# 2AC---Kentucky RR---Round 4

## Civil Service

### Terrorism---2AC

#### Terror causes extinction:

#### Leaders misattribute strikes, causing miscalculated nuclear war. That’s Rohlfing.

### Parks---2AC

#### National parks check extinction:

#### It protects bio-d, staving off knock-on effects like zoonotic disease, food crises, and runaway climate change. That’s Davare.

### Taxation---2AC

#### Regulatory taxation checks extinction:

#### It incentivizes prosocial behavior, solving environmental crises, political failures, and demographic shocks. That’s Bachus.

### Civil Service---2AC

#### Civil service outweighs:

#### Governance is key to cool-headed policymaking in the face of food shocks, pandemics, and environmental crises. That’s Shulman.

#### Err aff: it’s the only check against opaque risks we don’t know are coming.

### Diplomacy---2AC

#### Diplomacy checks extinction:

#### It defuses tensions in hotspots like Ukraine and Taiwan that otherwise go nuclear and spills over to cooperation on arms control, terror, and Arctic security. That’s Kimmage.

### AT: Beek---2AC

#### Beek is biased: the Mackinack center is a shill for libertarian deregulation. Media bias fact check inserted in the doc: <https://mediabiasfactcheck.com/mackinac-center-for-public-policy/>

#### Perf-con is a voting issue. Hypocrisy forces 2AC double turns and proves they care more about strategy, so fairness outweighs and we can sever reps.

#### you should not sever the flow of this debate from the relationship that michigan has to the kritik and debate in every other rounds

#### It’s about state governments failing to contain COVID, which answers ‘states solve’ above but doesn’t answer our impact about federal experts.

### Warming---2AC

#### Warming causes extinction:

#### Tipping points cause runaway heating that break the prerequisite systems for life and forces geoengineering, risking escalatory weather wars. That’s Ripple.

## Presidency

### Trump---2AC

#### Trump causes extinction:

#### Weakened cooperation makes us more vulnerable to every threat, while his aggression draws us into wars. He’s also combative and unpredictable, undermining deterrence and causing miscalc. That’s Öniş.

### Democracy Turn---2AC

#### Democracy bad was beaten in the 1AC. Three framing issues:

#### a) No alternative. ‘Democracy bad’ by itself is just defense. They have to win that autocracies are comparatively better.

#### b) Trump. Even if autocrats could be good, Trump isn’t. He’s uniquely unpredictable and irrational. That’s Öniş.

<For Reference>

Yet, there is a second dimension of democratic peace theory that remains relevant today in a subtle way. The argument that “democracies do not fight each other” holds considerable validity. Ironically, authoritarian states emphasize the virtues of stability and security over pluralism, human rights, and democratic norms. The term “human security,” which stresses stability and security, as opposed to “human rights,” appears to be the new buzzword of authoritarian states. However, the pendulum swings steadily in an authoritarian direction, with the United States displaying strong authoritarian tendencies during the second presidential term of Donald Trump, growing insecurity and instability are evident. The post-Western world showcases unprecedented levels of instability and conflict. The Russian invasion of Ukraine and Israel’s strikes on Palestine in response to Hamas’s terrorist attacks underscore rapid departure from a rule-based security order towards a new era, where conquest by the powerful appears to be the new standard. The broad shift to authoritarianism made the world increasingly less secure, naturally leading to the diversion of resources towards the manufacture of weapons and armaments. As a result, funding is pulled away from critical areas such as economic development, social services, and environmental protection, leading to severe human consequences. Furthermore, violence and insecurity increasingly infiltrate the lives of individual citizens. Weakening social protection mechanisms coincide with a rise in everyday violence and crime rates. Deep insecurities characterize the heavily controlled and repressed environments of authoritarian regimes.

#### c) No link. Our scenario is only about domestic authoritarianism. Democracy abroad is inevitable, so the status quo doesn’t solve their offense.

## Kritik

### Disability K---2AC

#### 1. Framework: weigh consequences of the plan against a competitive alt with unique links.

#### They create prior questions that destroy fairness, the only ballot intrinsic impact, and clash, which turns the alt.

#### 2. Permutation: do both. The net benefit is the aff. Anything else allows Trumpism to run rampant and greenlights structural deregulation, which turns [x].

#### 3. Extinction outweighs. It’s the only irreversible impact and using consequentialism is good because evaluating tradeoffs is inevitable.

### AT: Reformism Bad---2AC

#### 4. Imagining legal rights for public sector unions is empowering, rejects ableist notions of productivity, and is compatible with disability activism.

Carrie Griffin Basas 13. J.D. from Harvard Law School, M.A. in education policy, leadership, and organizations from Swarthmore College. "A Collective Good: Disability Diversity As a Value in Public Sector Collective Bargaining Agreements." *St. John's Law Review*, 87(793), 836-845.

IV. Idealist Vision

In this section, I consider why the Idealist model is worth further study by scholars and adoption by unions and employers. By focusing on the Idealist, I do not intend to privilege this model alone. The Idealist needs to be coupled with elements of the other models. Clearly, a civil rights orientation without adequate benefits and protections, such as health insurance and sick leave, will not serve a worker with either a temporary or chronic health condition well. The importance of the Idealist, however, is that it can be a way to think about disability as a signifier for broader workplace dynamics.' If people with disabilities are provided for, recognized, and respected, even as a marginalized workforce population, then the workplace may reflect other values that are of significance to all workers, such as inclusiveness, diversity, communication, due process, and cultural competence."' Unlike other minority communities, the disability community may take in and release new workers over the course of any person's lifespan. For this reason, disabled people are considered by many scholars to be the largest minority group in the United States, representing about twelve percent of the overall population. I posit that if disability is being addressed, then that highly marginalized minority experience may tell us something about how ready the workplace is to deal with larger issues of discrimination. Further, by examining how the law is made operational in these contracts, perhaps a reader is given insights into how social change can happen within organizations and how the informal law of workplaces can be as powerful as the law itself.

Much of the socio-legal literature has addressed the issue of how disability rights are the "new civil rights."' If disability civil rights, rather than medical intervention, union rights, or mere compliance, are the foci in the CBAs, then what flows from that orientation is a much broader question than disability. In essence, we are asking how responsive the CBAs are to legal and social changes, and how they then embody those changes and create their own laws of the workplace. These laws, as I argue in this Article, then inform whether people will exercise their rights, find comfort and collegiality at work, utilize the grievance processes, and even sue their employers or unions. The informal laws both create and reflect the workplace and workers' rights.

The Idealist environment encourages a kind of rule-setting that can be beneficial to other employees. Just as non-disabled people may find sidewalk curb-cuts to be of use as they ambulate with strollers, shopping carts, or luggage, non-disabled workers may find the provisions of the Idealist model to have direct and ripple effects on their own work experiences. If disability represents an accommodating approach, most notably seen in the reasonable accommodations provisions of Title I of the ADA,156 it also encapsulates a shift toward recognizing the need for interdependence and flexibility at work.

My second point is that disability is about more than flexibility and responsiveness at work. It is also about recognizing that diversity exists everywhere: from how an individual functions along certain metrics-for example, physical, psychological, cognitive, or social-to how those metrics are constructed and what those assessments then mean, or should mean, if anything, about individual worth.' Disability is a prime example of diversity, yet is overlaid with negative reactions to this form of diversity."

This approach in many ways is not a new one. Scholars Janet Lord, Michael Stein, and others have described disability as difference and diversity.o6 0 This characterization is not limited to theoreticians. On the ground, some members of the autism advocacy community, for example, react to attempts to label them as "disabled," by calling upon arguments of "neurological diversity" or "neurological difference." 161 They argue that autism is a difference in functioning, not an impairment, just as others who are not labeled as "disabled," function in diverse ways.

While I have made disability the focus of this study, perhaps the "dilemma of difference," as Martha Minow has identified it, is the more useful perspective because it does not limit itself to just the difference of disability. Minow suggests that the "stigma of difference may be recreated both by ignoring it and by focusing on it" and that the dilemma is one where choices need to be made between "special treatment" and integration." The dilemma is part of a system that categorizes and sorts differences and creates legal structures and policies that account for or exclude based on those differences. Therefore, the dilemma of difference, as filtered through the lens of disability, reveals more than what is uncomfortable or unusual about the actual physical or mental impairments of a particular disability. In addition, the dilemma and the difference show us what impairments reflect about the social, legal, and political awkwardness of anyone in the workplace who may be different-disabled or not.

These "disability lessons" are diversity lessons on a grander scale. As Elizabeth Emens has captured in her work, the very act of accommodating a disability at work, when done thoughtfully, may provide third-party benefits by encouraging a culture of adaptability that "may alter the workplace structure or practices for everyone." Workplace rule setting around disability, whether formalized in the contract or made informal in the culture, then, goes beyond disability to larger questions about the desire for diversity and inclusive problem solving. Susan Sturm has expanded on Emens's work by recognizing how conflicts around disability may trigger broader institutional shifts and promote "functional integration" across race, gender, sexual orientation, and other lines.6 6 If an employer can "do right" or be perceived as "doing right" on the difference of disability, then that stance sets the tone for addressing other concerns and grievances. The critique of this argument is that disability is an isolated phenomenon and that there is no causal relationship between disability rights provisions and larger workplace reform in the direction of civil rights, diversity, flexibility for families, and the like. But this argument fails to capture what disabilities, or other minority experiences, do in the workplace. 68

I return to the actual and expressive functions of CBAs and contend that disability civil rights represent a shift toward understanding that workplaces are made up of more than physical buildings, wage scales, benefits packages, and grievance rules. CBAs can be viewed as relational contract or contracts that create and reflect dynamics of relationships, as Ian Macneil has explored in his work.169 They are legislatures and courts unto themselves, as Edelman and Suchman have posited.17 0 They are cultures and communities that accept or shun certain members.' 7' They are environments, not just places, where people spend the bulk of their waking time, constructing identities and relationships, and encountering attitudes about who they are as individuals, workers, colleagues, and employees. 7 2 These external attitudes can become internalized \*and they can affect work performance, problem raising, and personal and professional identities."' Workplaces are creative hubs and battlegrounds for addressing and tackling discrimination and they are very much vibrant and fertile in their propensities for taking on these roles. 7 4 Incorporating and honoring the struggles of marginalized workers through the example of disability may send the message to all workers that no matter what they experience in their own lives-for example, family demands, temporary illness, cultural misunderstandings, bias surrounding sexual orientation or gender identity, or racial harassment-they may have a safe workplace to voice their concerns and to pursue equality and justice.15

Granted, various pieces of inclusion in a union or workplace agenda provide reassurance and affirmation: quality benefits, effective union leadership, and committed supervisors, for example, but this focus is also self-reflective and individualistic. At the next level, a workplace may display a community-driven approach to handling disability or other individual grievance and discrimination issues, and that approach, too, might evince a sense of camaraderie, security, or solidarity. Add in a written compliance statement concerning equal opportunity laws and the ADA. At this point, the workplace has all the functional, textual makings for compliance and responsiveness. It misses, however, the final outcome of the Idealist model-tackling disability-related stigma and shifting the focus from sameness to an underrepresented category of difference. Sturm has called this awareness "institutional mindfulness" and explains that it "reduces bias and advances inclusion by building inquiry into workplace processes and routines, particularly those practices that ultimately determine whether workers with different identities and backgrounds will have the opportunity to thrive, succeed, and advance."16 Of course, there could be other workplace canaries beyond people with disabilities, but being disabled is something that all workers could experience if they live long enough, like being elderly.

Combating disability stigma, further, not only benefits disabled people or "disability issues." It benefits anyone who might become disabled, who feels pressure to conceal a disability, who lives with anyone who has a disability, or who cares about disability because of some other connection. In work environments, where there is tremendous pressure to appear independently strong, invincible, capable, even perfect, disability acceptance challenges the notion that those should be the primary goods.' 7 It carves out a space for recognizing the ways in which we can all limit one another's productivity, careers, and economic stability through attitudinal barriers and poor institutional design."' Disability becomes the example, an important one, but one that has no set boundaries for its effects. If disability is an unwieldy category of difference, as other scholars have observed, it is powerful in challenging the message that strict definitions and divides are necessary and productive. 1

Conclusion

Disability rights are mirrors for how we can all come to deal with one another at work. The discomfort of disability is its external manifestation of impairment and the need for assistance.1s0 The disability rights movement has contested the notion that shame should ever be associated with this form of difference.'"' Disability law itself has struggled with finding footing among non-disabled people because disability is always easier to believe as an undesirable event happening to someone else.18 2 But disability is what can happen to any person, any worker. Rather than being marginalized as a consideration in labor and employment law and the drafting of CBAs, in particular, it deserves a central place in understanding the fluidity of health status. If we were to construct workplaces and the CBAs governing them from a disability-centric position, how would they be different and whom would they benefit?

That is a challenge to which I have no easy answer; it is a thought experiment rather than an empirical one for which there is a rich, existing dataset of workplace exemplars.8 s Let me suggest here, in the summarizing of the arguments of this paper, the five main ways that disability as the organizing consideration transforms work for all: (1) questioning the rigid divides between categories of difference; 8 4 (2) promoting individual and institutional problem-solving and learning;8 5 (3) creating cultures of adaptability and flexibility based on the appreciation of vulnerability and difference as sources of innovation, not failure;' (4) bringing awareness to physical and social spaces and the reproduction of inequality and inequity in them;' 7 and (5) challenging an additive approach to diversity, equality, and equity where disability is merely tagged onto a laundry list of diverse experiences that are to be respected. 8 s These are all transformations that have guided this article, but their full development should be the focus of future work.8 9

Disability rights and labor rights may end up needing one another, sooner rather than later. They share pragmatic concerns. In addressing rampant unemployment in their community, the disability rights movement and its leaders seek coalition for increasing job stability. Over thirty-three million working-age Americans have disabilities. 90 Running in parallel with separate, but arguably overlapping concerns, are the two-thirds of public workers that currently have the right to be represented by a union; that number may be rapidly dwindling as states in crisis apply pressure to workers to take concessions or leave unions.' 9' As they face attacks on membership and organizing rights, public sector unions and their leaders need a consistent, dedicated membership pool to promote growth and provide additional ballasts. Gaining diverse members is a goal and losing members who acquire disabilities or have disabilities that need to be addressed at work can derail that endeavor.

Much like unions, and now more than ever in the public sector, the disability rights movement has struggled similarly with changing the negative image of its members and building alliances outside of its own community. 19 2 Disability rights and labor rights share similar journeys. They must be proactive in shifting the ways in which their agendas are viewed by society, yet do so in a manner that allows them participation in the mainstream economy and public policy. In this mix, the informal laws of the workplace can be just as important as formal legislative action and contract drafting.

In the end, disability rights has the potential to transform collective bargaining from a distributive enterprise to one that is integrative-considering the possibilities of collaboration and problem-solving for both employees and employer.19 4 It also has the potential to shift conversations about disability from behind closed doors to places of public prominence as employers hash out what is important to them and how to both address worker satisfaction and workplace equity in the context of rampant unemployment for disabled and non-disabled workers alike.' Finally, disability holds promise as a way of voicing greater concerns about what counts as diversity, what it means to create life-span career paths for all workers, and how issues of health equity are intimately intertwined with both public policy and employment. 96 Labor, in turn, offers a new source of community for workers with disabilities, a long history of organizing, and solidarity for workers previously marginalized.

### Law Bad---2AC

#### ADA is not collecitve dependence. It doesn’t say that all disabled people are the same but rather tries to give accommodations when possible, which is NOT a logic of sameness.

#### No productivity.

#### Labor rights essential to social developments post-work.

Élise Dermine 24. Université Libre de Bruxelles and Daniel Dumont, Professor of Social Security Law, Faculty of Law and Criminology, Centre for Public and Social Law, Université libre de Bruxelles, Belgium. Bueno, Nicolas (Ed.); ter Haar, Beryl (Ed.); Zekić, Nuna (Ed.) (2024) : Labour Law Utopias: Post-Growth and Post-Productive Work Approaches, ISBN 978-0-19-199556-9, Oxford University Press, Oxford,

Let it be clear, however, that in our view, not all ecosocially useful activities should necessarily give rise to the same rights in an undifferentiated way (as advocated, eg, by Carelli). Rather, it is a matter of ensuring a continuum of protection, with a view to better accommodating the idea that every human being is, at least potentially, a producer, a citizen, and an individual engaged in private and family life. Accordingly, while an ambitious reform of social law must undoubtedly ‘take greater account of non-market work, in particular child-raising and care work for elderly parents, which is as vital to society as it is ignored by economic indicators’28 (as also outlined by Encinas de Muñagorri), the aim of full participation in economic and social life must not be pursued to the detriment of equal access to the labour market. Rather, it should encompass the latter in a broader yet coherent package. Diversifying social rights should thus constitute a means of simultaneously meeting the aspiration of many women to achieve greater fulfilment in the professional sphere and that of many men to reduce its grip on their lives. In the same way, it should also be a way of meeting the often-thwarted desires at the top and bottom of the social ladder for greater equality in the various spheres of activity, typically (classic) employment for those who are excluded from it or live on its margins.

Setting the path into new directions and understandings is obviously a huge undertaking, the plan and execution of which still have to be elaborated. All the more so since, politically, productivism is one of the few ‘invariants’ of social democracy:29 ‘the general idea remains firmly anchored that our social systems depend on growth to survive’.30 We will not enter this discussion here except to underscore that this path could constitute an ‘offensive’ response to the surge of the tough variant of activation policies. Faced with the reinforcement of counterpart demands indexed on the sole perspective of a short-term reintegration into the labour market, social democrats sometimes tend to retreat into a very defensive posture, denying any merit, even potential, to the logic of activation in order to take refuge in incantatory calls to restore the ‘post-World War II moment’. Instead of falling into what Habermas described as the ‘fundamentalism of the great refusal’,31 it would be a matter of proposing, on the basis of orientations that are, in fact, already budding in our positive law, another type of activation, an activation that is ecosocial and innovation-friendly,32 that is, one that encourages and supports the diversity of contributions, lifestyles, experiences, and choices—in short, autonomy.

#### No medical moel. Not saying disability corrected.

### AT: Unions Bad---2AC

#### The plan is key to solidify rights for workers with disabilities

Hayley Brown 24. Research Associate at the Center for Economic and Policy Research, “The ADA Isn’t Enough. During A Mass Disabling Event, Workers Need Unions”, 7/26/2024, <https://cepr.net/publications/the-ada-isnt-enough-during-a-mass-disabling-event-workers-need-unions/>,

The ADA primarily protects workers who already have a disability from discrimination. Protecting workers from becoming disabled is beyond its scope; this falls mainly to the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), which, in the case of infectious diseases, is influenced by guidance from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).

Unions offer one possible remedy. In a forthcoming paper, we find that union representation carries a 17.7 percent wage premium for workers with disabilities, who otherwise face a more substantial wage penalty in addition to higher costs associated with their disability. Union representation is also associated with increased access to employer-sponsored health insurance and retirement coverage for disabled workers, by 41.2 percent and 54.5 percent, respectively. (Figure 1)

Union workers are also more likely to have paid sick leave, which helps limit disease spread and gives workers more opportunity to rest and recover when they’re ill. The latter is especially important, given the link between inadequate rest in the acute stage of COVID-19 and the development of Long COVID.

Unions can also supplement the ADA by providing disabled workers with additional ways to secure their rights. Collective bargaining agreements can reiterate aspects of the ADA and establish workforce norms based on universal design principles. Such an approach can reframe some “reasonable accommodations” as universal benefits for all staff. By enforcing such contracts, unions can both empower disabled workers on the job and hold employers accountable for workplace discrimination.

Unfortunately, the erosion of the labor movement means that fewer disabled workers have access to the benefits of a union job. And while the ADA is an important tool, it must be supplemented with other forms of support for disabled workers. Workers advocating collectively for the rights and dignity of those with disabilities is essential, and unions are an obvious vehicle for them to do so.

Securing economic justice for workers with disabilities — including those with Long COVID and other chronic illnesses — will require more than just the ADA. Unions have an important role to play in advocating for the growing ranks of workers with disabilities. However, their effectiveness hinges on the revitalization of a robust, fighting labor movement that embraces disability justice as a core part of its mission.

#### Collective bargaining can reduce stigmatization and shift collective norms of disability---the aff and alt aren’t mutually exclusive.

Laura Hannon 24. J.D., University of Pennsylvania Carey Law School, University of Pennsylvania Jounral of Law and Social Change, “Employed, but not “Employees”: How the NLRB Has Failed Disabled Workers with the Primarily Rehabilitative Standard”, Winter 2024, https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1299&context=jlasc

Why is it important for disabled employees to be classified as statutory employees under the NLRA? Workers not recognized under the NLRA are not granted the Act’s protections to “self-organization, to . . . join . . . labor organizations, to bargain collectively . . . , and to engage in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection.”31 These rights create a “freedom of association,” which is one of only four fundamental workers’ rights declared by the International Labour Organisation.32 While not all disabled employees work in rehabilitative settings, disabled workers as a whole tend to be less represented in unions. A population study by the Center for Economic and Policy Research conducted from 2020 to 2021 found that only about ten percent of disabled workers under the age of sixty-five are union members.33

Unions are strongly linked to improved workplace conditions. The Department of Labor reports that unionized workers have higher pay (eighteen percent more than nonunionized workers on average), stronger enforcement of safety and health laws, lower gender-based pay gaps, better retirement plans, and a higher likelihood of receiving paid leave.34 Unions also have substantial impacts on workers and their communities outside of the workplace. States with the highest union densities report minimum wages that are forty percent higher, have lower uninsured populations, have fewer restrictive voting laws, and are more likely to have laws protecting paid sick, medical, and family leave than those in low- union-density states.35 Existing scholarship has also demonstrated the positive impact of unions on race relations, government revenue through taxes, and both gender and race-based disparities.36 Further, unions have the ability to help shift public perception and address social stigma, including those regarding disability. An analysis of seventy-two arbitration cases revealed unions can play a role in “nudging collective beliefs and norms about” disability accommodations and reduce stigma.37 By preventing rehabilitative workplaces from unionizing, the Board hinders potential progress for disabled workers, their work environments, and their communities.

### AT: Fiat Bad---2AC

#### The history of disability activism proves that utopian future imaginaries of policy change empower disabled people and undo ableist power structures.

Gisli Vogler 24. Centre for Open Learning, University of Edinburgh “Acting as if: the utopian political thought and actions of the US disability rights movement,” Contemporary Political Theory, OnlineFirst, doi:10.1057/s41296-023-00675-9

One of the most famous centers was founded in Berkeley by students under the leadership of Ed Roberts (Levy, 1988). Roberts had successfully litigated his way into further education at the University of California, Berkeley, where he was influenced by the counterculture of the 1960s. The aim of the center was to serve the local community of disabled people, but it also played an influential role at the beginning of the disability rights movement, including in funneling federal and local funds towards supporting disabled people and activism and in forming a normative vision of a better society (Charlton, 2000, p. 132). The center offered one, important, launchpad for the leadership of the disability rights movement to launch protests, inform wider society about the efforts of the movement and changes to legal provisions for disabled people, and coordinate with other groups to develop and lobby for new legislative initiatives. The independent living centers are thus practical criptopias that used the material and ideational structures of their time (such as federal and local funding and consumer ideology) to produce concrete evidence that—with suitable community support for people with physical impairments to overcome social and physical barriers, such as inaccessible housing—a fully integrated society is possible and plausible.

Secondly, the movement pursued a grounded utopia by lobbying for the passing of legislation to enforce equal status as citizens and contributors to the economy. The focus on law may seem antithetical to the utopian project because laws serve to regulate conflict and disagreements which arise in imperfect societies, for instance about the distribution of limited resources. For this reason, classic writers such as More highlighted the absence of a comprehensive body of laws as a notable feature of their utopian society (Herman, 2016; More, 1685, p. 148). I introduced above how utopianism has since broadened beyond the articulation of universal blueprints of the perfect society and this move necessitates a greater concern with how to transform an unjust legal system. A broader conception of utopia also reveals the social dreaming that motivates legislation, most obviously in the articulation of, and struggle for the protection of, human and civil rights (cf. Moyn, 2012, p. 1).

Law’s utopian dimension has historically had a negative impact on disabled people. In the early 20th century, immigration and forced sterilization laws reflected societal anxieties about the decline of US society caused by rapid urbanization, immigration, and industrialization, and the subsequent popularity of eugenics (Nielsen, 2012, p. 100). Disability became a threat to the future wellbeing, or ‘purity’, of society (or specifically, elites) and laws served to manage or ideally eradicate the ‘problem’ of disability. However, just as citizenship was defined by excluding and controlling those deemed different, the dominated found in the language of rights and citizenship a framework to voice their oppression and how to transcend it (Nielsen, 2012, p. 133). The expanding welfare state both provided at times humiliating hurdles to a life of dignity and also a way to demand rights, services, and fund activism. Crucially, the emphasis on rights and discrimination within disability activism exploited a tension within the medical model: it assumes a neat connection between impairment, diagnosed by a medical practitioner or immigration officer, and disability; yet disability has a strong socio-cultural dimension to it as it serves to delineate moral behavior in modern mass society, for instance by associating certain disabilities with morally deviant behavior. Disabled people (especially those otherwise privileged) often experience this sleight of hand as they become subject to seemingly arbitrary decision-making on their ability to work or receive federal benefits (Longmore & Goldberger, 2000). Disability activists reverted the sleight of hand by focusing on disability and not impairment and claiming that it is a signifier of discrimination not diagnosis. This is visible in one of the early organizations founded in the 20th century, The League of Physically Handicapped. The name of the organization alludes to the fact that disabled people in New York were disqualified from work through the arbitrary requirement of physical examinations for all jobs—disabled people were stamped as ‘PH’ in their records (Fleischer et al., 2012). What characterized members was therefore a shared sense of discrimination rather than the specifics of their impairment and it is this discrimination that prevents their equal participation in the economy.

To exploit this weakness in the medical model, The League of Physically Handicapped employed strategies of civil disobedience familiar from the labor movements of the early 20 century—activists however consistently note the additional dimension that disability brings to these strategies, both for activists (e.g. getting to inaccessible places), and judges and police officers unsure how to deal with them. The focus deepened further as new generations of activists engaged with other civil rights struggles. The movement was ‘energized by, overlapping with, and similar to other civil rights movements across the nation, as disabled people experienced the 1960s and 1970s as a time of excitement, organizational strength, and identity exploration’ (Nielsen, 2012, p. 160). The public protests of the African American civil rights movement and landmark rulings such as Brown vs Education, Topeka, brought home the importance of litigation, legislation, and demonstrations and treating disability in terms of a rights issue (Winter, 2003).

The struggle for equal rights before the law often involved a focus on concrete, immediate issues. The Architectural Barriers Act (ABA) in 1968, for instance, offered the important requirement that buildings leased or built and altered using federal funds be accessible. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited the discrimination on the basis of race, religion, sex, and country of origin but did not mention disability, sparked a decade of struggles across US states centered on extending the protections to disabled people (Patterson, 2018, p. 418). Activists used a 1972 reauthorization of the Federal Rehabilitation Act to advance their cause. Specifically, an initially little-discussed addition of section 504 to the legislation by a liberal Democratic Senator, prohibiting discrimination against disabled people by services and activities receiving federal funds, provided the legislative foothold for disability-centric anti-discrimination legislation (Erkulwater, 2018, p. 375). Cross-disability alliances lobbied for the implementation of 504 and on 5 April 1977 occupied a number of buildings of the US department for health, education, and welfare (Cone, 1996). The eventual implementation of section 504 was followed by other legislations and renewed activism, but the law’s provisions remained narrow in focus and weak in enforcement. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in 1990 promised to alleviate these problems by putting into place protections against discrimination based on, and requirements of reasonable accommodation of, disability (Bagenstos, 2009; Winter, 2003). Again, disability activists used common strategies to influence the ADA’s passing, including by setting up sophisticated lobbying networks in Washington and adding pressure through public protest. One example of this is activists in March 1990 ‘crawling up’ the US Capitol steps (Pelka, 2012, pp. 419, 515).

Litigation and legislation offered important means to utilize the toolkit developed by previous civil rights movements to make the utopian visions of the social model concrete. Together with the independent living centers, legislation helped normalize the model’s radical assumption that society needed to work towards enabling disabled people’s equal access to socio-economic activities. Acting ‘as if’, the movement helped shift the legislative focus from ‘managing’, erasing, or separating out disability from society towards changing society to include disabled people.

Thirdly, the movement actualized the emancipatory potential within existing power structures by challenging expectations of what disabled people can do. In their own words, we have ‘been through the worst kind of atrocities, attitudes towards us that see us as vegetables, that see us as sick and unable and having no future. I mean that got to piss you off’ (Roberts, cited in Pelka, 2012, p. 32). To challenge expectations, the activists had to become experts in areas central to the governance of society, from city planning to the lobbying of politicians: ‘we really needed to develop expertise. It couldn’t just be “we have the right to get on the bus, we have a right to go to school”’, ‘we needed to become experts in areas that we never thought about, you know, becoming architects, becoming involved in regional planning and things like that’ (Heumann, 2020; cf. Shaw, 1994, p. 166). Of particular importance were jobs held historically by non-disabled workers, and dealing with the lives and futures of disabled people. Denise Karuth served on the Massachusetts Governor’s Commission on Accessible Transportation, and Ed Roberts was appointed to the role of Director of the California Department of Vocational Rehabilitation. Deidre Davis-Butler and Judith Heumann worked for the US Department of Education. Many others founded and governed influential disability organizations, for example the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund. The activists often had to learn these new roles and expertise as they went along, not least as disabled people are in many cases thrown into activism by changes in circumstances or moments of social discrimination. They sometimes gained important support and insight from their connections with other movements, while extending these frames of references in turn through the unique focus on disability. Lacy (1998, p. 102), for instance, moved from anti-poverty programs to working for the Center for Independent Living; Kitty Cone (1996, p. 64) helped organize women’s movements. The third example of groundedness speaks to the central role of agency in oppressed groups utopianism. It highlights that criptopias do not just change the world but ‘bring about (or seek to bring about) new forms of normalization, desire, and subjectivity’ (Cooper, 2014, p. 5). They change the activists in the process of imagining an alternative world.

The practical criptopia outlined in this section differs from the typical example of a practical utopia, the communes of the 1960s. Sargent terms these ‘intentional communities’ and defines them as consisting of a ‘group of five or more adults and their children, if any, who come from more than one nuclear family and who have chosen to live together to enhance their shared values or for some other mutually agreed upon purpose’ (Sargent, 1994, p. 15). The practical criptopias meet the criterion that they are not just a matter of convenience, but sustain a communal normative stance centered on the worth of disabled people as human beings. However, their emphasis on integration into society and autonomy necessarily counters the idea of a separate and separated commune. In this regard we may usefully describe them with Davina Cooper as everyday utopias, ‘networks and spaces that perform regular daily life, in the global North, in a radically different fashion’ (Cooper, 2014, p. 2). Unlike Cooper’s everyday utopias, however, these everyday criptopias combine utopian everyday practices with an explicit focus on pressuring and transforming political and legal institutions—precisely because these institutions have such an immediate impact on disabled people’s lives and utopian impulse. The divergence is typical of the acting ‘as if’ of oppressed group’s utopianism, which helps rethink the utopian process from the perspective of disability and disabled people.

### --Sauce---2AC

#### Commitment to federal agencies spills over to broader anti-Trump resistance by finding commonality amongst the working class.

Eric Blanc 25. Assistant Professor of Labor at Rutgers. “Want to defeat Trump? Support unions.” 2/14/25. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2025/feb/14/trump-unions-fighting-back.

Can anybody stop Trumpism? Progressives are understandably worried. Though federal judges may temporarily pause some of the new administration’s most brazenly illegal executive orders, a hyper-conservative supreme court lies waiting in the wings. And looking ahead to 2028, it’s hard to feel hopeful about defeating Maga given that the Democratic party continues to hemorrhage working-class voters.

But there’s no need to despair. A powerful force in our society has the legitimacy, resources and leverage to turn things around: organized labor. Unions can beat back Donald Trump’s attacks, expose his sham populism, and – by uniting workers around their shared economic interests – help isolate his xenophobic scapegoating.

Rather than hibernate for the next four years, or limit ourselves to posting online about the president’s latest outrages, each of us can lend support to workers organizing at federal agencies, schools, Starbucks, Amazon, auto plants and beyond. Just as importantly, we can expand the labor movement’s reach by unionizing our own workplaces. It won’t be easy to counter Trump’s shock-and-awe offensive, or to fill the void left by the Democrats’ disarray. But it’s both necessary and possible.

Consider Trump’s latest moves. While he can appoint his cronies to head crucial civil service agencies, it is still unionized federal employees who make these institutions run. And their resistance to his power grab – through defying the new administration and enlisting public support – constitutes our best hope for protecting these services upon which millions of Americans depend.

Remember the government shutdown during the first Trump administration? By late January 2019, the crisis had already lasted a month, with no end in sight. But then the flight attendant leader Sara Nelson began making national waves by agitating for a general strike, stressing the public safety dangers of not paying the people whose labor makes air travel possible. On 25 January, various air traffic controllers refused to come into work, resulting in a temporary grounding of New York flights. Only a few hours later, Trump announced a deal to end the shutdown.

Resisting Maga’s barrage is crucial. But it would be a mistake to fight only on the right’s chosen political terrain. Trump’s achilles heel is that he won by speaking to the economic grievances of working people, but heads an administration of and for billionaires obsessed with maximizing their own profits and control. Centrist Democrats have generally been unable to expose this contradiction, as they too are often tied to big business. But combating corporate greed is the labor movement’s bread and butter, which is why unions in our era of rampant inequality are experiencing record-high levels of popularity, even among conservatives and independents.

The administration’s connection to the world’s richest men – Elon Musk, Jeff Bezos, Mark Zuckerberg – makes it easier for anti-Trump sentiment to channel into workplace battles. When Tesla factory workers unionize, or coders at X push back against their boss, this is now de facto a confrontation with the White House. By scaling up high-publicity union drives and strikes for economic dignity across the country, labor and its supporters can force politicians to show which side they’re really on.

Even labor struggles focused on economic issues can have dramatic political repercussions. Faced with Trump’s efforts to deprive workers of the right to unionize by kneecapping the National Labor Relations Board, every union drive is now on a collision course with the new regime. Moreover, since workplaces bring together people from a wide range of backgrounds and ideologies, union organizing requires listening to and persuading people who disagree with us, a skill sorely lacking among most progressives today. Effective persuasion happens not by haranguing or shaming others, but rather by finding points of commonality – often economic – around which working people can come together.

#### That’s key. The sum of individual commitments we take to federal workers dictates success of the movement.

Liz Shuler 25. BA, Oregon; President of the AFL-CIO; “AFL-CIO President on Trump’s First 100 Days: ‘The Labor Movement Does Not Fall in Line for Autocrats.’”

They’ve attacked the coalitions that are most equipped to fight back—and they have started with organized labor, because authoritarians always start with organized labor. They came immediately for our federal workforce: cutting funding that Congress appropriated. Firing workers with no process, lying about their performance. Trying to get other workers to quit.

When our unions fought back, with grievances and lawsuits, what we saw in response was the single biggest act of union-busting in American history. One million federal workers—illegally stripped of their collective bargaining rights. Moving to cancel their union contracts with the stroke of a pen. Recently saying to those who haven’t filed grievances yet: We’ll give you your rights and contracts back if you keep your mouths shut and fall in line.

This administration is missing something fundamental about our labor movement. We do not “fall in line” for autocrats. We know an attack on one of us is an attack on all of us. Today it’s our federal workers. Tomorrow it’s our state and local unions. And the day after that it is the basic rights and dignity of every working person in this country.

The question for us right now is the same as it’s been for every coalition in history that has stood up in a crisis of democracy. How do we build the mass movement? How do we create power when all the traditional levers of power are out of our control?

I stand here today representing 15 million working people, across 63 unions, in every sector of the economy. What I can tell you from talking to those workers, protesting with those workers, striking with those workers is that there is a common agenda that unites the vast majority of this country right now.

It’s our job to deliver that agenda, and it starts right now. Asking every American a very simple question: Are you better off now than you were 100 days ago?

Do you feel safer knowing that the people who inspect our food, and keep our water clean, and make sure our planes are flying in the sky have been fired from their jobs? Is life for you and your family easier now that the people who run our child care centers, and work at our Social Security offices, are not there anymore? Does it make sense to you that your dad, your mom, your loved one might get thrown off Medicare—so that billionaires get another tax cut they do not need?

The fact that Trump is underwater right now on every issue—inflation, the economy, taxation, even immigration—it does not happen by accident. It happens because we have been effectively sharing that message and building power.

The labor movement, alongside every movement represented in this room, teaches us: We can rewrite this country’s history if we have the will and the organizing strength to do so.

The standard at the turn of the 20th century was a 60-hour workweek until workers in Chicago and elsewhere organized for something better. Child labor was a permanent fixture of our economy until Mother Jones, and the newsboys, and Bread and Roses strike in Massachusetts rallied the country around reform. Discrimination in the workplace was the norm until the labor movement and civil rights movement came together, and fought for the Civil Rights Act and Fair Labor Standards Act.

Right now we have that kind of energy and enthusiasm at the grassroots level. We have tens of thousands showing up to rallies, and protests, and town halls who are ready to do something. We have entire communities coming out to protect their immigrant brothers and sisters. We have brave lawyers taking the fight to this administration winning in court, so that thousands of Americans can return to their jobs. We have people organizing together and forming unions in places we never have before, like the Deep South, saying, “If the government isn’t going to fight for me, or raise my minimum wage to a livable wage, screw it. I’ll stand with my co-workers and do it myself.”

This is the moment for all of us to work in common cause to connect ourselves to that agenda the vast majority of Americans are rallying around.

We don’t have to think [the] government is perfect, but we can all come together to defend the rights of our federal workers, knowing that we’re next in line.

We don’t have to pick a candidate for 2028, but we can all agree to demand more out of our politicians, when our rights and freedoms are under attack.

We don’t have to choose sides when it comes to the basic dignity and humanity of all people, including immigrants, trans and queer Americans, and those under direct attack from this administration.

Jen, you wrote something late last week that I want to close with, because I’ve been thinking about it every day since. You wrote: “Democracy does not defend itself. Nor can we expect politicians to save us from autocrats’ clutches. The decision to capitulate or to resist rests with each of us. The sum of all those decisions will determine if we succeed or fail.”

None of us on our own—as individuals or within our individual organizations—can defeat an autocracy or an oligarchy. But it’s up to all of us to work together, and create that virtuous cycle: Where we rise up and protest, politicians respond to that, because they see it is popular, where courage begets more courage and more people get involved.

When we do that, we’re doing something more than fighting back. We are building something new. We are building a movement that will go in and rewrite the rules, and bring dignity and fairness to all people. Let’s use this conference, this 100-day milestone as the moment to come together. To strategize, organize and start to create the kind of society we all want to live in. Thank you.

### AT: Humanism Bad---2AC

#### Anti-humanism is a self-fufilling prophecy.

Kieran Durkin 22. Lecturer at the University of York Department of Politics. “Adventures in the anti-humanist dialectic: Towards the reappropriation of humanism.” European Journal of Social Theory. June 28, 2022. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1368431021991775

Shifting the discussion to realm of politics, and to the problematic political positions that have tended to issue from anti-humanist discourse, we can follow Thompson again in noting that what Althusser tells as about structures is essentially what underpins any basic conservative world view, in which individuals tend to be viewed as fixed in rank, station, position and so on and governed by inexorable laws of various kinds (e.g. of the market, of nature etc.) (Thompson, 1981, p. 147). This is not to deny that structures do, of course, determine, or at least condition, social being; the criticism here is merely that the Althusserian position raises the level of any such determination (or conditioning) to near inviolable levels. The fact that Althusser’s work displays a notable affinity to – if it does not also function as an outright defence of – Stalinism (and where not Stalinism, then Maoism) is not incidental in this regard. His defence of a ‘class humanism’ – and the reduction of morality to ‘class morality’ – serves as little more than to confirm the complicity.

### Rights Good---2AC

#### Critiques of rights don’t assume labor law’s collectivity, but the aff is key to revitalize bargaining.

Michel Coutu et al. 23. Professor of labor law and legal sociology at the University of Montreal, L.L.D. in legal theory and legal sociology from the University of Laval. Ruth Dukes, professor of labor law and deputy director of research at the University of Glasgow School of Law. Gregor Murray, Ph.D. in business and industrial relations from the University of Warwick. "Labour Law and Industrial Relations: Toward Renewal?" *Industrial Relations*, 78(4), 12-13.

Sixth, the new critical labour studies have increasingly come to broaden and challenge traditional industrial relations scholarship. In the U.K., both Hyman (1978) and Edwards (1986) laid the foundations for a critical political economy of the power asymmetries in the work relationship, due to the twin forces of subordination and consent inherent in that relationship. Piore and Safford (2006: 321-322) in the U.S. specifically made a link with the earliest industrial relations scholarship. They argued that what distinguishes industrial relations from most other scholarly endeavours is a defining commitment “to those actors and institutions that struggle to find a voice and provide a vehicle for the less powerful, the oppressed, the under-represented, and the socially stigmatized in industrial society” (2006: 321-322). Whereas trade unions and collective bargaining once provided this vehicle, as organized around economic identities, industrial relations must henceforth recognize new institutions, new forms and new tools. Recently, seeking to infuse industrial relations scholarship with a long tradition of labour studies, Schulze-Cleven and Vachon (2022) identified its defining features: normative focus on people’s struggles; importance of interdisciplinarity; and upholding of workers’ rights with a view to helping reassert the value of both work and workers. This approach is also echoed by the CRIMT Partnership Project Institutional Experimentation for Better Work, which focuses on organizational and institutional experimentation and actor resilience and which aims to develop new institutional solutions to the problems and uncertainties actors in the world of work face (Ferreras et al., 2020; Murray et al., 2020; Gesualdi-Fecteau et al., 2023).

From these diverse contributions, the seeds of renewal would appear to lie in an expansion of the boundaries of the field to encompass all aspects of work, by rethinking institutional transformations, by reaffirming their original normative values and by committing to interdisciplinary empirical research.

Labour Law. The paradox of labour law is illustrated by Weil’s (2014) analysis of the fissuring of employment in large firms. Work arrangements are now so variegated that neither classic collectivist solutions nor new iterations of individual employment law can adequately ensure some of the classic protective functions of labour law. While trends toward globalization and deindustrialization have certainly played out differently in different national contexts, they have everywhere brought markets and market rationalities into spheres that were previously organized in other ways. Although labour law scholars have criticized governments for political use of the idea that “there is no alternative” to globalization and have shown that nation states are themselves the authors of that narrative, they have not, for the most part, challenged the essentials of the globalist project. In some jurisdictions, there has been a fairly widespread and discernable change in approach, from the study of labour law as the law of work to the study of those laws that regulate labour markets, including laws on social welfare and immigration (Lamarche, 2021). Some scholars have used a “market” framing of their field of study to highlight the importance of political economy to developments in work relations and labour law (Tucker, 2019). Citing political economy and legal scholarship, they have called into question matters that tended in the past to be taken as read; for example, the treatment in law of some work as paid employment and other work (domestic and reproductive labour) as an unpaid and untaxed contribution to the household (Fudge, 2011; Blackett, 2019).

More generally, there has been a reassessment of the creation of labour markets by law and other social norms—not only labour law but also social welfare, immigration and, of course, private law (Deakin and Wilkinson, 2005). In contrast to their postwar counterparts, at least some scholars have now placed a rather clearer emphasis on the contingency of private law and labour law rules, treating the former not as a pre-existing field in which labour law has then intervened, but rather as a field embodying in itself contestable political judgments on how to define and assign privileges, powers and entitlements (Klare, 1977; 2002). An important task for scholars is then to identify the distributive consequences of all market-constituting rules—private law, labour law, social welfare law—and to consider how they vary between jurisdictions in order to identify potential paths to achieving particular goals (Klare, 1982).

As trade unions become progressively weaker, and as the scope of collective bargaining shrinks, labour law reforms have sought, in several jurisdictions, to expand the realm of individual labour rights. The normative twist to the virtues of labour market flexibility used to be that labour law had long been a bulwark against market forces and the asymmetries of the employment relationship (Deakin and Wilkinson, 2005). With neoliberalism, its normative power has become aligned with such market asymmetries. Arthurs’ (1996) thunderous injunctions that labour law could henceforth proceed without the state was not an ode to legal pluralism but rather a trenchant reading of the impact of neoliberalism’s corrosive effect on the protective functions of labour law. As labour law becomes narrower in scope, its emancipatory role has been ~~paralyzed~~ [neutralized]. Indeed, as argued by Arthurs (2013), its functions have even been transformed into their antitheses —instruments for the subordination of workers to an individualistic (capitalistic) labour order.

### AT: War---2AC

#### War is nit intertwined. No root cause.

#### Agrees war is bad.

#### No environmentalism link. Not excluded from environmentalist practices and not the aff.

#### Says rerely discussed. Perm.

### AT: Extinction Link---2AC

#### No extinction link. Voting aff doesn’t require making choices between different groups of people since extinction definitionally affects everyone. We also never endorsed util: you can vote aff as a recognition that extinction is a bad consequence without having to quantify people’s value.

#### Colebrook’s slippage between literal and non-literal extinction reproduces human exceptionalism and bioconservativism.

Zoltán Boldizsár Simon 20. Research Fellow at Bielefeld University, former assistant professor at Leiden University and Visiting Fellow at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science “Epochal Thinking and Anthropogenic Catastrophe,” The Epochal Event: Transformations in the Entangled Human, Technological, and Natural Worlds, Chapter 4, pp. 54-55

In Colebrook’s classification, human self-extinction refers to the annihilation of certain attributes that appear as specifically human and not to the discontinuation of the existence of biologically defined humans. It seems that human self-extinction can mean extinction in a cultural sense; only the extinction of other species must be biological. Let’s bracket the fact that reserving the privilege for humans to go extinct merely by virtue of losing certain attributes may easily come out as human exceptionalism even according to Colebrook’s own critical humanities sensibility. More important to note at this point is that such non-literal sense of human self-extinction also underpins debates on human enhancement and on transhumanist prospects. In this context, expressing anxiety about the prospect of enhancement resulting in the loss of certain qualities, virtues, and subjectivities previously attributed to being human is a position usually associated with bioconservativism.Footnote 2

#### Existential crisis inevitably generates violence on that level---only by positing collective, policy-based risk management mitigates it.

Erin Gallay et al. 22. Reseach Program Manager, School of Human Ecology, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Dr. Miriam Furlan Brighente, PhD, Doctoral Fellow, Teacher Education, Eastern Michigan University; Dr. Constance Flanagan, Vaughan Bascom Professor, Human Ecology, University of Wisconsin–Madison School; Ethan Lowenstein, Director, Southeast Michigan Stewardship Coalition, "Place-Based Civic Science—Collective Environmental Action and Solidarity for Eco-Resilience," Association for Child and Adolescent Mental Health, Vol. 27, Issue 1, February 2022, Wiley Online Library. [edited for readability]

Globally, children and young people (CYP) experience direct and indirect psychosocial impacts of ecological crises, including eco-anxiety (Marks et al., 2021; Sanson & Burke, 2020). Such eco- anxiety is a reasonable reaction to awareness of the crisis, worries about the current state and future of the planet, and the potential of an unlivable future (Marks et al., 2021; Patel et al., 2021).

Within the United States, research specifically on the mental health effects of climate change on Black, Indigenous and People of Color (BIPOC) CYP is sparse (Patel et al., 2021). However, there is every reason to presume that youth of color from marginalized communities would experience psychosocial effects when confronted with environmental crises, even if they don’t name it as eco-anxiety.

The question for educators is how to enable CYP [people] to minimize stress while facing these challenges, which raises ethical issues for educators working with CYP from minoritized communities for whom the threat of an “unlivable future” is not new (Mitchell & Chaudhury, 2020; Ray, 2021). Not only do BIPOC youth shoulder a disproportionate burden of the impacts of environmental issues, they also deal with relentless stressors associated with racism, police brutality, poverty, and failing educational systems. The ethical dilemma for educators is how to prepare them to deal with the climate crisis without compounding the anxieties of their everyday lives.

In this paper we explore how place-based civic science (PBCS) can educate minoritized youth about environmental challenges while building resilience to face those challenges. We report on what students learn in PBCS projects based on studies conducted over the past seven years in a collaboration between a research university and a regional coalition of teachers and adults from local community-based organizations. The projects emphasized egalitarian partnerships between student teams, teachers, and community partners who studied and acted on local environmental issues, then shared their work in public venues. We drew on qualitative data to investigate how collective learning/action through PBCS may enable marginalized students to understand that they do not face environmental challenges alone and build feelings of efficacy and hope, as well as how this pedagogy might hold promise as one effective way to circumvent eco-anxiety.

PBCS Pedagogy

In PBCS, science is a public good that students and adult partners use to make informed decisions to benefit their communities (Bäckstrand, 2003; Garlick & Levine, 2017). PBCS provides particular benefits for youth who have been marginalized in science (Bang, Warren, Rosebery, & Medin, 2012) and civic education practice (Kahne & Middaugh, 2009). The fact that youth are agents of change dealing with the environmental burdens their communities face means that issues of environmental and social justice will be aired (Radbourne, 2016). At the same time the acts of working in and contributing to their own community through PBCS has been positively associated with youths’ socioemotional development including feelings of agency, connection and social capital (Marckini-Polk, Jessup, & Whitmore, 2016). By supporting social and emotional learning (SEL) PBCS can contribute to students’ overall psychological strengths that may enable them to understand and manage emotions associated with awareness of the climate catastrophe.

Action to avoid distress

Adults cannot shield youth from knowledge of environmental crises but they can reduce youths’ feelings of fear and hopelessness by balancing knowledge with information about and opportunities to engage with others to reduce risks and mitigate environmental harms (Acton & Saxe, 2020; Trott, 2019; Vega, 2019; Wals, 2017). In fact, opportunities for agency and action to address and mitigate stressors are features known to protect against mental health problems (Marks et al., 2021; Sanson & Burke, 2020). It is not surprising, then, that in his meta-analysis Pihkala (2020) found that almost all eco-anxiety scholars emphasize the need for action in education and recommend that programs provide opportunities for young people to participate in problem-solving. If agency and opportunities to contribute to combating environmental degradation can serve as psychological protections (Marks et al., 2021; Sanson & Burke, 2020) it follows that teaching CYP the skills for action, while facilitating experiences for them to do something concrete to address these issues, can enhance their sense of control.

Collective engagement

In environmental education, the focus on what CYP can do once they are aware of human impact has typically emphasized individual conservation behaviors (Chawla, 2020). However, focusing exclusively on individual action can actually harm mental well-being. Specifically, individuals who believe it is urgent to act and are aware that the problem is larger than they alone can solve, often feel their actions are inadequate (Chawla, 2020; Ojala, 2013). Focusing solely on individual actions can also engender a “hero” identity that is impossible to maintain and can lead to burnout (Vega, 2019). For these reasons scholars concerned about eco-anxiety typically emphasize the need for both individual and collective forms of action (Pihkala, 2020; Rousell & Cutter-Mackenzie-Knowles, 2019; Trott, 2019). In contrast to the unrealistic views of what individuals can accomplish on their own, collective action and engagement can provide CYP [people] with the feeling that ‘we are all in this together and are working collectively to do something about it’.

Finding peer support and building community with others

The need to belong to something larger than oneself is a fundamental human motivation (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). So it is not surprising that to avoid/combat eco-anxiety, scholars recommend building supportive environments that offer emotional support, provide a sense of community, and enable participants’ views to be heard and respected (Marks et al., 2021; Pihkala, 2020; Sanson & Burke, 2020; Wals, 2017). Research on urban youth engaged in PBCS projects documents the particular benefits of the community environmental contributions CYP are making for their sense of identification with their community (Delia & Krasny, 2017; Flanagan & Gallay, 2014). By engaging in collective environmental action with teams of peers and older generations, youth participating in such projects gain the social trust that Chawla (2020) contends is a pathway toward constructive responses that enable CYP [people] to cope with environmental degradation (Trott, 2019).

Sense of hope and fun

Clayton (2018) has found that focusing on positive emotions helps maintain resilience when facing the threats of climate change. Positive emotions also are invoked by Pihkala (2020) who in a meta- analysis concluded that the responsive use of humor helps strengthen resilience and that “opportunities should be given for joy” (p. 25). Finally, communications scholars emphasize that effective climate communication with the public should balance constructive doubt (e.g., the reality of the threat) with constructive hope (Marlon et al., 2019).

Taken together, these studies suggest that to responsibly engage youth in addressing the degradation of the environment, it is important that pedagogical spaces be permeated by joy and hope (Freire, 1998) and build in "emotionally light" teaching and learning experiences where students feel recognized by the group and have fun doing the work. When CYP have their basic human needs for safety, belonging, and dignity met (Maslow, 1943), they should be better prepared to think about and address "emotionally heavy" topics like climate change.

Methods

Sample

In the PBCS model discussed in this paper, students learned about environmental issues of public consequence and worked with others to do something about them, with an emphasis on interdependence and the links between environmental and human health and well-being. This model links schools with community partners and science with civic action. Students learned core content and worked collectively to apply what they learned to address environmental issues threatening their communities.

All projects were part of the Southeast Michigan Stewardship Coalition (SEMIS), a regional coalition of place-based stewardship education (PBSE) that recruits teachers and adult community partners to engage students in PBSE. Data were drawn from a long-term body of work (2014–2020) documenting what students learn from participating in this model of PBSE, which we refer to as PBCS projects. In this paper, we draw from the qualitative responses of students on what they learned from participating in these projects. We analyzed (a) written reflections for all students participating in these projects; (b) written reflections for a subset of these students who participated in an annual community forum in which they presented their work; and (c) recorded public presentations from one PBCS project focused on climate resiliency. All students attended one of seven schools in two urban metropolitan areas, serving students from low-income and working-class families, 76% - 86% of whom were eligible for free and reduced-cost lunch.1 Data were collected from 486 6th–12th graders (ages 12–18), the majority of whom (76%) were high school students (9th–12th grade). Based on student self-reports, 59% identified as Black, 17% Latinx, 6% White, 1% Asian, 14% mixed race/ethnicity, and 3% other. Fifty-three percent of our participants identified as female, 45% identified as male, 1% identified with another gender identity and the rest chose not to answer.

Student PBCS projects took place over the course of a semester or year, as part of their regular school based classes led by teachers (N = 11) who self-selected into the SEMIS Coalition, with project content guided by teachers in roughly half of the projects, and student driven in the other projects. Students who participated in the community forum were selected by their teachers to represent their class’s work in this public forum, while students participating in the public presentations we analyzed self-selected into the conference presentations.

The content of student projects discussed in this paper included students’ reclaiming abandoned buildings and converting the land into public park spaces, applying green infrastructure solutions to reduce stormwater runoff, cataloging ecosystem services and implementing tree plantings, addressing food injustice and sustainable farming practices through community gardens, investigating and educating community members on air quality and the impacts of pollution from nearby industry, conducting school energy audits and investigating solar energy systems, and addressing community resiliency in the face of climate change.

Measures

Students who participated in SEMIS projects from 2014–2019 completed open-ended reflective essays about their work and learning after their projects. We analyzed students’ responses (N = 452) to one of the following reflection prompts: “Was there anything you learned in the project that you could use to help your community (or people in your community)?” and to “[Tell us] why = you think the work you did in the [project specific] project was important – What did you learn about your community, other people or species in your community or the environment from the work you did?, What did you learn about what kids can do to solve environmental problems in their communities?”

Additionally, we analyzed the reflections of a subset of students (N = 27) who participated in the community forum event, addressing prompts specific to this experience: “How did it feel to represent the work that your class did?, What was it like for you to share your work with other students and adults?, What was it like coming together with students from different schools at a community forum like this?” Finally, we analyzed two student led recorded public conference presentations (N=7) intended to showcase student experiences and learning from their projects.

Analyses

Students’ Written Reflections. The initial purpose of the body of work reported in this paper was to explore students’ learning and dispositions associated with their participation in civic science projects rather than to analyze PBCS as an intervention to diminish eco-anxiety. To analyze students’ reflections one of the paper’s authors and graduate student assistants used an inductive approach to generate an initial list of emerging substantive categories, including those relevant to this paper: youth/adult relationships/working in teams, civic engagement, students working collectively, self-identification as an expert, recognition by the community, sense of agency/efficacy, an understanding of the positive or negative impacts people can have on the environment, and awareness of environmental protection. A total of 26 categories captured all of the students’ responses across the studies reported here (see Gallay, Pykett, Smallwood, & Flanagan, 2020 and Gallay, Flanagan, & Parker, 2021 for additional details). Each reflective essay could be assigned up to eight codes and thus individual students’ responses were counted in more than one coding category. Based on assignment of responses to the set of categories noted above, a coding agreement rate of 87% was achieved. The authors of this paper used a deductive approach within the 26 discrete codes to categorize what students said they learned, collapsing some of the original 26 codes into seven themes relevant to this paper. Table 1 summarizes these seven categories and the percentage of responses coded in each category.

Table 1. Coding categories and descriptions

[Figure omitted]

Students’ recorded public presentations. Recordings of the two public presentations were coded by the second author through a sequence of: watching recordings, reading the video transcripts, writing memos on emerging themes, and categorizing responses to capture aspects of resilience and protection from eco-anxiety, following the seven relevant themes coded for in the analysis of written reflections.

Results

We report here on students’ responses that point to the sense of efficacy and resilience gained through these projects, the knowledge gained of humans’ positive and negative impact on the environment, and the pedagogical practices that helped build the skills necessary to face and address environmental problems.2

Awareness of negative human impact

As might be expected in projects where students address environmental problems in their communities, many students’ responses referenced an understanding of the ways that people’s actions harm the environment. This included both individual behaviors, “People pollute our lakes or throw junk in the rivers” and institutional or systemic impacts, “I learned what the incinerator is and how harmful it is to the earth.”

While students noted that their participation in these civic science projects made them aware of human inaction (“Pollution can be stopped by us people, but we choose not to”) and intentional harmful behavior, such references did not include language indicating anxiety or distress. Rather the lack of care shown by others was viewed as a cause for concern, but also as a call to action: “Now, I can inform people of how bad our air is and why it’s so bad. Maybe if more people know, we can all help out our earth and make it better.” Awareness of issues as big as climate change were connected with solutions as captured in the following quote: “We learned about the use of solar panels… The use of solar panels will save the world in its time of crisis (global warming)… [We’re] coming close to a time when global warming has an effect a lot. Places are flooding some more frequently than other. Yet, if we get in front of this problem/get ahead of it will succeed and beat this problem.”

Agency and efficacy

Students invoked themes of agency and efficacy in four of the coding categories: Efficacy/Empowerment /Agency; Collective Nature of Work/Need/Ability; Generativity/Leadership; and Civic Learning and Action. Many students mentioned the importance of combining learning about environmental issues with action to address them. For example, one student observed: “People should do something instead of just learning about it.”

Some students said the connection of projects to their own experiences and knowing others directly impacted by the issues was important to their sense of efficacy: "We talked a lot about how we would experience lots of flooding in our basements in one night. We basically brought our own personal stories to it because that makes it even more personal to you, and it makes it more effective to be engaged.” Student responses also indicated that youth gain a sense of agency by doing something to address the problems their communities face. As evident in the following student’s response, some youth mention their potential as community leaders, which may be especially empowering for minoritized youth who have been marginalized from the mainstream: “I learned to be a leader… I learned about how the incinerator and [oil refinery] plant affect our health and community… I learned that I should stand up when someone or something is threatening my community and health.”

Agency, as reflected in students’ responses, transferred to their ability to be exemplars for others in the community. One student shared that the program changed how she engages family and friends: "In class we learned about people (some kids) who are solving community problems. When we talk about this to our families and friends they become more aware about how they can help the environment.” Additionally, some students showcased how this awareness of their newfound expertise extended to their capacity to lead others: “It motivates people. If people see what you do, they will come together- family, relatives, etc., come together…. I have a powerful voice. I want to be a spokesperson- form a group or an organization.” Insofar as the periods of childhood and youth are formative, the efficacy students feel from having a voice in addressing environmental problems can be a foundation for the future roles they envision, as noted in the following student’s quote: “I learned that if there is a problem, speaking up about it can go a long way, with this knowledge and enough people on my side, I would have the potential to tackle some big issues.”

Feelings of efficacy also were revealed through an awareness of their ability as young people to effect change: “I learned kids can do just as much or even more than adults when it comes to bettering their community seeming as though the community will ultimately thrive off the work the ‘kids’ end up doing.” Others brought up their agency in relationships with people in power, such as the student responding “You can get more powerful people involved. I mean we’re just teens right now. We have a little bit of power but there’s more people who have higher power than us. We can get them to come join us. I mean like strength in numbers.”

Some references to “kids’ power” alluded to the capacities of CYP to reach out to and work with others: “It was important because it shows that kids know about problems and they can work with others… I think people now know how they can change environmental problems with others.”

Echoing the comments of researchers who study eco-anxiety, students expressed the positive feelings they gained from experiencing agency via their contributions to their community: “I feel good about doing something like that…it felt like I was like a great person for helping out something.”

Membership, solidarity and connection

As we have pointed out, students accomplished their civic science projects through teamwork with peers and in collaboration with adult community partners. However, neither students’ attention nor the reflection prompts specifically focused on collaboration, groups or teamwork. So it was notable that, when students were asked to reflect on what they learned, more than 21% of the responses mentioned that they learned something about being a member of groups – either feelings of solidarity with their peers or team and/or the partnership between their class and the adult community partners that provided a context where they felt heard.

For some, the bonds felt through the work expanded to identification with other groups larger than themselves such as the following student who said that the project was “Where I met everybody and that’s how I got really, really into the school and deep in my roots and out into the community.” Others addressed how they gained a sense of solidarity with peers working toward shared goals, because of the collective nature of the work: “After this project I feel closer more connected to my class. We didn't work individual. We worked as a team. What I learned through this project is that my class isn't just a class [we’re] a family.”

In students’ written reflections collected after they presented at the community forum, responses indicated the potential of such experiences for youth gaining a larger sense of solidarity as articulated in the following reflection: “Seeing kids with similar problems to the ones I have in my community made an impact on me because for a second I thought the major environmental problems were only in my area but now I realize they are everywhere.” This knowledge can help students identify with being part of a movement with a larger purpose, and realize that they are not alone in addressing environmental challenges. Student responses also referenced the egalitarian partnerships they experienced with their teachers and adult community educators. One student noted that the projects created the opportunity to listen to adults speak about climate change and also have their own voices heard and respected: “We got to just ask questions without feeling judged or feeling stupid like for not knowing it… So we basically got to learn and from each other too.” Another addressed the importance of these relationships in creating a supportive space for students: "It wasn't like they [adult leaders] were just strangers coming in and we wouldn't really like speak a word to them… We would all say hello and be able to have a natural conversation” Student comments also reflected on relationships for pedagogical practice. In response to a question during a public presentation about what advice youth have for teachers who implement this kind of civic science work, one student replied that their leaders "Gave us a lot of space to contribute with our thoughts and opinions. They would constantly ask questions and 'how do you feel about this? How do you go about changing that'? So I thought that was really good and important.”

Hope from positive human impact, fun, joy, and humor

The realization that they were part of a larger community dedicated to protecting the natural environment was articulated in some students’ reflections as a reason for optimism and hope. For many, participating in these PBCS projects was their first exposure to what others were doing to address environmental issues: “I didn't really think a lot of people focused on like, the environment how the water stays clean, ways to help stop floods and all that stuff… I didn't think so many people focused on that and I didn't think people were actually trying to do something about the problem.” In some cases, this gave students a positive view of their community and fellow citizens, as one noted “I learned that my community wants to keep our environment and people safe and healthy. My community wants to help and protect people that have [diseases] like asthma, cancer, and more. My community wants to help the plants and animals and humans to have water, a home, and food.” This larger sense of community was often heard in students’ reflections about participating in the community forum. As one student noted, the event nurtured an awareness that their projects and work were part of a larger collective environmental effort: “I learned that a lot more people care about the community than I thought before. And that there are organizations that have youth talk and express how they feel and set their voice out there to be heard to all that will listen.”

Another student exemplifies the reinforcement and optimism such knowledge can bring:

"I’m actually like relieved from this whole experience that it’s like, I know that it’s out there. Like even with the conference that we had yesterday, this is one big relief for me. Like now that I know that there’s kids out there… It just made me happy cause it’s like, ‘thank you’ that there’s kids that’s out there that’s actually aiming for something with a purpose behind it. That’s really a big thing for me."

In reflecting on the community forum experience, students mentioned a myriad of positive feelings, such as the sense of personal empowerment and respect and inspiration felt for peers, as expressed in the following: “It felt empowering to teach others and to hear what others had to say. The students I watched present have given and will give so much to their community… I was not aware of how much of an impact this made and how big of a deal it was.” For many, the experience of publicly speaking about their work helped them feel recognized and heard: “It also made me feel good that I could actually inspire someone or somebody to change their ways and help. Also to know other people felt the way I felt.” Other students articulated that this experience helped them feel a sense of hope for the future “Coming together from different schools like this makes me feel like that everyone can work together and really take things to another level.”

For some, the group solidarity and action in these PBCS projects even brought a sense of joy from working together to address community concerns: “It was fun for me. My experience … was awesome because I got to meet like, I got to get closer to people that I would never talk to. And, once we got developed that bond … It was more open for everybody to help each other out. So, it was fun to work with people.”

The sense that environmental civic engagement itself is something to be enjoyed, was mentioned in one student’s reflection: “It’s like, you can do way more stuff and have fun with it. I mean, you don’t always have to go to the parties or go out and stuff. You can do other stuff in the community like how we are doing this project. It’s fun.” Having fun as a team and monitoring their team’s emotions was summarized by this last student: "We would talk about how we were feeling according to the weather. So if we think sad or tired is cloudy. It was really fun." Later, this same youth suggested that students should have more free time in classrooms to know all the classmates so that they "can be comfortable with each other and have fun making memories."

Discussion

To build resistance against climate anxiety, CYP [people] need opportunities to act to minimize the crisis in solidarity with others who validate them and share a sense of hope that their collective work can make a difference (Marks et al., 2021). We believe that the sense of agency and efficacy, capacities to work in teams, and to have fun in the process that students articulated as learnings from these civic science projects points to the potential of this model for CYP to build resilience and avoid distress when confronting environmental issues. The elements of the PBCS model we have outlined may be especially important in educational programs with marginalized groups, for whom the threat of an “unlivable future” is not new (Ray, 2021).

The very essence of civic science is that ordinary citizens have a voice in deciding how to mitigate environmental harm, an element needed in climate change education (Filho & Hemstock, 2019; Rousell & Cutter-Mackenzie-Knowles, 2019). As researchers studying eco-anxiety have cautioned, learning about climate change without opportunities to do something can make the enormity of the crisis overwhelming and thus contribute to anxiety and worry (Trott, 2019; Wals, 2017). Students’ responses were replete with examples of the sense of empowerment they gained through having a voice and acting in ways that benefitted their communities.

Because the enormity of the climate crisis can be overwhelming when faced alone, the team structure (with peers and across generations with community partners) of these civic science projects is another element that should deflect eco-anxiety by building trust in the collective agency of their community to tackle even large-scale problems (Chawla, 2020).

That team element was key to students’ social–emotional learning and identity formation: students noted how much their group formed an identity through the work, how they got to know one another, and how these experiences of group formation made them feel heard and appreciated. The connections that CYP forged with organizations in the broader community also helped to build a positive outlook for solving environmental dilemmas. The egalitarian structure of the intergenerational partnerships reduced power asymmetries and enabled students to speak up and be heard.

Finally, through collective action with their team, students gained a sense of optimism and hope for the future. Learning to work with others toward the goal of sustaining their shared environment builds social trust, which is critical for constructive hope in the face of climate change (Ojala, 2017), supports further action and helps people to be emotionally resilient (Clayton, 2018; Marlon et al., 2019).

Limitations and implications for further research

The studies this paper is based on were not framed around eco-anxiety and we do not have direct evidence that participation in these projects reduced distress. There is little research on the mental health effects of climate change on BIPOC young people (Patel et al., 2021) and future research should proceed cautiously in light of the potential compounding effects of eco-anxiety added to the challenges these youth face on a daily basis. Although students did not mention distress in their reflections, the fact that many mentioned negative human impact suggests that they could have felt some negative emotions. Future studies using open-ended formats could incorporate interviews with subgroups to probe whether negative emotions accompany awareness of the harm done by humans. Further, quantitative studies with more representative samples are needed to determine the degree to which the elements of PBCS outlined here could be effective in minimizing eco-anxiety with different groups of CYP. Finally, although the participants were from minoritized communities, the study was conducted in North America.

Future studies should assess whether civic science pedagogies might be impactful in the majority world.

Conclusion

In this article, we explore place-based civic science as a pedagogy for engaging CYP [people] from marginalized communities in learning about and addressing the climate crisis and other environmental degradation. It is a fact that CYP [people] are growing up in a world where they will have to face these challenges. These realities put young people at risk for anxiety and depression. We argue that to avoid distress, educational interventions should include opportunities to engage youth in environmental understanding and action in collaborative group settings that involve teamwork, a sense of solidarity, and a feeling that they are part of a group with a purpose that is larger than themselves. Our work suggests that CYP are capable of dealing with environmental problems as long as they see that they can be effective in collective action with fellow stakeholders and that a better environmental future is possible.

### Alt---2AC

#### Alt fails. Trump cracks down on resistance.

**The role of the judge is to decide who did the better debating. anything else is self-serving and arbitrary. we'll impact turn the distinction between structure and procedure: the entire premise of disability advocacy is that procedural improvement and reforms can remedy overarching structural societal flawds**

#### Epistemic, private actor, and international fiat is a voting issue. Anything else allows them to fiat world peace and elides discussions over the logistics of organizing.