# Notes

#### Needs additional method work explaining how we combat state surveillance in the inner-city. Research terms to include might be “Racial Realism” and Loïc Wacquant writes a lot about ‘urban outcast’ that this author cites heavily.

#### Any questions feel free to ask!

 “When the average minimum wage is $5.15

You best believe you've got to find a new grind to get C.R.E.A.M

The white unemployment rate? It's nearly more than triple for black

Some front-liners got their gun in your back

Bubbling crack, jewel theft and robbery to combat poverty

And end up in the global jail economy

Stiffer stipulations attached to each sentence

Budget cutbacks but increased police presence

And even if you get out of prison still living

Join the other 5 million under state supervision

This is business: no faces, just lines and statistics

From your phone, your zip code to S-S-I digits

The system break man, child, and women into figures

2 columns for "who is" and "who ain't niggas"

Numbers is hard and real and they never have feelings

But you push too hard, even numbers got limits

Why did one straw break the camel's back?

Here's the secret

The million other straws underneath it: it's all mathematics”

– Yasiin Bey/Mos Def

# Deathscapes 1AC

### We Begin: in the Ghetto

#### First, born into poverty maintained by the anti-black neoliberal system through the privatization of social services requires constant state surveillance from the womb to the tomb which has exacerbated the race-class divide in America

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

In conclusion, black youth in America are no longer seen as a social investment but a liability. The poor black youth who enter an educational institution are perceived as a threat before they even enter the walls of a school as the color of their skin create negative perceptions in the people who are supposed to care about them the most. We witness the practices of necropolitics through the behavior and actions from the neoliberal leviathan in the creation of a social death from both welfare to work, the prison and the production of human zombies because of the poverty management function of the urban school for black and brown youth. Students who come from low-income housing in communities with extreme poverty are viewed as suspicious and potentially dangerous as certain neighborhoods have reputations that others do not. In 64 Chicago, there are usually negative reputations that come with living in a particular community, and because students come from such adverse environments, it only makes sense that we contain, and isolate these children from the mainstream, for the potential threat they serve to the establishment and the accumulation of capital. Administrators and security officers see students coming from low-income neighborhoods, and say, "Oh, Dominique comes from ‘that’ neighborhood,” therefore, we believe we need more security as he is potentially dangerous or criminal in his behaviors and dispositions. This perception happens before a child walks into kindergarten (Ferguson, 2000; Hirschfeld, 2008). Society views poor black kids not as the innocent children and/or babies like white children but as potential inmates or low-wage income workers in the ever-demanding service industry. The capitalist cannot acquire capital from people who live in subsidized housing, and receive subsidize food. As the public is sold to private interest and corporations, these people become increasingly disposable as the social contract and the social safety net become systematically and methodically eroded by neoliberalism and reinforced by racial domination. Poor black kids scare the hell out of middle-class families who would enjoy spending their capital in shopping centers, upscale retail stores, movie theaters, and expensive niche food markets8 . As people in power see this, they make it difficult for low-income youth to walkabout the public making it psychologically impossible to feel welcome in public environments and while instituting curfews thereby limiting the amount of time they spent outside their homes and small communities. Although these policies, behaviors, and practices may impact working and poor youth, white youth too, they are indirect casualties in the neverending war against poor black bodies in public spaces (Alexander, 2012; Giroux, 2013; Lipman, 2013). If we return full circle to the arguments discussed throughout this paper, we can now see 8 Trader Joes, Whole Foods, and Treasure Island are proper examples. 65 why black youth attend schools behind gates, barricades, 24-hour security, hyper surveillance and postmodern instruments of control from womb to tomb.

#### Hypersurveillance technologies see our every move all day and every day as if the constant police presence wasn’t enough for the authoritarian punitive neoliberal leviathan

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

My argument making connections to the main thesis of the this paper illustrating the relationship between workfare, prisonfare, and the deathscapes is supported by the NYCLU (New York Civil Liberties Union) report which compares one map illustrating neighborhoods where police most frequently stopped and frisked school-age youth with another map illustrating rates of suspension by zip code: Students who live in neighborhoods that have high rates of stop-and-frisk are more likely to be suspended than students who live in low stop-and-frisk zones, regardless of where they go to school,’ explains Lieberman… In New York City, children in certain neighborhoods are subject to the same aggressive police tactics that dictate daily life in their broader communities The NYCLU report paints a picture of communities whose young residents are subjects of police control whether they are in school or on the streets, and whose most vulnerable young people are targeted rather than supported (italics added Knefel, 2013, November 7). Students are subjected to control either in school or in the streets, meaning their bodies are permanently subjected to extensive security and law enforcement twenty-four hours a day. Means (2013) states is it impossible not to notice the dozens of police surveillance cameras that are part of the hyper-modern technologic urban landscape that occupies the lives of poor residents of color in urban city cores. The gaze of law enforcement is virtually Godly in its supervision of black populations, along with police persistence, CCTV, and hyper-surveillance instruments now replace God as having all three attributes of divinity: being all knowing (omniscient), all seeing (omnipresence), and all powerful (omnipotent). Overall, whomever one worships in these communities should be jealous of the power the police state has over individual lives as occupied territories. On entering the school, one is greeted by uniformed security guards, armed police in bulletproof vest, airport style x-ray screeners, scanning wands, and metal detectors. Inside the school, metal cages on the windows, steel cages over the door…cages expand during ‘lockdowns’ ubiquitous surveillance cameras, and dim fluorescent lit hallways-all conjure prison aesthetics…When visiting CHS in the morning one will find two lines on opposite ends of the building one of the female students and the other of the male students (Means, 2013, pp. 59-90). For the youth in this school, analogous to how the authoritarian punitive neoliberal leviathan subjects poor youth of color in their communities equals, “ a jail because it is all locked up” (Dinzey-Flores, 2006, p. 8) or as another student in Dinzey-Flores study quotes “my apartment is a jail because there are grates on all sides in the first floor” (p. 8). There is a sense of “fortressing” that distinguishes both academic institutions and housing situations for low-income youth of color (Brown, 2005; Dinzey-Flores, 2006,). What draws these two landscapes together is the conscious feeling that youth are “contained, confined, restricted and monitored in a space that does not feel like their place” (italics added Brown, 2005, p. 277). Students who attend similar schools have no sense of ownership as public schools in the “hyperghetto have similarly deteriorated to the point where they operate in a manner of institutions of confinement whose primary mission is not to educate but to ensure ‘custody and control’” (Wacquant, 2001, p. 108). Agreeing with Means, Wacquant (2001) argues, “the main purpose of these school is to simply ‘neutralize’ youth [they] consider unworthy and unruly” (p. 118). The “prison aesthetics that appear in urban schools fulfill the agenda of domesticating these youth in a carceral atmosphere to become accustomed to the constant presence of armed guards in uniforms in the lobbies, corridors, cafeteria and playground” (p. 108) to the “demeanor, tactics and interactive style of the correctional officers whom many of them are bound to encounter shortly after their school days are over” (p. 108). An argument can be made that students who attend low-income high schools are situated in spaces of struggle against a post-apocalyptic future pre-ordained from birth. I believe that students understand fully after twelve years of scripted lessons, simplified rote memory call and response curriculum, vocational preparation courses, ancient equipment and textbooks, few college preparatory electives, (under) unqualified teachers and administrators, no access to libraries, computers that they are being prepared and conditioned to encounter a form of death in their future(Giroux, 2008, 2013; Sithole, 2014).

#### And, these deathscapes are zones of abandonment that violently extract wealth from black communities—the anti-black surveillance state has maintained the coherence of white civil society through its policing of the schooling and welfare system

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

In connection with necropower and its deployment of deathscapes, Henry Giroux’s (2013) concept of zones of abandonment is fitting in the description of an existence where particular populations under neoliberalism are disposable, surplus, and therefore subjected to the violence of disciplinary procedures that erase any vestige of agency, subjectivity, or self-recognition. Giroux (2013) argues that these violations “point to the ongoing and growing fundamentalisms and ‘rule of exceptions’ in the American polity that bare witness to a growing militarization of American society (Kindle location 779). I believe Giroux’s (2013) concept of zones of abandonment is explicitly about blacks and other oppressed communities experiences in both our educational system and in the larger society. Necropower/Necropolitics and deathscapes explain the consequences of America’s policies of domination, market- fundamentalism, capital accumulation, and racial formation at the macro and micro level. 55 Our next step is to take these concepts to contextualize the correspondence of the penal arm into the social policy against the poor under the neoliberal leviathan and agenda of urban schools, whose purpose is to systemically exclude, the black body from the public sphere through the creation and maintenance of Deathscapes (Sithole, 2014). Deathscapes therefore, have assumed a very complex character, under the practice of necropower, to illustrate the condition of violence as both absolute and structural not just discursive and symbolic (Sithole, 2014). Theses objective realities manifest itself in the quality of education black and brown youth receive in their schools and their treatment by the repressive state apparatus in their own communities. Sit hole (2014) on the condition of violence against the black body writes: According to Wilderson (2010: 75), deathscapes do exist simply because the nature of violence precedes and exceeds the life of the African subject. The empire kills its targets through police brutality, mass incarceration, segregated and substandard schools, housing and health facilities, astronomical mortality rates to name but a few. These are the lived experiences of most of the African subjects, and they demand a grammar of suffering that is crowded out as there will be a demand for empirical facts, stats and complexity of race and class. (italics added Sithole, 2014, p. 243). America, like the African subjects ruled by their colonial motherlands’ killed black bodies by subjecting them to police brutality, mass incarceration, segregated schools, and housing. Not only do black subjects die in the material and actual sense of the word through objective and structural violence but from the perpetual suffering as a consequence of being a person of color in America. Secondly, on this point, white racism impacts its subjects not as isolated acts of prejudice or discrimination by individual whites but by its very logics par excellence creates and sustains the ongoing ontological, existential, material, and metaphysical eruption of violence on the bodies and souls of black people. Moreover, most black’s experiences of being a person of African descent in America involve these objective structural realities (Marable, 2000). Deathscapes shape and monitor the existence of blacks’ and this is literally the case even to the surprise of most “liberal” education theorist, as this form of social existence, represents the black subject on the continuity of racial domination from the intracolonial encounter of the white supremacist empire as slaves (1619-1865) to their historical exploitation under the next three “peculiar institutions” (Jim Crow, South 1865-1965; Ghetto, North 1915-1968; Hyperghetto + Prison, 1968-)” served the purpose of both labor extraction and social ostracization (Wacquant, 2011). To keep the mutual correspondence of the neoliberal punitive prison apparatus and the low-income urban school we are able to witness the social ostracization element of the peculiar institutions is still valid, as poor black youth scare the living hell out of middle-class people and need to be isolated based on “assumption that safety and order can be achieved by removing ‘bad’ individuals and keeping them away from other who are presumed to be ‘good’” (Noguera, 2008, p. 114). Not surprisingly, those most frequently targeted for punishment in school look in terms of race, gender, and socioeconomic status –a lot like smaller versions of adults who are most likely to be targeted for incarceration in society (Noguera, 2008; Wacquant, 2001, 2002, 2009, 2010, 2012). In 2015, black students are in a perpetual war under the exercise of necropower where death is permissible and cannot be accounted for (Sithole, 2014). It is in this condition of war, that is, war against racialized bodies (black), that their existence maintains the smooth running of the machine and creates the conditions of wealth dispossession and capital accumulation for Europe and America (Marable, 2000). As historian Manning Marable (2002) argued how race was used an ideological construct to exclude blacks from the political economy in the United States and racism produces different outcomes for racial groups. Race is now used to exclude black and brown youth from both the formal economy and formal education (Vaught, 2011). The construction of a racial contract (Brown and De Lissovoy, 2011; Mills’, 1997) is parallel to Noreaga’s (2008) idea of a social contract of schooling “that serves as the basis for maintaining order in schools. In exchange for an education students are expected to obey the rules and norms that are operative within school and to comply with authority of the adults in charge (p. 115).” For black youth know that “the rewards of education-namely, acquisition of knowledge and skills...are not available to them” (p. 115). Therefore, “students have little incentive to comply with the school rules” (Noreaga, 2008, p. 115). This can explain some part their seemly ambivalent and nonchalant view toward education as they age and are able to interpret reality what it really is. The youth that attend the schools, I am analyzing who are not shuffled to low-wage work or the prison will live life with out meaning or purpose. This is not the case 100 percent of the time, but more often than not these youth who avoid prison or who perform low skill jobs will live as redundant and surplus. In the contemporary political order to be systematically exterminated by the state in the form of a mass killing, by the empire-state would be both extraexcessive and redundant for the logic being already “socially dead” in their current form. Small government transfers (in the form of food stamps and subsidies for housing) will keep most afloat, but that is it, just enough to exist but not contribute to the shaping of human events or to radically change their material condition. Deathscapes are not just geographic spaces but also a space of being where one walks with the marker of death even though one walks. In this walking, it is equal to how a zombie walks on popular television programming. In this existence, 58 surviving, as an intra-colonial subject is the only necessity, other than that, urgency lacks. Simultaneously, there is no urgency to die- an existential and ontological purgatory, which is the curse for being both a black and poor person in this society.

#### Hurry now, onto the bus,

### First Stop: the Urban Schoolhouse

#### Let’s take a look at the structure: Not a schoolhouse – but a warehouse – a place to store the black and brown children for the time being - The genealogy of the schooling system is inextricably linked to the asylum and prison

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

To understand the need to control students who are now surplus, and whose labor is longer needed in abundance, we must be examine the influences that guided the creation of public schools and consider the social role and function schools are expected to perform. In the nineteenth-century, public school buildings often, resemble prison and asylums because both drew on a common technology of power for improving the “performance” of their inmates (Foucault, 1977, as cited in Simon, 2007). Pedro Noguera (2008) is in concordance with Simon (2007) when he writes that public schools developed in: Northeastern cities during the latter part of the nineteenth century, their architecture, organization and operation were profoundly influenced by the prevailing conception of the asylum...Although the client base of early prisons, almshouses, and the mental hospitals differed, those who developed…the institutions shared a common preoccupation with the need to control those held in custody (p. 89). The role of the asylum was to regiment, control and discipline the social outcast who were housed there (Noguera, 2008). Although schools were designed with a different purpose in mind, the need for them to serve as vehicle for controlling the minds and bodies of youth helped to convince many of those “who question the merits of public education that it was an enterprise worth supporting” (Noguera, 2008, p. 90). Educational historican Lawrence Cremin identified three dominant and distinct agenda among the many that shaped public education at the turn of the century: 1) the need to provide a custodial functional function for children and thereby serve as an agent of social control , 2) the need to “Americanize” large numbers of children born of European immigrants, and 3) the need to prepare future workers for U.S. industry (as cited in Noguera, 2008, p. 90). When we study the history and philosophy of education in our college courses it is framed in humanitarian terms, in reality the need to regiment and control the behavior of students dominated the educational mission (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Noguera, 2008). If schools today are becoming increasingly like prisons, its is not because of a “renewed faith in the capacity of disciplinary methods” (Simon, 2007, p. 231), indeed prisons and schools increasingly deny their capacity to do much more then sort and warehouse people (Simon, 2007). What they share instead is the institutional imperative that (potentially) dangerous populations is simultaneously the more important problem they have to deal with (Simon, 2007). What we witness in 2015 is the continuity of themes plus the complexity of agendas and goals of the modern anti-black racist capitalist empire state which includes the need to control students and prepare future workers while simultaneously warehousing surplus and disposable youth.

#### On entering, greeted by uniformed security guards, armed police in bullet-proof vests, scanning wands, metal detectors, and cages on all of the windows. The doors lock behind us.

#### Thus, the privatization of education through neoliberal economic policies have served up the urban poor to the interest of corporate profit—these disposable youth are regulated either into prison labor or cheap labor that maintains a racist and classist divide

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

Over the last three decades, we have witnessed in the United States a profound retrenchment in educational equity, achievement, and access leading to the evaporation of gains made in the 1960s and 1970s (Means, 2013). By retracing the making, of this new government in the form of the neoliberal leviathan that weds the “invisible hand” of the deregulated labor market and contractualized public aid to the “iron fist” of the punitive state, this these two concepts from Wacquant (2009) bring us into the living laboratory of the neoliberal revolution. For the United States has not been content to be the “forge and locomotive of the neoliberal project on the level of the economy and welfare; over the past decade, it has also become the premier global exporter of ‘theories,’ ‘slogans’, and measures on the crime and safety front” (Wacquant, 2009, Kindle Locations 667-673). Today in the wake of the Great Recession and three decades of neoliberal and neoconservative attacks on the public and the social state, the United States has one of the highest rates of child poverty ranking ahead only of Romania on a scale of 35 developed nations (UNICEF, 2012 as cited in Means, 2013, p. 25). Since the Reagan era report A Nation at Risk, which worked to stoke national anxieties over educational performance in the emergent global economy, a neoliberal market ethos has become a broadly shared form of “commonsense” in educational reform (Means, 2013). Part of this story can be traced to concrete attempts to discredit the public sector and equate public investment with the racialized and gendered “dependencies” and “pathologies” of the urban poor (Brown, 2005, 2015; Harvey, 2005; Lipman, 2011; Means, 2013; Wacquant, 2010, 2010a, 2012, 2013). Means (2013) argues at length that: The stated aims of the new educational reform alliance are to break down the ‘public school monopoly’ by supporting privatization, dismantle the teachers’ unions, and to impose a system of corporate management. In terms of policy, this has meant the promotion of school voucher and market-based choice initiatives …second, it has meant efforts to bring market-based strategies of accountability and institutional ‘efficiency’ modeled on the corporation into schooling at all levels…these reform strategies were codified into law with the passage of George W. Bush’s No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation in 2001 (p. 26). Additionally, the main pillar of urban educational restructuring has been the reframing of educational focus in line with the demands of the new economy (Brown, 2015; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, 2013; Means, 2013; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2011; Saltman, 2014, 2015; Simon, 2007). This has meant extensive emphasis on basic skills curricula and high-stakes testing (Anyon, 1980; Brown, 2005, 2015; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, 2013; Means, 2013; Saltman, 2015). While educational reform rhetoric focuses on preparing students with twenty-first century skills needed for college and work in the global knowledge economy, the reality is that the vast majority of jobs in the coming decades are projected to be low-wage service jobs that will not require advanced knowledge and/ or college degrees (Anyon and Greene 2011; Brown, 2005, 2015; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, 2013; Means, 2013; Nolan, 2009, 2011; Saltman, 2015). Increasingly, worst, is that a few of these jobs will be in information or STEM fieldsscience, technology, engineering, mathematics, therefore countering the discourses propagated by President Obama and The United States Secretary Arne Duncan of a STEM market dominated future (Anyon and Greene, 2011; Means, 2013). According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, 22 out of the top 30, and 7 out of the top 10, fast growing employment niches over the next decade will be in “low-wage” and “very low-wage” sectors including in-home health workers, food service (including fast food), security guards, retail sales, and customer service representatives (Bureau of Labor Statistics [BLS], 2012 as cited in Means, 2013). Furthermore, “the jobs the U.S. economy now produces are primarily poverty-wage jobs… Seventy-seven percent of new and projected jobs in the next decade will be low paying” (Anyon and Greene, 2011, p. 367). Even a college degree no longer guarantees a decent job as one in six college graduates is in a job paying less than the average salary of high school graduates (Anyon, 2005 as cited in Anyon and Greene, 2011). Standardized testing and scripted curricula work to shore up and discipline a low-wage, service-oriented workforce by emphasizing rudimentary skills and knowledge (Anyon and Greene, 2011; Brown, 2005, 2015; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, 2013; Means, 2013; Saltman, 2015). Brown (2005) and Means (2013) both argue that rather than promoting a broad liberal arts or progressive curriculum that enables youth to develop their intellectual capacities and human potential with others, African American youth are taught to require the mechanistic discipline of “skill and drill” forms of learning, test-based curricula which reduce knowledge to an individualized, competitive, and technical process. In contrast their more affluent peers in the suburbs, or students who attend selective enrollment and magnet schools in large urban school districts, these students are provided with elite academic tracks, arts and culture programs, sports facilities, and clean modern buildings with new science labs, technology, and supplementary resources and services (Brown, 2005; Means, 2013). African American youth treatment inside of schools is directly related to the macro changes in the new political economy. Now schools in which poor students of color attend are often used as “storage facilities” or “warehouses” to contain “disposable youth” (Giroux, 2013) who are viewed as waste products of a society that no longer considers them any value for labor extraction in the new global economy. As the correspondence between our education system and the economic relations (meaning preparing working-class kids for working-class jobs) both weaken, as jobs become less available, the decline in job opportunities have been a long process occurring for the last two decades (Anyon and Greene 2011). Anyon and Greene (2011) argue that there are not “nearly enough jobs for those who need them” (p. 367) in this new economy. Lastly, what is and has emerged in the de-fragmentation of the Keynesian-welfarist state is a social-Darwinist survival of the fitness landscape where in urban school districts exist in an inequitable system with a top tier of options for the elite, a middle tier of semi public options for a beleaguered and shrinking middle class, and a large bottom tier of disinvested public schools, and private charter schools that function to sort low-income and racialized youth into a lowwage and no-wage future (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Brown, 2005, 2015; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Means, 2013; Lipman, 2011; Saltman, 2014, 2015). Entrenched economic insecurity and the turn to austerity are intensifying these educational inequities, contributing to a precarious future of instability and uncertainty for young people in the neoliberal city (Brown, 2015; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Means, 2013; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2011; Saltman, 2014; Simon, 2007). The contemporary city is a key staging ground for these trends. The urban sphere plays an increasingly central role in managing the flows of finance, technology, information, and labor that are the lifeblood of globalization (Giroux, 2008, 2013; Means, 2013; Lipman, 2011, 2013; Wacquant, 2009). The metropolis is a prime site for the implementation of neoliberal logic. Moreover, cities are also contested sites where the global and local coalesce in the everyday and where dominant sociopolitical processes intersect with various forms of cultural agency, identity formation, and democratic contestation (Giroux, 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, 2013; Means, 2013). I focus on the urban metropolitan city for these reasons. In the next section, I outline the production of criminalized spaces of social insecurity and securitized containment in the urban public school.

#### Students of color do not generally go from school to prison based on one run- in with the law, in the school hallway. Instead, students are subjected to heavy policing in various domains of their lives— in the streets, on public transportation, and, in the case of hallways in large urban public schools. The path is more indirect: As they accumulate summonses for minor violations of the law and school misbehavior, they ultimately miss court appearances, and warrants are then put out for their arrest.

### Next Stop: Prison

#### Blackness is always already hypervisible both inside and outside of the surveillance state—the aesthetic of blackness can never achieve anonymity but instead become an attractor of violence

YANCY 2013  **[**GEORGESEPTEMBER 1, [“Walking While Black in the ‘White Gaze’” http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/09/01/walking-while-black-in-the-white-gaze/?\_r=1]

My point here is to say that the white gaze is global and historically mobile. And its origins, while from Europe, are deeply seated in the making of America. Black bodies in America continue to be reduced to their surfaces and to stereotypes that are constricting and false, that often force those black bodies to move through social spaces in ways that put white people at ease. We fear that our black bodies incite an accusation. We move in ways that help us to survive the procrustean gazes of white people. We dread that those who see us might feel the irrational fear to stand their ground rather than “finding common ground,” a reference that was made by Bernice King as she spoke about the legacy of her father at the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. The white gaze is also hegemonic, historically grounded in material relations of white power: it was deemed disrespectful for a black person to violate the white gaze by looking directly into the eyes of someone white. The white gaze is also ethically solipsistic: within it only whites have the capacity of making valid moral judgments. Even with the unprecedented White House briefing, our national discourse regarding Trayvon Martin and questions of race have failed to produce a critical and historically conscious discourse that sheds light on what it means to be black in an anti-black America. If historical precedent says anything, this failure will only continue. Trayvon Martin, like so many black boys and men, was under surveillance (etymologically, “to keep watch”). Little did he know that on Feb. 26, 2012, that he would enter a space of social control and bodily policing, a kind of Benthamian panoptic nightmare that would truncate his being as suspicious; a space where he was, paradoxically, both invisible and yet hypervisible. “I am invisible, understand, simply because people [in this case white people] refuse to see me.” Trayvon was invisible to Zimmerman, he was not seen as the black child that he was, trying to make it back home with Skittles and an iced tea. He was not seen as having done nothing wrong, as one who dreams and hopes. As black, Trayvon was already known and rendered invisible. His childhood and humanity were already criminalized as part of a white racist narrative about black male bodies. Trayvon needed no introduction: “Look, the black; the criminal!” IV. Many have argued that the site of violence occurred upon the confrontation between Trayvon and Zimmerman. Yet, the violence began with Zimmerman’s non-emergency dispatch call, a call that was racially assaultive in its discourse, one that used the tropes of anti-black racism. Note, Zimmerman said, “There’s a real suspicious guy.” He also said, “This guy looks like he’s up to no good or he’s on drugs or something.” When asked by the dispatcher, he said, within seconds, that, “He looks black.” Asked what he is wearing, Zimmerman says, “A dark hoodie, like a gray hoodie.” Later, Zimmerman said that “now he’s coming toward me. He’s got his hands in his waist band.” And then, “And he’s a black male.” But what does it mean to be “a real suspicious guy”? What does it mean to look like one is “up to no good”? Zimmerman does not give any details, nothing to buttress the validity of his narration. Keep in mind that Zimmerman is in his vehicle as he provides his narration to the dispatcher. As “the looker,” it is *not* Zimmerman who is in danger; rather, it is Trayvon Martin, “the looked at,” who is the target of suspicion and possible violence. After all, it is Trayvon Martin who is wearing the hoodie, a piece of “racialized” attire that apparently signifies black criminality. Zimmerman later said: “Something’s wrong with him. Yep, he’s coming to check me out,” and, “He’s got something in his hands.” Zimmerman also said, “I don’t know what his deal is.” A black young male with “something” in his hands, wearing a hoodie, looking suspicious, and perhaps on drugs, and there being “something wrong with him,” is a racist narrative of fear and frenzy. The history of white supremacy underwrites this interpretation. Within this context of *discursive violence*, Zimmerman was guilty of an act of aggression against Trayvon Martin, even before the trigger was pulled. Before his physical death, Trayvon Martin was rendered “socially dead” under the weight of Zimmerman’s racist stereotypes. Zimmerman’s aggression was enacted through his gaze, through the act of profiling, through his discourse and through his warped reconstruction of an innocent black boy that instigates white fear. V. What does it say about America when to be black is the ontological crime, a crime of simply being? Perhaps the religious studies scholar Bill Hart is correct: “To be a black man is to be marked for death.” Or as the political philosopher Joy James argues, “Blackness as evil [is] destined for eradication.” Perhaps this is why when writing about the death of his young black son, the social theorist W.E.B. Du Bois said, “All that day and all that night there sat an awful gladness in my heart —  nay, blame me not if I see the world thus darkly through the Veil — and my soul whispers ever to me saying, ‘Not dead, not dead, but escaped; not bond, but free.’ ” Trayvon Martin was killed walking while black. As the protector of all things “gated,” of all things standing on the precipice of being endangered by black male bodies, Zimmerman created the conditions upon which he *had no grounds to stand on*. Indeed, through his racist stereotypes and his pursuit of Trayvon, he created the conditions that belied the applicability of the stand your ground law and created a situation where Trayvon was killed. This is the narrative that ought to have been told by the attorneys for the family of Trayvon Martin. It is part of the narrative that Obama brilliantly told, one of black bodies being racially policed and having suffered a unique history of racist vitriol in this country. Yet it is one that is perhaps too late, one already rendered mute and inconsequential by the verdict of “not guilty.”

#### The Prison-industrial complex is codified with antiblack understandings of punishment—increase poverty and disenfranchisement as a result of privatization of social services has created carceral affirmative action where policing practices are maintained for profit

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

The justification of the prison production mechanism of the capitalist system for the 21st century urban school is related to the United States ranking in incarceration rates in the world, which is number one (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2003; De Lissovoy, 2012; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011; Means, 2013; Nolan, 2011Simon, 2007; Wacquant, 2009). Moreover, this new surplus human economy under neoliberalism has brought with it, rapid science and technology manufacturing that utilizes automation more then human beings (Brown, 2005). Globalization reflects a new reality than our past when America had the largest manufacturing industry in the world (Massey and Denton, 1993; Wacquant, 2001, 2013; Wilson, 1987, 1996). In attempt to understand the dramatic rise in incarceration rates since the early 1980s, and the punitive turn in crime policy, some scholars have emphasized how in a post-industrial period marked by high unemployment and underemployment (Wilson, 1996), the prison and the criminal justice system have become a means for managing economically superfluous populations (Cowen and Siciliano, 2011; Nolan, 2009; Wacquant, 2001, 2009). When thousands of jobs disappeared from the urban landscape between the 1960s, and the 1970s, and government funded social programs eroded in the early 1980s, the imprisonment rates in the United States skyrocketed (Wacquant, 2001, 2002a, 2009, 2010a, 2012). Research by Western (2006) demonstrated a strong correlation between concentrated poverty and increased incarceration rates (as cited in Nolan, 2009). As the prison, witnessed a hypertrophic increase these past three decades, manufacturing jobs on the other hand have declined, especially in the northeast and Midwest in the United States (Fording et al., 2011; Lipman, 2011, Nolan, 2011; Massey and Denton, 1993; Means, 2013; Simon, 2007; Wacquant, 2001a, 2009; Wilson 1979, 1996). These jobs were mostly replaced with lower paying service jobs or work in the informal economy for inner city residents (Davis, 2003; Lipman, 2011, Massey and Denton, 1993; Pattillo, 2005; Wacquant, 2001, 2009, 2012, 2013; Wilson, 1987, 1996). In connecting to high unemployment, Wacquant (2002) argue that this post/de-industrialization for the urban proletariat has resulted in a “stupendous expansion of America's penal state in the post-Keynesian age” (p. 44) for the need to “shore up an eroding caste cleavage” (p. 44) of blacks. To whites, blacks lack cultural capital; lack of use for wage labor and their potential to enter the illegal street economy has lead to American law-makers to create and establish “a facto policy of ‘carceral affirmative action’ towards African Americans” (Wacquant, 2002, p. 44). Next, there are 2.3 million people in the United States in prison— a 500 percent increase over the past thirty years (Nolan, 2011). This dramatic increase in imprisonment has had its greatest impact on poor black men and other people of color (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2003; De Lissovoy, 2012; Fording et al., 2011; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2011; Means, 2013; Simon, 2007; Wacquant, 2001, 2002, 2002a). One in ten black men between the ages of twenty- five and twenty- nine is behind bars (Nolan, 2011). For Latinos in the same age group, the ratio is one in twenty- six, and for white men, one in sixty- three (Nolan, 2011). Blacks and Latinos constitute 62% of the prison population in contrast to the 25% of the national population, while one third of black men between the ages of 20 and 29 were incarcerated, on parole or probation in 1995 (Cowen and Siciliano, 2011). These empirical stats supports Wacquant (2002a) claim that the penal state is necessary in that it complements the rolling back of the social state. Of the five dimensions he listed as the justification of the penal states’ rise, three of them Vertical expansion, Horizontal expansion and Carceral affirmative action is of concern to me in this paper. Wacquant (2002a) writes the prison has both increased its admissions as the United States is the “undisputed world champion in imprisonment” (Wacquant, 2002a, p.19)16. While simultaneously widening of the penal net17 as there are 6.5 million Americans under the criminal justice supervision representing one adult male in twenty, one black man in nine, and one young black man (ages 18 to 35) in three; and an estimated 55 Third, the prison and the criminal justice system as a whole operates as an affirmative action policy for lower class or unemployed black males “via the differential penal and spatial targeting of ghetto neighborhoods and lower-income urban residents” (p. 20). For example the “War on Drugs” led to African Americans “unprecedented demographic predominance” (Wacquant, 2002a, p.20) among confined populations: black men make up 6 % of the national drug users but 35 % of persons arrested for narcotics offenses and 75 percent of state prisoners sent behind bars after drug conventions (Wacquant, 2002a). High school dropouts are particularly vulnerable in this new carceral reality (Nolan, 2011). Some 60 % of black male high school dropouts born in the late 1960s served time in prison by the end of the 1990s— a rate four times higher than that of their college- educated counterparts (Nolan, 2011). When situated within a necropolitical-neoliberal, anti-black context governed by logics of efficiency, and profit maximization, the mass disposability of black populations restructures the prison and policing sector to “absorb populations made redundant by industrialization and the growth of high-tech and professional industries” (Cowen and Siciliano, 2011, p. 1516). As such, one of the consequences of these new surplus populations is the positioning of their bodies somewhere away from their communities to be stored for future use. The prison does this with efficiency, as it has become a warehouse for racialized bodies of predominantly young male labor (Cowen and Siciliano, 2011).

#### Prisons maintain the racial hierarchy when working class jobs are not available thus rendering black and brown bodies devoid of economic utility- With soaring unemployment rates black and brown bodies are perpetual criminals whether they go to jail or not

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 First, I want to question this popular mainstream concept of a “pipeline” used by school and prison activist. In essence, not surprisingly, the boundaries between the education system and the criminal justice system have become so close that youth, varying from preschool to high school are subjected to a set of practices, laws and policies that criminalize their behaviors, mostly through zero tolerance policies (Noguera, 2008). This active system is referred to as the school to- prison pipeline (STPP) by its proponents. While this is true on the surface that this nexus plays an integral role in perpetuating racism, a false sense of progress, fear, and a continuing drama of human disposability in this country, what is not true is that it works perfectly and is a single all encompassing mesh that all black boys will experience some time in their lives. Essentially, STPP proponents argue that there is a system that narrows the boundaries between schools and prisons for youth of color and is a network of disposing poor youths of color, predominantly those living in low-income communities and students with disabilities into prison, so they are nearly invisible to society (Brown, 2005, Noguera, 2012). While the prison disposes a very select few of these boys, what happens to others in their participation of the symbolic production of their criminal selves and who somehow escaped a run-in with the law should be of primary concern for scholars and activist. Secondly, it is not a "pipeline" from here to there (school to the prison or the cradle to the prison) as in this new century’s super complex capital and culture exchanges moves beyond time in space. For me, it is outdated to speak of something as dynamic and layered as state crafting and the racial and economic reconfiguring of all life as we know it in the form of a single pipeline for black youth. Now “ here and there” have become “t/here”, which may or maybe be within or apart of a single organizational continuum. As an illustration, lets think of a bridge that we often see in movies, where the characters have to cross it order to get the other side. The deteriorating bridge is often ten seconds or a step or two away from falling apart and absent of another path this way is the only way across. It is usually life or death. For most young males, they will not get this far into their journey, thus not landing in a prison cell. Their run ins’ with the law may not turn into something permanent, and most will find creative ways to struggle and avoid the criminal justice system. What is important for this group is their occupation by the police state and their permissiveness or consenting behavior in what they understand as the natural order of things being black in an anti-black white supremacist society. Their race and class justifies their occupation by the police state, and because criminals are only occupied, the mainstream accepts this as the only way to create harmony and security in our society. In jail or not, all poor black and brown youth are criminals, their schools and communities reflect this by the over-policing of their bodies. So, what does this mean for the rest of the students who do not do serious time behind bars? Alternatively, those who drop out or graduate but who lack the hard skills to work a semi-skilled job? What does this mean for reproduction theory in education? For the first two questions Nolan (2011) in her critical ethnography Police in the Hallways noted that students routinely expressed a deep sense of frustration, ambivalence, or uncertainty about their current and future employment prospects. Indeed, unlike the “lads” of Paul Willis’s classic study, who had a vision of working in local factories, the students who attended the school she studied were quickly losing hope of finding an after- school job and had no solid vision for future employment (Nolan, 2011). Many of those who did have a vision held a somewhat unrealistic one— a third- year student reading at a fourth- grade level, for instance, stating he or she wanted to go to college and become a lawyer (Nolan, 2011). Others, she argued boys in particular, dreamed of being professional ball players or accomplished rap artists. The most frequent question she received from students was, “Can you get me a job?” (Nolan, 2011, Kindle location 2651). These kinds of remarks from students about their difficulties finding jobs, their inability to envision a realistic or satisfying future of employment, and their feelings towards their own abilities reflect the political economy in which they lived (Nolan, 2011). Moreover, incarceration rates, as this paper described earlier, have skyrocketed for young black and Latino men and increasingly for women, and the poorer they are and the less education they have, the more likely they will spend time in prison (Nolan, 2011). Thus, more than ever before, the life experiences of young adults— blacks’ in urban centers like the Chicago are shaped not only in relationship to work, or the lack of it, but also (and perhaps in some instances even more so) in relationship to the criminal- and juvenile- justice systems (Nolan, 2011). As students’ relationship to the job market change and schools become restructured in accordance with economic necessities; the meaning of reproduction and resistance shifts and becomes more complicated. For men, the urban school is where men “could” be shuffled to prison as a welfare program, but not all boys who encounter the law and its enforcement will spend time behind bars (Nolan, 2011). Although urban schools still have a reproductive function19 the concept of reproduction as traditionally rendered in the industrialized Fordist era, when the large neighborhood public high school predominated, may be less pertinent than it was twenty- five or even ten years ago (Nolan, 2011). Put simply, for schools that are populated by poor black youth, their primary function is perhaps not the reproduction of a working class but the production of a whole population of criminalized, excluded youth. Krueger supports this claim (2010) when she argues that blacks face mass unemployment in the formal economy (see Wacquant, 2001, 2009, 2010, 2012), thereby making the youth surplus and redundant (Giroux, 2008, 2013). Next, increasing the deployment of the carceral institution for Wacquant (2001) offered itself as a “substitute apparatus for enforcing the shifting color line,” (p. 103) while “ containing the segments of the African American community devoid of economic utility” (p. 103). The “labor extraction” argument laid out by Wacquant (2001) earlier in explaining the previous three particular institutions is not as strong in this neoliberal information service economy, especially since production in the 21th century can be done efficiently with new technology and less human bodies (Brown, 2005). Those who are no longer needed for labor extraction, are sent to a space “of pure custody… a human warehouse or even a kind of social waste management facility, where adults and some juveniles… are concentrated for purposes of protecting the wider community” (Simon, 2007, p. 142). Protecting the wider community is actually an illusion with a stronger symbolic function than objective reality of rampant crime. The purpose of the “waste management prison” (Simon, 2007) manages poverty by “provid[ing] a public good that is directly aimed at insecurity, the form of public need that crime legislation as made both visible and compelling,” (p. 142). Simon continues his persuasive argument by writing “...and to reconfigure the domination of African Americans and /or discipline the margins of the labor force to support the increasing demands for exploitation of the neoliberal economic order” (pp. 157-159). Remember the prison under Wacquant’s analysis of prisonfare is not only about incarceration, for it extends to include the development of “social, educational, medical and other agencies of the welfare state to the extent that it operates in a panoptic and punitive mode” (Wacquant, 2012, p. 243). This new agenda is not about serving the poor’s needs but is about “exerting supervision that is disciplinary over trouble categories and territories” (Wacquant, 2012, p. 243). This corresponds to urban school’s, as they are no longer about education just as social services are no longer about serving the needs of the poor. Schools for poor black and brown youth place “concerns about safety and control...over concerns about teaching” (Noguera, 2008, p. 107). Wacquant (2001) to support Noguera arguments states “over the years essential educational programs have been cut to divert funds...for more security personnel….it is hard to maintain that educating them [students in the hyperghetto] is a priority when half of the city’s [Chicago] high schools place in the bottom 1 percent on the American College Test” (p. 108). The neoliberal educational agenda along with the regulatory and disciplinary surveillance of students and teachers creates a disadvantage for poor youth and encourages narrow pedagogical practices that stifle creates learning and “jeopardize young people's ability to think critically” (Ossei-Owusu, 2012, p. 300). This should not come as a surprise when over 75 percent of Chicago’s Public School students come from families living under the official poverty line and nine out of every ten are black or Latino (Wacquant, 2001). My argument is therefore: although prison is a reality for a few youth, the schools core function is to serve as a mass detention center that habitués all poor youth into accepting panoptic punitive supervision. Sending students to prison remains epiphenomenal, to the schools core function of police and military domestication. These techniques used by the police incorporate subjects into the empire-state. The empire-state expects compliance and consent as a precondition of neoliberal citizenship and “democratic participation.” Schools that serve low-income youth of color increasingly produce and maintain a social and economically insecure society where racial domination and market fundamentalism runs amok. How does this shape our rethinking of reproduction theory can be answered by Kupchik and Ward (2011) “The existing research on school security follows the logic of social reproduction, asserting that school security is disproportionately applied to low status youth and that it reinforces and reproduces this low status” (p. 4). Although, this theoretical perspective is most often applied to understanding social class differentials in academic achievement scholars have also used this framework to describe the unequal distribution of school security, arguing that “schools serving disadvantaged children (especially poor and nonwhite youth) have tighter security (including criminal justice-oriented practices such as police officers in school, locked gates, and metal detectors) than schools with predominantly middle-class white students”(Kupchik, 2010 as cited in Kupchik and Ward, 2011, p. 5). Thus, a reproduction in education perspective suggests that youth who are socially, economically, and politically marginalized – poor and racial/ethnic minority youth – will have different experiences than other youth via school security and discipline (Kupchik and Ward, 2011). Marginalized youth are presumed to be young criminals and treated as such through exposure to criminal justice oriented practices (e.g., police surveillance and metal detectors), while youth with social, political and cultural capital are presumed to be well-behaved, treated as such, and empowered to be productive citizens (Ferguson, 2000; Giroux, 2013; Kupchik and Ward, 2011; Means, 2013; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2009, 2011; Ossei-Owusu, 2012). There are good reasons to believe that existing critiques of school security as a form of social reproduction are valid. Perhaps the most important fact that a mountain of evidence finding that individual students who are “poor or racial/ethnic minorities are more likely than others to be punished in school, even while controlling for self-reported misbehavior rates” (Kupchik and Ward, 2011, p. 8). Schools might also implement security in response to practical issues in a way that supports the social reproduction thesis. Since schools with large concentrations of poor youth and racial/ethnic minorities tend to be located in higher crime areas, schools might respond pragmatically to an elevated local crime threat by implementing tighter security (Kupchik and Ward, 2011). In sum, there is good reason to expect that reproduction theory describe how school security measures are distributed across schools, as schools need to tighten down on the authority to control populations that are now surplus and redundant while domesticating students as criminal and not factory workers, as they were in the past.

#### Ontological blackness has created the rise of the police state that create necropolitic deathscapes where black bodies signify the evil that must be surveilled—the social and civic death that results creates conditions of endless violence

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Edufare works in relationship with prisonfare to ensure boys who do become trapped in our criminal (in)justice system , solidify oppressive social, political and economic arrangements for poor blacks’ victims of “...the precarious and deproletarianized fractions of the... working class in the dualizing city” (Wacquant, 2009, Kindle location 3929-3960). Additionally, Wacquant (2009) provides a detailed description of the micro-processes by which the interaction between the structures, agency and cultural production leads these youth, and men into prisons or penal surveillance apparatus. What agency these boys exert will conclude in a sad fate “be it that they cannot find employment owing to a combination of skills deficit, employer discrimination, and competition from immigrants, or that they refuse to submit to the indignity of substandard work in the peripheral sectors of the service economy” (Kindle location 3929-3960). Wacquant (2002) argues that the prison is the pre-eminent institution for “signifying and enforcing blackness” just as much as slavery was during the first three centuries of US history (p.57). Blackness is therefore tied with our relation to the prison and now the prison defines what it means to be black in this country. Why does this matter? For the conversation of social death and deathscapes, the prison is par excellence the functioning of a death politic for black men under its control. Wacquant (2002) explains, “just as bondage affected the ‘social death’ of imported Africans…mass incarceration also induces the civic death” (p. 57) by those entangled through the process of excluding them from the social contract. Dr. Lisa Guenther a professor of philosophy at Vanderbilt University argues civic death is not the only death suffered for those incarcerated, but a social death too (2013, July 31). Social death is the effect of a “social practice in which a person or group of people is excluded, dominated and/or humiliated, to the point of becoming dead to the rest of society” (Guenther, 2013, July 31). For Guenther: Social death is the condition under which some people can be condemned to civil death, while the rest of us fail to care or even to notice. It is the condition under which entire groups of people may be exposed to disproportionate state violence, neglect, and/or exploitation, without provoking the concern or support of other members of the community. Social death is both a condition of civil death and one of its effects; they amplify one another in a vicious circle that is difficult to 63 interrupt. Together, civil death and social death name the position of those whose status is always already perceived as criminal and labeled as a “security threat” (Guenther,2013, July 31.) This corresponds with schooling for black youth, as they are removed and excluded from school and the broader education system they are interpolated as superfluous, redundant, rebellious, and expendable (Brown and De Lissovoy, 2011; Giroux, 2013; Noguera, 2008; Saltman, 2014). It makes sense within this framework to spend an obsessive amount of money on prison beds than to spend resources on quality affordable housing and world-class academic institutions (Alexander, 2012; Davis, 2003). Prisons are an exercise of Necropolitics, so are schools for poor black boys. Moreover, these young males are in an environment of inhumanity that denies of all forms of life and interpersonal recognition. Thereby, making schools and prisons the purest form of deathscapes or necropolis. This paper should shape a new understanding on why poor blacks are purposely singled out for extermination and hypermarginalization by the gentry in the new neoliberal city.

#### The surveillance state that manifests itself through the education, welfare, and prison system allow for capitalism to alienate workers through racialized and animalized terms—this creates an endless state of social death that is codified into law

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I would like to introduce Enora Brown’s (2015) notion of edufare (italics added) to add to prisonfare and workfare. I will argue that education is where youth participates in the active social and penal policy state making as the left and right hand couples for discipline training. This agenda includes sorting poor populations based on gender into prisonfare or workfare market and racial discipline mechanisms of the Leviathan. Students will either be subjected to the low-wage market or the prison. Both operating under the logic of neoliberalism’s necropolitics, as they are forced to a substandard education that extracts life and humanity from them as method to accept free market logic, ruling class ideologies, white supremacy (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Giroux, 2013; Vaught, 2011). To be clear I want to illustrate clearly that edufare doesn’t affect all students equally, this paper has and will continue to argue that these ‘fares are hyper-particular to specific racial and class groups in America. Brown’s (2015) 59 eloquently argues that the No Child Left Behind Act (2001), and Race To The Top (2009) like welfare added “strings attached” to receive benefits (which were just provided on needs based in the past) and created the discourse of deserving schools and students and non deserving schools and students based on meeting “objective” measurements of accountability. Brown (2015) concept will explain in detail how edufare to complements prison/workfare . I look to Enora Brown’s “Systemic and Symbolic Violence as Virtue: The Carceral Punishment of African American Girls” insight on what happens to girls shifted to low-wage, low-skill labor market under the concept of “school-to-labor pipeline” (Hextrum, 2014). Although, penal state modality driven policies are complementary as argued by Brown (2015), as neoliberal educational reform policies “No Child Left Behind” and “Race To The Top” “setting them [African American mothers] up for workfare education sanctions under Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF)” (Brown, 2015, p. 400) as cost cutting measures for example school closures affect these students the most. Wacquant’s gender distribution between the prisonfare and workfare argument is persuasive enough for me to believe that, although there is an increasing number of girls and women behind bars (Alexander, 2012; Brown, 2015; Davis, 2003) the gender segregation of our institutions for welfare is girls and women and prison or the criminal justice system for boys and men (Haney, 2004; Wacquant, 2009, 2010, 2012). These black girls’ are subjected to the neoliberal litigation of Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (1996) (Brown, 2015). This law passed on the idea that poor girls cultural and individual deficits caused teen pregnancy and joblessness (Brown, 2015). Brown (2015) continues to argue that PRWORA’s aim was to limit welfare dependence, out-of wedlock birth, promote work, and self-sufficiency. As such, black girls will face “obligatory subpar work in exchange for social support” (Brown, 2015, p. 400) as a consequence of neoliberal restructuring the “mantras of ‘individual responsibility’ and ‘market fundamentalism’ withdrew social goods and expanded retributive discipline, through workfare” (p. 400). This linking welfare to work supplies “cheap labor to big money markets for example Wal-Mart…employs many people eligible for assistance. Those employees are provided no medical benefits or retirement” (Watkins, 2011, p. 352). Watkins (2011) argues’ that the state picks up the cost of providing wages and benefits for these poor employees as the corporation makes “super-profits”. Many companies now offer part-time positions, which provide limited or no benefits relying on the government to pick up the cost (Watkins, 2011). Even if these lowincome girls are not on welfare, because of their lack of preparation for the few highly cognitive skilled positions that are available in the labor market , most adults will work service sector jobs or entry-level positions for companies where the glass ceiling of advancement looms over their heads in absence of a college degree. Therefore, these girls will “ perform increasingly narrow and compartmentalized task all day,” (Knopp, 2012, p. 14) with “specialized machines to perform one tiny task over and over again all day” (p. 14). For example, McDonald’s and other fast food restaurants have one person work the French fry station, where another works the cash register, another fills the orders, and another keeps the dining area clean. Even avoiding the welfare system altogether, most girls will work jobs that produce within the individual “powerlessness, meaningless, isolation and self-estrangement” (Bowles and Gintis, 2011, p. 73). Powerlessness is caused as the job treats the worker as another part of the machinery, meaninglessness occurs as the work is divided into fragmented task where the final product is impersonal and isolation occurs as the work encourages competition rather than cooperation (Bowles and Gintis, 2011). 61 Sarah Knopp a high school teacher in Los Angeles and an activist argued that capitalism has fundamentally changed the communal relationship human beings have established before the 19th century and the way how work is organized (2012). As described above by Bowles and Gintis (2011) there is now a separation between mental and manual labor. The negative consequence of this is “alienation” (Knopp, 2012). Knopp uses Marx notion of alienation to argue that we are becoming more “dehumanized” as people become more separated from which makes us human because “our ability to plan and control what we create...unlike animals…humans...bring creativity, forethought and collective effort to our work” (2012, p. 14). Being self-estranged from one's work is the opposite of what we did before industrial capitalism. As the new status quo strips billions of people around the globe of their relation to work and the materials they produce as a collective process that is creative and humane thereby furthering the process known as dehumanization which is a “psychological and sociocultural process that strips stigmatized groups of their humanity” (Brown, 2015, p. 402). Through unconscious actions, one of the many consequences of dehumanization results in stripping of stigmatized groups of their humanity that “mark[s] indelible boundaries between humans and animals--The dehumanized are reduced to less-evolved animals and machine-like objects…incompetent, illogical, instinctdriven, uncultured” (Brown, 2015, p. 403 ) Therefore, the worker experience a sense of alienation from one's work and ones life, which is a form of social death under necropolitics.

### The Escape Route

#### We must destroy the symbolic antiblackness inherent to the topic as a pre-requisite to material change—orienting ourselves against the antiblack surveillance state is key to solve

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In the second chapter, I argued that reproduction theory in education in regards to class is an outdated model, that rests on the assumption of a low-skill labor market that poor white students are being prepared for working class blue collar jobs. Previous reproduction in education theories are insufficient to explain how the schooling experiences of youth of color in a punitive neoliberal post/de-industrialize world relate to the production of social, political and economic inequality. I examined how the educational environment for low-income youth of color resembles a prison in the 21st century, which is similar to the factory under Keynesian’s welfare- Fordism. Instead of producing working subjectivities that identify with industrial capitalism, these students are being produced as criminals in both a material Marxist and the French sociological view of the symbolic production of particular populations. These students now identify with the repressive state apparatus in its manifestation in their lives in the form of prisons, police, and the criminal justice system. My analysis is that the production of the symbolic is equally or more important in the 21st century than the material and objective since a strong symbol can force others to consent, or comply to assumptions, ideologies and worldviews that goes against their actual objective interest. The criminal scary black person or juvenile delinquent threatens our very way of life. This as a rhetorical tool forces whites as a group to support a racial and capitalist order that only serves those in the capitalist class. The number of black men in jail is of less importance than the actual number of images portraying black criminal or underclass members violating social rules of conduct. Their appearances on our television screens create rules and regulations that ensure white people feel secure in an age of massive social and economic insecurity. Here we see the relationship between the discursive, symbolic and the material constructions of bodies and how each of these support a reinforce each other to maintain oppressive and asymmetrical society. This is a new precondition for citizenship under neoliberal governance. Lastly, this paper concluded that one should embrace a realist perspective in thinking about the future and the possibilities for resistance. I attempted to wrestle with key issues throughout this paper and in this section about conditions for about and black humanity. Just as actual change and a radical transformation of society is not currently possible and will never happen in our lifetime that does not mean one should wait for death waiting for death. Youth work tirelessly to fight for their and our right to live and be human. In all, I hope the reader of this paper is compelled to begin the laborious, but still critical, work of “simultaneously disjoining and reconfiguring the political economy of schooling, incarceration and the free market system in the United States” (Fasching-Varner et al, 2014, p. 425). There is no happy ending to the work of racial, penal and educational realism (Bell, 1995, Fasching-Varner et al, 2014), but seeing the world this way frees us from the constrains of illusion that has blunted our progress for real change. As we lose hope that whites will engage in anti-racist strategies of resistance and disinvest in both from supremacy and capitalism we awake from the Matrix therefore gaining more agency. Imagining [a new society] it does little good, but confronting oppression day by day and step by step in an unapologetic way may help us towards a more equitable end, and in the short term at least annoy the hell out of those with power and the threat of this solution. Bell (1992) reminded us that confrontation with our oppressor… can bring about unexpected benefits and gains that in themselves justify continued behavior...this in itself should give us hope for the future (p. 378) (Fasching-Varner et al, 2014, p. 425).

#### Discourse of economics is founded on racial anxieties that conflates material and racial interests to create serial policy failures—it’s not a question about solving for racism, but challenging structures of antiblackness on a micro and macro level

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Support for resistance as a human practice for freedom and sovereignty for youth and not as a method to end all oppression is grounded in two facts: on the micro level: the well intendant, middle-class, white females who make up the bulk of the U.S. teaching force enter prepared to teach their subject matter but are clueless about how to work in communities of color, and they lack a measured purpose “for entering the profession and more importantly meaningful understanding/critical consciousness about their positionalities” (Fasching-Varner, 2012 as cited in Fasching-Varner et al, 2014, p. 423). When most of these teachers in their preservice program cite their explanation for wanting to become a teacher their response lacking any depth, critical thought, grounding, and sophistication voice, “I love kids” (Fasching-Varner et al, 2014). As such, these well-intended teachers become co-opted into being cogs in a system that produces/supports the type of race and class based stratification in society we have discussed throughout this paper. On a macro level: as a consequence of the former and all that we have discussed in this paper, for many urban students, the training they receive in schools involves preparing them to be either prisoners, low-wage labors, or conditions them to get accustomed to such a fate as this training is as important to the “welfare” of the free market as is training the future presidents, scientist and businesspeople (Fasching-Varner et al., 2014). The separation and sorting of classes and peoples is refined in the 21st century through schools and recycled though prisons. Moreover, this new economy is the driving force behind the maintenance of oppression. Although, there is billions to be made through educational reform and penal institutions, schools and prisons allow the society to select who will have access to the economy and at what levels (Fasching-Varner et al, 2014) while race is used to scare white people that their material interest is fundamentally different and at odds with black people (Bell, 1995; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Brown and De Lissovoy, 2011; Marable, 2002; Mills, 1997; Omi and Winant, 1994;Winant, 2000). For blacks, this has always been the case as our integration into American Capitalism secured the financial wealth of whites (Marable, 2000). Our exploitation is directly tied to our status at the bottom of America’s racial and economic caste system (Marable, 2000), while white advantage is tied to black disadvantage and will continue to do so as long as capitalism remain the method of how America redistributes its wealth and resources.

#### We must de-center white-male subjectivity as a pre-requisite to any revolutionary praxis—failure to analyze the structural condition of antiblackness maintains white supremacy

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On the centering of the white subject, Nolan (2009) writes that not only did reproduction theories take place before the dramatic shifts in the political economy, described earlier, but it also “focused on the reproduction of a white labor force,” (p. 39) which should force us to ask different research questions. De-centering the white subject is difficult when one of the most prominent social critics and critical theorist, Henry A. Giroux, lists the exclusion of race and gender from theories of reproduction and resistance as “rarely taking unto an account… issues of race and gender” (2006, p. 33) and not the denial of recognition from a strongly Eurocentric academic scholarship. Reinforcing the exclusion of black bodies in the discussion of “subjects” (Sithole, 2014), and explicit exclusion of women as they are just ‘private bodies” (Hextrum, 2014) which has been persistent in education scholarship. The problem with current scholarship and discussions of the “working class” is that this is a category that is universal and of transcendental quality (Haymes, 2002), which is beyond “any particular lived context or situation of existence” (p. 156). Stephen N. Haymes criticizes Freire on the grounds that “Freire failed to see that working class identities, and class identities more generally, could also be ‘black’” (p. 156). I think this too applies to Giroux as his whole literature review about the working-class subject and resistance was absent of any scholars of Color women, as the academics he cited were all white males and the subjects of their scholarship were all Europeans. An erasure of black consciousness that is also class fits the scholarship perfectly as blackness is viewed as a threat to whiteness that has to be exterminated. For those of the Marxist family and all of it branches, class is viewed as an objective reality while race is subjective and founded in economic relations. Consequently, race is dismissed or diminished as the body is only an economic one (a material body) and not a phenomenological, ontological or epistemological one (Haymes, 2002). Moreover, we are not allowed to fully understand “the relationship between racial subjectivity and bodily consciousness, particularly in the case of black oppression and liberation” (Haymes, 2002, p. 156). This in turns as Haymes (2002) argues ignores “the potentially existential emancipatory role that reflective consciousness” (p. 156) if we were to use the black experience as “racialized embodied subjectivity” (p. 156) for liberation. Giroux in his the Giroux Reader, the “Sociology of Education and Theories of Reproduction and Resistance” chapter claims “European cultural studies, resistance theorist” (2006, p. 5) as the foundational scholars who have attempted to demonstrate “the mechanism of social and cultural reproduction are never complete” (p.5). He goes on to argue that this was the first time the idea of “agency” and “human action” have been debated and discussed in education while systematically ignoring the contributions of people of color have not only made in revolutionary theory but also educational theory. Moreover, he quotes Willis (1981) endlessly as someone who challenged the traditional paradigm of economic reproduction theories with the introduction of cultural studies and the concept of “cultural production” (Giroux, 2006). Although Willis wrote his book on the working-class white male youth in a small British town in the 1970s, this communicates to readers that these British youth experiences in their homogenous cultural environment are generalizable to other contexts. What makes matter worse for Giroux includes the lack of recognition that these “Lads” displayed strong racist views towards immigrants and highly sexist and anti-woman views behavior and action towards their girl classmates (Willis, 1981). In Learning to Labor on the seven and a half pages sub-section12 titled “Sexism” and the other “Racism” Willis explains the lads13 relationship with women and minorities as the “Two other groups...their own superiority is enacted are girls and ethnic minority groups (p. 43). The lads only received a feeling of superiority by subjugating groups to an inferiority status as a defensive mechanism to offset their own fragile, unstable white males identities, that is located in both their maleness and economic insecurity during that time period. Being a woman and being colored were somehow a threat to their white maleness. Women, for the lads viewed their opposite sex classmates as “sexual objects and domestic comforters,” (p. 43) as the girls are viewed as objects by the lads, who as a commodity, she is “actually diminished by sex; she is literally worthless; she has been romantically and materially partly consumed” (p. 44). For students of Color, Willis suggests “The mere fact of different colour can be enough to justify an attack or intimidation” (p. 48) and this difference creates a “derogatory view of other racial types is simply assumed as the basis for this and other actions” (p. 48) like “verbal, if not actual violence shown to the ‘fuckin’ wog’, or the ‘bastard pakis’” (p. 48). We should view those who use this text and who locates their political orientation as radical suspect if they consciously site work that is extremely sexist and racist and is uncritical of this. It would be dishonest to discount these actions as being blinded by capitalist false ideologies. Workingclass male chauvinism and misdirected hyper-masculinities is an overt reflex created by white control and domination. Giroux and the Marxist family of reproduction and critical theory center the white male in their analysis of the human subject who is gifted inherently with revolutionary potential (Marx and Engels, 1948). This is surprising as those who are supposedly of the “critical” tradition are coincidentally uncritical when it comes to issues of race, white racism and exclusionary nature of European epistemologies. Nothing about their positionalities is located in their philosophy. This becomes inherently problematic as it recreates and maintains oppression whereby scholars standpoint fail to relate to the subject matter and the lives of those who they claim to speak or advocate for (Alcoff, 1992). Therefore, we need to place race, and gender out of the margins and into the center and recognize that these are co-produced and interconnected logics that control and dominate non-privileged social identities (Collins, 1990; Morris, 2007). As subjects, whiteworking males’ creates problems in a world that no longer need their representation as a universal signifier. This should lead to their replacement, I prefer a poor Woman of Color as they are excluded and oppressed by their class, race and gender in turn creating a "triple marginally"(Collins, 1990). One can not separate race and class from each other, and although they have historically operated differently throughout history to exploit racial minorities we must at the same time reconfigure our conceptualization of race and capital so they these two form of operations are analyzed together to create an “economics of racism” (Brown and De Lissovoy, 2011). These criticisms do not totally invalidate the contributions of these theories especially Giroux who has written invaluable information in the fields of critical pedagogy, critical media studies, cultural studies, and the sociology of education but the reader of his works and others’ should be highly critical before he/she appropriates this literature for the struggle. Additionally, Giroux argued that cultural production theories take into account working class culture but he does not situate race and whiteness as tied to the white worker ethos and pathos and how this is fundamentally anti black and embedded within the European psyche (Haymes, 2002; Sithole, 2014). White and European academics maintain and reinforce the antiblack racist, and sexist status quo by pushing these bodies and their knowledge’s to the margin for the hope that once white men come to a “critical consciousness” they will liberate and emancipate all humanity (Marx and Engels, 1948; Freire, 2000). This has not happened and never will as whites, in particular heterosexual white males have too much invested in the natural order of things (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991; hooks, 1981) and their whiteness evokes a sense of property as something belonging exclusively to white people (Harris, 1995). Therefore, blacks can never fully enjoy the American Dream that white’s seem to be exclusively entitled to. To fight race we need to theorize race and racism. Without this radical commitment to fighting against racial oppression, black people on the planet under the specter of necropower could potentially face extermination. Haymes (2002) cites in his argument about Freire “his conceptual limitation regarding race that must be called into question” (p. 155), the same should go for Giroux. While it's partly true that we cannot understand racism without class (Brown and De Lissovoy, 2011; Haymes, 2002) the reality for African-Americans “in an anti-black racist society is that they live class though race and therefore as ‘black people’” (Haymes, 2002, p. 155). Within this context, the oppressive order will remain as long as white men remain our hope, which is why we should decenter and place them at the margins of our analysis of reproduction theory and our debates about emancipation, liberation and global revolution. Although reproduction is still valid, it should be reworked to fit a contemporary world where dispossession and domination is global and grander. The people in this universe are becoming governed by a neoliberal Anglo-American economic logic strengthened by a global white supremacy. A new language is needed to address these new phenomena.

# 2AC

#### Neoliberalism created these education policies to maintain the white supremacist order – we now have this police-state playpen of rigorous surveillance and criminal sanction to control and isolate poor students of color in order to protect the desirable and productive classes

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With all of this being said, this chapter will argue that the consequences of a rising neoliberal paternalism and the structural formation of a reconfigured racism has shaped the schooling of low-income urban black youth for the worst. In education, “children of Color and their communities do not author the policies that shape there schooling. Rather, they are characters written into a subplot by the dominant authors, who can rewrite their intentions at will” (Vaught, 2011, p. 64). Black people and their communities have little or no recourse because their children were incidental objects of education policy shaped by white actors for the maintenance of the white supremacist social order. Education in urban schools filled with low-income black youth is now practicing poverty control responsibilities. The question is why? The how question is the easy part, but linking structural and ideological elements to micro practices of poverty containment in both social and penal policy is quite the task. In the chapter I will attempt to unpack this modern phenomenon. But first I will offer a quick overview to this chapter and the paper at large as to why students are now being domesticated as criminals, low-wage laborers or zombies: 1) neoliberal governance provides the back drop to zero tolerance polices, the securitization of urban schools, the privatization, deregulation and marketizing of public education in this country, 2) larger changes in the global economy has repurposed and radically restructured the entire educational system to operate in a different form of capital accumulation in the community economy, 3) schools in low-income communities of color are used as a means to control its population in a police-state like existence with its mechanisms of hypersurveillance, which serves to control, contain, and isolate poor people of color, 4) poverty management and control leads to hyper-surveillance instruments in schools and residential areas that are used to protect middle/upper class students and homes from dangers outside of its borders and to contain poor students and residents of color from venturing outside of the predetermined geographic spaces, 5) teachers in low-income urban schools preform different functions than teachers that educate middle-class students and in turn perceive low-income students differently before they even enter the classroom, 6) agreeing with Brown’s (2015) interpretation of Wacquant's analysis of neoliberalism, she argues that in the wake of industrialization, a new permanent form of structural unemployment “intensified race-class polarization”, whereby, the state apparatus has reconfigured by “unifying social and penal politics into two strands of poverty policy workfare and prisonfare” (p. 399), 7) we are now witnessing a shift in resource allocation from social services managed by the state and wrap-around services by the school to police and operations that manage bodies through military and penal practices and techniques, thus representing a strong relationship between the increase in military and penal expenditures and decreasing traditional social welfare and rehabilitation expenditures6 , 8) as a consequence now schools in which poor students of color attend are often used as “storage facilities” or “warehouses” to contain “disposable youth” (Giroux, 2013) who are viewed as “waste products of a society that no longer considers them any value for labor extraction as the new global economy needs their labor. Many of these youth are pushed out of schools, denied job training opportunities, and subjected to rigorous modes of surveillance and criminal sanctions” (location 1370). Now more then ever as youth are now viewed as a liability and not a social investment because of this 9) the prison makes some use of this otherwise unproductive waste, but other that, most students will live their terminal existence as a redundancy (Giroux, 2008) in our racial, social and economic caste system living in temporal realm of “deathscapes.” Deathscapes requires the state to subject humans to inhumane forms of existence. It was told to me by a colleague that both workfare and prisonfare are the living example of a social death, a sanction by the actors who practice and profit from exploitative capitalism and racism.

#### Eyes forward, feet on the ground, hands on the desk, be docile, submit to authority - The education system functions as a means to recreate the race and class divides of modern capitalism—the schooling system operates as a self-fulfilling prophecy that remaps societal expectations onto America’s youth

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The political-economy model of reproduction has exerted the strongest influences on radical theories of schooling (Giroux, 2006). Developed primarily around the work of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, it has had a major influence on theories about “the hidden curriculum, educational policies studies and a wide range of ethnographic research” (Giroux, 2006, p. 8). At the core of the political-economic approach are two fundamentally important questions that focus on the relationship between schooling and society, as argued by Giroux (2006); 1) ”How does the educational system function within society?” (p.8) And 2) “How do schools fundamentally influence the ideologies, personalities and needs of the students?” (p. 8). While theorists who work within this model provide different answers, they agree frequently on the relationship between power and domination on the one hand, and the relationship between schooling and the economy on the other (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Giroux, 2006; Saltman, 2014, 2015). Power, in these accounts, as defined by Giroux (2006), is examined primarily in the terms of its functions to mediate and legitimate the relations of dominance and subordinance in the economic sphere. For political-economist, power becomes the property of dominant groups and operates to reproduce class, gender, and racial inequalities that “functions in the interest of the accumulation and expansion of capital” (Giroux, 2006, p. 8). This becomes clearer in the way as economic-reproductive theorist analyze the relations between economy and schooling. Central to the economic-reproductive position is the notion that schools can only be understood while analyzing the structural effects of the work place and linked to the correspondence principle developed by Bowles and Gintis. Bowles and Gintis (2011) will be 69 quoted at length as they describe the correspondence between education, and the hierarchical division of labor with the end result being the adjusting of young people to a set of social relationships similar to those of the work place : As we have seen the lowest levels in the hierarchy of the enterprise emphasize rule-following, middle levels, dependability, and the capacity to operate without direct and continuous supervision while the higher levels stress the internalization of the norms of the enterprise. Similarly, in education, lower levels ( junior and senior high school) tend to severely limit and channel the activities of students. Somewhat higher, up the educational ladder, teacher and community colleges allow for activity that is more independent and less over all supervision. At the top the elite four year colleges emphasize social relationships conformable with the higher levels in the production hierarchy...As they ‘master’ one type of behavioral regulation, they are allowed to progress to either the next or channeled into the corresponding level in the hierarchy of production. Even within a single school, the social relationships of different tracks tend to conform to different behavioral norms. Vocational and general tracks emphasize rule-following and close supervision, while the college track tends towards a more open atmosphere emphasizing the internalization of norms (p. 132). The relationship between the lowest level of occupational structure and the schooling processes for students who attend these schools situate their desires and aspirations a conformist mindset in order to accept rules of those higher up the ladder. Those of the upper-level have to internalize the enterprise and manipulate others to accept their position in the hierarchy. This difference in the social relationships among and within school in part reflects both the social backgrounds of the student body and their likely future economic positions. Thus blacks and other minorities are concentrated in schools whose repressive, arbitrary, and generally chaotic internal order, coercive authority structure and minimal possibilities for advancement mirror the characteristics of inferior job situations (Anyon, 1980; Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Brown, 2005; Noguera, 2008; Saltman, 2014, 2015; Wacquant, 2001). Similarly, predominantly working-class schools tend to emphasize behavioral control and rule-following, while schools in the well to do suburbs employ relatively open systems that favor greater student participation, “less direct supervision, more student electives, and in general, a value system stressing internalized standards of control” (Bowles and Gintis, 2011, p. 132). Working class schools in both white and black working-class communities are subject to punitive, rigid, disciplinary reforms that for Saltman (2015) “is designed to instill in students submission to hierarchical control,” (p. 228) which occurs through the daily pedagogical practices of “scripted lessons, direct instruction, strict bodily codes demanding students keep their feet on the floor and their hands on the desk and eyes on the teacher” (p. 228). The overall agenda aims to make docile disciplined subjects who will submit to authority of the teacher to later submit to the authority of the boss. As the new service economy produces more and more flexible, precarious, low-wage, low-skill labor, working-class students like their parents before them were conditioned and prepared at an early age to consent to free-market rule and embrace its ideologies by accepting worsening work conditions in a deregulated globalized economy. In this view, the underlying experience and relations of schooling are hyper-(re)animated by the power of capital to provide different skills, attitudes and values to students of different classes, races and gender (Giroux, 2006). In effect, schools mirror not only the social division of labor but also the wider society’s class structure. What is important to remember, as articulated by Bowles and Gintis (2011), is the differential socialization pattern of schools attended by students of different social classes do not arise by accident, as the economy can only be ongoingly recreated in this view if workers learn to take their place and play their role in the production process (Bowles and Gintis, 2011). Rather, the pattern reflects the fact that the educational “objectives and expectation of administrators, teachers and parents differ for students of different social classes”(p. 132). This leads to a more harmonious reproduction of the class structure by arguing that in the day to day operation of the schools as illustrated by Bowles and Gintis (2011): 1) the working class parents favor more structured education methods which is not only a reflection of their own work experiences of demonstrating submission to authority as an essential ingredient in order to get a stable well paying job, 2) the professional parents “prefer a more open atmosphere and a greater emphasis on motivational control” p. 133) that is similarly a reflection of their position in the social division of labor, and 3) the higher-status parents are more likely than their lower-status neighbors to choose open classroom for their children for the justification that this allows for the development of capacity for sustained student work and other characteristics required for adequate job performance in the upper-levels of the occupational hierarchy. The harmonious social relations come in the production of parents who value particular schooling pedagogies that reflect their work and the expectations that their children will take their place in the labor, social and economic hierarchy. This is embedded within a larger nexus of ideological absorption by the poor, working and middle-class communities. The ruling class domination, of the cultural and knowledge apparatuses in our society (Bourdieu and Passerson, 1977) persuades the masses that the unequal sorting and sifting that a society does is a “matter of either merit or natural talent,” (Saltman, 2015, p. 228) thereby shifting the blame from 72 structures and institutions to individuals behaviors and particular groups of peoples’ cultural norms and beliefs systems (Bourdieu and Passerson, 1977; Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Saltman, 2015). Bowles and Gintis (2011) debunks this myth of meritocracy by arguing empirically that the determinant of students future wealth and income is a students class position and family wealth and income rather than either intelligence or amount of schooling. This main insight into our schooling system offered by reproduction theory in America with regard to the relationship between schooling and poverty have largely been ignored by both Liberals and Conservatives (Saltman, 2015). Rather than recognize the extent to which schooling has been and continue to be implicated in the recreation of the class and racial hierarchy across the political spectrum. Politicians and teacher experts’ alike make a simple yet false connection that more schooling not only leads to greater inclusion into the capitalist economy (especially for at-risk students, lowincome students and minorities) but is vital to making society more egalitarian by providing everyone with equal opportunities (Saltman, 2014, 2015). Matter of fact, education seems to stabilize society by reproducing its inequality throughout generations, not disrupting inequality.

#### Now into the classroom, the teacher sees the dark students: animals, troublemakers, wastes of time and resources. Merely miniature versions of their monstrous black fathers out there on the streets. It is too late to save them - the teacher has already given up on those marked for social death

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School’s for the students in the 21st century throughout the United States most frequently punish the students who have the greatest academic, social, economic, and emotional needs (Brown, 2015; Giroux 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, Kupchik and Ward, 2011; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2011). A through examination of which students are most likely to be suspended, expelled or removed from the classroom for punishment, reveals that minorities (especially black and Latino) males, and low achievers are vastly overrepresented (Brown, 2015; Ferguson, 2000; Ferguson; Giroux 2008, 2013; Lipman, 2011, Kupchik and Ward, 2011; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2011; Vaught, 2011; Simon, 2007). The enactment of zero-tolerance policies related to discipline in school districts has contributed to a significant increase in the number of children who are being suspended and expelled from schools (Brown, 2015; Giroux,2008, 2013; Kupchik and Ward, 2011; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2011; Vaught, 2011; Simon, 2007). This section explains why this has occurred. In the preachment of educational inequality, schools have become implicated in the broader criminalization of youth (Brown, 2005, 2015; Hirschfield , 2008; Krueger, 2010; Means, 2013, Noguera, 2008; Nolan 2009, 2011). With the waning of social democratic policy and the emergence of neoliberal governance, social commitments to schools and to youth have evaporated at the bottom of the race and class structure, while the state has broadly expanded various punitive forms of social control (Brown, 2005, 2015; Means, 2013, Nolan, 2011). In the post-Columbine and post-9/ 11 contexts, public schools have broadly experimented with new systems of risk management, security, and surveillance that are rooted in the symbolic and material practices of the criminal justice system (Simon, 2007). However, while all schools have to some degree experienced heightened security arrangements over the last ten years, these practices have been much more prevalent and intensive in urban public schools serving high concentrations of low-income minority students (Kupchik and Ward, 2011). Next, Patricia Krueger (2010) argue that schools with large populations of students of color are much more likely to lock their doors during the school day. The justification for these preemptive security measures situates youth in urban schools as inherently misbehaving and of need of intensified discipline and control. In schools where the majority of their students are low-income, she found an increasing reliance on punitive school safety practices. These messages are both subtle and overt: When the learning environment of students who are mostly punished for noncriminal behavior are increasingly turned into prison-like spaces, then the combined effects of discriminatory treatment, systemic and institutionalized racism are particularly devastating for low-income youth and students of color. In this current economic production of ‘prison nation’ (Herivel and Wright 2003) schools increasingly feed the U.S. prison system with socially undesired populations to warehouse them as low-wage and exploitable workers (Krueger, 2010, p. 395). Krueger (2010) does an excellent job of linking the neoliberal punitive state and its incorporation of the prison the micro processes of school safety measures and systemic and institutionalized racism for the summation to produce a prison nation. To farther develop a connection of two seemly dissimilar social phenomenon’s Krueger (2010) argues “school lockdowns and hallway enclosures parallel an ideological mode of space production that creates physical enclaves to disproportionately exclude poor youth and students of color who increasingly experience ‘massive exclusion from the formal economy’” (p. 395). Therefore, through the analysis of Krueger, we grasp the problematic relationship between these students uselessness in our post-industrial economy to their exclusion from our formal educational system. Schools are incorporating poverty control mechanisms and prison control techniques as urban youth are positioned in our society either “endangered” or “dangerous,” (Ferguson, 2000). While arguments on social problems are increasingly framed in terms of supposed criminal pathologies of young black people (Giroux 2013; (Means, 2013; Ferguson, 2000). What situates these morphed modes of oppressive operations in is the era of racially targeted “law and order” policies and their racially skewed mass imprisonment (Wacquant, 2001), in the reigning public image of the criminal that is not just inherently different from us and yourself but a black monster of young African American men from the intercity (Wacquant, 2001). African American men have come to personify the explosive mix of moral degeneracy and mayhem (Wacquant, 2001). Black males are represented in our society as criminal (Ferguson, 2000; Monroe, 2005; Page, 1997; Wacquant, 2002), and “at risk” academically (Noguera, 2008). This occurs through media representations by journalist, Hollywood portrayals of inner city black youth as cultural different, or deficient, scholarly research, and public discourses about urban life centered on race and criminality (Ferguson, 2000; Monroe, 2005; Page, 1997). Black males are also portrayed in the media as “incompetents of a violent nature,”(Page, 1997, p. 100) as “black males are featured in media images that seems to threaten the body politic” (p. 100), they are consistently depicted as “unembraceable,” this leads the public to justify “costly prisons, instead of homes for the homeless” (p. 100). The target behind “the media constructions of the utterly violent black male criminal”(p. 100) are the youth who reside in low-income communities, and their parents. These citizens are perceived in the same negative light by both middle-class blacks and whites as dangerous with criminal pathologies (Wacquant, 2001). Middle-class citizens view these communities and their students as dangerous and worth avoiding at all cost. In supporting this line of thought, Hirschfield (2008) states, “in short, the gated community may be a more apt metaphor to describe the security transformation of affluent schools, while the prison metaphor better suits that of inner-city schools” (p. 84). Moreover, because education is a part of social welfare programs that has experienced drastic budget cuts under a neoliberal governmentality, teachers now have to write off students that are “un-deserving” (Ferguson, 2000) for the logic being limited resources invested in failing students is counter productive. It should come to no surprise that teachers view their black boys in a negative and often destructive light. Schools serve as sites for the reproduction of these negative racial representations of black boys by the practices of their teachers and administrators (Ferguson, 2000; Morris, 2007). One factor in the treatment of poor inner-city youth as prison inmates hinges on the proposition that their teachers see these students as unsalvageable (Ferguson, 2000). Implicit in this mode of thinking rest two recognizable structural realities that both administrators and teachers are consciously aware of: 1) That prison looms over the future of African American youth who fail in school 2) Schools have to sacrifice students who are troublesome to teach those who are more deserving or promising because of the lack of resources (Ferguson, 2000; Hirschfield, 2008). Research conducted by Fine et al., (1992) in California find that many students in impoverished schools believe that educators perceive them as “animals,” “inmates,” “or killers” (as cited in Hirschfield, 2008). Moreover, “black males and females are less than half as likely as their white counterparts to believe their teachers support and care about their success” (Noguera, 2008, as quoted in Hirschfield, 2008, p. 92). The sociology of education tells us that dominant images such as black males being “bound for jail” and “unsalvageable,” (Hirschfield, 2008) can often lead to a self-fulfilling prophecy, as students begin to perform a role that they view as preordained by their social realities and as told to them by their teachers. Students are known to modify the performance of their identities to fit the “script” teachers have for them (Ferguson, 2000; Noguera, 2008). In turn, students take this script projected from the teacher to perform roles imaged for adults in the world outside of school. To explain simply, teachers treat their current black students as their future adult selves, who will occupy a spot in a prison cell or who will become teenage parents on government assistance (Ferguson, 2000; Morris, 2007). These realities are often internalized by school staff and incorporated into the schools disciplinary process as early as fifth or sixth grade (Ferguson, 2000; Hirschfeld, 2008). To preempt arguments made by those who claim “these students” commit more behavioral infractions, Means (2013) argues “research…notes...racial bias in punishment is largely unreflective of behavioral differences across geographical and racial lines” (p. 31). This phenomenon becomes more pathetic when we discover the treatment of these youth is a general practice nationwide and not atypical, or isolated events in our society. (Kupchik and Ward, 2011; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2009, 2011; Wacquant, 2001). What experiences black boys and girls face appears to be common practice in inner city, public schools (Brown, 2005, 2015; Kupchik and Ward, 2011; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2009, 2011; Wacquant, 2001)..

#### School function as auxiliary penal institutions that seek to control black youth and place them as the lowest worker in society

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In an economy, that becoming less able to provide its students with full time work, schools produce subjects that accept the conditions of a fragmented, unstable lower-class as criminalization and low-skilled labor becomes reality for black youth. If these students do not work they will accept their positions as a pre-determined life, one where authority expressed by punishment is to be exercised to its fullest, in the hopes that their potential for rebellion and resistance are repressed. My argument is as follows: as work becomes less of a possibility for black youth, the state under the specter of the empire will continuously deploy all of it power in all forms to ensure the function of capitalism and white supremacy. This is the proper response to advance marginality created by the roll back of the welfare state and the celebration of market fundamentalism by our lawmakers and ruling elites. Moreover, for the past three decades we have witnessed declining financial support for the education of children from minorities groups and low-income families which leaves more resources to be devoted to the children of those with more commanding roles in the economy (Vaught, 2011). Middle and upper class white families use their political influence to shift educational resources to their children and away from poor students of color on the notion that students who are redundant and disposable should not limited funds devoted to them (Vaught, 2011). In addition, Giroux’s (2006) disappointment in the determinism of the political-economy model of reproduction should be viewed as secondary to the everyday reality of black youth, who experience the strong arm of the neoliberal leviathan which erodes, snatches possibilities and encloses them in Orwellian like conditions. The question why urban schools are performing poverty control responsibilities in a neoliberal society was discussed in the first chapter. Consequently, massive amounts of bodies are simply now surplus in a service, globalized, technological economy where capital and jobs move with the push of a button. New markets are instantaneously created on laptops and mobile phones which a decade ago would have been unimaginable. We need to now reconsider theories of social reproduction in education to incorporate the penal functions of low-income minorities urban schools so one can illuminate the fact that while some schools “reproduce traditional social class hierarchies schools in low-income neighborhood of color now assist in the production of a criminalized class” (Nolan, 2009, p. 29). This supports Bowles and Gintis (2011) thesis that the reproduction of the class system is not perfect, absolute nor without its problems, because the reproduction process is often contradictory as the people who function it are too. For Nolan (2011) the upper half of the class and schooling ladder reproduction still produces similar social relationships, it’s the lower half that needs to be updated or replaced. Therefore, educational theorist and activist should not disregard the whole framework just to acknowledge that schools are now poverty storage warehouses for 21st century youth. The urban school now is “a kind of auxiliary penal institution in which some of the city’s most marginalized youth spent their days under heavy police surveillance” (Nolan, 2011, location in Kindle application 143). This is fundamentally different when “teachers and school administrators in a working-class school” (Bowles and Gintis 2011, p. 133) are forced into a “relationship that fairly closely mirrors that of the factory” (p. 133). The numbers and research around increasing prison rates and a declining manufacturing sector should cause alarm for those who are invested and passionate about public education and issues of race and equity. However, since the 1980s, the prison system has become increasingly settled in the economic, political, and ideological life of the United States and the transnational trafficking in U.S. commodities, culture, and ideas (Davis, 2003). The consequences of carceralization of all life is the rapid creation of these new penal institutions producing and reproducing criminal subjectivities as formal education centers remain the major conduits to prisons. To offer a counter argument, one that is grounded in the reality of the students who this paper is more interested in, the relationship between the urban public school and the prison system is not a simple one (just as the relationship between the class system and schools was not absolute or pre-determined), nor is there necessarily a direct path from one institution to the other, as the school–prison track or “pipeline” metaphor used by advocates suggests (Nolan, 2011). The school–prison track is a well- documented phenomenon, but what it looks like on the ground needs to be illuminated. Nolan (2011) argues that students do not generally go from school to prison based on one run- in with the law, in the school hallway. Instead, students are subjected to heavy policing in various domains of their lives— in the streets, on public transportation, and, in the case of hallways in large urban public schools. Nolan (2011) illustrates how indirect this path from school to prison is: As they accumulate summonses for minor violations of the law and school misbehavior, they ultimately miss court appearances, and warrants are then put out for their arrest. In some cases, students have another confrontation with police in school. At other times, they get caught up in low- level criminal activity on the street, and when it is discovered that they missed a court appearance (after receiving a summons in school), they spend time in jail. So although it is true that disproportionately high numbers of poor and working- class youth of color face prison sentences, it is equally important to note that many more are subjected to low- level forms of penal management without ever doing serious time behind bars (Location 338 in Kindle app). A direct pipeline between schools and prison does not exist even though the demographics of students who attend these low-performing public school and those who attend prison are similar. I would like to take time to rebut and shift the discussion on this phenomenon.\

#### Schools legitimize and reproduce social structures by creating the same disciplinary tactics that push black bodies into the penal system to produce cheap sources of labor—any discussion of the ‘working’ class must be centered around black subjectivity to problematize innerclass violence

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

If scholars continue to explore how schools legitimize and reproduce unequal social structures, then a new approach is needed to understand gender, race, and class. Reproduction theories are insufficient to explain how the schooling experiences of black youth in a punitive neoliberal post/de-industrialized world relate to the production of social, political, and economic inequality. The educational environment for low-income black youth now resembles a prison factory for the 21st century. Instead of producing working subjects who identify with an industrial capitalism, these students are being produced as criminals who strongly identify with the presence of a security, penal and military apparatus (Brown, 2005). There is a need for a framework that reveals how gender and race still operates in schools, creating negative effects for male and female alike. I would recommend using reproduction theory alongside theories of punishment (Garland, 1990; Nolan, 2009; Wacquant, 2001), crime and security (Simon, 2007), Intersectionality (Collins, 1990; Crenshaw, 1991; Christensen and Jensen, 2012; hooks, 1981; Morris, 2007), structural theories of race (Bell, 1995; Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Brown and De Lissovoy, 2011; Marable, 2000, 2002; Mills, 1997; Omi and Winant, 1994; Winant, 2000), and analysis of the new political economy and its impact in relation to the reconfiguration of the state, race, the urban city and advanced marginality (Brown, 2015; De Lissovoy, 2012; Fording, et al., 2011; Giroux, 2008, 2013; Goldberg, 2008; Lipman, 2011, 2013; Marable, 2000; Means, 2013; Saltman, 2014; Wacquant, 2009 ,2010,2012). This will allow us to shed light on the reproduction of material subordination in the form of race, class, and gender, through their infusion of the criminal justice system and their responsibility of crime and poverty control. At the macro- level policy, scholars can unpack the motivations and outcomes of these inequalities while situating them within a governing logic of capital and racial domination. This will allow us to see why and how particular groups of students are either afforded or denied access to highly cognitive curriculum and critical thinking skills, positive attitudes about their sense of self, real expectations and aspirations for their futures, and pro-social behaviors in society at large. The theoretical framework of reproduction theory in education is as valid today as it was in the past (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Ferguson, 2000, Kupchik and Ward, 2011; MacLeod, 2009; Morris, 2007; Noguera, 2008; Nolan, 2009; Saltman, 2014, 2015; Wacquant, 2001). Bowles and Gintis, following Marx provided us, as critical scholars in education, with a powerful tool for unearthing the dominant ideology of class and social inequality in our society. The reason why it is important is that it centers the political economy in the logic of reproduction. In this chapter, I argued that schools are still important as sites for the reproduction of social inequality. Although the class structure is not as clearly defined as it was in the past and students employment possibilities are not necessarily aligned to linking to one's class position, the reproduction of the middle and upper-classes still rings true. What do we do with one of the most used theories to explain social inequality in education and within our society at large? We must critically analyze large urban public schools and the forms their behaviors, and actions at the micro-level to get at the logic of their operations. Bowles and Gintis (2011) wrote that for the blacks and other minorities, their schooling conditions them for their possibility of occupying a permanent position in the underclass in our economic structure. But blacks did work in factories as was argued earlier and they suffered the most, as most of these jobs were located in the center urban core where de/post-industrialization had the most severe impacts for inner-city life, thus creating large pockets of concentrated poverty and a black underclass (Wilson, 1987, 1996). Moreover, theories about reproduction centered the experiences of white working-class youth (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Willis, 1981). I spent substantial time arguing for the decentering of white males from the universal “working-class” subject. Moreover, I argued that their move to the margins should be replaced with a group of people who are the least likely to reinforce the exclusion of different voices. The white working-class youth are not walking into factories as they did in the past. For the future of reproduction theory in education, the incorporation of the prison techniques can be used as a way to illustrate how low-income schools perform poverty control in a neoliberal economy. With much nuance, not every student who does encounter the law or the police in their youth will end up behind bars. What we should be most concerned about is the types of subjectivities that are now being shaped in our nation's public schools. For it to fail, we will have to produce a new society where wealth is equally distributed among all races and classes, and where one’s background paid very little in terms of what occupation you will perform in the future. We must take theory to inform our actions and inform our actions with good theory. Social reproduction theory is a key first step for it tells us what we need to know now. What we need next is what we need to know in the future. In sum, hopefully this future is not too utopian and far removed from our present, as our very own existence depends on it.

#### Black youth are Where black life is rendered precarious life—we need an analysis of race to deconstruct antiblackness at the level of civil society

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

This chapter is important as it acknowledges reproduction theories and its various explanations have been invaluable in contributing to a broader understanding of the political nature of schooling and its relation to the dominant society (Giroux, 2006). Moreover, Giroux stressed that this theory “has not achieved its promise to provide a comprehensive critical science of schooling” (Giroux, 2006, p. 3). For Giroux (2006) his main criticism of reproduction theories lies in the “over-emphasis[ing] the idea of domination in their analysis,” (p.4) and “continually patterned themselves after structural-functionalist version of Marxism,” (p.4) which stresses that history is made behind the backs of the members of society. Giroux (2006) argues that the idea that people do make history has been neglected, while human subjects “disappear amidst a theory that leaves no room for ...mediation and resistance” (p. 5). While I agree with Giroux that previous reproduction theories frame schools as factories or prisons and the actors in these institution as pawns, I disagree that this is one of the current weaknesses of reproduction theories in education. In fact, this is a realist account of how urban schools perform and function in an anti-black racist capitalist society (Fasching-Varner et al., 2014). As argued in the previous chapter, schools for low-income youth of color do act, perform and behave like factories and prisons, maybe not for working and middle-class white students, but ethnographic research and empirical data proves for poor black youth attending low-income urban schools this is the case (Kupchik and Ward, 2011; Nolan, 2011). However, taking a structural framework (See Bowles and Gintis, 2011), which is grounded in a race-class conflict approach between, blacks and whites (Bell, 1995, 2005; Brown and De Lissovoy, 2011; Marable, 2000), and the black experience (Bell, 1995, 2005; Sithole, 2014), I believe these theories have some merit. For once, we are able to shed light on the subtle and invisible ways necropower is deployed at black people, therefore making an “Orwellian fantasy” using the words of Giroux (2006) sound not-so extreme at all. Especially when schools, as described by Means (2013), resemble something out of George Orwell’s 1984; “On entering the school, one is greeted by uniformed security guards, armed police in bulletproof vest, airport style x-ray screeners, scanning wands, and metal detectors. Inside the school, metal cages on the windows, steel cages over the doors” (pp. 59-60). Moreover, while this paper discuss the actions and choices of students and as a believer in student agency and resistance, I nonetheless agree with Ferguson’s (2000) conclusion of the structure vs. agency debate: I have found it rewarding to utilize both approaches to demonstrate the interplay between the effects of social structure and the creative response of individuals in everyday life that reproduces a status quo, but that sometimes produce change...My conviction is however that the balance tilts heavily in favor of determinants (p.22). For this reason I will argue that: 1) Central to the economic-reproductive position is the notion that schools can only be understood while analyzing the structural effects of the work place and linked to the correspondence principle developed by Bowles and Gintis. Moreover, the position I take in this thesis, is there is a relationship between domination, schooling the economy and power, 2) economic-reproductive social reproduction theories are not relevant in their current form as new configurations of our economics of race in the past three decades have made pure forms of social reproduction theory in application to the lives of poor black youth irrelevant, 3) in agreement with Saltman (2014), reproduction theories must be “selectivity revived” as it now accounts for the ways in which a two-tier education system is emerging, 4) race must be centered into the discussion of reproduction theories and Marxism while decentering the white male working-class subject from urban inequality, advanced marginality and urban education, 5) the new production of youth is not as workers but as criminals. Factory like schools pre-1970s are now manufacturing/producing criminal subjectivities as the penal apparatus now looms over poor youth of color existence for racial and economic domestication and cohesion, 6) with modifications of social reproduction theory, this framework can address material and subjective changes in the lives of urban youth. In order to better frame social reproduction, an overview and explanation of the economic-reproductive model of social reproduction will be discussed next as this lens set the foundation in most debates (Giroux, 2006).

#### The privatization of public and penal policy allows for the creation of the hyperghetto where neoliberal corporations profit off of the crime of poor youth through surveillance—this is used as a tactic to maintain racial and class lines

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

In this paper, I attempted to reconfigure academic scholarship in an attempt to place macro government policies central to the reconfiguration of urban schools behavior and their practices under the theatrical frameworks of neoliberal-paternalism, and racial structural formation. I argued that the creation and maintenance of life eradication on black subjects occurs to manufacture criminal and therefore disposable populations, as a result these, students are hailed by the state to participate in the low-wage labor market or the prison to reproduce existing social relationships among humans. Moreover, I grappled with the concept that social policies under neoliberalism are disciplining unstable fractions of the black working class exposed to all manners of insecurity, aggravated by the state. The punitive neoliberal state directed exclusively towards the precariat and sub- proletariat populations (in particular black people) in our society played a pivotal role in the retrenchment of social protection but to the spatial production and the distribution of urban precariat as well (Wacquant, 2014). In the daily interactions with the state, education for poor and precarious black youth serves the function of poverty control in the neoliberal city defined exclusively not only as market conditioning practice but racial stigmatization and containment as well (Wacquant, 2014). Next, one should see in depth the permutation of social policy and penal policy that as a custom were kept separate, now these two coupled, aimed at the same populations (destabilized black, white and Latino wage laborer created by government retrenchment, market de-regulation, liberalization, privatization and a shift in the production process) deploy the same techniques (surveillance, panoptic disciplinary objectives) (Wacquant, 2014). The schooling process of black youth par excellence illustrates the meshing of the social and penal policy in the United States as the resurgence of the prison and the protective disciplining practices of the welfare and education (workfare and edufare respectfully) is not a response to criminal insecurity as argued by Simon (2007) but to the social insecurity created by unstable, unpredictable loose wage labor and racial anxiety generated by the destabilization and crumbling of previous institutions that formed capital and ethnic formation domination (Wacquant, , 2009, 2009a, 2010, 2010a, 2012, 2013a). This is a corrective of the collapse of the black ghetto in the United States (see Wacquant, 2001, 2001a, 2002, 2002a). Fourth, these macro reconfigurations in state policy influence schools that serve black youth by enacting penal security applications to function as poverty management (education is a form of welfare and social policy), as the factory is no longer needed to produce more laborers. Like Wacquant’s structural analysis of the hyperghetto and the prison, schools perform the same responsibility as both an institution that is created by race and that creates race. 24 There were plenty of analytical tools deployed in this paper to analyze, diagnose, and conceptualize social phenomena. As such, I defined and unpacked Wacquant’s concepts of workfare and prisonfare, this was juxtaposed with Sithole’s (2014) concept of deathscapes and his appropriation of Mbembe (2003) necropolitics, and Agamben (2005) state of exception coupled with a discussion of the ontological, epistemic and existential consequences of structural racial violence, as it relates to neoliberalism and outcomes for poor youth of color in a post welfare society. The consequence of the change in economics and market ideologies was argued as a stable system of governance that functions with the morphing reality of race and is fused with decade old state policies that control, constraint and repress black populations (Wacquant, 2002, 2009; Winant and Omi, 1994).

### FW/a2 other alts

#### Antiblack violence is the structuring antagonism of American life; there is no possibility of a Utopian world that ends violence against black bodies—we must instead orient are scholarship against dismantling structures that normalize surveillance of black life

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

I am writing this chapter from a Racial Realist Framework, under the belief that racism in America is permanent, “‘integral’, and an indestructible component of this society” (Bell, 2005, p. 74). Prominent legal scholar Derrick Bell who coined the term “Racial Realism” is its most fierce advocate. The central argument to his thesis is that as oppressed people, we as blacks should fight for our humanity while simultaneously acknowledging the permanence of our subordinate status as blacks under an anti-black racist and economic exploitative system in America. (Bell, 2005). I will adapt this framework of racial realism for the sole reason that a realist perspective is supported with 500 years of concrete evidence of white actions, attitudes, and behaviors towards populations of color. The readers should not expect a utopic or optimistic outlook in this chapter. To justify this I will quote Derrick Bell at length: Black People will never gain full equality in this country. Even those herculean efforts we hail as successful will produce no more than temporary ‘peaks of progress,’ short lived victories that slide into irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance. This is a hard-to-accept fact that all history verifies. We must acknowledge it and move on to adopt policies on what I call: ‘Racial Realism.’ This mind-set or philosophy requires us to acknowledge the permanence of our subordinate status… The subordination of blacks seems to reassure whites of an unspoken but no less certain property right in their ‘whiteness’...We need to recognize that a yearning for racial equality is a fantasy (Bell, 2005, pp. 74-76). At first, this chapter was titled “A Brave New World: Resistance as Outcomes for Black and Brown Youth,” and I kept this as a placeholder for almost a month. Something inside of me could not press the letter on the keyboard to begin finishing this final section of my paper. Initially I thought I would end on an optimistic tone, on the premise that the research I have gathered will lead me to offer a platform to start or continue previous discussions of ending, fighting, or resisting global-white supremacy, anti-black racism, capitalism, Empire, deathscapes, and necropolitics. A split has occurred in my thinking as of late between a utopic radicalism, meaning we can fight and radically change the status quo for a liberation politics and realism meaning the attitude or practice of accepting our anti-black, white-supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal universe as a permanent fact of existence and being prepared to deal with it accordingly is the best strategy for blacks in this nation (Bell, 2005; Curry, 2008). Most critical theorist, radicals, and others on the left will accuse me of fatalism, despair, and nihilism. Today is a crime as a black radical intellectual to both engage in the critique and accept the status quo. I am committing both errors in this chapter. The reality of most blacks in the world does not grant us the privilege afforded to both black and white bourgeoisie, where Europeans come to a realization that they need to save themselves and not black people (Bell, 2005, 2005a, Marable, 2000). No sane rational person foresees this occurring in our lifetimes or the far future. Racial realism addresses this fatal flaw in radical thinking by freeing us to imagine and implement racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph (Bell, 2005). Agreeing with Derrick Bell that racism is an integral, permanent, and indestructible component of this society, we should start seeing race in America not as a black but white problem (2005a). A new narrative on race needs to develop in which whites need their own leader to deliver a message about race that meets their concerns and interest (Bell, 2005a). A Neo like figure whom like in the Matrix fought on behalf of the citizens of Zion with the ability to end the war between humans and the machines this, White leader can potentially liberate the precariat and subproletariat white populations from their capitalist political ruling class masters. This dialogue must focus on the cost, which that burden of race exacts from whites (Bell, 2005a). Racism burdens whites too as they have suffered “economic harms, social disadvantages, and lost opportunities that white people have suffered,” (Bell, 2005a, p.329) as a result of the “pervasive and corrosive effects of social neglect which are liked directly to institutionalized racial inequality” (p.329). Black should not be solely burden with the task to dismantle every form of oppression that was erected and sustained by whites. This liberation from civil right’s discourses of equality, desegregation, progress, and overcoming only offered by racial realism, transforms the hypersurreal- reality Matrix to the dystopian Zion thus allowing our fight for freedom and emancipation to continue in the real world. Whites as a group not only believe in these systems unconsciously, subconsciously or consciously but they directly participate in its maintenance by not rejecting the system outright, accepting the status quo or consenting to its ideologies (Bell, 2005; Marable, 2000). The non-racist in my view is no better then the racist as both ideological positions support global white supremacy and anti-black racism. Whites as a group are both spectators and leading actors in the exploitation and oppression of the world’s black people, and their leaving this gladiator game in the Roman Coliseum where blacks are shot, beaten, tortured, and slaughtered does nothing to stop the games from continuing. It will only stop when whites storm the center of spectacle and engage in an active struggle against those who are operating the game, which will most likely be those who belong to their own racial group. Whites should risk their own lives knowing that after blacks are eliminated they too can become subjects to the ultimate fetishistic form of brutality – commodification in the grander conquest of capital accumulation. Only then, can whites be free from the reincarnation of sins brought forth by their forefathers: global white supremacy, capitalism, and patriarchy. Then as whites destroy their damaged, fragile, unstable and violent white identities will they be able to call themselves humans, and wake up from their own exploitation. This is a prerequisite that people of color should establish before whites begun building a sustainable reality free of exploitation and asymmetrical relationships (Marable, 2000). I think this should happen, while simultaneously thinking it will never occur. One should recognize that its not a matter of choosing between the persistence of racism or achieving a society free of racism but the fact that both of these race perspectives have utility in the lives of black people (Bell, 1995, 2005, 2005a). Only leaving us with the status quo, but a different one if we have not choose to fight and carve out a slice of humanity to fully exist. If this is true, then new questions should be asked: “If there are not opportunities for black and brown youth, and resistance is not an outcome, what should we do? ” and does the answer mean we should not fight for better schooling conditions because both school failure and prisons provide “remarkably stable and predictable market opportunities” (Fasching-Varner, et al., 2014, p. 214) that in turn furthers “the economic imperatives of the free market” (Fasching-Varner et al, 2014, p. 214). For me, part of the answer to these questions is embedded in ideological war zones that have engulfed in the field in education as whites as a group have had the need to “reconcile the contradiction between their material and historical existence…and the millions of people defined by racial exclusion,” (Curry, 2008, p. 36) thereby strangling our ability to imagine something outside of the white imagination. For centuries as argued by Curry (2008) European thinkers, and their contemporary white followers have run rampant “in the halls of academia prematurely championing the success of liberalism,” (p. 36) all without asking those who are suffering, are their material and existential experiences better under this new “progress”. Every time I have questioned the goals, agenda, and practice of this “success” as it remains a strategy for black and brown communities to gain access to an America it causes others to get uncomfortable. Granted this is a very complicated debate and has many sides, but the fact that it is not a national debate speaks volumes to how those in power deploy their influences to silence other possibilities. The irony is chilling as whites, when polled, voice support for integrated residential arrangements and equal access to public schools, but if voting with your feet and pocketbook is still a useful analogy then they have done that quite well by doing the opposite of what they “believe in”. Whites as a group have zero desire to live among blacks, moreover, they isolate themselves in exclusive neighborhoods and create zoning laws to exclude working and poor people from moving into their communities (Dinzey-Flores, 2006; Morgan, 2013; Wacquant, 2001), thereby redefining education and whiteness to as something to be only possessed by those with both racial and economic privilege (Vaught, 2011).

### T-Version of the Aff

#### State reform fails because it centers around solving for ‘equality’ as opposed to antiblackness—integrationist discourse fails to create any structural change and seeks to further domesticate the oppressed

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

Derrick Bell and other critical race scholars argue, and rightfully so, that black civil right lawyers and the larger white public denied real change for blacks by fighting for piecemeal reforms under anti-black racist laws and a oppressive capitalist economic system (Bell, 2005; Curry, 2008). African-descended people have therefore been collapsed into a single ideological goal, namely how to mold blacks into “more functional and productive members of American society under the idea of equality establish by Brown v. Board of Education” (Curry, 2008, pp. 36-37). Under this new normality, schools that serve poor students of color operate with the normative endeavor to base their identity formation around how they sound act and ought to be as Americans, with the end goal of creating good Negro citizens (Curry, 2008). This stance is problematic as equality means achieving likeness; those for whom the system is working in the first place- meaning whites (Fasching-Varner et al, 2014). This stance is even more troubling as it bolsters the relative position of those in power and puts the onus for change on those already oppressed “suggesting to them that the goal is to be like your oppressor” as the only avenue of social mobility (Fasching-Varner et al., 2014, p. 424). Equality is insulting as a strategy for blacks to fight for as it works’ to create winners of those most willing to sell out their race and for the boys to model white lower-middle-class beliefs (Fordham, 1996, 1998; Fordham and Ogbu, 1986; Young, 2007, 2010 as cited in Fasching-Varner et al, 2014). This goal is bankrupt unless the purpose is to have those from dominant groups receive the same and equal access that those of color currently receive not only is this solution not likely, as “it works against the freemarket, which, as we have already articulated, will always win...schools and prisons do not seek equality; they seek equal replication of the society” (Fasching-Varner et al, 2014, p. 424). The reality of racism demands that the education of blacks be tailored to our particular racial status in America- regardless of how educators feel about the saliency of racism in American society (Curry, 2008). Blacks cannot afford to educate ourselves and live life’s on the delusion of an integrated and non-racist white America, when we know that our reality is fundamentally determined by white racism. In America, white black relations are systemic and reproduced culturally, institutionally, and socially from generation to generation (Curry, 2008). If victories occur and the students who attend the schools described in this paper reach success in their goals, then it will produce no more than temporary peaks of progress, which will only be short lived irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance (Bell, 1992 as cited in Curry, 2008). Resistance for students is therefore grounded in practices of struggle for existence. Wherever there is youth there is the possibility for resistance. We should utilize this framework for resistance as a practice , a way of life and not a scientific predetermined outcome articulated and planned by ivory tower intellectuals. One lives, breathes, walks, and practices resistance, as the alternative is to die. One does this, knowing the outcome cannot be predicted nor planned.

### A2: Marx/Classist Struggles

#### Failure to center gender and race recreates the same antiblack and sexist politics of leftist movements against capital—mere focus on class recreates the universalizing impulse of whiteness

Rose 2015, [E. (2015). Deathscapes in Neoliberal Times: Prisonfare, Workfare and Resistance as Potential Outcomes for Black Youth.//KHS]

We need to place race and gender from the outer ring into reproduction theory’s logic by making other identities centric. In the reverse action we need to de-center the white working male body from our discussions of the reproduction of urban inequality and urban marginality and center those who belong to the black and brown communities. The working-class white no longer makes up the populace of the metropolitan city and the shop floor no longer makes up a reality for white working class males. This exclusion of other voices and experiences has led to a symbolic violence being perpetrated on to the bodies of black people. Secondly, this also acknowledges the objective reality that gender and race is produced in schools along with class (Bowles and Gintis, 2011; Ferguson, 2000; Hextrum, 2014; Morris, 2007). For instance, Bowles and Gintis (2011) assume a male subject and assume that members of the same class will have the same experience in school and/or in labor. This theory, therefore, cannot account for the fact that women were historically subjected to different curricula that prepared them for non-labor in the home (Arnot, 1994 as cited in Hextrum, 2014). Moreover, this ignores our new reality in a service economy that is situated within the governing logic of an authoritarian-neoliberal-racial penal-logic where the Leviathan splits genders into welfare to work programs (women) or the prison (men) (Wacquant, 2009). The consequences of this are the reproduction of a gender inequality, where poor women are in the subordinate position of doing lifeless low-wage, lowskill service labor (“school-to-labor-pipeline”) (Hextrum, 2014) and men subjected to the security or penal apparatus (Wacquant, 2009). The background for the exclusion of women from reproduction theory rest on the fact that under Marxism, “class relations are something to be done and experienced by men” (Hextrum, 2014, p. 96), as women are classless subjects, only experiencing domination in the home (Acker, 1988; McLaren, 1998; McRobbie, 2000, as cited in Hextrum, 2014). Since social and cultural reproduction theories rely on Marxist understandings of class and capitalism, these theories also privilege a male subject and ignore gender (Arnot, 1994 as cited in Hextrum, 2014). Women across race and class categories graduate high school and college at higher rates than men (U.S. Census Bureaus, 2012, as cited in Hextrum, 2014), yet women are still unequal. Feminists interested in gender and patriarchy within schools conducted a variety of empirical studies in the 1980s and 1990s to understand the reproduction of women’s inequality (Hextrum, 2014). The combined efforts in this area showed that patriarchy is produced and reproduced in both schools and labor through the structure, curriculum choices, and teacher student interactions within the education system (Arnot, 1994; Clarricoates, 1981, as cited in Hextrum, 2014). Scholarship on gender inequality in education revealed the following findings that closely paralleled the work of class reproduction theorists.

#### While antiblack policies imprison large blocks of poor white youth; racial anxiety’s seek to recreate violence by pitting poor racial minorities against eachother to prevent change—we must center our resistance in both race and class oppression

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One of the most obvious disadvantages of doing a conceptual paper is the lack of empirical data in the practice of fieldwork to back up the arguments that were explored in this paper. I could not examine personally and on a ground level the culture, and experiences of those who are subjected to the brute structural, symbolic and epistemic violence of white supremacist capitalist hegemony. I witnessed so many events working in the schools that I am describing in this paper that would have been purposeful. As an advantage, I was able to focus on gathering more ideas and digging deeper in the literature providing a robust, comprehensive understanding of often contradictory and dynamic historical, social, political, and cultural practices that seem to have accumulated an advantage for whites with economic privilege dis-accumulation and dispossession of resources and opportunities for blacks. Secondly, I did not address the fact that black youth in the suburbs are subjected to the same penal and social discipline measures in their schools. Zero-tolerance laws and anti-crime legislation impacts all schooling opportunities for youth in every K-12 academic institution in this country. This is a post Columbine school shooting and 9/11 reality we live in. Although, I did not discuss prisonfare, workfare and resistance opportunities for black and brown youth in the suburbs, I do recognize the objective reality that the suburbs are becoming more diverse, and as cities become more expensive to live in and as affordable housing becomes less available suburban school districts are now dealing with populations they have little experience with. The main reason I centered the urban space is that I believe that larger metropolitan areas are ground zero for neoliberal. In reality, the majority of poor black students are not only trapped in large urban cities but attend school there also. Cities like Chicago are a laboratory for neoliberal education restructuring and resistance to it, so that is why it was my focus, as a case study for the political economy of urban education today. Finally, I focused exclusively on black youth. However I understand that Latinos and our brothers and sisters from the Caribbean who are more phenotypically, and culturally similar to African Americans then to Europeans are treated by the authoritarian state in ways that blacks have too. Because of this common heritage (Massey and Denton, 1993), Giroux argues that the crude war on youth is collapsing racial and ethnic boundaries (2006, 2008, 2013) as this, and the education of both black and Latinos are ever more similar (Noguera, 2008). My justification for the exclusion rest upon multiple realties, first my use of Sithole and Mbembe as African philosophers situate their ideas in the lived experiences as African and therefore black subjects. It would have been haphazard of me to just apply this to Latinos and add in, stir or a mention a token of oppression when in reality it is not applicable. This means how poor whites and Latinos are oppressed is different then how blacks are oppressed by the same system. Next, Wacquant, who frames the key ideas in this paper, writes and studies the black experience in this country and their relationship to America’s sociology of the state. He argues, along with others I used in this paper that the black experience is exceptional in their treatment by whites and the state. Lastly, it will be interesting to see as Anglo-American capitalism become standard therefore hegemonic and homogeneous, how whites react to this oppression, which was directed solely at the global south and the orient. Will they see their plights similarly leading to a critical awareness of capital exploitation or will they redirect their outrage created by their insecurity to populations of color. This is worth studying at length as poor whites are increasing their prison numbers too while their schools increasingly prepare their children for criminal and redundant realities.