still knowledge and culture – into speed-spaces outside the university walls proper. According to Bernard Stiegler in Technics and Time 2: Disorientation, new technologies of acceleration therefore lead to a tension in contemporary university practices under neoliberalism: they make possible thought through continuous differentiation into the virtual, but likewise reduce and manage thought to its calculable double – thus creating non-thought. The point for Stiegler is then to bring about ‘epochal redoubling’ which synthesises the current tension into an affirmation of technology as well as humanity (Stiegler, 2009: 7). While I agree with Stiegler on the ambiguity and doubling at the heart of acceleration, his imagined solution is nonetheless suspect. This is due to his narrative of the heroic overcoming of this tension in which an analysis of the complicities of a politics of difference is glaringly absent – in other words, the conceptual problem in Stiegler, activist-research, and eventually also in this article, is one of discerning (or thinking) ‘good’ from ‘bad’ doubling. I claim for now rather, in line with Derrida and Armitage, that alter-globalist activism here in particular functions as the supposed ‘other’, and hence authentic locus of truth and justice, where that fantasy of the originary university – which is the mirror-image of the fantasy of some future utopian university – is allegedly to be re-found. Alter- globalism can have this function because it is itself largely structured by the concepts and technologies of neo-liberalism. The borderlands of the real and the virtual, of West and the non-West, of thinking and doing, as well as of ‘alternative’ global activism and academia, become highly productive sites in the expansion and quickening of neo- liberal capital. Activist-research projects and alliances, as well as all narratives – like this one – that invoke the interplay between activism and academia as a positive means for the quest for truth and justice, are therefore symptomatic of the contemporary redefinition of the university, caused by the relative crisis of the nation-state in the face of trans-national globalisation.

#### If we win the internal warrants of our solvency then you vote aff: either their overarching claim is wrong or our aff is the exception to hyperreality- don’t listen to any of their overview until it explains the aff’s internal warrants

#### Perm do both- we don’t defend the university, just that bigoted exclusion from the university in the squo is bad - either they agree our impacts are bad in which case the perm is net beneficial and material action

#### Their impacts are nonverifiable- Baudrillard says hyperreality causes inexplicable violence but that means it can’t be analyzed in terms of causation- 1. giving examples of violence we can’t explain is not sufficient to solve this, they have to prove there is no way to analyze a causation 2. Even if they prove implosive violence exists the aff is not an instance since the link is a causal violence- proving the aff reinforces hyperreality is impossible so affirm.

### Humanism

#### Anti-Humanism is a theoretical shortcut to elide analysis of alternative visions of freedom – strategically deploying humanism is necessary for political struggle

Wilder 16 [(Gary, Gary Wilder works on the French empire, colonial states, historical anthropology, and social/political theory, with a focus on western Africa, the Antilles, and Europe. He is the author of The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars (2005), which traces empire-wide networks of science, administration, public opinion, and literature that linked colonial reformers in French West Africa to a black public sphere in Paris. His current research project, “Freedom Time: Negritude, Decolonization, Utopia,” examines post–World War II initiatives by African and Caribbean legislators to reconstitute France as a postcolonial federal democracy. Wilder was awarded a Mellon Foundation New Directions Fellowship, only one of ten awarded nationally in 2006, which allowed him to spend a year as a Visiting Fellow at the Human Rights Program of Harvard Law School. He holds a joint Ph.D. in anthropology and history from the University of Chicago and came to the Graduate Center from Pomona College in Fall 2009.) "Here/Hear Now Aimé Césaire!," South Atlantic Quarterly, 7/2016] TDI

These key terms illuminate crucial aspects of what made Césaire a distinc- tive thinker whose critical voice may continue to resonate for us today. But in order to attend to Césaire as he did his predecessors—as a contemporary— we should recognize how his intellectual orientation and insights brush against the grain of many current theoretical tendencies. In both critical theory and postcolonial studies, the standard operation is to unmask pur- portedly universal categories as socially constructed, culturally particular, and implicated in practices, systems, and logics of domination. These are indispensable critical moves. But this approach often devolves into a hunt for traces of universalism or humanism, whether in textual artifacts or political projects, in order to reveal the regressive or oppressive essence of the object. This “aha” moment thus becomes the punch line of the discussion rather than the starting point for analysis. Such fears of complicity with power do not only belie a longing for intellectual and political purity. They also make it difficult to think dialectically, to identify aspects of given arrangements that may point beyond their actually existing forms. The current insistence on negative critique also makes scholars reluc- tant to identify desirable alternatives and specify the kind of world they might want to create. But what do we concede if we are unable or unwilling to risk affirming more just, more human, ways of being to which we can say “yes”? It is not easy for radical thinkers to reconcile a nonprescriptive orienta- tion to a radically open future with the imperative to envision more desirable arrangements (Coronil 2011). But ignoring or deferring the challenge does not make it disappear. Following anticolonial thinkers like Césaire, espe- cially those located within the black Atlantic critical tradition, may remind us not to forfeit categories such as freedom, justice, democracy, solidarity, and humanity to the dominant actors who have instrumentalized and degraded them. Given this dilemma, the attention paid to Vivek Chibber’s recent polemic against subaltern studies is not surprising. Such attention, however, seems to be less about the merits of his universalist Marxism than about a sense of some of the limitations and impasses into which certain currents of postcolonial thinking have led (Chibber 2013).7 Partha Chatterjee himself has recently written, “The task, as it now stands, cannot . . . be taken forward within the framework of the concepts and methods mobilized in Subaltern Studies . . . what is needed are new projects” (2012a: 44). He suggests that such projects should probably focus on “cultural history” and “popular cul- ture” with a renewed focus on visual materials and embodied practices rather than written texts and on ethnography rather than intellectual his- tory. Moreover, he links this invitation to study “the ethnographic, the practi- cal, the everyday and the local” to a focus on subnational “regional forma- tions” and “minority cultures” and languages whose specificities, he observes, had not been sufficiently engaged by earlier subaltern studies research on “India,” “Pakistan,” or “Bangladesh” (47–49). Valuable as such studies would surely be, it is not clear how a renewed focus on locality, with place-based assumptions about territory, consciousness, and categories, could do the kind of critical work necessary to grasp the deep shifts in politi- cal logics, structures, and practices that characterize the world-historical present. On the contrary, such approaches risk reproducing precisely the culturalist and territorialist assumptions about political identification and affiliation that need to be rethought in light of contemporary conditions.8 Chatterjee’s surprising emphasis on local ethnography seems consis- tent with one trend in postcolonial thinking that risks reviving the types of civilizational thinking, and associated assumptions about origins and authenticity, that it had earlier set out to dismantle (Chakrabarty 2007; Mah- mood 2005; Mignolo 2011). Consider the important ways that Talal Asad has invited us to rethink liberal assumptions about “tradition,” with respect to liberal and nonliberal forms of life. In dialogue with Ludwig Wittgenstein and Alasdair MacIntyre, Asad (1986) has developed a powerful critique of liberal secularism—and the secularist logic that subtends many modern lib- eral states—from the standpoint of embodied and discursive traditions. On the one hand, he reminds us that “Islamic tradition” is neither singular nor unchanging; it is a structured and dynamic space for reasoned argument. On the other hand, he reminds us that despite liberalism’s claims to post- traditional neutrality, it too constitutes a particular tradition (albeit one that defines itself in opposition to inherited, embodied, and practice-oriented forms of tradition-based reasoning). Asad’s genealogical insights have rightly informed recent critiques of Western liberal ideologies, states, and politics especially regarding their arro- gant, condescending, and violent responses to tradition-rooted practices and practitioners, whether outside or inside the West. But his interventions, how- ever unintentionally, have also led scholars to establish dubious chains of equivalence between modernity, the West, and liberalism. Such operations seem to disregard Asad’s important invitation to understand traditions as capacious, heterogeneous, and dynamic spaces of inquiry, disputation, and revision, not simply as a set of rigid behavioral scripts, unchanging cultural formulas, or dogmatic ideological precepts. This reduction of political moder-nity to a one-dimensional liberalism obscures, for example, the many currents of progressive antiliberalism within the tradition of modern Western political thought. It fails to recognize the significant number of non-European colonial intellectuals engaged in anti-imperial struggles who were active participants in such “traditions within traditions.” It also disregards the contradictions within and redeemable fragments of even liberal political thinking, fragments that, if realized, might point far beyond, and possibly explode, liberalism itself. To reify modern or Western politics into a static and stereotypical liber- alism is to risk practicing an unfortunate form of “Occidentalism” that would reinforce archaic civilizational assumptions about incommensurable and unrelated worlds (and worldviews) and disregard the actual history and open possibilities for practices of cross-cultural solidarity whereby anti- imperial actors outside Europe could enter into dialogue or affiliate with, or even discover ways that they are already situated within, counterhegemonic “Western” political traditions. Critics have rightly mobilized singularity, incommensurability, or untranslatability against liberal attempts to discover an abstract humanity and thereby discount situated and embodied forms of life. But the question is whether we treat incommensurability or untranslat- ability as an epistemological or political limit or as an always imperfect start- ing point for practices of dialogue, coordination, affiliation, reciprocity, soli- darity. For isn’t the impossibility of full transparency or undifferentiated unity simply the unavoidable condition within which all communication, sociality, and politics must be attempted?9 My point is not to congratulate dissident currents within the West, let alone to recuperate liberalism. It is rather to approach radical and emancipa- tory politics from a place of not-already-knowing, of not presuming to know a priori which aspects of a tradition are irredeemable, which traditions may become allies or habitations, what the boundaries of (thoroughly plastic) tra- ditions must be. This nondogmatic and experimental orientation to politics, traditions, and concepts is one of the most precious and timely gifts that Césaire may offer to us now. He practiced a concrete cosmopolitan relation- ship to modern traditions of philosophy, aesthetics, and politics, one that was highly developed by the robust tradition of black Atlantic criticism within which he was firmly rooted along with predecessors (e.g., Toussaint and W. E. B. DuBois), contemporaries (e.g., C. L. R. James, James Baldwin, Suzanne Césaire, Senghor), and descendants (e.g., Fanon, Edouard Glissant, Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy, Achille Mbembe, David Scott). Understandable concerns about totalizing explanation and Eurocentric evaluation have led a generation of scholars to insist on the incommensurable alterity of non-European forms of thought. But perhaps we should be con- cerned less exclusively with unmasking universalisms as covert European particularism than with also challenging the assumption that the univer- sal is European property. I read Césaire not in order to provincialize Euro- pean concepts but to deprovincialize Antillean thinking. Césaire’s critical reworkings remind us that the supposedly European categories of political modernity properly belong as much to the African and Caribbean actors who coproduced them as to the inhabitants of continental Europe. Similarly, Afri- can and Caribbean thinkers, no less than their continental counterparts, produced abstract and general propositions about “humanity,” “history,” and “the world.” In contrast to invocations of multiple modernities, Césaire never granted to Europe possession of a modernity or universality or humanity that was always already translocal and fundamentally Caribbean. He never treated self-determination, emancipation, freedom, equality, or justice as essentially European and foreign. Césaire’s intellectual and political inter- ventions radically challenged reductive territorialist approaches to social thought. He refused to concede that “France” was an ethnic or continental entity, that Martinique was not in some real way internal to “French” society and politics, or that he was situated outside of modern critical traditions. Thus his ongoing and unapologetic engagements with Hegel, Marx, Proud- hon, Nietzsche, Lautréamont, Rimbaud, Mallarmé, Bergson, Freud, Breton, Frobenius, and Lenin, alongside his many African, Antillean, and African American interlocutors. The sonic blurring between “here” and “hear” in the title of this essay is meant to signal not only the contemporaneity of Césaire’s thought for us here now but the imperative that we open ourselves to his presence and recognize his actuality across the epochal divide by hearing what he actually said. This gesture builds on Walter Benjamin’s insight that every now is a “now of rec- ognizability” whereby “what has been comes together in a flash with the now to form a constellation” through which past epochs become newly legible (1999: 462). I also follow Césaire himself, who engaged in dialogue with pre- decessors as if they were contemporaries and who addressed future interlocu- tors directly as if they were already present. Like Benjamin, Césaire practiced a form of radical remembrance that connected outmoded pasts to charged presents. This attention to vital histories was bound up with a poetic politics that identified transformative possibilities dwelling within existing arrange- ments and a proleptic politics that anticipated seemingly impossible futures by trying to enact them concretely in the here and now. But Césaire can only speak to us now if we listen rather than presume to know what someone like him in his situation must have, or should have, been saying. Until very recently, scholarship on his work has been overdetermined by methodological nationalism (that puzzles over his refusal to pursue state sovereignty), identitarian culturalism (that debates how adequately Césaire expressed Antillean lived experience and whether or not he was an essential- ist), and a disciplinary division of labor (that too often splits his poetry, criti- cism, and politics into separate domains). Generally, Cold War scholarship was shaped by a need to evaluate him in relation to canonical anticolonial nationalists and fit him into a narrative of decolonization-as-national-inde- pendence. This has made it difficult to recognize the epochal character, world-making ambition, and global sensibility of his political reflections. Faced with the promise of decolonization, Césaire conjugated concrete acts with political imagination in ways that displaced conventional opposi- tions between aesthetics and politics, realism and utopia, pragmatism and principle. Such efforts were animated by what I have been calling radical lit- eralism and utopian realism and which he called inflection and poetic knowledge. He regarded freedom as a problem whose institutional solution was not self-evident and could only be situational. His interventions demon- strated the nonnecessary relationship between colonial emancipation, popu- lar sovereignty, and self-determination, on the one hand, and territorial state sovereignty and national liberation, on the other. He pursued cosmopolitan aims concretely through transcultural practices and by attempting to invent new political forms through which to ground plural and postnational demo- cratic arrangements. We should recognize that Césaire formulated a critique not of Western civilization from the standpoint of African or Antillean culture but of modern Western racism, imperialism, and capitalism from the standpoint of Antil- lean and African historical situations and experiences. More generally, it was a critique of an alienated and alienating modernity from the standpoint of embodied and poetic ways of being, knowing, and relating (to self, others, and world). Above all, Césaire recognized residues of, and resources for, more just, human, and integrated ways of living together within Antillean, African, and European texts, traditions, forms, histories, and conditions. In his view, Antilleans—as culturally particular actors, imperial subjects, New World denizens, moderns, and humans—were their rightful heirs. He was con- cerned less with defining culturally authentic concepts, spaces, and arrange- ments for Antilleans (apart from Europe or uncontaminated by modernity) than with overcoming imperialism, in solidarity with other struggling peo- ples, in order to establish less alienated forms of human life globally. Remembering Césaire’s insistence that modern currents of radicalism were shared legacies and common property may help us to rethink inherited assumptions about the relation between territory, ethnicity, consciousness, and interest (Buck-Morss 2009, 2010). They invite us to deterritorialize social thought and to decolonize intellectual history. This is a matter not of valoriz- ing non-European forms of knowledge, as important as such a move certainly is, but of questioning the presumptive boundaries of “Europe” itself—by rec- ognizing the larger scales on which modern social thought was forged and of appreciating that colonial societies produced self-reflexive thinkers concerned with large-scale processes and future prospects. We can thereby recognize Césaire as a situated postwar thinker of the postwar world, one of whose pri- mary aims was to place into question the very categories “France,” “Europe,” and “the West” by way of an immanent critique of late imperial politics. He envisioned postnational arrangements through which humanity could attempt to overcome the alienating antinomies that had impoverished the quality of life in overseas colonies and European metropoles. His situated humanism and concrete cosmopolitanism should thus be placed in a constel- lation of modern emancipatory thinking oriented toward worldwide human freedom that included antiracist, anti-imperial, internationalist, and socialist thinkers from a range of traditions: black Atlantic, First Internationalist, global anarchist, Western Marxist, Marxist humanist, Third Worldist.

## Phil

### Kant

#### The constituvist can’t ground normativity.

Enoch ’11: (David Enoch. “Shmagency Revisited.” Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In Michael Brady (ed.), New Waves in Metaethics. Palgrave Macmillan//FT)

If it can be defended, then, constitutivism promises to yield significant payoffs . But constitutivism seems to be subject to a powerful objection. For agents need not care about their qualifications as agents, or whether some of their bodily movements count as actions. They can, it seems, be perfectly happy being shmagents – non-agent things that lack the thing purportedly constitutive of agency, but that are as similar to agents as is otherwise possible – or perhaps being something else altogether. If so, constitutivism cannot make good on its promises: For when Korsgaard replies to the agent who asks, say, "Why should I care about the hypothetical and categorical imperatives?" with "Well, otherwise you wouldn't even count as an agent, you wouldn't even be in the game of performing actions.", the skeptic can discard this reply with a simple "So-what?". What is it to her, as it were, if she qualifies as an agent or not? She would be analogous not to the chess-player who asks why she should play according to the rules, but to someone who enjoys the aesthetic qualities of (what we call) the chess board and pieces. If we tell this person that he must not move his king to a certain position because it's against the rules, and if he breaks them he won't count as playing chess, he can shrug us off with a simple "So-what?". He doesn’t care whether his manipulation of the chess pieces qualifies as chess-playing. And at this point the objectivity Velleman hopes for also collapses, because the practical reasons whose objectivity Velleman wants to secure will not reach the person who is happy being a shamgent-rather-than-an-agent, or perhaps something else entirely. The general point here is that the status of being constitutive of agency does not suffice for a normatively non-arbitrary status. Of course, if there were some independent reason to be an agent (for instance, rather than a shmagent), or to perform actions, this objection would go away. But the price would be too high, for such an independent reason – one not accounted for by the constitutivist story, but rather presupposed by it – would make it impossible for constitutivism to be the whole, or the most foundational, account of normativity, or to deliver on its promised payoffs.

#### Universalizability collapses – normative claims about states of affairs disprove their thesis. Parfit:

Parfit, Derek. On What Matters: Two-volume Set. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2011. Print.

In discussing such cases, it will be enough to consider acts whose rightness depends in part on their predictable effects. There are many maxims of which it is true that (5) if too many people acted on this maxim, these people’s acts would have bad effects, but when fewer people act on this maxim the effects are neutral or good. It may then be true that (6) though such acts would be wrong if too many people acted on this [some] maxim[s], when fewer people act on this [some] maxim[s] such acts are permissible, and may even be morally required. In such cases, (7) most of us could not rationally will it to be true that everyone acts on these maxims. Kant’s formula may mistakenly condemn[s] such acts when they are permissible or even morally required. One example is the maxim ‘Have no children, so as to devote my life to philosophy’. If Kant acted on this maxim, he did not act wrongly. But he could not have rationally willed it to be true that everyone acts on this maxim, so Kant’s formula seems to imply that [Kant had] Kant’s deliberate failure to have children would have been wrong. Consider next the maxims: ‘Consume food without producing any’, [or] ‘Become a dentist’, and ‘Live in Iceland, to absorb the spirit of the Nordic Sagas’. It is not wrong, in the world as it is, to act on these maxims. But since we could not rationally will it to be true that everyone acts on these maxims, Kant’s formula seems to imply that such acts are wrong. Other examples are: ‘Don’t take the first slice’, ‘Don’t speak until others have spoken’, and ‘When you meet another car on a narrow road, stop and wait until the other car has passed’. We could not rationally will it to be true that everyone acts on these maxims. In such a world, most cakes would never get eaten, most conversations would never get started, and many people’s journeys would never end. But acting on these maxims is not, in the actual world, wrong. Since this problem is raised by acts that are wrong only if the number of such acts is above some rough threshold, we can call this the Threshold Objection.

# Extra

## Other Cards

#### Reject existential fear mongering that endorses a flawed theory of IR that only recreates insecurity and causes genocide.

**Ahmed ‘12** Ahmed, Nafeez Mosaddeq. “The International Relations of Crisis and the Crisis of International Relations: From the Securitisation of Scarcity to the Militarisation of Society,” Global Change, Peace & Security Volume 23 Issue 3. 2012.

This analysis thus calls for a broader approach to environmental security based on retrieving the manner in which political actors construct discourses of 'scarcity' in response to ecological, energy and economic crises (critical security studies) in the context of the historically-specific socio-political and geopolitical relations of domination by which their power is constituted, and which are often implicated in the acceleration of these very crises (historical sociology and historical materialism). Instead, both realist and liberal orthodox IR approaches focus on different aspects of interstate behaviour, conflictual and cooperative respectively, but each lacks the capacity to grasp that the unsustainable trajectory of state and inter-state behaviour is only explicable in the context of a wider global system concurrently over-exploiting the biophysical environment in which it is embedded. They are, in other words, unable to address the relationship of the inter-state system itself to the biophysical environment as a key analytical category for understanding the acceleration of global crises. They simultaneously therefore cannot recognise the embeddedness of the economy in society and the concomitant politically-constituted nature of economics. Hence, they neglect the profound irrationality of collective state behaviour, which systematically erodes this relationship, globalising insecurity on a massive scale - in the very process of seeking security.85 In Cox's words, because positivist IR theory 'does not question the present order [it instead] has the effect of legitimising and reifying it'.86 Orthodox IR sanitises globally- destructive collective inter-state behaviour as a normal function of instrumental reason – thus rationalising what are clearly deeply irrational collective human actions that threaten to permanently erode state power and security by destroying the very conditions of human existence. Indeed, the prevalence of orthodox IR as a body of disciplinary beliefs, norms and prescriptions organically conjoined with actual policy-making in the international system highlights the extent to which both realism and liberalism are ideologically implicated in the acceleration of global systemic crises.87 By the same token, the incapacity to recognise and critically interrogate how prevailing social, political and economic structures are driving global crisis acceleration has led to the proliferation of symptom-led solutions focused on the expansion of state/regime military–political power rather than any attempt to transform root structural causes.88 It is in this context that, as the prospects for meaningful reform through inter-state cooperation appear increasingly nullified under the pressure of actors with a vested interest in sustaining prevailing geopolitical and economic structures, states have resorted progressively more to militarised responses designed to protect the concurrent structure of the international system from dangerous new threats. In effect, the failure of orthodox approaches to accurately diagnose global crises, directly accentuates a tendency to ‘securitise’ them – and this, ironically, fuels the proliferation of violent conflict and militarisation responsible for magnified global insecurity. ‘Securitisation’ refers to a ‘speech act’ – an act of labelling – whereby political authorities identify particular issues or incidents as an existential threat which, because of their extreme nature, justify going beyond the normal security measures that are within the rule of law. It thus legitimises resort to special extra-legal powers. By labelling issues a matter of ‘security’, therefore, states are able to move them outside the remit of democratic decision-making and into the realm of emergency powers, all in the name of survival itself. Far from representing a mere aberration from democratic state practice, this discloses a deeper ‘dual’ structure of the state in its institutionalisation of the capacity to mobilise extraordinary extra-legal military– police measures in purported response to an existential danger.89 The problem in the context of global ecological, economic and energy crises is that such levels of emergency mobilisation and militarisation have no positive impact on the very global crises generating ‘new security challenges’, and are thus entirely disproportionate.90 All that remains to examine is on the ‘surface’ of the international system (geopolitical competition, the balance of power, international regimes, globalisation and so on), phenomena which are dislocated from their structural causes by way of being unable to recognise the biophysically-embedded and politically-constituted social relations of which they are comprised. The consequence is that orthodox IR has no means of responding to global systemic crises other than to reduce them to their symptoms. Indeed, orthodox IR theory has largely responded to global systemic crises not with new theory, but with the expanded application of existing theory to ‘new security challenges’ such as ‘low-intensity’ intra-state conflicts; inequality and poverty; environmental degradation; international criminal activities including drugs and arms trafficking; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and international terrorism.91 Although the majority of such ‘new security challenges’ are non-military in origin – whether their referents are states or individuals – the inadequacy of systemic theoretical frameworks to diagnose them means they are primarily examined through the lenses of military-political power.92 In other words, the escalation of global ecological, energy and economic crises is recognised not as evidence that the current organisation of the global political economy is fundamentally unsustainable, requiring urgent transformation, but as vindicating the necessity for states to radicalise the exertion of their military–political capacities to maintain existing power structures, to keep the lid on.93 Global crises are thus viewed as amplifying factors that could mobilise the popular will in ways that challenge existing political and economic structures, which it is presumed (given that state power itself is constituted by these structures) deserve protection. This justifies the state’s adoption of extra-legal measures outside the normal sphere of democratic politics. In the context of global crisis impacts, this counter-democratic trend-line can result in a growing propensity to problematise potentially recalcitrant populations – rationalising violence toward them as a control mechanism. 3.2 From theory to policy Consequently, for the most part, the policy implications of orthodox IR approaches involve a redundant conceptualisation of global systemic crises purely as potential ‘threat-multipliers’ of traditional security issues such as ‘political instability around the world, the collapse of governments and the creation of terrorist safe havens’. Climate change will serve to amplify the threat of international terrorism, particularly in regions with large populations and scarce resources.94 The US Army, for instance, depicts climate change as a ‘stress-multiplier’ that will ‘exacerbate tensions’ and ‘complicate American foreign policy’; while the EU perceives it as a ‘threat-multiplier which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability’.95 In practice, this generates an excessive preoccupation not with the causes of global crisis acceleration and how to ameliorate them through structural transformation, but with their purportedly inevitable impacts, and how to prepare for them by controlling problematic populations. Paradoxically, this ‘securitisation’ of global crises does not render us safer. Instead, by necessitating more violence, while inhibiting preventive action, it guarantees greater insecurity. Thus, a recent US Department of Defense report explores the future of international conflict up to 2050. It warns of ‘resource competition induced by growing populations and expanding economies’, particularly due to a projected ‘youth bulge’ in the South, which ‘will consume ever increasing amounts of food, water and energy’. This will prompt a ‘return to traditional security threats posed by emerging near-peers as we compete globally for depleting natural resources and overseas markets’. Finally, climate change will ‘compound’ these stressors by generating humanitarian crises, population migrations and other complex emergencies.96 A similar study by the US Joint Forces Command draws attention to the danger of global energy depletion through to 2030. Warning of ‘the dangerous vulnerabilities the growing energy crisis presents’, the report concludes that ‘The implications for future conflict are ominous.’97 Once again, the subject turns to demographics: ‘In total, the world will add approximately 60 million people each year and reach a total of 8 billion by the 2030s’, 95 per cent accruing to developing countries, while populations in developed countries slow or decline. ‘Regions such as the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa, where the youth bulge will reach over 50% of the population, will possess fewer inhibitions about engaging in conflict.’98 The assumption is that regions which happen to be both energy-rich and Muslim-majority will also be sites of violent conflict due to their rapidly growing populations. A British Ministry of Defence report concurs with this assessment, highlighting an inevitable ‘youth bulge’ by 2035, with some 87 per cent of all people under the age of 25 inhabiting developing countries. In particular, the Middle East population will increase by 132 per cent and sub-Saharan Africa by 81 per cent. Growing resentment due to ‘endemic unemployment’ will be channelled through ‘political militancy, including radical political Islam whose concept of Umma, the global Islamic community, and resistance to capitalism may lie uneasily in an international system based on nation-states and global market forces’. More strangely, predicting an intensifying global divide between a super-rich elite, the middle classes and an urban under-class, the report warns: ‘The world’s middle classes might unite, using access to knowledge, resources and skills to shape transnational processes in their own class interest.’99 3.3 Exclusionary logics of global crisis securitisation? Thus, the securitisation of global crisis leads not only to the problematisation of particular religious and ethnic groups in foreign regions of geopolitical interest, but potentially extends this problematisation to any social group which might challenge prevailing global political economic structures across racial, national and class lines. The previous examples illustrate how securitisation paradoxically generates insecurity by reifying a process of militarisation against social groups that are constructed as external to the prevailing geopolitical and economic order. In other words, the internal reductionism, fragmentation and compartmentalisation that plagues orthodox theory and policy reproduces precisely these characteristics by externalising global crises from one another, externalising states from one another, externalising the inter-state system from its biophysical environment, and externalising new social groups as dangerous ‘outsiders’. Hence, a simple discursive analysis of state militarisation and the construction of new ‘outsider’ identities is insufficient to understand the causal dynamics driving the process of ‘Otherisation’. As Doug Stokes points out, the Western state preoccupation with the ongoing military struggle against international terrorism reveals an underlying ‘discursive complex’, where representations about terrorism and non-Western populations are premised on ‘the construction of stark boundaries’ that ‘operate to exclude and include’. Yet these exclusionary discourses are ‘intimately bound up with political and economic processes’, such as strategic interests in proliferating military bases in the Middle East, economic interests in control of oil, and the wider political goal of ‘maintaining American hegemony’ by dominating a resource-rich region critical for global capitalism.100 But even this does not go far enough, for arguably the construction of certain hegemonic discourses is mutually constituted by these geopolitical, strategic and economic interests – exclusionary discourses are politically constituted. New conceptual developments in genocide studies throw further light on this in terms of the concrete socio-political dynamics of securitisation processes. It is now widely recognised, for instance, that the distinguishing criterion of genocide is not the pre-existence of primordial groups, one of which destroys the other on the basis of a preeminence in bureaucratic military–political power. Rather, genocide is the intentional attempt to destroy a particular social group that has been socially constructed as different.101 As Hinton observes, genocides precisely constitute a process of ‘othering’ in which an imagined community becomes reshaped so that previously ‘included’ groups become ‘ideologically recast’ and dehumanised as threatening and dangerous outsiders, be it along ethnic, religious, political or economic lines – eventually legitimising their annihilation.102 In other words, genocidal violence is inherently rooted in a prior and ongoing ideological process, whereby exclusionary group categories are innovated, constructed and ‘Otherised’ in accordance with a specific socio-political programme. The very process of identifying and classifying particular groups as outside the boundaries of an imagined community of ‘inclusion’, justifying exculpatory violence toward them, is itself a political act without which genocide would be impossible.103 This recalls Lemkin’s recognition that the intention to destroy a group is integrally connected with a wider socio-political project – or colonial project – designed to perpetuate the political, economic, cultural and ideological relations of the perpetrators in the place of that of the victims, by interrupting or eradicating their means of social reproduction. Only by interrogating the dynamic and origins of this programme to uncover the social relations from which that programme derives can the emergence of genocidal intent become explicable.104 Building on this insight, Semelin demonstrates that the process of exclusionary social group construction invariably derives from political processes emerging from deep-seated sociopolitical crises that undermine the prevailing framework of civil order and social norms; and which can, for one social group, be seemingly resolved by projecting anxieties onto a new ‘outsider’ group deemed to be somehow responsible for crisis conditions. It is in this context that various forms of mass violence, which may or may not eventually culminate in actual genocide, can become legitimised as contributing to the resolution of crises.105 This does not imply that the securitisation of global crises by Western defence agencies is genocidal. Rather, the same essential dynamics of social polarisation and exclusionary group identity formation evident in genocides are highly relevant in understanding the radicalisation processes behind mass violence. This highlights the fundamental connection between social crisis, the breakdown of prevailing norms, the formation of new exclusionary group identities, and the projection of blame for crisis onto a newly constructed ‘outsider’ group vindicating various forms of violence.

#### Negative scholarship is biased and paid-off.

Syverson et al. 18 [Steven T. Syverson, Valerie W. Franks, William C. Hiss , Spring 2018, " DEFINING ACCESS: How Test-Optional Works ," National Association for College Admission Counseling , https://www.nacacnet.org/globalassets/documents/publications/research/defining-access-report-2018.pdf, accessed 8-9-2019] LHSBC

There has also been a proliferation of research on standardized testing in admission focused on the predictive value of testing and its fairness relative to various subpopulations of students. Much of the research affirming the value of the SAT and ACT has been conducted by the testing organizations. One such study, a synthesis of recent test score validity studies (Mattern and Patterson, 2014), states that the SAT provides incremental validity above and beyond HSGPA in the prediction of cumulative GPA, retention and graduation. Their conclusion: the combination of HSGPA and testing will produce the most accurate predictions of college success. Another recent release, a just-published volume of essays, Measuring Success: Testing, Grades and the Future of College Admissions (Buckley, Letukas, and Wildavsky, 2018) is principally a response by the College Board and ACT to the rapid growth of TOPs.

# Extra

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They are, in other words, unable to address the relationship of the inter-state system itself to the biophysical environment as a key analytical category for understanding the acceleration of global crises. They simultaneously therefore cannot recognise the embeddedness of the economy in society and the concomitant politically-constituted nature of economics. Hence, they neglect the profound irrationality of collective state behaviour, which systematically erodes this relationship, globalising insecurity on a massive scale - in the very process of seeking security.85 In Cox's words, because positivist IR theory 'does not question the present order [it instead] has the effect of legitimising and reifying it'.86 Orthodox IR sanitises globally- destructive collective inter-state behaviour as a normal function of instrumental reason – thus rationalising what are clearly deeply irrational collective human actions that threaten to permanently erode state power and security by destroying the very conditions of human existence. Indeed, the prevalence of orthodox IR as a body of disciplinary beliefs, norms and prescriptions organically conjoined with actual policy-making in the international system highlights the extent to which both realism and liberalism are ideologically implicated in the acceleration of global systemic crises.87 By the same token, the incapacity to recognise and critically interrogate how prevailing social, political and economic structures are driving global crisis acceleration has led to the proliferation of symptom-led solutions focused on the expansion of state/regime military–political power rather than any attempt to transform root structural causes.88 It is in this context that, as the prospects for meaningful reform through inter-state cooperation appear increasingly nullified under the pressure of actors with a vested interest in sustaining prevailing geopolitical and economic structures, states have resorted progressively more to militarised responses designed to protect the concurrent structure of the international system from dangerous new threats. In effect, the failure of orthodox approaches to accurately diagnose global crises, directly accentuates a tendency to ‘securitise’ them – and this, ironically, fuels the proliferation of violent conflict and militarisation responsible for magnified global insecurity. ‘Securitisation’ refers to a ‘speech act’ – an act of labelling – whereby political authorities identify particular issues or incidents as an existential threat which, because of their extreme nature, justify going beyond the normal security measures that are within the rule of law. It thus legitimises resort to special extra-legal powers. By labelling issues a matter of ‘security’, therefore, states are able to move them outside the remit of democratic decision-making and into the realm of emergency powers, all in the name of survival itself. Far from representing a mere aberration from democratic state practice, this discloses a deeper ‘dual’ structure of the state in its institutionalisation of the capacity to mobilise extraordinary extra-legal military– police measures in purported response to an existential danger.89 The problem in the context of global ecological, economic and energy crises is that such levels of emergency mobilisation and militarisation have no positive impact on the very global crises generating ‘new security challenges’, and are thus entirely disproportionate.90 All that remains to examine is on the ‘surface’ of the international system (geopolitical competition, the balance of power, international regimes, globalisation and so on), phenomena which are dislocated from their structural causes by way of being unable to recognise the biophysically-embedded and politically-constituted social relations of which they are comprised. The consequence is that orthodox IR has no means of responding to global systemic crises other than to reduce them to their symptoms. Indeed, orthodox IR theory has largely responded to global systemic crises not with new theory, but with the expanded application of existing theory to ‘new security challenges’ such as ‘low-intensity’ intra-state conflicts; inequality and poverty; environmental degradation; international criminal activities including drugs and arms trafficking; proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and international terrorism.91 Although the majority of such ‘new security challenges’ are non-military in origin – whether their referents are states or individuals – the inadequacy of systemic theoretical frameworks to diagnose them means they are primarily examined through the lenses of military-political power.92 In other words, the escalation of global ecological, energy and economic crises is recognised not as evidence that the current organisation of the global political economy is fundamentally unsustainable, requiring urgent transformation, but as vindicating the necessity for states to radicalise the exertion of their military–political capacities to maintain existing power structures, to keep the lid on.93 Global crises are thus viewed as amplifying factors that could mobilise the popular will in ways that challenge existing political and economic structures, which it is presumed (given that state power itself is constituted by these structures) deserve protection. This justifies the state’s adoption of extra-legal measures outside the normal sphere of democratic politics. In the context of global crisis impacts, this counter-democratic trend-line can result in a growing propensity to problematise potentially recalcitrant populations – rationalising violence toward them as a control mechanism. 3.2 From theory to policy Consequently, for the most part, the policy implications of orthodox IR approaches involve a redundant conceptualisation of global systemic crises purely as potential ‘threat-multipliers’ of traditional security issues such as ‘political instability around the world, the collapse of governments and the creation of terrorist safe havens’. Climate change will serve to amplify the threat of international terrorism, particularly in regions with large populations and scarce resources.94 The US Army, for instance, depicts climate change as a ‘stress-multiplier’ that will ‘exacerbate tensions’ and ‘complicate American foreign policy’; while the EU perceives it as a ‘threat-multiplier which exacerbates existing trends, tensions and instability’.95 In practice, this generates an excessive preoccupation not with the causes of global crisis acceleration and how to ameliorate them through structural transformation, but with their purportedly inevitable impacts, and how to prepare for them by controlling problematic populations. Paradoxically, this ‘securitisation’ of global crises does not render us safer. Instead, by necessitating more violence, while inhibiting preventive action, it guarantees greater insecurity. Thus, a recent US Department of Defense report explores the future of international conflict up to 2050. It warns of ‘resource competition induced by growing populations and expanding economies’, particularly due to a projected ‘youth bulge’ in the South, which ‘will consume ever increasing amounts of food, water and energy’. This will prompt a ‘return to traditional security threats posed by emerging near-peers as we compete globally for depleting natural resources and overseas markets’. Finally, climate change will ‘compound’ these stressors by generating humanitarian crises, population migrations and other complex emergencies.96 A similar study by the US Joint Forces Command draws attention to the danger of global energy depletion through to 2030. Warning of ‘the dangerous vulnerabilities the growing energy crisis presents’, the report concludes that ‘The implications for future conflict are ominous.’97 Once again, the subject turns to demographics: ‘In total, the world will add approximately 60 million people each year and reach a total of 8 billion by the 2030s’, 95 per cent accruing to developing countries, while populations in developed countries slow or decline. ‘Regions such as the Middle East and Sub-Saharan Africa, where the youth bulge will reach over 50% of the population, will possess fewer inhibitions about engaging in conflict.’98 The assumption is that regions which happen to be both energy-rich and Muslim-majority will also be sites of violent conflict due to their rapidly growing populations. A British Ministry of Defence report concurs with this assessment, highlighting an inevitable ‘youth bulge’ by 2035, with some 87 per cent of all people under the age of 25 inhabiting developing countries. In particular, the Middle East population will increase by 132 per cent and sub-Saharan Africa by 81 per cent. Growing resentment due to ‘endemic unemployment’ will be channelled through ‘political militancy, including radical political Islam whose concept of Umma, the global Islamic community, and resistance to capitalism may lie uneasily in an international system based on nation-states and global market forces’. More strangely, predicting an intensifying global divide between a super-rich elite, the middle classes and an urban under-class, the report warns: ‘The world’s middle classes might unite, using access to knowledge, resources and skills to shape transnational processes in their own class interest.’99 3.3 Exclusionary logics of global crisis securitisation? Thus, the securitisation of global crisis leads not only to the problematisation of particular religious and ethnic groups in foreign regions of geopolitical interest, but potentially extends this problematisation to any social group which might challenge prevailing global political economic structures across racial, national and class lines. The previous examples illustrate how securitisation paradoxically generates insecurity by reifying a process of militarisation against social groups that are constructed as external to the prevailing geopolitical and economic order. In other words, the internal reductionism, fragmentation and compartmentalisation that plagues orthodox theory and policy reproduces precisely these characteristics by externalising global crises from one another, externalising states from one another, externalising the inter-state system from its biophysical environment, and externalising new social groups as dangerous ‘outsiders’. Hence, a simple discursive analysis of state militarisation and the construction of new ‘outsider’ identities is insufficient to understand the causal dynamics driving the process of ‘Otherisation’. As Doug Stokes points out, the Western state preoccupation with the ongoing military struggle against international terrorism reveals an underlying ‘discursive complex’, where representations about terrorism and non-Western populations are premised on ‘the construction of stark boundaries’ that ‘operate to exclude and include’. Yet these exclusionary discourses are ‘intimately bound up with political and economic processes’, such as strategic interests in proliferating military bases in the Middle East, economic interests in control of oil, and the wider political goal of ‘maintaining American hegemony’ by dominating a resource-rich region critical for global capitalism.100 But even this does not go far enough, for arguably the construction of certain hegemonic discourses is mutually constituted by these geopolitical, strategic and economic interests – exclusionary discourses are politically constituted. New conceptual developments in genocide studies throw further light on this in terms of the concrete socio-political dynamics of securitisation processes. It is now widely recognised, for instance, that the distinguishing criterion of genocide is not the pre-existence of primordial groups, one of which destroys the other on the basis of a preeminence in bureaucratic military–political power. Rather, genocide is the intentional attempt to destroy a particular social group that has been socially constructed as different.101 As Hinton observes, genocides precisely constitute a process of ‘othering’ in which an imagined community becomes reshaped so that previously ‘included’ groups become ‘ideologically recast’ and dehumanised as threatening and dangerous outsiders, be it along ethnic, religious, political or economic lines – eventually legitimising their annihilation.102 In other words, genocidal violence is inherently rooted in a prior and ongoing ideological process, whereby exclusionary group categories are innovated, constructed and ‘Otherised’ in accordance with a specific socio-political programme. The very process of identifying and classifying particular groups as outside the boundaries of an imagined community of ‘inclusion’, justifying exculpatory violence toward them, is itself a political act without which genocide would be impossible.103 This recalls Lemkin’s recognition that the intention to destroy a group is integrally connected with a wider socio-political project – or colonial project – designed to perpetuate the political, economic, cultural and ideological relations of the perpetrators in the place of that of the victims, by interrupting or eradicating their means of social reproduction. Only by interrogating the dynamic and origins of this programme to uncover the social relations from which that programme derives can the emergence of genocidal intent become explicable.104 Building on this insight, Semelin demonstrates that the process of exclusionary social group construction invariably derives from political processes emerging from deep-seated sociopolitical crises that undermine the prevailing framework of civil order and social norms; and which can, for one social group, be seemingly resolved by projecting anxieties onto a new ‘outsider’ group deemed to be somehow responsible for crisis conditions. It is in this context that various forms of mass violence, which may or may not eventually culminate in actual genocide, can become legitimised as contributing to the resolution of crises.105 This does not imply that the securitisation of global crises by Western defence agencies is genocidal. Rather, the same essential dynamics of social polarisation and exclusionary group identity formation evident in genocides are highly relevant in understanding the radicalisation processes behind mass violence. This highlights the fundamental connection between social crisis, the breakdown of prevailing norms, the formation of new exclusionary group identities, and the projection of blame for crisis onto a newly constructed ‘outsider’ group vindicating various forms of violence.

#### Negative scholarship is biased and paid-off.

Syverson et al. 18 [Steven T. Syverson, Valerie W. Franks, William C. Hiss , Spring 2018, " DEFINING ACCESS: How Test-Optional Works ," National Association for College Admission Counseling , https://www.nacacnet.org/globalassets/documents/publications/research/defining-access-report-2018.pdf, accessed 8-9-2019] LHSBC

There has also been a proliferation of research on standardized testing in admission focused on the predictive value of testing and its fairness relative to various subpopulations of students. Much of the research affirming the value of the SAT and ACT has been conducted by the testing organizations. One such study, a synthesis of recent test score validity studies (Mattern and Patterson, 2014), states that the SAT provides incremental validity above and beyond HSGPA in the prediction of cumulative GPA, retention and graduation. Their conclusion: the combination of HSGPA and testing will produce the most accurate predictions of college success. Another recent release, a just-published volume of essays, Measuring Success: Testing, Grades and the Future of College Admissions (Buckley, Letukas, and Wildavsky, 2018) is principally a response by the College Board and ACT to the rapid growth of TOPs.