Public Voices

Government at the Margins:
Locating/Deconstructing Ways of
Performing Government in the Age of
Excessive Force, Hyper-Surveillance, Civil Dis-
obedience, and Political Self-interest – Lessons
Learned in "Post-Racial" America

Symposium

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Editor: Valerie L. Patterson

> In the globalized political economy of the early 21st century, national borders are both po-
> rous and heavily guarded. In a fluid global economic system, governing borders has be-
> come all the more important and difficult, the last frontier of mobility. The stories of Maria
> that follow are emblematic of what happens when human mobility tries to follow the paths
> of opportunity and safety in a global society open to free movement of money and goods,
> but not people (at least not those of limited means). The stories presented in this paper
> provide an example of connecting multiple narratives (Balfour and Mesaros1994; Mac-
> Intyre 1984) to better understand and create ethical alternatives to exclusionary, and often
> deadly, border policies. In addition, the narratives demonstrate how government institu-
> tions and flawed policy have perpetuated the act of placing border security above ethics
> and human rights.

New Public Management (NPM) brings up many concepts, such as decentralization, privatization, customer orientation, result orientation, cutting red tape, competition, productivity, and efficiency. However, NPM never successfully addressed the paradoxes that came in its trail. Metaphorically these are the "unheard melodies" of marginalized people. NPM, directly and indirectly, is a model applied to public administration in the name of competition, privatization, customer orientation, and worker efficiency, as it has furthered the traditional practice of top-bottom bureaucracy and value free instrumental rationality. Coupling Critical Social Theory with NPM creates the conceptual space to better understand whether or not the interests and the melodies of the broader and often oppressed public are addressed. This paper analyzes NPM through the prism of Critical Social Theory. This disrupts the hierarchy in the NPM system and pushes forward those unheard voices of the marginalized.

Learning the terms and demands of emergent political groups is often, and unfortunately, a group of lessons that public administrators must grasp "on the fly". In the case of the new movement defined as the "alt-right", simply learning the terms and demands may provoke unpleasant personal or political reactions among public servants steeped in intellectual traditions and contemporary policies more often regarded as coming from the political left. The purpose of this article is to provide an abbreviated intellectual history of the alt-right as a political movement with its own language and definitive policy preferences. Equipped with more research-based knowledge of the alt-right, it is our hope that public administrators can respond cogently to requests and demands from citizens and political figures whose ideas align with those of this new political worldview.

In their work implementing public policy, public servants are pulled between mastering the technical aspects of their jobs while also practicing the emotional skills required to meet individuals where they are and uniformly implement policy to all. This challenge is especially present when there is a unique event requiring significant action on the part of public servants, like recent events witnessed in Ferguson, MO, Flint, MI, or Baltimore, MD. Empathy is a skill that can mediate policy implementation and smooth out the differences that exist between the public and public servant. In this paper, we set out to consider the complexity encountered in the delivery of public services, specifically by exploring the varied perspectives and stories in the days immediately surrounding the unrest in Baltimore, Maryland following the death of Freddie Gray on April 19, 2015. To do this, we explore a dataset of emails and documents from the Baltimore City government to bring to life stories

that illuminate the varied perspectives of individuals served by government during this turbulent time.

In the era of No Child Left Behind and Hurricane Katrina, Kanye West became a voice for the marginalized and used his star power to provide one of the best Hip Hop commentaries on public administration and contemporary education in America. Not only did West embody the sentiment of urban America, he echoed the voices of students disillusioned with scapegoat politics and higher education. In his first three multiplatinum albums entitled The College Drop Out (2004), Late Registration (2005), and Graduation (2007), West engages in public pedagogy, addresses educational contradictions and provides a scathing critique of perceived post-racial meritocracy.

Traditionally subcultural explanations have been proffered to pubic administrators as to why police officers and criminal investigators violate the rights of citizens when investigating suspected criminal behavior. Though these theories may, at times, interact and subtly influence an investigator's actions in routine investigations, this paper presents the concept that motivational theory and more general workplace corruption theories not specific to criminal justice better explain an investigator's behavior and potential deviant activity.

The theme of this poem is the impact of mandatory minimum sentencing laws on the black and brown youth. The poem explores the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, gender and criminal justice.

Journalist Todd Miller (2014) documents well the perception of the ever-expanding security state. Fear of security threats from the *outside* (e.g., terrorism, migration, and health epidemics) has led to extensive institutional apparatuses that permeate society and effectively curtail both democratic and civil discourses along with their associated practices in the *polis*. Miller demonstrates that corporate interests promote, market, and sell fear and insecurity to justify further development of the surveillance state as a for profit making endeavor, thereby contributing to the hollowing out of public sector institutions (e.g., universities and sympathetic law enforcement agencies in particular) for material gain.
Building on Miller's work, we will address his theme of the ever-expanding perception of the security state and the border patrol-ization of the American state and beyond – focusing

primarily on Latinos affected in the Rio Grande Valley region of Texas. Fear and insecurity from external threats have led to bureaucratic growth that permeates civil discourses undermining representative democracy. Using Debord's concept of the society of the spectacle and Agamben's work on the state of exception, and Bentham and Foucault's theories on panopticism, we will conduct an analysis of the border patrol nation to illustrate the corrosive effects on the polis in the USA, internationally, and the ramifications for governance.

A Look Back

In 1939, Interior Secretary Harold Ickes sought to transform the long-standing tradition of print annual reports by administrative agencies. He wanted a product which would reach a mass audience and which would make the department's work relevant and tangible to the lay citizen. Ickes recreated his 421-page report to the president for 1938 into a radio program containing fictional dramatizations to convey the impact and importance of his department to the average person. This was an early effort at what would now be called popular reporting. Conservatives in Congress promptly objected to this new venue and approach for annual reports. A year later, Congress passed a law prohibiting federal agencies from doing that again. In retrospect, the radio playlets were an interesting effort of public administration trying to contribute to an informed citizenry. The backlash against the broadcast likely was a factor in the subsequent ossification of public reporting and reversion back to unreadable and unread print annual reports. While a few agencies later experimented with other media for annual reports, such as short films, popular reporting largely did not re-emerge until the creation of the Internet.

Book Review

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Symposium Introduction

Valerie L. Patterson

One day over fifteen years ago, I sat contemplating the challenges associated with academic writing. I understood the importance of knowledge generation, but I was looking for provocation, meaning, and engagement. While I felt that, if I really needed to, I could produce the kind of writing offered in traditional public administration journals, I didn't know if I wanted to.

Soon after, I happened to acquire a copy of *Public Voices*. When I read that the journal "publishes unorthodox, controversial perspectives on bureaucracy in particular and the public sector in general," I was intrigued and committed to this very different and inclusive venue for examining the public sector through "original fiction, poetry, photographs, and art." Learning that the journal was also peer-reviewed, left me encouraged and hopeful for a productive academic life. Since that time, I have published several manuscripts in the journal.

The increasingly complex and turbulent environment of government and government organizations requires challenging the traditional as orthodoxy. *Public Voices* continues to do just that. The idea for a symposium on government and marginalized groups grew out of my observation of an increased emphasis on the importance of social equity and cultural competency that ran parallel to increasingly pervasive and persistent examples of bias. One of my courses – Government and Minority Groups Relations led me to Farmbry's *Administration and the Other*. A text that proved useful for thinking through current challenges. In this work, Farmbry (2009) asserts that "the public servant of the future will have to work with an increasingly diverse population in mind and with a better understanding of his or her processes of constructing images of the Other as someone influenced by his or her actions" (p. xxiii).

Each time I learn of an event where the life of a member of this increasingly diverse population has been impacted by a public servant in a manner that results in negative unintended consequences, I consider Farmbry's words. Events and unrest in Ferguson, Flint, North Charleston, and Baltimore are examples. Other more recent examples can be found in Kansas City and other parts

of the country where U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement engage in enforcement leading to detention and deportation.

Criminalization and marginalization tied to race, gender, religion, ethnicity, and geography are a reality in many American communities. Tactical maneuvers by government actors that occur in communities of color are many times perceived by majority groups as necessary and in the public interest.

This symposium provides an opportunity to locate, interrogate and deconstruct ways in which government actors "perform" government in the delivery and implementation of rules, regulations, and services to those groups categorized and/or located at the "margins" (those without power and privilege in society).

Over several years and with the persistent guidance, encouragement and watchful eye of the journal's Managing Editor, Iryna Illiash, the symposium evolved to its present form. It is indeed an honor to introduce the seven articles and one poem that follow.

The symposium's first article by Danny L. Balfour and Brittany Gray employs the use of stories as a mechanism for connecting narratives related to the enforcement of immigration and border policies as they impact the victims of human trafficking. The authors call for an approach to border governance that makes ethics and human rights a first priority in border security.

In the second symposium article, Tulasi Acharya applied the metaphor of "heard and unheard melodies" in an examination of New Public Management (NPM) theory to locate the interests of the marginalized. Acharya addresses the symposium themes and ideas by arguing that, while NPM differs from more traditional models of public administration where power is centralized, it is still tone deaf to the voices of the marginalized in society. He argues for the introduction of critical theory to NPM as a remedy.

The next article by Phillip W. Gary and Sara R. Jordan offers an introduction to the alt-right movement from the perspective of condensing the movement into a history of terms and ideas useful for practicing public administrators. The authors explore common misconceptions and inaccuracies related to the movement as well as potential policy-making implications.

In the fourth article, authors Stephanie Dolamore and Mariglynn Edlins present fictionalized stories based on real events that occurred in Baltimore in the aftermath of the death of Freddie Gray. In this work government files serve as the source for creating these stories. The importance and use of empathy in the delivery of public service are explored. The practice of empathy is identified as important for public servants navigating complex situations.

Nolan Jones captures and presents an example of the intersection between government and Hip-Hop as popular culture. The usefulness and importance of Hip-Hop culture as an unfiltered forum and platform for challenging exclusion emerges in Jones' work. He offers a substantive exploration and examination of the public pedagogy of rapper Kanye West. Jones examines messages found in West's work arguing that his pedagogy can be viewed as having value both as entertainment and as consciousness raising in the realms of the social and the political.

In the symposium's sixth article, Larry Karson examines the premises offered to explain police investigators' use of practices that violate the civil rights of those suspected of engaging in criminal activity. The author examines the impact of systems and models that reward violators and create incentives that perpetuate rule-breaking behavior. The author argues that motivational theories not specific to criminal justice possibly possess stronger explanatory power for deviant behavior.

Drawing on the legacy and tradition of opportunities for the unorthodox in *Public Voices,* a poem follows that explores the impact of mandatory minimum sentencing laws, particularly in the state of Florida. This is my contribution to the symposium. It draws on concerns related to disproportionate minority confinement and its adverse impact on black and brown youth. The justice system is one area where the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, and criminal justice is ever present. This poem explores this intersectionality.

In the final article (as with the first) Terence M. Garrett examines the ever-present reality of border patrol as an apparatus and symbol of the domestic security state. The "othering" of undocumented border crossers, terrorists, and ordinary citizens along with hyper-surveillance and intrusion to achieve the mission of a secure homeland are explored. The adverse impact of an increased emphasis on securing borders for those who are Latino and living near the southern land border of the United States, as well as implications for democratic governance and erosion of civil liberties are covered.

The authors of the work presented in this symposium engage the themes presented in the call for papers in a manner that extends far beyond what was hoped. Their work is reflective of the unique contribution made by the material published in *Public Voices.* I have learned so much from this symposium, and this knowledge will inform my practice and my pedagogy. I hope it will do the same for you.

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Voices from the Borders of Governance: Connecting the Local Narratives of Surplus Populations

Danny L. Balfour and Brittany Gray

*No one wants to be beaten/ pitied / No one chooses refugee camps / or strip searches
where your / body is left aching or prison / because prison is safer / than a city of fire...
no one would leave home / unless home chased you to the shore*

– Warsan Shire

In the globalized political economy of the early 21st century, national borders are both porous and heavily guarded. In a fluid global economic system, governing borders has become all the more important and difficult, the last frontier of mobility. The stories of Maria that follow are emblematic of what happens when human mobility tries to follow the paths of opportunity and safety in a global society open to free movement of money and goods, but not people (at least not those of limited means). The stories presented in this paper provide an example of connecting multiple narratives (Balfour and Mesaros 1994; MacIntyre 1984) to better understand and create ethical alternatives to exclusionary, and often deadly, border policies. In addition, the narratives demonstrate how government institutions and flawed policy have perpetuated the act of placing border security above ethics and human rights.

The Stories of Maria: The Journey North

Eva and Carlos felt threatened by the increasing gang activity and violence in Guatemala, especially because sexual assault and trafficking were on the rise in their region and they had a young teenage daughter, Maria. Afraid for their daughter's future, Eva and Carlos made the heart wrenching decision to send Maria to live with her uncle in Arizona who had been living in the states legally for the past few years. With relatively few resources available to them, the couple reluctantly turned to a local "coyote" to help their daughter make the treacherous journey across the border. A few weeks passed before the coyote was finally ready to take his next trip. After sharing tearful farewells with her mother and father, Maria climbed into a van of fellow travelers,

most of who were heading north in search of jobs in the U.S., and waved goodbye until her parents were specks on the horizon. The trip proved daunting. The coyote provided few resources and not nearly enough food and water for everyone traveling through the desert. Dehydration and malnutrition quickly set in amongst the group. Tragically, Maria died before they reached the border; her body left for the desert to consume. Or…

Nearly three weeks after their departure, the coyote told the exhausted travelers they were less than a day's journey from their destination. Maria looked at her fellow travelers as each mustered a weak smile- but for different reasons. Some were meeting up with family members already living in the states, while others were looking for financial opportunities, or, like Maria, escaping dangerous situations back home.

Upon crossing the border, the coyote curtly explained that his journey was over and that his "friends" would take the group the rest of the way. Though Maria was nervous about this new group of strangers, she was too tired to question the situation. After traveling many hours, they arrived at a house and were escorted indoors. Finally, the travelers were told their trip was over; that they had finally made it to the United States. But before they could begin celebrating, the new guides started aggressively pushing the weary travelers to various parts of the house. A woman grabbed Maria and despite her best efforts to fight her aggressor, Maria was simply too weak from her travels to resist. She soon found herself locked in a room with three other girls.

The following morning, Maria and the other travelers were forced to begin work at a nearby garment factory. After several hours with no breaks, one traveler attempted to flee. Maria watched as the woman was shoved to the ground by one of the overseers and dragged out of the room. One of the other captors proceeded to explain that he knew where each of their families lived in Guatemala, and that he would hurt their loved ones if they didn't cooperate or work efficiently. He finished by telling everyone not to go to the police, and to trust he was doing them a favor by saying so. He described the brutality of police officers and horrible conditions of prisons, and threatened them with deportation. From then on, Maria worked 12- to 16-hour days, seven days a week. She was given no wages and only meager amounts of food and water. If she performed unsatisfactorily, she was physically beaten and then forced back to work. And on more than a handful of occasions, she was sexually assaulted by one of the male "supervisors". Maria felt as if there was no escape from her imprisonment.

One day after several months of servitude, Maria looked up from her sewing machine to see police officers in the factory doorway. She was hopeful but frightened. She had no idea whether the police were there to help or hurt her.

Maria's stories are fictional. Nevertheless, they present realistic possibilities compiled from real-life scenarios and empirical research. Accounts from refugees and children at the border provided insight to the hardships faced while crossing the desert (Preston 2014; O'Neil 2014; Walser, McNeill, and Zuckerman 2011), and testimonials from human trafficking survivors speak to the fear tactics, work conditions, and repercussions of bondage (Bales and Soodalter 2009; Batstone 2010; Bales 2012). Legal actions taken within the stories are based on current policies, criminal cases, and instances of (mis) classification of human trafficking victims and refugees as criminals (Bales and Soodalter 2009; Batstone 2010; Loftus 2011; Elizondo 2014; Brennan 2014; Martin

and Yankay 2014; TIP Report 2014; Simanski 2014). Therefore, the stories provide a glimpse of the many realities faced by those crossing U.S. and other international borders.

The problem for Maria, and other migrants that seek to reach the U.S., is that immigration policy treats her as a member of a surplus population, one that – because of race, gender, ethnicity, or political and economic status – lacks the protections and rights normally afforded citizens of a nation state (Rubenstein 1983). And even if she was identified as such, to which population does Maria belong? She can be described as an illegal (economic) immigrant, a refugee, or a human trafficking victim. Regrettably, immigration policy addresses each population independently, blind to the fact that an individual can belong to all three categories, if not more. Even if the police who found Maria recognized the complexity of her situation, which set of policies would they reference to prosecute or assist her? Would they treat her as a criminal or as a victim?

The narratives presented here illustrate issues with current policy and do not reflect the full extent of surplus population experiences with the border. As a result, some surplus populations are not addressed through Maria's stories. These groups include but are not limited to millions of refugees in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia, and the various forms of human trafficking in the United States,[1] legal immigrants, and settled refugees. Each has characteristics of a surplus population, having to face the consequences of exclusionary policies.

The debate over immigration policy tends to frame the problem of borders in a globalized economy in a way that creates surplus populations (Adams and Balfour 2014). For the most part, the problem is defined in nationalized terms, as the impact of immigration on the economy and culture of the United States and other countries such as Australia and the EU, which attract a regular influx of economic and political immigrants, many of whom risk their lives to escape poverty, violence, and political oppression (Weber and Pickering 2014). Those who support more open immigration policies point out how past immigrants have contributed to the economic and cultural development of the nation, and how the nation's future depends upon the ability to fashion new ways to make immigrants part of the polity. Proponents of cracking down on illegal immigrants and limiting legal immigration maintain that immigrants will, at best, take jobs away from deserving Americans or, at worst, become parasites dependent on welfare or crime. Thus it is argued (and made policy, for example, in California's Proposition 187) that public education, health benefits, and welfare should be denied to illegal and even to legal immigrants, with less consideration given to the nation's role in providing safe haven for political and economic refugees. The specter of a surplus population looms as unwanted peoples, including and even especially, children and the elderly, are denied any legitimate role in society. Few policy makers seem to want to consider looking at the problem in a different way—for example, as one that stems from the structure of the world economy, international conflict, and the practices of corporations that maximize profits by using low-wage labor and maintaining high unemployment in Third World countries.

Efforts to crack down on illegal immigration from Mexico to the United States have reduced the flow of illegal immigrants across key border areas (Thompson 2008) but have also had some disturbing unintended consequences. As depicted in the first of Maria's stories, intensified security in the most heavily traveled border areas, including those with the newly constructed border fence, pushes many illegal migrants to try more dangerous routes across wide swaths of desert, causing a marked increase in fatalities (Archibold 2007). This is a prime example of how border security

priorities are placed above human rights and ethical action, creating surplus populations without protection and basic necessities. A similar dynamic can be found in the borderlands and seas of Australia and the EU (Associated Press 2015a; Weber and Pickering 2014). From 2000 to 2008, more than 1,000 people died trying to enter the United States through the Arizona desert, some 700 more than all those who died attempting to cross the Berlin Wall in its twenty-eight-year history (*Economist* 2008). The policy to try to reverse this trend by hiring more border agents and extending the fence belies the Statue of Liberty (*Economist* 2008, 27): "A truly impregnable border . . . would involve two layers of fencing 2,000 miles long, with a large no-man's land . . . and plenty of watchtowers. [It] would have to look as it does near San Diego, or as it used to in Berlin." Since then, this has become the reality, but without resolving any of the issues and resulting in ever more deaths and deportations.

The stories of Maria demonstrate how immigration laws and policy create surplus populations and "illegal" aliens, making it difficult to effectively prosecute and/or protect these populations. Ethical and effective immigration policies and practices in the context of a global political economy require redefining the concept of national sovereignty to include both the right to defend and control national borders *and* the obligation to protect and admit those who seek political asylum and/or economic opportunity. The ethical challenge for nations like the U.S. that benefit from a globalized economy is whether or not to accept responsibility to provide safe haven for people disadvantaged and displaced by economic and political forces beyond their control.

Maria the Illegal (Economic) Immigrant

As the police filtered into the room, they began asking Maria and the others for their work visas. When none were presented, the workers were quickly detained and the owner charged with hiring illegal immigrants. Since it was his first offense he was facing only fines: $250-2000 per illegal employee. Within 48 hours the workers were transferred to immigration authorities and transported to a nearby detention center. Facing deportation, Maria was informed by her immigration officer that she would be granted a hearing to defend herself beforehand.

After a long nervous wait, Maria's court date finally arrived. She unfortunately did not have funds to hire an attorney and was unaware of assistance programs available to her. As a result, Maria was unable to effectively defend herself and prevent her deportation. Though the thought of seeing her parents again brought some comfort, Maria was worried whether Guatemala had gotten worse while she was gone. She was afraid of being sexually abused and trafficked by the local gangs. She couldn't handle going through it yet again.

The state of illegal immigration is discernable through the Department of Homeland Security's (DHS) Annual Report. In 2013, approximately 662,000 aliens were apprehended by DHS, sixty-four percent having come from Mexico. Of these, U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) detained 441,000. As a result, roughly 438,000 aliens were removed from the U.S. Of these, 72% were from Mexico, 11% Guatemala, 8.3% Honduras, and 4.8% El Salvador. In addition, 178,000 aliens were returned to their countries of origin through processes not requiring a removal order, and nearly 198,000 were removed as known criminals[2] (Simanski 2014). During this time, over 990,000 immigrants were granted Lawful Permanent Resident (LPR) status. Of these,

459,751 were new arrivals and 530,802 were adjustments to prior statuses (Mongar and Yankay 2014).

With strict immigration policies in place, however, it is rather difficult to gain residency in the U.S. and other advanced countries without already having family or employment in the country. Undocumented immigrants like Maria who enter the country illegally are then labeled criminals simply for where they are, not any criminal act. One opportunity for temporary residency is the guest worker program in which migrants obtain one of two H2 visas, the H-2A for agricultural and H-2B for other seasonal work (Loftus 2011). As part of the H-2A visa program, employers are required to meet wage and working condition standards, such as, housing, transportation, tools, and worker compensation. In addition, a complaint system is in place so workers may make claims to any violations of their rights by their employers (U.S. Department of Labor 2015). The requirements of employers are designed to prevent labor infractions and trafficking of workers; however, migrant workers are still at risk.

Despite these measures, policy falls short of protecting this surplus population. In some situations, employers may have used fear tactics to prevent workers from coming forward and making a complaint. These fears may develop, for instance, from threats of being fired and deported without pay, being blacklisted by other potential employers, or doing harm to one's family. In some instances, legal migrant work can escalate into a form of bondage. It should also be noted, whether by free will or the demands of traffickers, migrant workers may remain in the U.S. after their visas expire. Though this population has rights within the U.S., it does not mean they know how to exercise them, or that they are aware they possess such rights. Though migrant workers do not have the same rights as U.S. citizens, they still possess more rights than those in the states illegally. Therefore, it is critical those who are working directly with surplus populations help inform these individuals of their rights and treat them with respect. By doing so, victims of trafficking and labor-abuse might trust local authorities and organizations enough to report misconduct and legal infractions.

Due to strict border policies and security, many illegal immigrants try to cross the border in much the same manner as in the story of Maria. Having to travel in harsh conditions with limited resources often results in injury, sickness, and even death. If they are caught in the process, they are deported to their home country to face the very situations they were trying to escape. In effort to decrease the number of border crossing attempts, U.S. immigration policy created penalties for those entering or staying in the country illegally (8 U.S.C. § 1182, § 1227), as well as, anyone who knowingly employs illegal immigrants (8 U.S.C. §1324). In sum, current policy is punishing- and potentially killing- individuals who are trying to escape a life of hardship and better themselves. A universal value of protecting and providing for one's family is lost to legislation designed to restrict international mobility.

Despite extensive measures to limit illegal immigration, it can be argued that the U.S. promises basic human rights to those without documentation. These include the right to life, liberty, property, and due process of law (Loftus 2011). But once again, like migrant workers with H-2A visas who are afraid to make complaints against their employers, illegal immigrants are even less likely to do so. Their illegal status makes them more vulnerable to employer threats, especially those regarding detention and deportation (Loftus 2011). As in the story of Maria, her employer

threatened her with physical violence, police brutality, poor jail conditions, and physical harm to her family in Guatemala. These threats trapped Maria, like so many men, women and children, in a world of bondage with little hope for escape. Even though surplus populations are allotted the most basic of human rights under U.S. law, individuals like Maria are likely unaware of these protections or are too afraid to utilize them. As a result, the cycle of abuse is perpetuated while the nation continues to fail at protecting these individuals.

If the police officers in the doorway chose to look at Maria as an immigrant, they would not help her "escape." Legally speaking, she would not meet the qualifications of the Immigration and Nationality Act and would be deported back to the risks of Guatemala. Not only did she enter the U.S. without inspection, she was also working without proper documentation (8 U.S.C §1324). Her employer on the other hand, may receive fines and other repercussions for hiring illegal immigrants, but would not be prosecuted on human trafficking charges. This is a simple example of how public officials may perform their employment responsibilities as expected while harming a surplus population. Not only is Maria's status as a human trafficking victim not considered, legislation and authorities failed to protect and assist her against her offenders; ultimately leading to her deportation. Consequently, the traffickers are free and able to continue subjugating vulnerable populations. This is why following the economic immigration narrative alone is misleading. It creates a blind eye to why someone might be in the U.S. illegally and may result in the criminalization of victims. Although many travel to the U.S. in search of wealth and prosperity, it is also possible they are refugees or victims of human trafficking.

Maria as Victim of Human Trafficking

As the police entered the factory, they began by stating they simply had a few questions to ask. After easing the workers minds with a little small talk, the police began asking if they had proper visas. Upon discovery of the workers' illegal status, the police inquired further. They asked questions such as, where are you from? How did you get here? Where do you live? How much are you paid for your work? Are you able to leave your home to buy groceries? Maria was confused. Why were they asking her if she was able to buy groceries? She was afraid to answer the questions for fear of her and her family's safety, but she thought it was a risk worth taking. After explaining how she had arrived at the factory and the abuses she had suffered, the officer realized the workers were possible human trafficking victims.

Maria and the workers were soon escorted to local shelters and centers. She was given basic amenities and was able to speak to a counselor about her traumatic experience. While at the center, Maria learned that her potential human trafficking status could help her receive U.S. citizenship and rehabilitative support services if granted a T-visa. As part of the application process, Maria was told she needed to assist authorities in prosecuting her traffickers. She was afraid to speak in court in front of her abusers, but the attorney assured her they couldn't harm her while they were in custody.

During the trial, Maria's attorney told her they were having difficulty proving coercion. Without coercion or proof of her abuse, Maria's traffickers would only face charges for hiring illegal employees and a few minor labor infractions. After all the pain and anxiety she endured while helping

the authorities prosecute her offenders, Maria feared she wouldn't be granted a visa and soon be deported to Guatemala.

The 2014 TIP Report provides insight to the current state of human trafficking in the United States. In 2013, top countries for victim origin included the U.S., Mexico, Philippines, Thailand, Honduras, Guatemala, India, and El Salvador. The US government currently complies with minimum standards for preventing, prosecuting, and protecting human trafficking victims. According to the report, the Federal government has prosecuted more cases, obtained more convictions in both sex and labor trafficking, and continued to strengthen training at all levels of government. At the state level, each has enacted anti-human trafficking policy. It is also reported that state level prosecutions have also increased. Despite these advances, US prosecutions of human trafficking offenders only number in the hundreds. In 2013, the Department of Justice (DOJ) prosecuted 253 trafficking offenders, of which, 275 were sexual bondage and 49 were largely related to labor trafficking-though many were a combination of both forms. Conversely, only 178 convictions were made by the DOJ. In addition to federal human trafficking cases, media reports suggest over 100 additional cases at the state level (TIP Report 2014). What the report doesn't address is the number of human trafficking victims who are criminalized and incorrectly labeled as illegal immigrants.

When legislation focuses solely on immigration policy, human trafficking victims and refugees often fall through the cracks.[3] And if discovered and deported to their home country, they may be at risk of re-victimization. If the police determined Maria was an illegal immigrant and deported her back home, she or her parents might decide it's best for her to cross the U.S. border yet again to escape the dangers of Guatemala. However, since the police saw Maria as a potential human trafficking victim, she may be eligible for victim support services and possible U.S. citizenship. As depicted in Maria's human trafficking narrative, authorities followed an alternative framework; meaning the immigration framework from the previous narrative was not prioritized. Rather than simply identifying Maria and the others as illegal immigrants, the authorities used their personal training and experience to inquire deeper, determining the reality of workers' situation and their potential status as human trafficking victims. Conversely, critics argue against this victim-centered approach to immigration, claiming it presents a policy abuse opportunity for both illegal immigrants and government officials (Chacon 2010).

Though human trafficking is denounced at all levels by the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act (TVPA), only those who suffer "severe" forms of trafficking are granted assistance. According to the TVPA, severe forms of trafficking include:

- **Sex trafficking**: the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for the purpose of a commercial sex act, in which the commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion. Or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; and

- **Labor Trafficking**: the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery (TVPA 2000; 22 U.S.C. § 7101).

The issue with this definition is that "severe" is not described in detail. It is subjective and left to interpretation. How does a victim prove coercion or verbal threats of violence to them or their families back home? How does Maria prove that she wasn't able to leave the garment factory when she wasn't physically confined to the location?

It is possible that the police would recognize Maria as a trafficking victim. However, because immigration policy often takes precedence, those in a position to help human trafficking victims don't often consider all possible reasons why an individual might be in the U.S. illegally. For instance, Loftus (2011) discusses the harm done by authorities that participate in blind rather than smart raids. In these situations, authorities enter a work place expecting to find illegal immigrants working inside, not human trafficking victims, therefore pursuing the wrong line of questioning. With victims afraid to come forward and authorities focused on immigration status, many human trafficking victims may in fact be deported as criminals rather than assisted as victims. As a counter measure, some stakeholders argue that a victim-centered approach should be implemented in situations like these (TIP Report 2010). By incorporating this concept into day-to-day operations, discretion can be exercised that will put the well-being of individuals first, not their potentially illegal immigration status. Doing so encourages ethical actions and decision making, while helping to prevent surplus populations from slipping through the cracks.

In the case of Maria, had the police conducted a blind rather than smart raid, she would have been detained, charged with illegal immigration fees, and deported illegally. Alternatively, her traffickers may have simply received labor infraction fines for having knowingly hired illegal aliens and avoid any human trafficking charges. Consequently, this affords traffickers the opportunity to subjugate their future workers, and perpetuate the cycle. If convicted, the trafficker may face 5 to 20 years of imprisonment and substantial fines; though it should be noted that crimes and punishments vary by state (TIP Report 2014). In several cases, victims of modern-day slavery have actually been punished more severely than their traffickers (TVPA 2000); yet another unintended consequence of street-level bureaucrats fulfilling their employment responsibilities and upholding the law. Due to this narrow perspective of immigration and mobility in the U.S., those working with surplus populations may unknowingly (or not) ignore human rights and cause harm to individuals, for the sake of performing their job (Adams and Balfour 2014).

According to the TVPA, victims of "severe" human trafficking should not be prosecuted for illegal citizenship or inappropriately detained, incarcerated, fined, or penalized for actions committed as a direct result of human trafficking (TVPA 2000; 22 U.S.C. § 7101). Despite this globally recognized regulation, many modern day slavery victims experience or fear experiencing this exact situation. As for Maria, she suffered negative repercussions in the immigration narrative despite having been a trafficking victim. Though the authorities were unaware of the true situation, they began the cycle of treating Maria as a criminal rather than victim. As stated in the narrative, the events ultimately led to her prosecution and deportation as an illegal immigrant. Even though deportation may temporarily rescue Maria from her bondage, her situation back home may be just as bad or worse. For instance, violence and human trafficking may still be present in the area, or Maria's community may shame her for her sexual impropriety. In situations like these, it is not surprising for individuals to try to cross the border yet again, despite having a bad experience with it in the past.

Another disconnect between immigration and human trafficking policy stems from the multiple levels of government that can get involved. In regard to immigration cases, local and state governments are recommended not to act for it is typically under federal jurisdiction. Participation in anti-human trafficking cases, however, occurs at all levels of government (Loftus 2011). Though authorities and local and state governments are encouraged to take action in human trafficking cases, they may try to avoid them in fear of overstepping immigration jurisdiction. This is another example of how simply doing one's job can result in unethical behavior. An officer of the law shouldn't have to fear overstepping their bounds when questioning immigrants about their legal status and work conditions. In the case of Maria, she was both an illegal immigrant and human trafficking victim. Which title should be first priority? Should the officers in the door way treat her as a potential criminal or assist her as a victim? The answer seems morally obvious but human trafficking cases must be tried and proved in a court of law. Without knowing to which population a person like Maria belongs or which policy takes priority, it is no wonder authorities have difficulty opening a human trafficking case and victims are afraid to come forward.

Human trafficking policy issues, however, are not limited to the immigration narrative. Due to the relatively recent attention of modern day slavery, much of the legislation is ambiguous or incomplete. One such shortfall is policy relating to prostitution. Prostitution is a "hot topic" in the anti-trafficking community, largely due to the perspective that prostitutes choose their line of work, even if out of desperation. Regardless of one's opinion on the matter, not all prostitutes choose their profession. Fear tactics, physical abuse, forced drug addiction, and malnutrition are just a few strategies implemented by traffickers to force women, men, and children into this line of work, or any type of work for that matter. As a result, prostitutes have been arrested, and deported if illegal, while their "johns" and "pimps" faced small fines if anything. Furthermore, federal law states that any minor participating in prostitution may not be prosecuted as a criminal – they are considered human trafficking victims because they are not considered mature enough to genuinely consent to sexual activity (TVPA 2000; 22 U.S.C. § 7101). However, not all states are aware or follow this law as minor prostitutes continue to be arrested and prosecuted (Irvine 2013; TIP Report 2014).

If it is determined that an individual like Maria is indeed a human trafficking victim, he or she is granted some rights and may have the opportunity to apply for U.S. citizenship. According to the TVPA, individuals who suffered "severe" forms of trafficking are able to apply for a T-Visa (TVPA 2000; 22 U.S.C. § 7101). Those applying for the visa are able to stay in the U.S. and may receive victim services (if available), however, only if they assist in the prosecution of their trafficker, which not all victims may be able to do. With this in mind, recent legislation has made an exception for those who are too traumatized or placed in physical danger by testifying. In addition, while applying for the visa is free of charge, there are often fees for filing supplemental materials and those applying are not allowed to legally work within the U.S. until they are granted a T-visa. This creates hardship for many human trafficking victims, especially if they do not speak the native language. As a result, they may turn to local immigrant populations to help them fill out the applications or forms to waive fees. Unfortunately, some of these communities already have connections to human trafficking, making it difficult for victims to testify against their oppressors, especially if threats are made against family and friends in their native country (Seelke and Siskin 2008).
In addition, helping authorities during the investigation and applying for the T-visa does not mean they will be granted the visa, and in fact, may still face deportation. Why would someone like

Maria risk their safety only to be deported back to the situations they were escaping from, often made worse by now facing shaming from their community? If deported, the possibility of recidivism is all too real. Even if a victim does assist in investigations and is granted temporary residence in the U.S., they can only work once they receive their T-visa (TVPA 2000; 22 U.S.C. 7101). How is that person supposed to support his or herself during the lengthy application process? How are they supposed to afford health care and therapy? Even if they attained work with their T-visa, it most likely would be low-skill, low-wage work. Victim assistance policy is currently lacking, forcing non-profits and other charitable entities to try to fill the gaps.

Another issue with human trafficking policy is that it follows and is limited by public opinion. Much of the nation is appalled that women and children are forced into sexual slavery, as they should be. However, many are unaware that modern day slavery exists in many forms and locations; agriculture, sweat shops, fisheries, service industry, etc., and that it affects people of all ages, genders, and nationalities. Therefore, a common mindset is that if it's not sexual slavery, it is merely a labor infraction, which can be far from the truth. As a result, victims of non-sexual slavery have become members of a sub-surplus population, with less protection than their sex-trafficked counterparts.

Some argue that human trafficking is not taking place in the amount and form that legitimate sources are quoting. Part of this perspective comes from the relatively low number of T-visas granted to modern day slavery victims. In 2013, only 848 victims and 975 victim family members received these visas (TIP Report 2014). However, there are a plethora of reasons why so few of the 5,000 visas available each year are granted. One of the leading reasons is the low number of cases discovered annually. Part of this is due to the victims' fear of coming forward, as well as, traffickers operating behind closed doors. In addition, having authorities that are not trained to recognize the signs of human trafficking may result in the improper labeling of a victim as an illegal or victim of a labor infraction. However, current policy also doesn't help authorities and local/state governments protect human trafficking victims or prosecute traffickers.

Unclear policies as to who is a victim and who is a trafficker, and as to who is an illegal immigrant or trafficking victim, makes it difficult to take informed action in these situations. Therefore, officials in a position to help need to be aware and properly trained in order to prevent immigration frameworks from overshadowing the need to put the human element first. And though sometimes overlooked, one reason the number of trafficking visas allocated is low in comparison to the number of those estimated to be in bondage, is that not all victims are migrants. Trafficking can claim anyone, no matter the nationality, legal status, gender, age, or location. It is also possible that human trafficking victims do not see themselves as such, or are unaware of the concept and options available to them, resulting in them not coming forward as a victim. In fact, they may even view themselves as illegal immigrants who fear deportation, especially if their captors use it as a fear tactic (Loftus 2011).

Maria the Refugee

The police and a few translators walked through the factory explaining to the workers that they were there to ask questions. To help the workers feel at ease, the police began by asking innocuous questions such as how their day was or if they've been enjoying the warm weather. As they felt the workers becoming more comfortable, they began asking the more serious questions. Where were they from? Do you have a work visa or citizenship? How did you get here? Why did leave your home and family, and travel to the U.S.?

At first, Maria was afraid to answer truthfully. Would her traffickers harm her family back in Guatemala? Would the police deport her back to the dangers of her home because she didn't have proper paperwork? Maria decided not to divulge the whole truth to avoid possible punishment from her traffickers but did explain why she had traveled to the U.S. Through the interview process, it became apparent to the officers that many of the workers were illegal immigrants that fled the recent conflict in Guatemala. Their past experiences with immigration cases allowed the officers to quickly recognize that many of the individuals might qualify for political asylum as refugees.

The police escorted the workers out of the factory and drove them to a nearby refugee camp. Here Maria and the others waited until their court hearings to either grant them asylum, or deport them home as illegal immigrants. Though the conditions at the center were not the best, Maria was happy to be away from the factory and free from her abusers. Finally, the day came for Maria to testify in court why she fled her home in Guatemala. Though the process was a long and tedious one, Maria was eventually given an answer from the courts. She was granted asylum and sent to live with her uncle, her only legal guardian in the U.S.

DHS publishes an annual report on refugees and asylum seekers. In 2013, the U.S. government capped the number of permitted refugees at 70,000. A decrease from the 76,000 permitted in 2012 and 80,000 in 2011. Top countries of origin include Iraq (28%), Burma (23%), Bhutan (13%), and Somalia (11%). States with the highest residency of refugees included Texas (11%), California (9.1%) and Michigan (6.7%). Refugee status approval is determined by priority level[4] as well as meeting eligibility criteria. According to United States law, a refugee is someone who- is located outside of the U.S, is of special humanitarian concern to the U.S., was persecuted or fears persecution due to race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership in a particular social group, and is not firmly resettled in another country (Martin and Yankay 2014).

Though Maria may not technically qualify as a refugee due to her residence in the U.S., she may still qualify for asylum rights considering she was escaping a dangerous environment in Guatemala. According to DHS, individuals who have been persecuted or fear persecution due to race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, and who meet the definition of a refugee, are already in the U.S., or at port seeking entry, may apply for asylum.[5] Top nationalities of asylum seekers in 2013 included China (34%), Egypt (14%), Ethiopia (3.5%), Nepal (3.4%), and Syria (3.2%) while states with the most asylum residents included California (42%), New York (13%), and Florida (12%) (Martin and Yankay 2014). If seeking amnesty, an individual may not work or apply for work until their status is cleared, or until 150 days have passed since their application submission; whereas, refugee status permits an individual to work immediately upon entering the United States. As a result, charities and other nonprofit organizations often have to fill the gaps until those granted asylum are able to support themselves. One

benefit to both of these options is that both applications can be processed at no cost (Department of Homeland Security 2015).

However, recent events along the border suggest Maria might not have received this privilege. With the large number of women and children being found at the border, the U.S. has had difficulty deciding whether to treat them as illegal immigrants or refugees. From January through July 2014, more than 50,000 unaccompanied children were apprehended at the border. An additional 54,347 adults with children were also reported (Department of Homeland Security, 2014). According to the U.N., 60% of those arriving at the border can make legal claim to protection via asylum but many are not granted these rights. Most nations, including the U.S., are not adequately prepared to assist this volume of migrants. As a result, many fall through the cracks and may not receive support in filing for asylum. Though crude, Washington describes the ethical and political decision to be made with the statement "do we spit on them or give them blankets (Elizondo 2014)."

As a countermeasure, President Obama opened additional detention centers in Texas to address the situation while simultaneously working to discourage further migrations. Do those who survive the journey deserve due process and a chance to prove their eligibility for asylum? If they are deported, will they simply try to cross the border again? If so, the risk of injury, death, or human trafficking becomes quite real. Currently, NGOs are attempting to fill service gaps to this population, meeting the needs of the people at the border who have no legal rights (O'Neil, 2014). Maria's stories illustrate the human cost of the confusing and contradictory immigration policy of the U.S and the need for comprehensive reform based on the realities of the global economy and the plight of its surplus populations. By doing so, we can start aligning humanity and policy, as well as, limiting the damage done by street level bureaucrats who are "just doing their job."

Toward Ethical Immigration Policies and Practices

As mentioned earlier, ethical and effective immigration policies and practices in the global political economy requires a definition of the concept of national sovereignty that includes the right to defend and control national borders *and* the obligation to protect and admit those who seek asylum and/or economic opportunity. Getting to this new definition of national sovereignty begins with the recognition of a universal human right of mobility (Weber and Pickering 2014). In a world where goods, services, and finance move seamlessly across national borders, and international corporations operate as near sovereign powers, people also need the right to move with as few impediments as possible to pursue the opportunities afforded by the globalized economy, and escape oppressive political regimes. Otherwise, those opportunities will be restricted to the portion of the world's population with access to capital and mobility (such as within and between the US and Eurozone). Facilitating mobility will not only provide new opportunities for those who need and deserve them, but also reduce the illicit economy of human trafficking in and around national borders.[6]

At a tactical level, this means governing borders in a way that "puts cruelty first" (Shklar 1984) as the worst vice to avoid, by restricting as much as possible access to dangerous crossing routes and facilitating movement through safer routes. Those who present themselves to border guards and immigration officials should be afforded all basic human rights, including due process and habeas corpus, and most admitted with at least temporary work or refugee visas. Such a policy would

allow a much more legitimate assumption of criminality for those trying to cross through the dangerous routes while greatly reducing the number of people made into criminals and victims only because they violated laws that restrict mobility. Even though Maria's and the others' legal statuses were initially unknown, the framework of illegal immigration led officials to deny their human rights simply because of where they were.

As Maria's stories illustrate, the politics and ethics of exclusion separates "irregular migrants" into artificial classifications based on "deservingness:" the economic immigrant versus the refugee or trafficking victim, where the latter has rights but the former does not, in an attempt to limit human movement (Kingsley 2016). In contrast, a definition of national sovereignty based on an obligation of protection and admittance to those seeking political asylum and/or economic opportunity recognizes the universal human right to mobility and the complexities and hardship of those who feel they must leave their homes to escape oppression and/or economic deprivation. Operations under the current definition of sovereignty, intentional or not, have continuously placed restrictive immigration policy before human rights and dignity.

An approach to border governance that makes ethics and human rights the first priority, not an afterthought to border security, is better suited to the realities of human migration in the global political economy: people are going to continue to test borders in response to economic and political insecurity (Kingsley 2016). It recognizes the importance of national security and sovereignty while also accepting the fact that, as in all large systems, errors will inevitably occur. But the desire to reduce error should not come before avoiding cruelty and protecting human rights. Ethical governance would place less emphasis on preventing the error of allowing entry of those who should be excluded and place more emphasis on avoiding the error (cruelty) of denying entry of those who need a safe haven and should be admitted, all the while recognizing that it is not a zero-sum game. Errors will occur within ethical and unethical, humane and inhumane, systems, which further supports putting ethics first. The failure to do so literally creates surplus populations, condemning people to deprivation and death without the benefit of the most basic of human rights and legal protections (see also, for example, the half-hearted effort by the EU to deal with the flow of refugees from the violence in the Middle East, Associated Press 2015b; Kingsley 2016).[7] There is a legitimate and important role in controlling borders for law enforcement along with immigration services. But "putting cruelty first" as the worst vice or error would put nations on firmer ethical ground while maintaining and promoting the rule of law and recognizing the human realities of the globalized political economy.

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Endnotes

[1] TIP Report (2014): "Trafficking can occur in both legal and illicit industries or markets, including in brothels, escort services, massage parlors, strip clubs, street prostitution, hotel services, hospitality, sales crews, agriculture, manufacturing, janitorial services, construction, health and elder care, and domestic service."

[2] Refers to individuals who had prior criminal convictions.

[3] Kevin Bales (1999) identifies 3 factors contributing to the resurgence of slavery: "The first is the population explosion that flooded the world's labor markets with millions of poor and vulnerable people. The second is the revolution of economic globalization and modernized agriculture, which has dispossessed poor farmers and made them vulnerable to enslavement. In the new world economy capital flies wherever labor is cheapest, and the financial links of slavery can stretch around the world. The third factor is the chaos of greed, violence, and corruption created by this economic change in many developing countries, change that destroying the social rules and traditional bonds of responsibility that might have protected potential slaves."

[4] Martin and Yankay (2014): "The United States Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) establishes processing priorities to identify individuals and groups who are of special humanitarian concern to the United States and who are eligible for refugee resettlement consideration. Priority categories are Priority One…individuals referred by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees…Priority Two…groups of special humanitarian concern…and Priority Three…family reunification cases."

[5] Martin and Yankay (2014): "Asylum may be obtained in one of three ways: affirmatively through a USCIS asylum officer, defensively in removal proceedings before an immigration judge of the Executive Office for Immigration Review (EOIR) of the Department of Justice, or an individual may derive asylum status as the spouse or child of an asylee. To obtain asylum, an alien must apply within one year from the date of last arrival or establish that an exception applies based on changed or extraordinary circumstances."

[6] Loftus (2011) makes the following recommendations for integrating immigration and human trafficking policy:
- Addressing the implications of employment-based immigration reforms for victims of human trafficking
- Arming migrants with information about their rights
- Training law enforcement officials at federal, state, and local levels
- Bringing state laws into conformity of TVPA

        o   Ensuring that traffickers are identified and prosecuted through investigations of employers.

[7] It is important to note that German Chancellor Angela Merkel, at considerable political risk, employed something like a policy of putting cruelty first with an almost open door (but still inadequate) asylum policy for Syrian refugees. Unquestionably, some errors were made, but they pale in significance relative to the hundreds of thousands of lives saved by recognizing the need for human mobility in a hostile world.

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"Unheard Melodies are Sweeter than Heard Melodies": A Critical Theory Perspective to Situate NPM

Tulasi Acharya

> *Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard*
> *Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on.*
>
> – From "Ode on a Grecian Urn" by John Keats.

Introduction

The poetic lines above suggest, metaphorically there is a beauty in the unsung, ignored segments of society. We tend not to be aware of social reality or the social construction of that reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Burr 2003). It is here that subjective meaning resides in what Schutz (1972) defines as "the phenomenology of the social world," where much is taken for granted (Burr 2003). Society tends to overlook marginalized people, who go about unaware and unheard. We seldom look into the "phenomenology" (Husserl 2008; Hummel 2008) of those who are marginalized. This is because we often look at the surface and do not bother with things that lie beneath. In the hierarchical, instrumental, and value-free methods inherent in Weberian style bureaucracy, the bureaucrats, elites, and capitalists overlook the emerged beauty of society or the phenomenology of these actors, representative of marginalized people. These stories are seldom heard because the overarching stories of larger than life historic heroes take up the space (Boje 2008; Box 2005). The subjectivity of bureaucrats, elites, and capitalists drum out marginalized voices making them un-recognizable. NPM has introduced a series of problematic crises to the complexities of the human bureaucratic phenomenon. Although NPM came as an alternative to other forms of public admin-istration and was heralded as an approach that addresses some of those social complexities, the reality is that it is tone deaf and unable to comprehend the different facets and nuances of the lifeworlds and unheard stories of the marginalized. Thus, NPM is no better than the other tradi-tional forms of public administration. It has reinforced the same instrumentality and value free practices. Introducing the Frankfurt School of critical theory to NPM is an effort to listen to the phenomenology and subjectivity of the social actors and those who are marginalized. The appli-cation of critical theory ameliorates a democratic society by addressing those paradoxes and prob-lems created by NPM. The use of critical social theory helps situate NPM and the administrative

processes that impact substantive policy. The focus here is only on the paradoxes of NPM and how critical social theory addresses those paradoxes by bringing the unheard melodies forward and introducing the phenomenology/subjectivity of society and the marginalized social actors.

The Paradoxes of NPM

NPM, as a modern management theory, is another face of the traditional public administration that Jun (2006) characterizes as vertically governed, professionally dominant though instrumental technical rationality, reified bureaucracy, complexity, and by placating citizens. Jun (2006) is skeptical of modern management theories for not being sufficiently democratic to solve the crisis, problems, and the complexities of human phenomenon. This could be done through the "creative awakening to the dialectical process" (9) that could help to create a more humane and hopeful society.

NPM was applied to public administration in the 1980s and has many paradoxes. Gultekin (2011), for example, points out that government as citizen-oriented becomes government as customer-oriented. A gap emerges between the customers with resources and those without resources. There is competition in governmental service provision as rural areas compete for resources with urban areas. Here, the unheard are customers – customers without resources, especially people in rural areas. Their voices, which I will call "unheard melodies," reflect the ignored and neglected life-worlds. The poor, women, the disabled, as well as uneducated or undereducated people are all too often marginalized.

NPM perhaps has tried to address the "true needs" (Marcuse 2002), but is unable to address the "repressive needs" (Marcuse 2002), which is possible only by reaching out to poor and marginalized people and communities and listening to their unexpressed, repeatedly taken for granted needs. In order to develop substantive policy in this case, bureaucrats need to examine the social construction of reality in order to understand the subjective experiences of society and marginalized people from whom the melody emanates.

Until practices are changed, hierarchy will prevail as the resource rich carry on as beneficious elites and the resourceful poor and middle class do with less. The paradox is that the NPM never comprehended the nuances of those "unheard melodies" that call for true democratic society. The application of the Weberian model of society introduces "instrumental rationality" (Weber 1978). It emphasizes economic efficiency and labor productivity while ignoring the soft side/unheard side of the human world in which people from different social, cultural, ethnic, and economic backgrounds live. In short, the lived experiences of the marginalized (Hummel 2008) and their life-worlds (Habermas 1985) have been barely addressed by governments under NPM. A person is fettered in the system and has to follow the rules. Hummel (2008) would call it a "bureaucratic experience." Unable to reach out to people successfully, NPM became akin to the old traditional system of bureaucracy. In this context, the Frankfort School of critical social theory is crucial to study NPM as it emphasizes dialogue as the interpretative approach.[1]

NPM: Only Heard Melodies!

The NPM emphasizes customer-oriented efficiency, but it never focuses on the citizens in their localized contexts. In this sense, critical social theory is very important because it takes the subjectivity/lifeworlds of the citizens into account. The marginalized are the "innocent victims" of NPM. Terry (1997) writes, "The images of villain, hero, and innocent victim that come from the metaphor are troublesome when applied to public administrators" (59). No matter what public administrators are deemed to be, either heroes or villains, their voices are heard because they have power. Continuing with the same theatrical metaphor, the spectators watching the play recognize both types as main characters. The story revolves around them as they fight each other to achieve their objectives, no matter if the fighting is physical or ideal. Of course, one of them turns out to be a victim within the tension created in the administration like theater. Nobody pays much attention to those minor characters whose roles, although seemingly insignificant, play a significant part in making those villains or heroes more easily recognizable as such. Metaphorically speaking from the spectators' perspective, those who are educated will be smart enough to recognize the role of those villains or heroes and be informed, but what about those who are uneducated and do not understand the way theater works, or those who could not afford to watch the performance? Will they be able to see the whole story? The NPM is tone deaf to this fact.

This idea of the hero is one that ignores women and the disabled in society (Stivers 1990). Stivers (1990), critical of bureaucracy which ignored the marginalized, suggests NPM should not control administrative processes but it should create opportunities for the women and the disabled. Thus, bureaucrats can listen to underrepresented and unrepresented people in society and facilitate the growth of each individual. The current practices and administrative processes of NPM are tone deaf as they only listen to selected self-chosen heroes and ignore the real silenced heroines and heroes in society. This legend of the administrative hero or villain is another myth that sidelines the unsung heroes in society. These disregarded heroes could in Marx's (Marx 2011) language be the proletarians always fighting for emancipation. This hero-villain dichotomy within the administration is a continuous struggle in history, repeating forever, and any change within the administration is possible only when the lifeworlds (Habermas 1985) of society's unsung heroes are addressed, such as segments of the middle class and women, the poor, and people without resources, and the disabled. Critical theory lends a distinctive approach to recognize and see those unsung heroes within society. Therefore, their voices and their "bureaucratic experiences" (Hummel 2008) will be heard by the administration. NPM does nothing more than emphasizing the heroes other than the heroes that critical theory recognizes. NPM is a management theory and addresses some of the issues traditional theory failed to, but it is lacking in that it needs help situating itself to address the needs of the marginalized/voiceless people in society, and, to that end, critical social theory is important.

NPM? Yes, but it needs to be situated: Different social, economic, political, and technological factors have played key roles in the NPM reform. Research (Manning 2001; Mangkol 2011; Sharma 2007; Sarker 2006) shows that NPM is still being practiced in many developing and developed countries, along with its failures.

NPM adopts private-sector management principles and tries to create market conditions in which the delivery of services becomes effective, efficient, and autonomous. The major focus of NPM is to make administrative processes more strategic and goal oriented, to reexamine what the government does, increase competition and contracts, bring about flexibility in the work environment,

and break down the traditional system of control (Savoie 2003). In that sense, it is a shift in approaches to government and policy analysis. Unlike other traditional forms of public administration, NPM focuses on entrepreneurship, creativity, flexibility, and outcomes (Fatemi and Behmanesh 2012). NPM is a new concept based on old ideas (Weikert 2001), but it is different from the traditional public administration as it focuses on five core principles – downsizing, managerialism, decentralization, de-bureaucratization, and privatization (Hays and Kearney 1997; Fatemi and Behmanesh 2012). Those five core principles became applicable for worldwide public sector institutions (Farnham and Horton 1995).

That said, these principles of NPM barely reflect on the aspects of addressing the lifeworlds of the disregarded and silenced heroes within society. It gives an impression of mitigating the tension of hero-villain dichotomy but does not address the subjective reality of unsung heroes/the poor and marginalized community through the NPM principles. Although NPM has become an effective management system in developing and developed countries, it is not as effective in addressing the problems and complexities of society, in terms of making an effort to hear the "unheard melodies" and then "sensemaking" (Boje 2008). Weick's (1995) sensemaking in organization is about construction and perception of problems. There are some barriers that prevent hidden events being reported. According to Weick (1995), sensemaking involves "identity, retrospect, enactment, social contact, ongoing events, cues, and plausibility" (p.3). Metaphorically speaking, NPM is tone deaf to this sensemaking.

Focusing on privatization and work efficiency, NPM largely ignores people from different racial, social, ethnic, political, and economic communities and their stories. Low-income people, people of color, ethnic minorities, illiterate and poor women, and people living in geographically remote areas often are deprived of services and facilities. This is true regardless of the effectiveness of the NPM system. NPM is only about heard melodies, people in power, supporting the elites, and singing the songs of heroes that history has declared. This is all about stories of traditional heroes. This kind of problem prevails both in the public and private sector. Bozeman (2004) says that all organizations are public. Although NPM emphasizes the idea that public governance must be placed on private sector providers, an example below illustrates the frustration of citizens even in the private sector. My argument is that NPM is tone deaf to the frustrations of the citizens, thus incapable of understanding the lifeworlds of the oppressed. A poor friend of mine shared his story the other day. He approached me, exasperated.

"F***!" he said.

"What happened?" I said, bewildered.

"I called a credit card company and told them that I would not be able to pay a debt due to my financial situation!"

"And?"

"Then they transferred the call to another department."
"Then…?"

"Then they told me that I don't fit in their program because my source of income does not even pay my living expenses."

"So?" I continued asking.

"Apparently, I have to have at least some surplus money to fit in their program," he continued. "What the hell is this? If I had some surplus money, why the hell would I have called them about my financial situation?"

"Didn't you say that?" I asked.

"I did, but they said 'sorry!'" he said. "They told me to talk to another debt management department."

"Then!"

"Then, I was freaking pissed off! I just hung up! Who will hear my story?"

This is a daily conversation in the lives of some, and through such narratives we come to the realization that the stories of the poor are ignored in the bureaucracy. The frustrated citizens' emotions are not included in the script that the customer service representatives read from repeatedly when addressing the citizens' issues. There are abundant stories much worse than this in the public sector. In those situations, how can the principles of NPM help or support those people whose stories are rarely heard? Or who are not articulate enough to tell their stories fluently? Those that do not know the jargon or cannot access the means to even voice their stories in the first place. Those are the people whom I call the unsung heroes of our society. Until the lifeworlds of those unsung heroes of our society are addressed, we cannot fully imagine the beauty of our society.

NPM fails to consider this phenomenon and its paradoxes. In this regard, NPM can be situated by those "unheard melodies" into our attention. Those unheard melodies are the melodies of pain, anguish, frustration, and disappointments from the repressed citizens, and NPM should be able to address those repressed needs (Marcuse 2002).

Critical Theory to Situate NPM and Hear Unheard Melodies

Of course, NPM is different from the traditional models of PA where power is more centralized. However, NPM is not necessarily able to address lifeworlds (Farmer 2010; Habermas 1985). NPM does not address what a human being wants personally and what his personal feelings and individual wishes are (Those are unheard melodies of the sidelined). In the bureaucratic experience, Hummel (2008) writes, "Our relationships in the modern factory or bureaucracy are assigned to us" (21). The issue is no longer "who we are to others but what we are to the work" (21). In the bureaucratic experience, bureaucrats are not allowed enough space "to engage in either social action or social relationships" (Hummel 2008, 35). That means, in the name of market competition, privatization, and work efficiency, NPM has ignored the unheard melodies of the relegated.

NPM has introduced a conflict between an individual who has a choice as a citizen and who does not have a choice as a customer. The marginalized are deprived of services because of the "administered industrialized society" (Farmer 2010, 79). They never tend to question bureaucracy and are obliged to remain happy with their own status quo. Whether the marginalized part of the society is happy or sad, the bureaucrats do not need to know. Yes, there is good customer service in words, such as "yes," "please," "how are you," "I am sorry," "I apologize," and so on and so forth. Does it really bring a change in the lives of the poor, women, disabled, and resource-less people? Where does NPM stand in this context?

There are many things NPM is not able to address, for example, the issues related to the large portion of poor/uneducated people in society who are indoctrinated and have to live under the ideology of "false consciousness" (Marx 2011) and take everything for granted. The poor and uneducated do not understand the profit-seeking market, which means its rationality is imposed on them, discouraging them to use their own conscious inquiry (Husserl 2008). Advertisements, for example, highlight what medications should be used to alleviate or cure diseases but do not emphasize which unprocessed foods enable us to withstand the ravages of diseases in the first place. Cheap fast processed food with little nutritional value is often underscored. Until the citizens' conscious level is raised, NPM will never be able to address the complexities that the citizens/customers are experiencing. NPM has never addressed properly these issues since it was introduced. For their emancipation, social awareness and critical inquiry are necessary. The lack of checks and balances for the citizens/consumers and their inability to raise critical questions against the injustice of the system are perpetuated by modern bureaucracy. Thus, the marginalized ones remain unheard and marginalized. Until NPM is able to address those paradoxes and complexities/unheard melodies, society will never succeed in its' aim to be truly democratic.

The "ambition of critical theory is to transgress and resist hegemonic practices and ideologies" (Herz and Johansson 2012, 528). It helps explore "diverse arenas of professional practice" (Forester 1993, p. ix). It draws attention to a central sociological concern. Critical theory gives us a "rich sociological formulation—of communicative action—that allows us to explore the political implications of practice in powerful ways" (5). The communicative action always allows us to look closely at the "how" and the "what" of practice. Seidman (1989) writes, "Communicative utterances are always embedded in various world relations at the same time. Communicative action relies on a cooperative process of interpretation in which participants relate simultaneously to something in the objective, the social, and the subjective world…" (166). Habermas' (1985) case is that "communicative action makes full use of language functions relating to objective, social, and subjective worlds when the other models relate to only one or two" (95).

This analysis allows us to link planning and administrative practice directly to the exercise of influence and power (6). Power that controls language and communication always suppresses the marginalized, and their voices remain unheard. Encouraging communicative action and dialogue among the marginalized is an effort to hear those unheard voices while practicing democracy. Communicative and interpretative action is tied to the possible meanings of specific situations in which mutual understanding arises between the elites and the middle class, between the haves and have-nots. Dallmayr (1980) argues that a critically reflective "practical discourse" is important to address the "technical-instrumental bent of applied science" (523). Dallmayr (1980) also emphasizes critical discourse as an idea of ethical evaluation that is ingrained in "interpersonal contacts

and communicative interaction" (529). Forester (2013) shows the importance of "critical pragmatism" to address the challenges in "planning and policy shaping practice" (6). Critical pragmatism helps people think critically amidst political distrust, inequalities of power, other multiparty problems; learn about interests and values; rethink the "complexities of deliberative process;" think outside the box; and move forward toward the point where the interests of diverse groups meet. Critical pragmatism is about learning through actions and consequences, the idea of Schon's (1984) reflective practitioner, which means stepping back, looking with enquiring eyes, asking questions, and walking in others' shoes (Forester 2013). Adopting these practices within NPM makes an effort of getting to know the people on the periphery who are marginalized and their stories have never been heard because they do not exist until they are acknowledged and recognized. This is the process of getting used to hearing those unheard voices/unheard melodies.

The idea is that reason and freedom are achieved through the act of critique (Denhardt 1981). Critical theory recognizes the tension within us, reveals contradictions, questions false consciousness, and finds the causes of social domination in modern life (Denhardt 1981). For Habermas (1985), distortion of communication is an obstacle to reaching out to people in the community. Distortion of communication is shaped by power and ideology; and, until that power is questioned or the ideology is challenged, marginalized communities always remain invisible and silent. Critical theory provides us with a tool to bring such "unheard melodies" into notice. Situating NPM within critical theory is an attempt to hear through the cacophony of familiar sounds those "unheard melodies." Farmer (2010) discusses the importance of the critical theory perspective as an important tool to "privilege the lifeworld," which results from "shared understandings shaped by shared circumstances" (p. 83). It emphasizes the "self-realistic interest," critiques "false consciousness," and opposes instrumental reasoning" (Farmer 2010, 79). The instrumental, functional, and rational aspects of administration as governing efficiently have ignored the dialectical relationship between the administration and the public. The stories of the public are abandoned, and critical social theory encourages NPM to listen for and recognize those "unheard melodies" in society. Box (2005) writes:

> The possible dialectical change can be facilitated with critical reason and imagination, giving people the knowledge they need to be emancipated from one dimensional thought, allowing them to envision alternatives that move them closer to the ideal of self-determining their collective future… rather than searching for competitive advantage within existing social systems, the critical framework suggests questioning those systems and working for basic change (12).

Critical social theory encourages viewing social structures and practices as a means of domination, repression, and manipulation, and how they have become so. At the same time, it makes us aware of social change, which is possible only by hearing those unheard voices. It helps us refuse or reinterpret those great stories of the past, and history becomes discontinuous (Box 2005; Foucault 1982; Rorty 2000). Marcuse (1964) emphasizes the man's potentialities for freedom, happiness, and individual rights, that require good social relationships achievable through communication and dialogic interaction between the oppressors and oppressed – in essence, trying to hear those marginalized voices.

Addressing the Unheard Melodies

NPM is unable to address the ambiguities and internal inconsistencies and the difficulties of in-strumental rationality (Dunn and Miller 2007). NPM is unable to engage hermeneutically, being critical, to advocate bureaucracy through participation under the specific historical conditions and still remain as the status quo. Critical social theory helps us understand the consequences of an action and the questions that arise in terms of consequences. Critical theory also enables us to better understand and question socioeconomic disparities. It is concerned with showing that inter-class mobility, life outcomes, and a citizen's relationship to government are affected by inherited social, cultural, and financial advantages (Oldfield 2010). The main concern of critical theory is solving the paradoxes of NPM, or reaching out to those unheard melodies, by questioning the values and assumptions of any programs and measures, challenging elite discourse, accepting com-mon norms. It also helps us see the "misdistribution of resources," inequalities, and "social con-sciousness" (Oldfield 2010).

In such situations, introducing critical theory to NPM can be a good alternative to traditional bu-reaucracy because critical theory addresses the paradoxes NPM has brought along with it. Looking through the perspective of critical social theory, each and every citizen in the community or in the nation should be equally treated economically, politically, and ideologically. NPM should use a critical pragmatic lens. Thus, NPM will not only be simply the practice of being rationally instru-mental but also will bring unheard melodies into notice and, by doing so, help create an egalitarian society. In that sense, critical theory can provide much insight and becomes an applicable perspec-tive to situate NPM in an effective and efficient way.

Conclusion: "Unheard Melodies are Sweeter than Heard Melodies"

Although NPM has situated itself as an alternative to traditional bureaucracy, it has been a failure as it is unable to address the problems and paradoxes that it has brought. Along with NPM came privatization and competition that emphasized work efficiency, but NPM never looked into or at the unheard side of experiences. It ignored the poor, the marginalized, women, and the disabled. A person became a citizen and a customer who would have no choice but be compelled to get the product. They could not listen to themselves but were forced to comply with the bureaucratic sys-tem and its rules and regulation, so nobody could hear those unheard melodies. Distortion of com-munication never allowed those marginalized persons to achieve their full potential. They were never prepared to challenge the status quo and raise questions about the injustice of the system. NPM tried to address the problems but repeated the same old system mistakes in the name of privatization, competition, and work efficiency. Thus, NPM requires critical social theory as a tool to address this situation. Critical theory emphasizes the interpretative and communicative approach between the managers, bureaucrats, and the public. Critical theory highlights the problems and complexities that the public, marginalized communities, the poor, women and the disabled are facing. Introducing critical theory to NPM helps point out the injustices, media indoctrinations, and other types of propaganda that the elites run to make profit and addresses the "lifeworlds" of the poor, tending to make more audible those unheard melodies. It enables every citizen/customer to be rationally aware and highlights critical paradoxes that have remained unheard. Critical theory becomes an emancipatory tool of the people who have become victims of social injustice, media indoctrination, and the profit seeking market. It would give them many prisms to view themselves.

Therefore, critical social theory is a crucial tool to study NPM, in order for a society to be just. Hummel (2006) says, "Bureaucratic institution has replaced society." That said, when people become conscious about injustice, that awareness in people helps any institution grow effectively and efficiently. The awareness gives the unheard a voice. The unheard melodies becoming heard are sweeter than the heard melodies, more beautiful than great stories, the stories of "heroes." The full beauty of society will only be seen and heard if NPM incorporates the discussion of critical theory.

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Endnote

[1] This theory critiques status quo "false consciousness," (Marx 2011; Marcuse 2002) and brings the concept of "life world" (Husserl 2008; Gadamer 2008; Habermas 1985) into discussion.

Acknowledgements

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Revealing the Alt-Right: Exploring Alt-Right History, Thinkers and Ideas for Public Officials

Phillip W. Gray and Sara R. Jordan

The alt-right burst onto the American political scene during the waning weeks of the 2016 presidential election. The elevation of the alt-right web news outlet Breitbart news and its owner Steve Bannon to the position of campaign manager for Donald Trump brought the once niche news-site into mainstream view. However, Andrew Breitbart's news and opinion site has been in operation since 2007, consistently criticizing the Obama administration, firing missives against "Big Hollywood," and attacking what the site calls "Big Journalism." Whether the many Breitbart articles and commentaries responded to already existing views or provoked new thinking by its readers is a topic for deeper empirical research. Regardless, it seems that the loose collection of views on this site constitute a set of ideas that public administrators will need to respond to in the coming months and years, whether they come from politicians or from citizens.

Questions that might bedevil attentive public administrators about the alt-right include: What about the alt-right do public administrators need to know? Is there a central theory, concept, or ideology that can be said to constitute "the alt-right"? The contemporary history of the most visible alt-right mouthpiece—Breitbart—is brief, but the ideas aggregated into alt-right ideation can be addressed as a pertinent matter of intellectual history for public administrators for two reasons. First, adherents to alt-right ideation are among the political actors that will soon place demands, from the top, upon public administrators. Failure to understand the implications of those demands may lead to two categories of adverse consequences: either public administrators may be forced into direct ideational conflict with their political principals or they may inadvertently agree to policy changes that press forward alt-right platforms that are couched in familiar language but have results far from what was intended. Second, despite the distasteful and/or vicious vocabulary used by alt-right adherents, it is a relevant political force whose ideas must be addressed when they emerge via the complaints or demands of citizens. Despite some of the anti-democratic terms or preferences of some alt-right adherents, a citizen responsive bureaucracy remains a hallmark of well-functioning American states.

In this article, we review the history of the alt-right from the perspective of condensing this movement into a history of terms and ideas that practicing public administrators can use to negotiate the

present political environment. We expect that the readership of this article—public administrators and scholars of public administration—need to understand the historical and conceptual elements of this political movement in order to anticipate demands for changes to existing policy programs. For instance, policy modifications regarding immigration requirements, or changes in regulations regarding Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH), can be expected within the coming administration. But, it is not yet clear whether these policy changes will be presented as wholly new or as part of the continuing package of Conservative view points. Understanding the history of alt-right ideas, to include the thinkers and concepts brought together under this ideological umbrella (see Hawley 2016; Robin 2011; Nash 1996), is one pathway through which public officials can best prepare their public and policy responses.

This article unfolds as follows: we first describe mainstream conservative thought in the US by reviewing watershed moments and ideas, then show how these coalesced into a precursor to alt-right ideation: conservative fusionism. Following this, we show how, historically, there are multiple precursor thinkers and ideas embedded in the designation "alt-right". The first encompasses a mosaic of ideas that organize ways of seeing the world as in need of right-correction, including adoption of the idea of the myth (Georges Sorel), the will-to-power (Friedrich Nietzsche), and evolution. The second precursor is the German "conservative revolution," a collection of various writers in the early twentieth century who rearticulated Rightist politics without necessarily a reliance upon previous institutions and customs. The third is fascism, both in its Italian and neo-fascist forms. The fourth is the intersection of political movements in the US such as Southern Agrarianism. Finally, we provide some advice for practitioners regarding alt-right ideology and policy.

Following this exposition on alt-right concepts and intellectual history, we discuss how contemporary alt-right authors address concepts of keen concern to individuals and political parties who are not affiliated with this worldview. Specifically, we present the thoughts of key figures—such as Jared Taylor, Greg Johnson, Michael Levin, among others—on the role of the "ethnos" and myth, of the importance of politics and the will to power, of the role of biology, community, sex and gender, and finally, the environment. From these concepts, we go on to forecast five policy trends expected to encompass alt-right demands in the coming years: national reorganization, changes to definitions of evidence and science, challenges to affirmative action, changes to immigration policy, and emergence of a "natalist" paradigm in labor and family policy. We briefly conclude with some practical advice for administrators who must address alt-right politicians and citizens in the immediate future.

The Alt-Right and Mainstream Conservatives:
A Brief History of a Family Feud

Unlike other political movements, such as fascism, Leninism, or Maoism, there is not a single thinker or period of history that can be tapped as the starting point for the alt-right movement. Even the late Andrew Breitbart is not fully responsible for catalyzing this movement. Instead, the alt-right is best defined as a pseudo-movement—a pastiche of mostly reactionary ideas and trends-- that emerged over time through a somewhat disorganized pattern of opposition to other movements such as Black Lives Matter or parties such as the Republican Party.

Mainstream US Conservatism from 1960 to Present

Scholars of conservative thought such as George Hawley and George H. Nash argue that, until the middle 1950s, there was not a strain of political thought that could be identified as American conservatism (Hawley 2016; Nash 1996; but cf. Rossiter 1962). The perspective that could be considered as mainstream conservatism emerged under the idea of "fusionism," as coined by Frank Meyer (1996). Fusionist conservatives sought to find an element to bind corporate free-market purity, social conservatism, and anti-Communist foreign policy into a movement against the common enemy of Communist ideology. While thinkers contributing to conservative fusionism elevated some concepts over others, they each shared critical similarities in their theories of the citizen's relationship to the state, de-escalation of the political in daily life, rejection of planned economies, and basic agreement with classical liberal economic principles. These and other American conservative ideas emerged piecemeal in response to the founding of the Intercollegiate Society of Individuals (now the Intercollegiate Studies Institute) in 1953, the founding of the *National Review* in 1955, and the presidential campaign of Barry Goldwater in 1964. How these events catalyzed mainstream conservatism, which alt-right thinkers explicitly reject, is reviewed briefly below, followed by a review of some of the central ideas that these events and related thinkers presented to the American public.

The Intercollegiate Studies Institute (ISI) was founded as a student conservative organization by Frank Chodorov with William F. Buckley, Jr. serving as president (Nash 1996, 24-25). Its public purpose was to provide organization and networking opportunities for conservative students in the US. Another purpose, however, was to organize the fight against "Rockefeller Republicanism" or republicans who were keen on the social welfare mission of the left leaning aspects of the government (e.g., the New Deal) but were insistent that the implementation of these programs be minimal in terms of government staffing, spending, and impact on business (see Edwards 2003). Over time, the ISI has served in aiding networking between various conservative groups, as well as being a hub for the publication of books and journals, such as *Modern Age*.

Founded by ISI president William F Buckley, Jr in 1955 as the first major platform for conservative ideas to be expressed in a public intellectual fashion, the *National Review*'s authors were self-identified as *American* conservatives. The *National Review* opposed reactionary European conservatism (e.g., monarchists) and editors of the magazine sought to distinguish its contribution from the phenomenon of "irritable mental gestures which seek to resemble ideas" (Trilling 2008, xv) and other non-left critics of the New Deal. The importance of the *National Review* lies in its role as the platform for a conservative narrative through the writing of its major early contributors, including Buckley, Whitaker Chambers, James Burnham, Frank Meyer, and Russell Kirk, among others (Hawley 2016, 24-25).

The *National Review* continues today to be a major exponent of high conservativism by policing the boundaries of the conservative movement. For example, the recent "Never Trump" issue of the *National Review* was a powerful call to mainstream conservatives to act and vote against Trump and against the musings of Alt-Right authors. Other publications that would still fit within mainstream conservatism usually align with specific portions of the movement: *Weekly Standard* tends in a neoconservative direction, *First Things* is a "theocon" (religiously-focused social conservative) periodical, and *American Spectator* at points emphasized paleoconservative elements.

In contrast, the long-running *National Review* remains the standard-bearer for the movement in its fusionist form.

The victory of Barry Goldwater over Nelson Rockefeller for the 1964 republican nomination for president was the first time that a mainstream conservative candidate received the Republican nomination for the US Presidential race (see Schoenwald 2001; Hawley 2016, 31). Goldwater's defeat came to be more significant to the evolution of mainstream conservatism. For conservatives, a major lesson was the virulence of the opposition to conservatism, such as in the Daisy commercial, the tropes of exceptional violence to emerge if Goldwater won, rejection of Goldwater by "experts" such as in the New York Times ad by 100 psychologists claiming that Goldwater was mentally unstable, and the development of the view of perpetual underdog campaigning of conservatism against entrenched liberal power. Each of these narrative strains persisted in conservative presidential campaigns following Goldwater's. Importantly, this heralded forms of left-leaning rejection, such as professorial rejections by academics, like Hans Morgenthau claiming that Goldwater's "romanticism" had violent underpinnings (see Morgenthau 1970, 127-131). What was being rejected in the Goldwater campaign was a set of ideas, which did not always coalesce well, that constituted a right-leaning focus on free markets, the role of choice, the importance of politics, international relations, and political association.

Major Elements of US Mainstream Conservative Ideology

Perhaps in no other area than economics are the left and right so divergent. One side seeks coherent economic planning to ensure free choices for all. The other side seeks free choice for all with little interference by the choices of planners. For mainstream conservatives, economics is an area wherein individual choice is elevated to a gospel of free-market purity. Free-market purity can be best understood as libertarianism in the market, but without the social implications (e.g., moral relativism) of libertarians. Free market purists embrace the Schumpeterian spirit of creative destruction as harnessed through the works of innovators and entrepreneurs and reject notions of central or extensive economic planning as quashing these essential economic forces. While often working along similar lines as pure libertarianism (see Doherty 2007), the mainstream conservative rejection of Objectivism (Chambers 1957) tempered an absolutist free-market focus, instead turning to the "Austrian School" of economics (see Hayek 2011) as a contemporary form of classical economic liberalism.

What conservative economics and conservative social thought have in common is a central idea about the role of the individual in the state: the individual comes before the state. When speaking of rights and priorities, it was understood that strong centralization and top-down organization, whether economic or social, was an inherently dangerous form of anti-liberty. As opposed to the group holism of central markets and anonymous society embraced by some left thinkers, the emphasis of mainstream conservatism was on the individual as the key political player (Weaver 1948; Hayek 2011; but also see Minogue 1963).

A significant part of this relationship is the idea of political minimalism; not only in the idea of "limited government," but also in the notion that the political – as a sphere of life – should be subordinate to the private and moral sphere. Consequently, planning by central experts threatened the role of the individual as the essential element in political organization or ethical decision-making (for instance, see Minogue 2007). In this sense, US conservatism – as opposed to reactionary

European conservatism – based itself upon classical political liberalism. The common language and common framework of individual freedom to choose was emphasized in the catalyzing 1964 speech by Ronald Reagan – "Time for Choosing."

Ideological anti-Communism gave the conservative movement a natural enemy, the Soviet Union, against which to position itself domestically and internationally. For adherents to conservative thinking, those things that made central government dangerous domestically made the state strong internationally through emphasis on build-up of military power (Arkes 2015). While some conservatives, such as right libertarians were not concerned about communism overseas, foreign policy anti-communists, of which mainstream conservatives were a subset, focused on a policy of anti-communism internationally. Ideological anti-Communism, such as that of Chambers (1952), emphasized the robustness of the military as essential to containment and refusal of communist expansion.

Breakdowns within US Conservatism

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the disappearance of the common enemy, space was made for the eruption of a conservative ideological diaspora, which included the germs of the alt-right. The lack of a common enemy exposed the importance of the Soviet Union and communism as a centrifugal force and, without this anchor, the centripetal forces of differentiation, augmented by the evolution of more numerous and more specialized communication sources, led to an explosion of conservative forms: paleoconservatism (Buchanan 2002; see also Gottfried 2007), active neoconservatism (Kaplan and Kristol 2003), Objectivism and libertarianism (Doherty 2007). The explosion of conservative forms did not sit comfortably with the fusionist conservatism favored by the movement's forefathers. Policing of the variations on conservative themes, such as described by Hawley (2016), came in the form of multiple "purges". Some of the purged membership resigned to full obscurity (the John Birch Society) while some were recast in the drama of the alt-right movement, such as the cases of Samuel T. Francis and Joseph Sobran (Gottfried and Spencer 2015). In contrast to the conservative purge of Objectivism and Ayn Rand, where these ideas were integrated into libertarianism—an overlapping thread with mainstream conservatism— purges based upon perceived anti-Semitism and racism led to more severe forms of ostracism. Francis, for example was expelled for views suspected of being anti-Semitic as well as racially-tinged views on immigration restriction (see Hawley 2016, 62-65).

When coupled with deregulation of radio waves through the de-institutionalization of the Fairness Doctrine in 1987 and the emergence of the internet into civilian channels, purges in the halls of conservatism had the paradoxical effect of fostering a proliferation of conservative view points, including those that became the alt-right movement (see Bobbitt 2010). Views previously shunned by mainstream conservative channels, like the *National Review*, could now find rapid and extensive dissemination channels whereas previously, they were restricted to the tedious tasks of newsletter distribution via the mail. Some of the views that saw new light were those actively rejected by mainstream conservatism: racism, anti-Semitism and rejection of a "Zionist Occupational Government (ZOG)" (for instance, see Zeskind 2009, 228-229). Specific focusing events such as the Waco Branch Davidians and Ruby Ridge incidents allowed the multiple ideologies to focus their shared attention on perceived new enemies (Zeskind 2007, 301-319). All of these voices could proliferate and combat one another to garner attention in an increasingly saturated market.

One of the first organizational results of the decline of central foci for mainstream conservatism was the emergence of the US "militia" movements. Like conservativism generally, this was not one movement. Constitutionalist militias maintained kinship with mainstream conservativism and emphasized classic fusionist ideas. Millenarian militias, on the other hand, were organized around the new disaggregated conservativism and emphasized racist, anti-Semitism, anti-globalist, and paleoconservaitve ideas. Unique to the millenarian militias was that these were "grassroots" or "bottom up" movements that were neither sponsored nor recognized by mainstream conservative communication channels or the Republican Party (see Churchill 2009).

History and Ideas of the Alt-Right

It is important to emphasize that the alt-right and mainstream conservatism are not one and the same. As crudely captured in the alt-right dismissive "cuckservative" and the rejection of Breitbart style commentators by mainstream conservatives, the two are scarcely peaceable bedfellows. Many ideas rejected by the mainstream right were taken in by members of the alt-right. These are reviewed in this section.

Pre-cursor Ideas to the Alt-Right

The alt-right is a mosaic of ideas, a world view that is not wholly new. Alt-right thinkers owe a debt to the German "conservative revolution", the Fascism of Mussolini and later forms of neo-fascism, and political movements in the US such as Southern Agrarianism.

It is commonplace to hear opponents of the alt-right claim that the movement will revivify the Third Reich. While this remains to be seen, it is true that the alt-right does owe a debt to early 20th century German social and political thought. Lasting from a few years before WWI to around 1933, the German Conservative Revolution emphasized struggle against the superficiality and decadence of a "decaying" modern society. Among the most important exponents of this conservative social movement were Ernst Jünger, Oswald Spengler, and Carl Schmitt. Jünger, a novelist and major WWI hero for the German army, emphasized the role of struggle as essential part of a fully human life (Jünger 2004), not just a matter of economic viability. The ease of modern society relieved man of the necessary struggle, which Jünger found abhorrent as it led to a superficial and decaying form of life (Jünger 1982[1932]). Spengler, especially in his famed *Decline of the West* (1926), solidified the discourse of decay and decline that Jünger and Schmitt took up. For Spengler, decline is part of a natural process that all nations must go through. After reaching the heights of "culture", a nation slips into mere "Civilization" or senile conformity to the rules, roles, and morals that were created by the denizens of the previous culture (see also Spengler 2015). As for Schmitt, what perpetuates mere civilization is an increasingly "managed" or "managerial" state (Schmitt 1988). For Schmitt, the managerial state was a harbinger of decline. The legality of the managerial state is mere performance of administrative law, which Schmitt viewed as divorced from the legitimating mechanisms of law and true legality (Schmitt 2004). In his view, the modern state system would be better off if politics were renewed as a genuine realm of struggle, otherwise, the march of the managers would lead to the establishment of an administrative state wholly unmoored form the will of the people (Schmitt 2014).

The German Conservative Revolution was not, it must be emphasized, a direct call to national socialism (Nazism), although many of its members did have strong leanings towards Italian

Fascism and some would later join the Nazi Party. Further, fascism must be distinguished from Nazism. For fascists, the ideological aim is national unification organized by the state apparatus with all activity focused on strengthening and maintaining national supremacy. Nation, in this context, means the combination of language, tradition, historical geography, shared mythology, and, in some cases, ethnicity, into a coherent and controlled political whole (for greater discussion on Fascism, see Gregor 2005, 246-262; Griffin 1993, 26-55). In contrast to national socialism, where biological nationalism (race) is emphasized as unifying for the nation, fascists do not necessarily emphasize race as unifying for the nation.

Organizationally, Fascism requires a hierarchically organized state, a corporatist economy, and an emphasis on national political purity against the encroachment of external influences. Especially in its focus on hierarchy, elites and masses, fascists do not emphasize expertise or meritocracy as essential traits for leadership but focus instead on "intelligence" and "will to action". For fascists, what distinguishes the elite, mass, and those who *should* be governors is the relentless focus on action (Roberts 2006, 275). For national socialists, on the other hand, race comes before either of these traits and action by members of the state that do not have the accepted racial credentials—even where it advances the supremacy of the state over others—should be viewed with suspicion.

The present-day alt-right movement shares some traits with these movements, but the worldview is uniquely indebted to American thinkers. One set of American thinkers to whom the alt-right is indebted are the "Superfluous men" (Crunden 1999). These were critics of the Coolidge era, the roaring 20s and Roosevelt's New Deal. These thinkers are well known as general social critics of American cultural focus on progress, technological inevitability, and cultural superficiality. Like the German Conservatives, these thinkers, particularly H.L Mencken and Albert Jay Nock, rejected superficiality and decadence. Mencken emphasized Nietzschean themes in his critique of American society, especially in the problem of the unthinking mass he called the "booboisie" (see Teachout 2002). The "booboisie" included progressive reformers as well as religious populations focused on the Scopes "monkey trial". As a reporter to the Scopes monkey trial, Mencken argued that religiousness was banal superstition that led to busybody behavior and interference in the conduct of a full life. He reserved the same critique for progressive reformers, particularly those who led temperance movements and emphasized what he described as a Puritanism of the weak. Albert Jay Nock was more anarchist in his inclinations. He critiqued the increased interference in the state, claiming the population was calling for its own slavery through state dominance (see Nock 1991, 222-229). A final group that was influential here were the Southern Agrarians who usually focused on a critique of "northern industrial culture" as being superficial, flattening, and bent on destroying traditions or customs that were not amenable to quantification in scientific management terms of profit, loss, waste and work (Twelve Southerners 2006; see also Murphy 2001).

Major Ideas of the Alt-Right

Ethnos

While not a term specifically used by most alt-right authors, "*ethnos*" is the essential connection between a particular cultural and national community (see Dugin 2012, 47, for a full definition). For example, Aryan and white European is an *ethnos*. *Ethnos* is a central idea motivating the turn towards racial or national insularity. It is argued that any sizeable and/or long-lasting nation has an ethnos—Chinese, Japanese and colonial Europeans.

The idea of *ethnos* is an important precursor to the alt-right as it is the basis of the identity of the movement and its differentiation from the new-right in Europe. Most of the "New Right" in Europe is circumspect about the relationship of genetics (biology), race and nation (see De Benoist and Champetier 2012, 33; see Sunic 2011, 203-206 for a partial list of major European New Right thinkers). Thinkers on the alt-right, however, often espouse an explicitly genetic or biological approach to the function of race and identity within a nation. In practice, for an *ethnos* to persevere, a level of homogeneity and control is necessary. Alt-right ideation requires evolution of an ethno-state.

Mythology

Mythology is motivating in the alt-right, whether as myth-maker or truth-expositor the elite leadership in alt-right movements must manufacture or perpetuate important myths in order to ensure success in an irrational political environment. Sorel defines myth as the unifying idea that can motivate practical action, irrespective of whether that idea is true or not (Sorel 2004, 122-135; also see Horowitz 2009, 131-140). There are two ways myth is used by the alt-right. The first is that a racially-focused religion's symbols become motivating symbols for political action. The "Life Rune," for example, is used by the precursor group the National Alliance (Griffin 2001, 126). The second, derived from Evola's "Traditionalism," advocates tradition as emphasizing metaphysical, inherent truths, often exemplified by ancient "Aryan" myths, such as the notion of cycles and the period of the "Dark Age" (e.g., Kali Yuga –Evola 1995, 367-369). Within this idea of Evola, the focus on *sol* in Aryan styles of worship is an exoteric expression of a belief in a "glory" or "vitalism" within the race and the representation of the sun or *sol* in political culture communicates the esoteric (*sub rosa*) belief in this Aryan biological vitalism (Evola 1995, 7-10; Sedgwick 2004). Rather than focusing on traditions of Madisonian or Burkean constitutionalism and political change, when the alt-right points to tradition they typically mean the foundational instincts and behaviors of European civilization.

Will to Power

The idea of the "will to power" appears in multiple political movements and its use in the alt-right is not unique. Instead, this idea is harnessed in a Nietzschean form and as a descriptor for socio-biological struggle between groups. In the Nietzschean sense, it is used to emphasize the clarificatory and interpersonal function of struggle: "Before we can have a willingness to take risks for the group – call that 'high courage' – we must also possess some kind of 'low courage' that amounts to comfort with risk-taking" (Donovan 2012b, 36). In the sense of describing a social-biological level, the will-to-power idea is used to emphasize that groups, particularly racial groups, must struggle with one another for dominance (Donovan 2012b, 140-142). Those groups that do

not harness the "will-to-power" will inevitably succumb to extinction through soft-genocide (aka White genocide – see Johnson 2015, 15-22).

The Role of the Political

Unlike mainstream conservative realism, which emphasizes an umpire role for politics, the necessarily alt-right waivers on its view of the political. For some on the alt-right, the political organization infuses all aspects of life—the personal is the political—but for other authors, the political leads the way to establishment of a state which manages the appropriate culture scientifically, and yet for others the political is but a mechanism by which the ethnos can express itself in suitably dominant ways (Johnson 2016, 243-246). For the alt-right there are few, if any, aspects of life that do not have political implications—choices of consumer products, housing, and employment each reflect political will. In this way, the alt-right has distinct similarities with the new left for whom such choices also reflect a manifestation of the pervasive political.

Leadership

For the alt-right a significant role for politics is establishment of a mythologized, powerful, leadership. Given the irrational or a-rational nature of politics, there is a perpetual need for an elite that organizes sufficient mythology to bring the emotively motivated mass into line (Johnson 2013, 135-143). Leaders are to create an image—a reification—for the people to identify with and follow. Alt-right leaders may play a role as the expression of the collective white or male identity, staunchly opposed to feminists or individuals of other races who might otherwise seek to dominate them. The ideal alt-right leader emerges from what is understood to be a natural, meritocratic aristocracy. The alt-right cleaves off from mainstream ideas, however, by suggesting that this natural aristocracy is defined by the racial and or gender characteristics of individuals. Predictably, white males are the "natural" elite.

"Human Biodiversity"

Mainstream beliefs about the role of evolution suggests that, after humans emerged as tool-making animals, all essential and important differentiation between human groups ceased in any real, much less socially relevant, sense. Once *homo sapiens* triumphed over *Neanderthal*, no additional meaningful evolution occurred. In the ideology of the alt-right, however, evolution has continued to differentiate human groups, often according to race (Levin 2005, 117-123). Emphasizing that there is not a strong differentiator between culture and biology, the alt-right combines the two making claims that cultural differences between groups (again, particularly races) is a phenotypic expression of genetic difference (Sunic 2007, 9-23). Any culture is viewed as intrinsically tied to its racial population and attempts to cross cultures, particularly through interracial marriage is believed to be inherently destabilizing for both cultures and peoples (Taylor 2011, 125-134). A major difference between alt-right thinkers, like Taylor or Levin, who emphasize that difference does not connote superiority, and previous racist thinkers who advocated more eliminationist policies (for instance, see Pierce 2012, 132), is that the alt-right expositors emphasize racial separation rather than domination. Separation is not positional, but is done for the purpose of racial/cultural preservation (Robertson 1993).

Gender Roles

Alt-right thinkers tend to emphasize more traditional gender roles (but see Donovan 2012a), but not for the same reasons as mainstream conservatives who might favor religion or custom. Alt-right authors make the case that, like race, gender is biological in its origin and that gender roles are for the reproduction of biological reality. To adherents, gender roles are not "socially constructed" but are instead based upon an immutable, biological, basis. Human communal life tends to be conflictual leading to a naturalized tendency for the more conflictual male to take a more active and combative role in politics. The male role is also to create larger groups such as families and to strive to create some elements of harmony within these. In terms of capabilities, preferences, sexual and social strategies, the genetics of gender determine the natural outcome of gender differentiated roles (Devlin 2015).

While men have consistent primacy of place, views on women in the alt-right are varied: women are vehicles for the recreation of the races and, thusly, depending on the race, either need to be encouraged or discouraged. Those arguments for gender as "socially constructed" are decried as false if not pernicious. Gender constructivism or gender fluidity serve as cultural-Marxist pressures on masculinity and signals rejection of elements associated with strong paterfamilial norms—decreases in marriage and child-bearing. Such views strongly inform the policies of natalism we discuss below.

While the alt-right is widely associated with rejection of anthropogenic climate change, their rejection is not on the basis of climate science. Instead, like their intellectual predecessors in American conservationism (e.g., Madison Grant: Spiro 2009), alt-right authors claim that a strong environmentalism favoring conservation of "pure land", biodiversity, ecological sustainability, park land resilience, and preservation of agricultural or pastoral opportunities against urbanism, is necessary for the betterment and health of their preferred identity group. Alt-right authors can be found who advocate more "paleo" and "clean" diets, strong and varied exercise regimes in adverse conditions, hunting and fishing, and outdoor manual labor as necessary for genuine expression of white ethnos (for instance, Waggener 2016, 49). Echoing strains of naturalism in the German Conservative Revolution, alt-right thinkers emphasize the need to preserve nature as a necessary realm of masculine struggle.

How Might Alt-Right History and Ideas Inform Policy Preferences?

As stated in the introduction, the purpose of this paper is to offer public administration professionals a primer on the history, thinkers and ideas of the alt-right. Recognizing that policy professionals are likely to encounter individuals who are espousing these ideas and who may be in positions of political power pressing for implementation of these ideas, we now take up the challenge of imagining what consequences these ideas might have. We envision that the initial policy preferences of the alt-right will group under the following four headings: immigration, natalism, affirmative action, and national reorganization. We also address here the issue of evidence in evidence-based policy making as there are considerable questions about the use of scientific (or pseudo-scientific) evidence in alt-right policy proposals.

Immigration

If there is one unifying policy preference of the alt-right it for is the restructuring of immigration policy in the US. For immigration hawks like Peter Brimelow (1985), as well as for white-identity thinkers like Jared Taylor, immigration change has two key parts: 1) significant restriction or even cessation of immigration from Mexico, Central and South America, Southeast Asia and Africa, and 2) reorientation of immigration policy to increase of 'acceptable' white Europeans. Of these two, the first is the most emphatic point. For alt-right adherents with racialist ties, the focus on immigration is a reaction to perceived threats to white American identity and culture. In the words of alt-right racialist, Jared Taylor:

> All other groups are growing in numbers and have a vivid racial identity. Only whites have no racial identity, are constantly on the defensive, and constantly in retreat. They have a choice: regain a sense of identity and the resolve to maintain their numbers, their traditions, and their way of life–or face oblivion (Taylor 2011, 295).

For similarly strident authors like Michael Levin, the American ethnos is white; the Constitution, the American founding, American cultural traditions and mythology, and the American presence in the world is inextricably tied to white identity. Believing that group morality (varying on issues of reciprocity, time preference, and other factors) reflects evolutionary developments in different locations/histories, Levin (2005) argues that the forms of "white" law and morality are ill-suited to those from other racial backgrounds, to the detriment of racially different immigrant populations as well as to the "white" norms of the American system (Levin 2005, 161-189). As Levin argues, "Assuming the disposition to follow advantageous rules is adaptive, a genetic factor enters variation in the content of group morality and the intensity with which a group's morality is reinforced" (Levin 2005, 163). Although Levin's main focus is on populations of African descent, his view would also likely apply to immigrants from regions other than Africa. The test case of difficulty for these positions is the immigration of white non-Christians. Adoption of Levin's ethnos-centric view point, for example, creates disputes about the immigration of white populations who practice Judaism. Within the realms of the alt-right, there are significant differences of opinion on the "whiteness" of Jews: Levin challenges Jewish immigration for cultural reasons, Taylor often appears indifferent regarding Jews (Swain and Nieli 2003, 103-104), while Johnson views Jewish populations as not counting as "white" and indeed presenting a real threat to white populations (Johnson 2013, 197-203; also MacDonald 2002).

The alt-right and mainstream conservatives share a broad based concern for immigration policy and the legality of sanctuary cities. What differentiates the two groups is that the alt-right associates immigration policy with identity politics while mainstream conservatives associate immigration policies with issues of rule of law and legality. With respect to contemporary policy battles, alt-right policy leaders would likely advocate repeal or substantial restriction on the permissibility of sanctuary cities, sanctuary campuses, or any expansion to the HB1 visas program. Advocates of rigorous deportation policies, members of the alt-right might advocate closer and more direct ties between local and federal law enforcement and immigration officials. They may also be advocates of bringing in public health officials to police immigration.

Natalism

There are two prongs to the alt-right fixation on pro-natalist policies. The first is the press for white families to produce more and "better" children. In this case, "better" focuses on biological qualities rather than necessarily environmental conditions (see Hoste 2010). However, as illustrated in the debates within alt-right publications such as *American Renaissance*, *Radix*, and *Vdare*, there are different means to achieve this goal. Some authors suggest economic incentives, such as establishment of tax incentives for families to have more children, or policies to ensure that male salaries are sufficient to cover the family spending needs of larger families cared for by a stay-at-home mother, and/or to ensure that white working mothers have sufficient childcare provisions to keep them in the cultural workforce (making decisions and setting policy agendas) while producing sufficient numbers of children (For instance, see Spencer 2017 for advocacy of a single-payer healthcare system). Others advocate changes to cultural norms to elevate the status of families with multiple children.

The second is tied to immigration and economic claims. The pitch is that low numbers of whites lead to an increasing demand for non-whites in employment, which creates a situation that not only permits the degradation of white opportunity but the "levelling down" of employment conditions for all (Walker 2012). Alt-right advocates claim that higher numbers of immigrants in the workforce creates downward pressure on wages as immigrants in particular will accept lower wages and more dangerous working conditions. For individuals in the more high technology professions, the HB1 visa program has a similar effect: the consequence of more flexible populations being available means that more flexible, casualized, work is created, thus driving "good jobs" out of the economic ecosystem. Such a pattern allows globalists, such as large multi-national corporations, to grow their own wealth on the backs of all people, but most importantly upon the backs of economically disenfranchised whites.

With respect to policy demands, calls for more jobs and better job security for low income whites alongside demands for more "family friendly" policies, will be an inevitable part of the alt-right pro-natalist economic policy package.

Affirmative Action

Alt-right thinkers are fundamentally opposed to policies that privilege non-whites over whites (Polignano 2010, 23-25). For alt-right thinkers, policies that recognize racial differences are not problematic, indeed they may be preferable. Affirmative policies are only acceptable, however, insofar as 1) these policies create separation of the races rather than integration and 2) that preferential policies help whites to "take their own side" against others. Alt-right thinkers consistently oppose policies that enforce integration of races. For example, they vociferously reject school integration policies and reject contemporary housing policy changes that bring incentives to mixed-race housing areas (Griffin 2014; Swain and Nieli 2003, 142-143). However, if affirmative action policies led to creation of racially homogenous enclaves—incentivizing redlining—then such policies might be acceptable.

Where mainstream conservatives and the alt-right diverge on issues of affirmative action is when the issue of "taking one's own side" arises (Polignano 2010, 1-4). For mainstream conservatives, there is a public push for equality that is explicitly tied to giving each group an equal chance, even if that means levelling-up of some groups previously disenfranchised. For alt-right conservatives, there is a push for equality of a different sort—equality of chances between groups would mean

that white-identity groups would have equal footing with black or Hispanic identity groups to make claims for redistribution from others.

Two areas of clear concern for affirmative action policy rollbacks for the alt-right are educational preference and preferential hiring into public and private careers. Alt-right proponents argue that there not be any system of preferences other than the espoused preferences of the individuals seeking those careers (in this context, Sailer 2008, 132-137). Efforts to encourage "women to code" or encourage "faculty of color on campus" would be fundamentally against the alt-right narrative. In recent opinion pieces lodged on Breitbart, alt-right chatterbox Milo Yiannopoulos, advocated that women in STEM encouragement policies should be ended in order to ensure that there is maximum "return on investment" in STEM fields, which women do not generate as, he claims, women in STEM fields either leave the professions, do not advance to the highest academic levels, or underperform with respect to their male colleagues (See Yiannopoulos 2015).

Evidence and Science

Unlike some more mainstream conservatives who focus on Christian evangelism ("theocons"), the alt-right has a closer, but yet tense, relationship with science. The alt-right appropriation of science, however, tends to be within its espousal of socio-biology and those disciplines alleged to support socio-biological premises such as psychometrics, genetics, epigenetics, and public health. The major contention that alt-right authors make against mainstream science is that there is a large body of scientific evidence that supports their racist contentions but that this evidence is suppressed by a dominant cultural-Marxist paradigm. Often emphasized are the evolutionary psychological studies of Jonathan Haidt (2012) and Steven Pinker (2002), as well the work of E.O. Wilson on socio-biology (2000) (for instance, Derbyshire 2013, 126-142). Oftentimes, alt-right thinkers herald James Watson (of Watson and Crick) as a martyr to the alt-right scientific cause as Watson's comments on genetic differences and race were decried as promoting racialist ideology.

Concerns about the alt-right's position on science includes their positions on women's reproductive health and anthropogenic climate change. The alt-right perspectives on abortion diverge from the evangelical mainstream conservative positions: instead of insisting that "life begins at conception" or that contraception is morally abhorrent, some alt-right authors embrace a more pro-eugenicist perspective and suggest that fetal abnormalities ought to be "addressed" before birth. On climate change, much of the alt-right critique focuses on a *qui bono* approach and the alt-right thinker's climate change narrative strains frequently emphasize that the environment is not the issue, the science is not the issue, the beneficiaries of climate science is the issue. The alt-right does maintain a conservationist bent that supports a view of white genetic myths of physical superiority and conservation science informs their (appropriation of) biodiversity narratives. There is no meaningful reason, some authors argue, to reject a biodiversity and evolutionary perspective on human races if there are no similar reasons to reject the same perspectives for wild animals.

National Reorganization

The divide between "red states" and "blue states" presents a real challenge in the writings of some alt-right thinkers. National reorganization of the US is advocated by some. Multiple pathways

exist for this reorganization. For example, the United States could be broken into various ethnos-guided nations, or the federal government could be restructured to reinstate vastly more state power than federal power (Merriam 1931). Another option is the reorganization of public, specifically government, employment to reflect a "representative bureaucracy" that represents white groups as being on-par with other groups' governmental representation in front-line employment. Clearly, these three positions would have vastly different policy consequences.

Laboring under the desire to create a white-identified America, some members of the alt-right, such as Don Black, support breaking the United States into four or more states according to their racial concentration (Swain and Nieli 2003, 157-159). Although the details on, whether, where, and how such separations in the country should be made is a matter of internal debate, some alt-right authors advocate states' reasserting their own particularistic identities outside of federal government policy control as a first step. While mainstream conservatives argue for an increase in state power, the alt-right state identitarian assertions suggest that "culturally distinct" populations should "naturally" sort themselves into similar, racial or religious, enclaves (but see Francis 2016, 596-600; Wright 2016).

A more long-reaching and diffuse policy of reorganization advocated by some alt-right authors is that public employment should reflect the cultural diaspora in the US. Based on metapolitical views (Johnson 2013, 18-37) that culture is prior to politics and in contradistinction to the practice of "cultural Marxism,"[1] these alt-right advocates suggest that public employment be assorted based on affirmative action policies that recognize the claims of ideological-partisans as equivalent to the claims of others for preferential or reparative hiring practices (Friberg 2015, 77-81; Bowden 2014, 30-58). What is claimed here is that alt-right adherents should be preferentially hired into positions of policy agenda setting such as government agencies, media organizations, schools and universities. Under this view, getting partisans into key decision-making and decision-implementing positions that can enforce the alt-right's version of American cultural ethnos as inevitable or more mainstream is essential. To argue for this, alt-right thinkers adjust affirmative action narratives to suggest that there is no difference between an affirmative action policy to bring black police officers into the ranks and an affirmative action policy to bring evangelical Christians into the halls of the academy. The only distinction between the two is that the former has won in the "culture wars" (*kulturkampf*) whereas the latter has not. Rectifying this imbalance is part of the alt-right's advocacy for national reorganization through a "personnel is policy" agenda.

Advice for practitioners

The history and policy prospects reviewed above should provide public administrators with some clues as to the language that alt-right ideological adherents might use to advance some of their policy preferences. What other practical advice for administrators can be gleaned from this evaluation? First, some of the alt-right press, whether in print or online, uses fiery rhetoric and a Manichean "us versus them" approach when describing the political and cultural landscape in the US. Further, these same media outlets also use terms and phrases in a non-standard way—globalist can be a term to describe those who advocate a neoliberal economic perspective but it can also be an anti-Semitic term—that may not be obvious to those not steeped in the rhetoric. Public administrators hosting public meetings, mediating online public discussions, or responding to citizen

inquiries may wish to prepare themselves for a confrontational posture and subtext laden speech from constituents. Second, but related to the first, battles over permission of alt-right speakers to access public discussion spaces, such as the cancellation of speeches by former Breitbart spokesperson, Milo Yiannopolis, has prompted some on the alt-right to adopt a confrontational posture regarding access to public spaces for events and for protest. Third, the intramural debate between conservative thinkers has played out on the floor of Congress and may also spill over onto the floor of town halls and high school gymnasiums. These debates, as we reviewed above, can be esoteric and turn on distinctions not obvious to individuals outside of the alt-right mindset. Recognizing that some of the motivation for a confrontational posture may be intramural may help public administrators taken aback by the virulence of rhetoric and debate to recognize when they are well served to move the public discussion to other points without taking on the contours of the discussion. Fourth, the demands of alt-right adherents may, strangely, mimic those of other group seeking protection of their interests. Carefully identifying which groups are demanding protection from whom is likely to be a significant part of the challenge that public administrators face when addressing the alt-right and others. Trying to identify common ground between each competing group and diffusing the "us versus them" approach is one solution. Identifying near-allies to both sides, such as members and leaders of groups such as "Redneck Revolt" or the "Young Patriots Organization," may help administrators to identify bridges between groups with views that seem to represent extreme opposites (Watt 2017). To carve out such a space, development of conflict or dispute resolution skills is likely to be a skill necessary for administrators in a public-facing office.

Conclusion

The emergence of alt-right narratives in the political and policy space presents new challenges for public administrators. As they seek to respond to pressures from politicians or from citizens, it is inevitable that public administrators will need to pay attention to this pastiche of right-leaning world views as they are likely to be a significant part of the political landscape in the coming few years. In this article, we strove to make sense of alt-right history and ideas as well as to point to names and narratives that are likely to inform policy demands.

What key points can public administrators and policy experts gain from our summary of alt-right history and ideas? The first might be that some care should be exercised in the use of the label alt-right. There are many inchoate positions being lumped together under the heading of the alt-right and these should not include mainstream conservative thought. What drives the conflation of these disparate characters into the heading of the alt-right is that this nascent movement is the product of many other smaller movements that sit together uncomfortably. The second is that the alt-right is a worldview with a history, albeit a troubling one. Review of similarities between policies proposed by the contemporary alt-right and their intellectual and political predecessors would be wise. Review of these policies ought to include examination of supporting material for use of alt-right political *symbolism* and coded language. For example, when evaluating policy discussions among ordinary citizens, attention should be paid to use of codes and phrases, such as use of (((()))) to mark supposedly Jewish writers and Zionist plots. Further, examination of alt-right outlets beyond Breitbart, including examination of stridently racist publications, should be undertaken to identify what citizens adhering to this world view are demanding from policy makers or planning

as policy disruptions. Where in the American political landscape these views might take most strident form, however, is yet to be seen.

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Storytelling from Public Records: Finding Empathy in the Days Following the 2015 Unrest in Baltimore City

Stephanie Dolamore and Mariglynn Edlins

Introduction

In their work implementing public policy, public servants often work with diverse populations and people who have experiences very different than their own. They are pulled between mastering the technical aspects of their jobs, while also practicing the emotional skills required to meet individuals where they are and uniformly implement policy to all. This is a tension that rather than getting easier, may prove to be more challenging as time goes on. As Farmbry explains, "the public servant of the future will have to work with an increasingly diverse population in mind and with a better understanding of his or her processes of constructing images of the Other as someone influenced by his or her actions" (2009, xxiii).

This challenge is especially important when there is a unique event requiring significant action on the part of public servants, which then casts a spotlight on the interactions between public servants and the population they serve. In many cases, these types of events can raise social equity concerns around how public servants implement policy in different ways and in different circumstances to different people. Consider the following recent examples, which highlight these concerns:

- In Ferguson, MO, unarmed 18-year-old Michael Brown was fatally shot by a police officer and several waves of protests ensued in August 2014, November 2014, and August 2015.
- In Baltimore, MD unarmed 25-year-old Freddie Gray died in police custody under suspicious circumstances and community members responded in protest in May 2015. Police met protestors in full riot gear and the National Guard was called into to implement a city-wide curfew.
- In Rowan County, Kentucky, county clerk Kim Davis refused to issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples following the Supreme Court decision that changed law to make same-sex marriage legal. She argued she could deliver services to some individuals versus others because she answered to religious requirements before the requirements associated with her role as a public servant.

- In Flint, MI, tests in January 2015 revealed that substandard and toxic water conditions constituted violations of the Safe Drinking Water Act (Kennedy 2016). Investigations revealed that water supply decisions during 2012-2014 were made without implementing the proper corrosive controls and despite concerns raised by residents, businesses, and researchers.

Empathy is a skill that can mediate policy implementation and level the differences that exist between the public and public servant (Steinberg 2014). Defined as the ability to recognize, understand, and respond to the feelings of another, empathy offers a way to smooth out rough spots and a strategy to navigate complicated situations. Yet, although it is a skill that is hard-wired into us (Waal, 2010), it is something that must be encouraged and cultivated. This is especially the case now that citizens tend to live in filter bubbles (Pariser 2011) and get their news from social media sites like Twitter and Facebook which are passively and actively curated to align with one's views (Mitchell, Gottfried, Kiley, & Matsa 2014, 2). In this way, we are often limited in the variety of people's stories that we are exposed to, which is a primary way of increasing our ability for empathic response.

However, empathy can be increased and improved (Hojat 2007; Hojat et al. 2009; Konrath, O'Brien, & Hsing 2011; Spiro 1992; Steinberg 2014; Wiseman 1996), and one way to do this is through storytelling (Charon 2001; Kidd & Castano 2013; Steiner 2005). By exploring the experiences and feelings of others through stories, public servants can practice seeing the world as others do and expanding their capacity for empathy. Indeed, to de-stigmatize groups as Other, we must begin to make sense of the lives of others by learning their stories and attempting to understand them (Farmbry 2009). And in the same way that representation of diverse populations is difficult (Pitkin 1972), serving these populations presents similar challenges of understanding. Thus, storytelling is a place to begin increasing our ability to step in the shoes of others without judgment.

In this paper, we set out to consider the multiple and complex dimensions of diversity encountered in the delivery of public services, specifically by exploring the varied perspectives and stories in the days immediately surrounding the unrest in Baltimore, Maryland following the death of Freddie Gray on April 19, 2015. To do this, we explore a dataset of emails and documents from the Baltimore City government to bring to life stories that illuminate the varied perspectives of individuals served by government during this turbulent time. These documents are from a collection of several thousand government files obtained by local reporters and archivists in the wake of the unrest ("Preserve the Baltimore Uprising.," n.d.); yet to bring these to life and protect personal narratives, we fictionalize these stories, striving to maintain both similar storyline and original tone.

Literature and Methods

The term empathy has only existed in the English language since the early 1900s when the word 'einfühlung' was adapted and Latinized for usage in American social sciences (Wiseman 1996, 1162). The initial term was derived from observations of a new kind of social imitation that was scientists determined was different from compassion or mimicking, as it involved two dimensions,

one, a "passive reflection of the other" and two, an "active effort to get inside the other" (Gerdes, Lietz, & Segal 2011, 84). The term has evolved over the last century as disciplines such as medicine, public safety, social work, and education have conceptualized the term for their respective fields.

Generally conceived as "stepping in someone else's shoes", empathy is actually a multi-step process that is inherently active rather than passive. Beyond merely stepping in the shoes of another, it involves the steps of seeing the world as another sees it, remaining nonjudgmental, developing understand of another's emotion and perspective, and to take action based on this understanding (Wiseman). Empathy offers unique opportunities for public servants, because "one's range of experience impacts one's views on various social issues, suggesting that 'empathic influence overpowers ideology'" (Steinberg 2014 in Trout 2010, 38). In this way, empathy allow public servants to target their implementation of policy "to another's specific situation and goals" (Gerdes et al. 2011). This is especially relevant to recent events because empathy is thought to help us "make compensatory adjustments for known distinctions between self and other" (Steinberg 2014, 50) and thus acts to mediate or smooth out interactions with diverse populations.

In public service, scholars suggest that empathy lies in the middle of the "continuum of emotion work" between "superficial expression" and "intense expression/suppression" of emotion (2008, 66). Others suggest a more significant relationship between empathy and public service, even that empathy is "*the* foundational value of public administration" (Zanetti & King 2011, 4, italics in original). The critical role of empathy plays out in government interactions with the public and, as a result, there is an increased focus on empathy as a way to improve implementation of public policy. For instance, the breakdown absence of empathy is discussed in connection with a range of contemporary issues, including: bullying (Caravita, Di Blasio, & Salmivalli 2009), war (Wilson 2014), government shut down (Goleman n.d.; Kristin Iverson 2013), racism (Kristin Iverson 2013; Silverstein 2013), and more.

Yet, little work has been done to explore the ways empathy can mediate the interactions between public servants and individuals. This paper seeks to explore the context of these interactions by focusing on the emotion and experience individuals bring to these interactions. To do this, we use critical case sampling, a form of purposive sampling (Creswell & Poth 2017), to create an intentionally diverse body of fictionalized stories to represent the individuals encountering the delivery of public services in the days following the death of Freddie Gray on April 19, 2015. The content and emotion of these fictionalized stories are derived from a collection of over seven thousand emails submitted to the Baltimore Sun in response to a Maryland Public Information Act ("Emails from the Baltimore unrest," 2015). In order to generate stories that allow the reader to step into the shoes of another, we intentionally sample stories that demonstrate a variety of perspectives, as well as critical examples from the dataset. In this way, these stories are not meant to represent all residents of Baltimore during this time but to highlight some of the many emotional and historical landscapes that lay a foundation for the need for empathy in public service.

Emails from Residents to Baltimore Public Servants

The following stories are fictionalized but represent the stories of actual Baltimore residents regarding the events. They capture a point in time glimpse of individuals contacting their government officials to express their unique point of view. Thus, the following stories demonstration five different perspectives surrounding one incident. They represent a small set of the diverse population that public servants have to mediate in their implementation of policy and delivery of services.

From: Jarod Alston
Sent: Wednesday, April 29, 2015 3:50 PM
To: Governor Hogan; Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake, Police Commissioner Anthony Batts, City Council President Bernard C. "Jack" Young
Subject: Call for Help, Especially Food & Personal Items

Dear Governor, Mayor, Police Commissioner, City Council President;

I am writing to you on behalf of my neighborhood association, located in West Baltimore's Sandtown-Winchester-Harlem Park area. I want you to understand what it is like for our community because it seems as if we are under siege.

We currently have no stores to purchase food and personal items from. We were already in a food desert, but things have only gotten worse. There were a few corner stores near us, although the food items and personal necessities are quite expensive and they are all now shut down. Some houses of faith were offering food for children and families, but none of these places are close to us because they are west of Fulton and North Avenues. I believe there is currently a more-than a 50 block radius with no food stores!!!!!!! How can our community be healthy and successful if we do not have access to food?

However, access to food is only one of the problems we are faced with; other establishments in our community are failing as well. Eight (8) of our stores were looted. We have endless liquor stores that are causing health challenges in our neighborhood. There are drugs readily accessible to our children. The nearby churches cannot respond to all of these challenges on their own.

As all this happens, I wonder: where are our elected officials to help?

We see the positive changes Baltimore's officials have generated for other areas in Baltimore- for the Inner Harbor, for downtown, even for areas like Greenmount West and Station North. And of course, we see the positive things happening for the business community, but what about for the people? We need help- we need our Governor and other elected officials, including our own elected representatives, to come to our aid as well.

I am committed to these struggles and I will continue to ask the Baltimore City government for help. And I know that our community members are committed- what choice to do we have but to fight for the improvement of our lives?! When I see the

residents of this community out in the neighborhood at 6am to clean up after these outbursts, I know that we are in it for the long haul.

Please, Mayor Rawlings-Blake, Commissioner Batts and other city officials, help us! Our city needs to immediately create, as Rev. Jesse Jackson Sr. has asked for - AN URBAN PLAN FOR RECONSTRUCTION. Our own Baltimore City Health Department issued a report just a few years ago that dealt specifically with the needs of our neighborhood. Other community members have implored you; remember our "An Open letter..." on page four (4) of our neighborhood blog. Also, watch former Baltimore Raven Ray Lewis's video on the Baltimore Riot.

There is consensus here- our West Baltimore communities need and want help. I pray that Freddie Gray's death and the city's uprising will draw attention to our struggles. This is the time for our elected officials to get serious about helping the people in this city.

Jarod Alston
President of West Baltimore neighborhood association

To: Mayor Rawlings-Blake
From: Deandre Jackson
Sent: Wednesday, April 29, 2015, 11:33 PM
Subject: I could have been Freddie Gray, but I am not a thug.

Dear Mayor Rawlings-Blake,

My name is Deandre. I heard what you said in the press conference yesterday. I'm black and 19 years old. I may not be rich or fancy like you, but I am not a thug. I want you to know me and maybe understand me and people like me.

I'm a resident of Baltimore City in and I live in Sandtown-Winchester, on the west side of Baltimore, not far from where Freddie Gray was picked up. I've never been outside of Baltimore. I never had the money to be able to.

I live with my auntie and some other family members. Usually it's my two sisters and three nieces, but the kids move around a lot between family members. That's because we adults are working hard. For example, I work at a corner store near my house seven days a week. I don't make much but I help cover our groceries and water bill.

My dad is in jail and my mom is in-and-out of my life. It use to bother me that they weren't around, but now as the man of the house, I know I have to help out and not focus on the past. This means working hard.

My auntie also says it means I have to stay out of trouble. She tells me not to wear what other kids wear. I have to be in khakis and polos, all the time. If my shirt or pants are too baggy or too dark or too dirty, I'm a threat. My best friend Brian, who is white, says his family never told him that.

Actually, it's pretty common to get advice about being seen as a threat. I hear stories all the time about friends or family getting stopped by the police and shot at, or killed, all while having their hands up. It's really hard to not be afraid of the police when you hear stories like this.

Since Freddie died, I've been really anxious. I'm always wondering what to do and feel like an even bigger threat now. When I'm walking down the street and I see a police officer now, a million questions run through my head: should I make eye contact? Look at my phone? Keep my hands in my pockets, or out of my pockets? Should I smile? Be neutral? Cross the street to protect myself? Can I run away?

I've heard so many people say that they are disgusted at what happened to the police during the riots. But are these people also disgusted at what happens to me? What would they be thinking it they were in my shoes every day? Would they be frustrated? Would they protest? Would you??

And I heard you call us thugs, when we are working everyday to fight against our circumstances and figure out how to do the right thing? I have been out protesting, not because I want to tear things down and incite violence, but because I want you to see us. I want you to see how hard we are trying and how much pain there is when we get treated differently, when our friends and family are struggling, and when it feels like the entire world is against us. I'm protesting and writing you because I want better, not because I am a thug.

Please think about my story. I am hoping this will help you understand how we need things to get better. I want to see things change in Baltimore.

Respectfully,
Deandre

To: Baltimore City Council, Mayor's Office, Baltimore Police Department
Sent: Friday, May 1, 2015 1:40 PM
From: Shirley Carley
Subject: How do we go on with the crime and poverty and drugs?

To Whom It May Concern:

I have heard Congressman Elijah Cummings and others say that they wish the curfew would end so that people could get back to their normal lives. While I am aware

that businesses need to start regrouping and recoup their losses, I want to remind you that normal life in this community is not something that we are looking forward to getting back to. Because once the camera crews pack up, we will be left with the same situations that were happening before this and not getting any attention.

I have called on our police force and elected officials for help so many times before. Here are just a few things I have reported recently:

- *I am attaching a video of a juvenile who lives a few blocks away from my home. This juvenile lives a few blocks away and I have been having problems with him for the past several years involving trashing and destruction of property. I'm pretty sure he was one of the gang that vandalized our home on Halloween. I have a few pictures of him throwing trash into our yard, and I've caught him throwing food stuff when riding his bike around our property. I have confronted him on a few occasions, in which he becomes very disrespectful, and these incidents increase. As he gets older, he gets worse. Is there anything that the police can do to intervene and put him on notice that what he's doing is not acceptable?*
- *There are a number of young people who frequently stay out past curfew and it is obvious that a number of them are involved in drug dealing.*
- *And it's not just the young people. There are older males who are vandalizing property and selling drugs. The evidence of it is currently all around our home. I have had to send pictures to the Department of Transportation just this week of ongoing damage to the sidewalks and curb in front of and on the side of our home. I sent these pictures as proof because I refuse to be held financially responsible for this damage done maliciously by vindictive drug dealers as acts of retaliation, because I report the constant drug activity through this intersection and around my home. Much of it is done after dark, and has been ongoing for years. Of course, when I report this, I'm told to request increase police monitoring for it, as if the police don't already have enough to do. When I point out this fact, they have no other solution, so I report it to anyone else who will listen.*
- *Last night I had to call 911 four times for the speeding and disturbance of vehicular drug traffic through this intersection. The last call I made was at 1 a.m., and the traffic continued through morning. The 2100 block of Elsinore Avenue is getting particularly busy again. There was a young woman coming in and out of a nearby house meeting vehicles throughout the night for drug deals. This was one of the nights that the curfew was supposed to be in effect for everyone. I realize this complaint from me will be circulated throughout the drug community, and they will retaliate, and I will continue to report, and the cycle will continue, but I have no other choice. I don't understand why they continue to be so blatant when they know I'm going to report it, unless they know that the police aren't available during these times.*

I've restrained from calling 911 during the Freddie Gray tragedy, resulting in all this protesting and rioting, because I knew that police were needed for that. But it does seems like this community used the curfew to their advantage, and only observed it for one night.

I am so frustrated. It seems like politicians and city and state authorities only want to get involved once there is a tragedy, even though they have been informed and have been aware of the status of these neighborhoods for decades. Up until a tragedy, people in power just seem to ignore these problems and then people they affect. If they would get involved in the improvement of the conditions of these neighborhoods, including the residents, before a tragedy occurs, then police wouldn't have such a hard job. Also citizens like me wouldn't become victims of the neighborhoods that the powers that be create.

Please prioritize our area as much as possible. Thank you.

Respectfully,

Shirley

From: Martina Belhomie
Sent: Tuesday, April 28, 2015 1:40 PM
To: State Senator Catherine Pugh
Subject: I am not a bad parent. I love my son.

Dear Senator,

I live in Sandtown-Winchester and went thru the rioting this week in my neighborhood. I have five kids, but only one son. He is 17 years old, a senior in high school and until now, has been able to stay out of trouble. It has taken a lot of work to keep my boy in school. I work a lot of hours as a store manager. I don't always see my son until late at night. But I keep an eye on him and do my best to discipline him to help keep him in line. Boys might be boys, but my son is going to be a great man one day.

When I found out that my son was participating in the riots, I didn't know what to do with myself. I was so afraid; we'd worked so hard to keep him moving forward. Would it all be lost because of these riots? It's not that I blame him for being angry about Freddie Gray's death; we all are. But he can't get messed up in that! He needs to keep his head down and avoid the police. He needs to put himself first, and think about all the work I'm doing to make his life possible. So it's true, I hit him. When I saw him with that break, out with that group of kids, I went crazy. I needed to get him out of that situation and remind him who he is.

I have heard a lot of people say that what I did was wrong. Maybe it was, but what else could I do? But I'm not a bad mom. I love my son. I know what he is up against and how easy it would be for him to fail. In our world, one tiny mistake—like picking up a brick when you are feeling very angry—can land him in jail and completely ruin his life. Maybe if more parents took taught rules and protected their kids'

things might be different in my neighborhood? This is what it was like when I was young. If you messed up you knew you would get in trouble with your folks. And heaven knows, if the police brought you home you knew you were in deep shit. It doesn't matter what race you were, the story was the same. I was sad that I did not see more parents taking control of their children during the riots. Things are different now.

Thank you,
Martina Belhomie

From: Paul Staten
Sent: Sunday, April 26, 2015 11:20 AM
To: Police Commissioner Anthony Batts
Subject: Thank you for the way the police handled the protests and unrest today

Commissioner Batts:

Thank you for the patient and professional way the police handled the protests today and the unrest that followed. I was very impressed with the police and how they managed to keep the situation downtown under control without escalating anything. Several of the officers I saw today (in person during the march and later on the news) were extraordinarily patient in the face of some very upset people-as they should be.

The police proved today that they know how to act appropriately as peacemakers and peacekeepers, and they demonstrated an admirable amount of patience and humility, values that are sometimes undervalued in police work. I have enormous respect for their professionalism, and their behavior today was a credit to the city and should stand as an example for other cities. I've written to the mayor expressing this same sentiment.

However, after reading the results of the investigation into the death of Freddie Gray earlier this week, I am horrified by the bad behavior of the police that led to his death. Even the most generous interpretation of the results of this investigation show serious wrongdoing and bad decision-making on the behalf of the officers involved.

It is impossible to read this report and claim that the police did nothing wrong. They did many things wrong, possibly intentionally, and a young man died because of it. The behavior of the officers as described shows an outrageous lack of empathy, professionalism, respect for protocol, and common sense. I realize that honest mistakes sometimes have tragic consequences, but I see very little to indicate that these were honest mistakes or that good intentions were behind their behavior. I do not believe anyone who acts like this is worthy of wearing a police uniform, and it's quite believable that their behavior was so bad that it is elevated to being criminal.

Today I am torn in my feelings about our police force. As I said, I see the good work and professionalism of the police. In every instance I've personally witnessed today, the police in dealing with the public have been patient and courteous. But I also see this situation with Freddie Gray and recognize that my experience is not everyone's experience. It's hard to believe that the protestors or rioters are truly "thugs" who want to ruin everything. Is there a problem here? Is there some systemic thing where the police are professional to me but not nice to others?

I believe we have a lot of good police in this city. But I am worried about this situation and what it may mean for both our police and our communities. I want to see the department discipline those responsible (whether through negligence or through malice) and take action prevent this from happening again in the future.

I am very upset about what happened to Freddie Gray. I personally think that putting cameras in police vans to film people who are taken into custody during transport would be a good start, for example.

I am also very proud of our city's police department for their actions today. Today shows that Baltimore's police can behave very professionally and appropriately in difficult situations. We should hold them to this high standard all the time-they are clearly capable of achieving it when it is demanded. Freddie Gray's death shows that there are serious problems with the department that need to be addressed and I hope you are able to identify and address these problems.

Thanks again.
Paul Staten
134 St Paul St. Baltimore, MD 21201

From: Mia Strongman
Sent: Wednesday, April 29, 2015, 3:30 PM
To: Mayor Stephanie Rawlings Blake; Commissioner Anthony Batts
Subject: Please Do Something

Madam and Sir,

As a resident of Baltimore city, I am appalled at the Baltimore City Police Department. I cannot understand why these police officers are out harassing young people, when there is so much other work that is being ignored! Consider the many domestic violence situations that aren't being followed up on because of all these nonsense and the police department going out of their way to look big and tough. I have needed the police various times and I didn't get big and tough.

In April of 2013, I was living in Mt. Washington, Baltimore, Maryland. My husband at the time was HIV + and wrestling with mental illness. After he attempted to rape

me in the middle of the night, I moved out of our house and secured a protective order against him. Of course, he later broke the protective order but it took seven telephone calls and three and a half hours for an officer to show up to my house! When the officer finally arrived, he suggested that maybe my ex didn't know about the protective order and I had to explain the whole process to him multiple times. He wouldn't help me and said that he did not have a car to get to me. He left me alone and feeling very vulnerable. Even now, this just seems unacceptable.

Just this year, I found myself in a similar situation: my recent boyfriend hit me and as soon as it happened, I went to the police commissioner's office on Calvert Street to request a protective order against him. After I filed the paperwork, I went to my home at 123 Pratt Street, Baltimore Maryland 21210. I waited for the police so that they could serve him with the protective order. I got my front door locks changed that very day. The next day I was out running errands and came home to get something and when I opened my front door, my boyfriend was in my house.

I asked how he got in the house and he told me that the front door was open. I called 911 and reported a broken protective order. My boyfriend didn't seem to care and continued to lay on the couch. I told him he was breaking the protective order and that I had called the police, then he left. But I worried that the police had not responded to my call. What if my boyfriend had been agitated? What if he had gotten violent? So I called 911 again. Officer Perez then came out to the house, wrote up a complaint, and informed me that we'd need to go to court to finalize the order and get an arrest warrant.

A few hours later, while I was getting help changing my backdoor lock, Officer Perez returned. He told me that five tickets had just come in for the broken protective order – why were they just getting notified eight hours later? He was sympathetic with my frustration and contacted his supervisor, Officer Rucki as I had requested. When Officer Rucki called, he told me that there was a glitch in the system. I explained to him that I felt that this was unacceptable, as my life was in danger.

We went to court a few weeks back to secure a temporary order for protection good thru Monday 4-10-15. The very next night, my boyfriend, now my ex-boyfriend, came to the house- he had not been served the new protective order! I immediately called the police. Two officers came out to serve him the order and remove him from my property. He of course played dumb, like he didn't know anything about why the protective order would be in place, but all the officer said was, "Ms. Strongman does not want anything to do with you and wants to move on; therefore, you need to move on."

Neither officer explained the protective order to him or what he needed to do to abide by it. I don't understand how in such a dangerous situation, trained police officers would just tell him to "move on." What about the repercussions facing him if he doesn't observe the rules? Should they convey to him how serious they take this? Do they take this seriously?

My greatest concern comes from the common factor that the officers that were sent out to assist me had no a clue as to the processes of emergency petitions, protective orders, or domestic violence. I do not know how much training the officers receive with domestic violence; however, they need to get training and an understanding of the cycles of abuse and the fear factor of the victims. When the officers show up and say that they are short staffed, I get upset to see the things like Freddie Gray.

So while I watch the entire police force out looking so serious and tough against these kids, why weren't they that serious when I was in danger? I am a disabled veteran who served my country and I am working on my degree to help make the world a better place. I would like to know what steps are going to be taken to fix the major concerns listed above.

Sincerely,
Mia Strongman

Discussion

In each of these stories, we see situations where the lives of everyday individuals intersect with public policy and the public servants who implement these policies. Whether it is over issues regarding food, policing, crime prevention, jobs, young people, or community development, these individuals turn to their public servants not only to help, but also for understanding.

With each story, we are reminded that the implementation of public policy is not a two-dimensional event, but instead that there is great complexity of implementing policy in the context of our long history of racial politics, complex cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds, as well as individuals' emotional and trauma history.

Indeed, these stories highlight many opportunities for empathy. Each story allows us the chance to step into the perspective of the writer, to identify their emotion and imagine what life is like for them. This is what is required to "see the world through another's eyes." We sense great frustration with Jarod Alston and Shirley Carley who lament the conditions in their neighborhood and the lack of support from their public servants. We feel the desperation with Deandre Jackson and Martina Belhomie who describe the challenges of their environment and urge us to imagine how we might respond under similar conditions. We can identify with the concerns Paul Staten and Mia Strongman present as they call into question the uniform treatment and delivery of service from public servants. Each story underlines the deep complexities, in that none of these situations are clear cut; within each situation there is more than right vs. wrong or good vs. bad.

Although it is a useful exercise to practice recognizing the emotions and experiences of constituents as the first step of empathy, the practice of empathy requires additional work of public servants. It requires that we remain nonjudgmental, which means to not say, "yes, but…" or "well, if I were in her shoes" and suggest a better course of action. Next, we must develop understanding of not only constituent's feelings and perspectives, but also their actions. Lastly, empathy requires that we take action based on our new understanding of others. This does not mean to give special

treatment or alter policy, but to implement policy in a manner that takes into account the emotion and experience of constituents. As Oxburgh and Ost (2011, 184) explain, this is to implement policy in ways that resonate information we receive in the "step in the shoes of another" step rather than ignore it. For example, when a constituent shares, "...I am finding this whole process extremely difficult to deal with..." an empathic response sounds like, "...That's okay, I completely understand how difficult it is, but please try and stay focused..." instead of "...I don't care how difficult this is for you, just answer the question..."

Indeed, in these stories we see pleas for empathy from elected officials and public servants. These requests point to important lessons that should be learned from the Baltimore unrest, such as the necessary care needed by public servants during times of unrest to pick calming words or fully resourced emergency policies to serve all residents with equity. These emails also point to larger, more significant challenges of performing government including: resource allocation, social policy, or development plans. Here too, empathy plays an important role in the development and implementation of policy. These stories highlight both the complexity of emotion and experience that individuals bring to their intersection with public servants and public policy, and in doing so, reveals the opportunity for empathy in the implementation of public policy. Stories, such as those included here, can help in the pursuit of social equity and cultural competency.

Conclusion

In this paper, we offer a collection of stories to highlight the complexity encountered by public servants as they work to implement public policy among diverse populations. These individuals face the challenge of performing the technical aspects of their jobs while also responding to the emotional labor needed to implement public policy with consistency; this challenge is amplified by the complexity of individuals they serve. These stories presented here are fictionalized representations of real correspondence between residents and public servants of Baltimore, MD during the days immediately surrounding the unrest in Baltimore, Maryland following the death of Freddie Gray on April 19, 2015. By engaging in storytelling, we seek to create understanding for other public servants based on the context of the emotional and historical landscape of others. This process of building empathy is important for improving how public servants navigate complicated situations. Empathy is both a hard-wired skill (Waal 2010) and a capacity to be developed and improved (Hojat 2007; Hojat et al. 2009; Konrath et al. 2011; Spiro 1992; Steinberg, 2014; Wiseman 1996). Today's public servants must continue to battle the social inequalities that exist in the delivery of government services. One intervention is to increase our ability to step in the shoes of others without judgment, and telling stories is a place to start.

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How the College Dropout Schooled America: The Public Pedagogy of Kanye West

Nolan Jones

The Hip Hop Messenger You Love to Hate

Hip Hop is like air. It breathes truth into politically correct societies riddled with bipolar contradictions. Hip Hop is the trickster who plays with words and disobeys normal rules of language. Hip Hop is an amplifier turned up. It is the quintessence of sound to muted voices. Hip Hop is a mirror of time. It is the "CNN of the hood" and the link to current affairs. In the era of No Child Left Behind and Hurricane Katrina, one voice stood out among the rest and provided the best Hip Hop commentary on public administration and contemporary education in America: rap artist Kanye West. Not only did West embody the sentiment of urban America, he echoed the voices of students disillusioned with scapegoat politics and higher education. In his first three multiplatinum albums entitled *The College Drop Out* (2004), *Late Registration* (2005), and *Graduation* (2007), West engages in public pedagogy, addresses educational contradictions and provides a scathing critique of perceived post-racial meritocracy.

In this article I contextualize and reframe the media antics of Kanye West and provide a humanistic interpretation of his larger messages about education and public administration. Too often West's messages are eclipsed by portrayals of him as a cocky wayward rapper with over-the-top opinions. While there have been many articles and essays written about Kanye West, none address the political and social implications of West's impact on public administration (Ciccariello-Maher 2009; Richardson 2011; Bailey 2014; Neal 2014). West has gotten the attention of two American presidents, endured the adulation and scorn of fans and critics, and inspired students and scholars to write and ponder the meaning of his music and his life. But Kanye West's unapologetic alleged narcissism and counter-cultural stance has also elicited "the schadenfreude experienced by many whites watching confident black men and women fail…" (Krebs 2014, 196). The media continues to ask the question: Should we take Kanye West serious? Is he still relevant? His music subsequent the first three albums have received mixed or poor reviews; his nuptials with reality star Kim Kardashian seemed dubious at best; and his passionate esoteric rants about fashion on public radio seemed reminiscent of a schizophrenic Tom Cruise wildly jumping on Oprah Winfrey's couch. America's obsession with Kanye West is a quintessential guilty pleasure rooted in its pathological

desire to witness the fall from grace. To fall from grace presupposes that one has been elevated to a place or position of great esteem. West's musicianship on his first three albums has garnered him this esteem. Is Kanye West perfect? No. He is human, and the intention of this article is to highlight how West uses Hip Hop and public pedagogy to make an important contribution to the discourse on education and public administration despite his human imperfections.

Kanye West begins his discourse with America by using Hip Hop, an artistic youth culture and also a genre of music born out of the struggles of African American and Latino youth in the South Bronx of New York in the 1970s (Chang 2005). As a multibillion-dollar industry, Hip Hop is at the center of popular culture (Ogbar 2007). It drives fashion trends, industry language, and popular culture advertising. Hip Hop has also influenced the pedagogical approaches in teacher education and student learning. According to the Stanford University Hip Hop Archive, over 300 educational institutions offer Hip Hop courses and curriculum. Unlike the burgeoning number of scholars and educators using Hip Hop pedagogy and curriculum to engage secondary and postsecondary students in American classrooms, West uses Hip Hop as public pedagogy to engage America at large.

Who is Kanye West?

Like most of us, Kanye West is human, multidimensional, flawed, complicated. Unlike most of us, West grapples with his humanity on the world's stage under the constant scrutiny and judgment of fans, critics and media. Kanye West is also a high-profile multiplatinum rap artist and producer known as much for his music as he is for his egocentric and impulsive rants at awards shows and concerts. Best friends with fellow rap mogul Jay Z, West frequently finds himself at the center of controversy. President Barack Obama called him a "jackass" and President George W. Bush felt ridiculed by him.

West's tourette syndrome-like rants have become so common in the media that popular culture has coined the phrase "going Kanye" to describe angry interruptions and rants (Urban dictionary.com). Despite the controversy that continues to follow him, West has been heralded as one of Hip Hop's most prolific musical geniuses (Houston 2014). He grew up a middle-class kid, went to good schools, received art and music lessons, spent summers with his father, a former Black Panther and Christian marriage counselor; and as a child, he spent a year in China, where his mother was a visiting professor (Bailey 2014). Despite the rich educational experiences in his youth, West dropped out of college to pursue his music career, and like many suburban kids, "West developed a passion for hip-hop that was only enhanced by his awareness that the genre often romanticized bad behavior" (Tyrangiel 2005).

Why is Kanye West Important?

In 2005 Kanye West appeared on the cover of Time Magazine. The caption read: "Hip-Hop's Class Act: Defying the rules of rap, Kanye West goes his own way. Why he's the smartest guy in pop music." Reaching people worldwide, West has sold more than 21 million albums, 66 million digital music downloads, and has produced songs for artists such as Janet Jackson, Jay-Z, Alicia Keys and Ludacris. He has won 21 Grammy Awards, more than anyone ever by age 36. He is a film director, fashion designer and entrepreneur (Barnes 2014). His music not only acts as a platform to entertain, but also acts as a stage to engage the world in dialogue on his terms. West's journey to stardom defied the traditional trajectories of his gangsta rapper counterparts, hardcore

Hip Hop artists who rapped about street life, gangs, and drugs (Bailey 2014). In a time where gangsta rap thrived and rap artists were pressured to prove their street credibility in their music, Kanye West dared to be different. He wore preppy clothes and rapped candidly about social inequalities and educational paradoxes. Kanye West's unapologetic public rants matter because millions of people actually like and listen to his music, which ironically has content similar to his rants. This is why, "despite leading the US into war and presiding over one of the greatest financial disasters in history," George W. Bush said the worst moment of his presidency was when Kanye West called him a racist (Michaels 2010). Love him or hate him, Kanye West has been an important popular culture figure in contemporary times (Bailey 2014). His words and actions have impacted the views of two U.S. presidents and the interests of millions of people around the world.

Misunderstood Hubris

The self-righteous confidence of Kanye West in front of the cameras often appears as arrogance. At the 2009 MTV Music Video Awards, West walked on stage and interrupted Taylor Swift's acceptance speech after she had won the MTV award for Best Female Video. West argued that Beyoncé Knowles should have received the Best Female Video, which seemed logical since she had won the award for Best Video of Year. While there might have been a modicum of truth to West's opinion about the Best Female video, the method in which he expressed his opinion angered millions of Americans, including President Obama, who called him a "jackass" because of his actions. America seemed shocked that West had the audacity to interrupt a nationally televised show in front of millions of viewers. But was America really upset about the arrogance that inspired the impromptu interruption or was America upset about the symbolism and timing of the interruption? After all, this was not the first time West had shocked America with his impromptu commentary on national television. West's interruption made us ask the uncomfortable questions. Would America have reacted the same way if Kanye were a white male or another female country singer? Immediately after Kanye West's MTV antics, he had become one of the most despised celebrities in entertainment. Comedians made him the butt of jokes on talk shows; memes, caricatures and, e-cards mocked West in the media and on the internet. Why was America really angry with West? He had not committed a crime, nor had he ruined anyone's credibility, except maybe his own in the eyes of some. Krebs (2014) posits:

> West 's interruption of Swift, an iconic young white female enshrined in the authority of sales, skin, and sex, tore away the post-racial veil to reveal a well-oiled machine hard at work. Publicly and directly insulting the dominant sociocultural system of white patriarchy that produced Swift, West crossed the lines of labor and personhood that remain thin at best. Rather than coding his critique in the language of labor – his music – West stood up and interjected a stream of critical consciousness into the comfortable intellectual poverty established by the selection of Swift as the award's recipient.

Taylor Swift's popularity and notoriety spiked as a result of West's interruption (Krebs 2014). West had implicitly made the MTV Awards show about race, a subject no one wanted to talk about on awards night. Perhaps West's actions triggered the same subconscious disdain of black men exemplified in the countless murders of unarmed black males exhibited by the police throughout America (Sanders 2014). Or, maybe West reminded us that subconsciously embedded in American DNA is a polarizing post-slavery propagandistic view of the black male as a dangerous, angry brute (Riggs 1986). When Kanye West interrupted Taylor Swift on stage in front of all America,

symbolically America saw an angry black male bullying an innocent white female victim, America's sweetheart and America's prototype of the girl next door.

America also saw a black rapper interrupting a white country singer. Hip Hop music is a predominantly black genre of music born in New York in the 1970s in reaction to the challenging socio-economic circumstances of the time, and Country music is a predominantly white genre of music born in southern America in the 1920s with "roots in the folk *music* of the Southeast and cowboy *music* of the West" (Dictionary.com). To the casual observer, West's actions might have appeared unfounded and unnecessary. But a closer analysis reveals that West was not interrupting Swift, he was interrupting a legacy of racial injustices and exploitation endemic to the music industry.

In 2004, Kanye West walked out of the American Music Awards (AMA) when he lost the Best New Artist award to country singer Gretchen Wilson. The results on the Billboard charts, an online extension of the world's most authoritative music charts Magazine which tracks the sales and success of songs and albums in the United States, suggest that West's reaction was not unfounded given the number of albums West sold and the number of Billboard awards West won that year (Columnist 2004). Kanye West sold 6.5 million albums worldwide in 2004. Of the 6.5 million albums sold, three million of West's albums were sold in the United States (Columnist 2005; Wete 2013). West also received four Billboard Music Awards including *Male New Artist of the Year*. Gretchen Wilson also sold 6.5 million albums worldwide in 2004. Of the 6.5 million albums Wilson sold, five million were sold in the United States (Watts 2013). Wilson received two Billboard Music Awards that year. Ashley Simpson received the *Female New Artist of the Year* (Columnist 2005).

Both Kanye West and Gretchen Wilson albums peaked at number two on Billboard 200 in 2004. Even though Kanye West received more accolades than Gretchen Wilson for his album worldwide, the AMAs gave Wilson the Best New Artist award over Kanye West. So when Kanye interrupted Taylor Swift's acceptance speech for the MTV Best Female Video Award, he was attempting to prevent history from repeating itself. But America only saw a loose cannon, an unpredictable ego out of control. Kanye West's behavior at the MTV Music Awards in 2009 was not misguided arrogance. Kanye West's behavior was misunderstood hubris.

Kanye West's persona of hubris is also a defense mechanism, a reactionary strategy created to protect himself from doubt and rejection prevalent in the music industry. Initially, the music industry did not take West seriously as a rap artist. In fact, the industry tried to pigeonhole West as only a producer (West 2004; Tyrangiel 2005). After several rejections from record companies, West eventually signed with Jay Z's record label, Rocafella. West knew he was more than a producer, and in order for the music industry and anyone else to believe it, he had to believe it. To do this, West embraced a cocky posture in a manner similar to the way young inner-city males embraced the cool tough guy posture in order to survive negative peer pressure. Kanye West explains his arrogance best in the song "Last Call" on the album *The College Dropout* (2004):

> *Last year shoppin my demo, I was tryin' to shine*
> *Every motherf*cker told me that I couldn't rhyme*
> *Now I could let these dream killers kill my self-esteem*
> *Or use my arrogance as the steam to power my dreams.*

Kanye West's Satirical Tribute to American Education

Kanye West uses his music as a vehicle to voice a nihilistic perspective of education and the role it plays in economic achievement. In his first album *The College Drop Out*, West uses a blend of sarcasm and cynicism to articulate the empty economic promises of a college education. On this album West explains why he dropped out of college to pursue his economic dreams in the song "Get Em High,"

> *My freshman year I was going through hella problems*
> *'til I built up the nerve to drop my ass up outta college*
> *My teacher said I'm a loser, I told her why don't you kill me*
> *I give a f*ck if you fail me, I'm gonna follow my heart,*
> *And if you follow the charts, or the plaques or the stacks*
> *You ain't gotta guess who's back*

West not only explains why he dropped out of college, but he flaunts his success in his teacher's face in order to counteract the dominant narrative about black males' achievement. In his second album *Late Registration*, West expands on his mockery of college education in skits about a broke fraternity and how years wasted in college can delay one from reaching true financial goals. West also challenges the dominant narrative about meritocracy and college education being a means to financial security when he raps in the song "Late," "I don't wan' be broke when I'm 31." In his third album, *Graduation*, West speaks to the irony of schools asking a successful college dropout to speak to kids about the importance of school in the song "Champion." He raps, "Last week I paid a visit to the institute/They got the Drop Out keepin' kids in the school."

Decoding Kanye West's Messages about College

What is Kanye West really saying about college education? After we sift through conflicting images of materialism, conspicuous consumption, and some objectification of women; we see how West's music questions the economic uncertainty of institutions of higher education (IHE) and suggests that college occupies unnecessary intellectual space and time that could be creatively used pursuing one's real financial dreams. Such a belief is no different than Peter Thiel, billionaire co-founder of Paypal, offering $100,000 to enterprising students under 20 years old to skip college in order to pursue their dreams (Pomerantz 2014). Like Thiel, West believes some talented students are better off not going to college since they are forced to take classes in which they have no interests and are forced to incur unnecessary debt from student loans even if they do not graduate. West's music also poses another question: Is college worth it? According to Rossi & Novack (2014) in the documentary *Ivory Tower*, student debt in American has passed the trillion dollars mark and has both students and parents wondering if the college expense is worth it. But West goes beyond questioning the viability of a college education; he also taunts his audience by buttressing the materialistic achievements of those following their hearts in the real world against those following the rules of college. In his trilogy of albums about college education, West makes a case for taking risks and pursuing one's dreams while justifying his choice to become a college dropout.

The College Drop Out

Kanye West debuted his first album *The College Drop Out* in 2004, the same year George W. Bush was surprisingly reelected president of the United States even though many Americans questioned the legitimacy of his win in 2000 after their votes were discounted. It was also three years after the Twin Towers came crashing down during the September 11th attack on the American World Trade Center, and two years subsequent the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2002. After NCLB was implemented, "reading scores declined at the 8th grade level and on international tests…" (Darling-Hammond 2010,14). At the secondary school level, approximately 35% of African American and Latino students graduated from high school (Zuckerbrod 2007). At the post-secondary level, "only 17% of African American young people between the ages 25 and 29 – and only 11% of Hispanic youth – had earned a college degree in 2005 (Darling Hammond 2010). West addresses many of these educational realities for urban youth in two songs on *The College Drop Out* Album: *"We Don't Care"* and "All Falls Down.*"*

On "All Falls Down," West "criticizes consumerism as an expression of self-hatred rooted in history ("We shine because they hate us/ Floss cause they degrade us/ We tryin to buy back our 40 acres"), and then implicates himself in the same process" (Heaton 2004). In this same song, West pokes fun at the lunacy of attending college based on societal expectations and promises of economic security.

> *She's so self-conscious*
> *She has no idea what she's doing in college*
> *That major that she majored in don't make no money*
> *But she wont drop out, her parents will look at her funny*
> *Now tell me that ain't insecurrre*
> *The concept of school seems so securrre*
> *Sophomore three yearrrs ain't picked a careerrr*

Education "seems" secure because it is promoted that way. For many low-income students, the postsecondary guarantee is merely a concept, an idea resulting in a false reality. Many of them struggle to finish for a variety of personal reasons, while students from privileged family backgrounds graduate at a higher rate than students from low-income families (Bowen, Chingos, McPherson 2009,18).

Furthermore, West knows that students are often told to go to college in order to get a good career. But the good careers seem to go to those who major in popular fields like business, medicine, law, accounting, engineering, or computers; and many of those careers require additional graduate or professional studies, more than four years of college. However, not everyone desires to be a doctor, lawyer, engineer, or business professional. In fact, few students from low-income backgrounds will forego the immediate financial demands of life to endure an additional two to five years of higher education from institutions that do not value their cultural capital or create a sense of belongingness (Ostrove & Long 2007).

Feeling a sense of belongingness on a university campus is not an issue for the countless African Americans who did not make it to college or who live in low-income areas like the "hood." Their path is a different one. On "We Don't Care," West not only addresses life in the "hood" he also uses Hip Hop as a vehicle to condemn the educational disparities in the schools that impact social

and economic mobility. For example, West refutes media admonitions about potential African American male extinction and provides a sarcastic explanation of the complex reality of the drug dealing culture. The song begins with the chorus,

> *And all my people that's drug dealin jus to get by*
> *Stack ya money till it gets sky high*
> *We wasn't supposed to make it past 25*
> *But the jokes on you we still alive*
> *Throw your hands up in the sky and say*
> *We don't care what people say*

The chorus is also a direct response to the barrage of statistics in the media stating that African American males between the ages of 15 and 24 were more likely to die from homicide than any other males in the country (Hoyert, Kochanek, Murphy 1997).

The fear based media blitz spouting data about the growing demise of African American males might have been an assessment of research at the time, but the numbers did not translate into reality according to West. He ignores the predictions when he states in his chorus, "we don't care what people say." West later goes on to explain why some African American males choose the drug dealing lifestyle instead of going to college in the verse,

> *Sittin in the hood like community colleges*
> *This dope money is Lil Treys scholarship*
> *Cause aint no loans for sittin your ass at home*
> *So we forced to sell crack, rap, and get a job*
> *You gotta do something man your ass is grown*

Here, West implies that although there are ethical and legal ramifications for the drug dealer's lifestyle, the motive behind his perilous pursuit is no different from the reasons some people choose the college route: to earn money for a better life. Thus, selling drugs like attending college is a means to a financial end.

But West probes deeper into the socioeconomic implications of drug dealing when he links it to the educational inequalities that exist in the school system. In one verse he says,

> *You know the kids gonna act a fool*
> *When you stop the programs for after school*
> *And the DCFS them some of them dyslectic*
> *They favorite 50 Cent song's 12 Questions*
> *We scream, rock, blows, weed park*
> *So now we smart*
> *We aint retards the way teachers thought*
> *Hold up hold fast we make mo' cash*
> *Now tell my momma I belong in the slow class*

This verse also confronts the fact that "[African American] males are more likely to be classified

as mentally retarded or suffering from a learning disability and placed in special education" than any other male (Noguera 2001). It is "a stifling kind of bias that destroys [African American boys'] interest in school, according to a growing chorus of educators and activists" (Fremon & Hamilton 1997).

In addition, African American males who are in special education classes are more likely to drop-out, do crime and go to juvenile hall unless there is an intervention (Winters 1997). Perhaps West is giving us a glimpse of many drug dealers' untold stories. Maybe they were disillusioned with the social injustices caused by the educational system that has rejected them. West knows that many brilliant African American males have been unfairly tracked into special education, and forced into a life of crime. There is nothing wrong with African American males. There is something wrong with an educational system that thinks it is okay to railroad mostly misunderstood African American males into special education and into crime. This is why West raps, "Sometimes I feel no one in this world understands us."

Late Registration

When Kanye West released his second album *Late Registration* in 2005, Los Angeles had just elected its first Hispanic mayor, Antonio Villaraigosa. The U.S. District Court of Pennsylvania had also ruled in the case of Kitzmeller v. Dover Area School District that teaching "intelligent design" as an alternative to evolution is a violation of the First Amendment (Sass 2009); and Hurricane Katrina nearly destroyed most of New Orleans, Louisiana. It was at this time Kanye West seized the moment to speak out about the Katrina catastrophe, and on live television said one of the most provocative statements in this decade: "George Bush doesn't care about black people." West's bold public criticism of President Bush shocked the nation. No one expected it, and over-night West was catapulted to international stardom for his political views more than his music. West had gone beyond his criticism of American education in his music; he had now taken on America's covert racism that once again reared its ugly head in public administration.

President Bush's slow reaction to handling the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, mostly populated by African Americans, was a reflection of how America felt about black people. Like George W. Bush, it appeared as if much of America did not care about black people. It was days before help from the Bush administration arrived in New Orleans. African Americans were referred to as refugees in the media, and conservative white Christian leaders implied that Hurricane Katrina was God's way of cleaning up New Orleans (Pesca 2005; Giardina, Hess 2007; Brown 2005). When did black citizens born in America with birth certificates and social security numbers become refugees? Why was it so hard for America to embrace the humanity of African American people? Perhaps much of America never has.

The most revealing example of America's view of African American people during Katrina was the images in the media. In two similar photos, one with a white man and woman wading through the water with bags of food and the other with a black man wading through the water carrying bags of food. But the captions were very different. They referred to the African American as a looter and referred to the white man as someone finding food (Giardina, Hess 2007). So, when Kanye West exposed George W. Bush's sentiments, he only turned the lights on and pulled the covers off the nation's colorblind lie. America has always felt this way about African American people.

According to Implicit Association Tests, a tool of social psychology to measure implicit bias, most Americans harbor an unconscious preference for white people over black people (Gladwell 2005).

Historically, America has drained African Americans of their financial and cultural capital since 1619. America became wealthy off the free labor of African Americans during chattel slavery. American record companies and sports franchises like the NBA, the NFL, and the MLB exploited African American athletes and recording artists for years (Giardina, Hess 2007; Rhoden 2007). Even the prison system has profited tremendously from the exploitation of African Americans (Gilmore 2007). But when America's Black citizens needed her in New Orleans, she arrived late, and many had died. The world watched this atrocity and Kanye West sounded the alarm while his album *Late Registration* was becoming a big hit.

Graduation

Continuing with his education theme, in 2007 Kanye West released his third album entitled *Graduation*. This is also the year Senator Barak Obama declares his candidacy for the president of the United States; Cho Seung-Hui, a 23-year-old student, kills 32 students at Virginia Tech University, making it the deadliest school shooting incident in U.S. history (Sass 2009); and America experiences the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression as a result of greed and corruption in a failing banking industry. Given the state of the economy, the lead song, "Can't Tell Me Nothing," on West's album *Graduation* was almost prophetic.

> I had a dream I can buy my way to heaven
> When I awoke, I spent that on a necklace.
> I told God I'd be back in a second,
> Man it's so hard not to act reckless.
> To whom much is given much is tested.
> Get arrested, guess until, they get the message.
> I feel the pressure, under more scrutiny,
> And what I do? Act more stupidly.

Even though West was wrestling with his own demons around his newly acquired wealth and fame in this song, the chorus "La, la, la, la wait till I get my money right/la, la, la, la then you can't tell me nothing right" parallels the attitudes of the wealthy corporations during the 2007 financial crisis. With the understanding that embedded in all news stories are inherent biases and political slants, I watched CNN, FOX, and MSNBC in 2007, and saw corporations attempt to buy their way to heaven. I saw corporate greed, corruption, and reckless action erode the housing market, the stock market, and the banking system. I saw the rich get arrested, and watch them receive more scrutiny. While much of the behavior of the corporations mirrored the greed, recklessness, and scrutiny referenced in West's song, the corporations failed to do what West does in his song: come clean. It appears that many corporations believe their wealth means we "can't tell them nothing." In this song West provides us with an education in transparency and self-reflection, a skill that corrupt corporations seem slow to embrace.

Even though West provides an introspective look at how success has transformed him in songs like "Can't Tell Me Nothing," "The Good Life" and "Everything I Am" on the *Graduation* album,

he also continues the dialogue about his views on higher education. In the song "Good Morning" West says "Look at the valedictorian/Scared of the future/While I hop in the Delorean/Scared-to-face-the-world complacent career student/Some people graduate, but we still stupid." In a clever reference to the fictional car used to time travel in the movie "Back to The Future," West addresses the fear and uncertainty many college graduates have about the future. West suggests that college education not only leaves students with debt, but also leaves them with doubt about their future after graduation. West's sentiments are still relevant seven years later. According to the Economic Policy Institute, 8.5% of college graduates of 2014 are unemployed and 16.8% are underemployed (Shierholz, Davis, Kimball 2014). This is one of the reasons   many college students including the "valedictorian" are scared of the future."

Public Administration According to West

Former President George W. Bush stated in his memoirs that the most memorable time in his presidency was when Kanye West called him a racist. Bush must have experienced an extreme case of cognitive dissonance at this moment in history given he had appointed two African Americans, Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice, to his cabinet. These were two of the highest government positions held by African Americans prior to the election of President Barak Obama in modern times. Colin Powell was the first African American to hold the post as Secretary of State and Condoleezza Rice was the first African American and first woman to hold the position of National Security Advisor. But even with these historic appointments of African American firsts, George W. Bush failed African Americans during Hurricane Katrina. When Kanye West drew national attention to Bush's poor handling of Hurricane Katrina, he also drew attention to a political blind spot in the Bush's administration: ineffective public administration.

Public administration is the implementation of government laws and policy by civil servants working in local government, state government, and federal government agencies, and organizations (Raffel 2007). It is also an interdisciplinary field that draws from the political system and the legal system's emphasis on individual rights and social equity (Wright 2011). In his trilogy of education themed albums, West suggests that public administration had failed public education, which supports Raffel's (2007, 135) claim that "although education accounts for one-quarter of the United States' state and local government spending, employs one-third of all governmental employees, and consistently ranks as a high priority of citizens, public administration has neglected public education." According to West, public administration also neglected the people in New Orleans during Hurricane Katrina.

Katrina with No FEMA

On August 29, 2005, one of the worst hurricanes in history toppled New Orleans, Louisiana.
Listed as a category five hurricane, the flooding from Hurricane Katrina killed approximately 2,000 people, destroyed 300,000 homes, and caused over $100 billion in damage (Townsend, 2006). Moreover, the costly catastrophe exposed the government bureaucracy and ineffective public administration from FEMA, the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Created in 1979 by President Jimmy Carter, FEMA is a branch of the United States Department of Homeland Security whose mission is to support U.S. citizens and first responders by building, sustaining, and improving its "capability to prepare for, protect against, respond to, recover from, and mitigate all

hazards" according to the FEMA website. But in New Orleans FEMA, the emergency relief agency, underestimated the magnitude of the damaged caused by Katrina, outsourced relief service to the military, and neglected to provide aid to thousands of hungry and homeless survivors of the disaster. The comments of New Orleans Homeland Security Director Terry Ebbert captured the upset of FEMA's response when he said, "This is a national emergency. This is a national disgrace. FEMA has been here three days, yet there is no command and control. We can send massive amounts of aid to tsunami victims, but we can't bail out the city of New Orleans" (White & Whoriskey 2005).

I'll Be Late for That

Relief to the African American citizens of New Orleans did not arrive from FEMA until five days after Hurricane Katrina had decimated the city. The massive storm came, the levees gave way, the water engulfed New Orleans, and many people died. But why was FEMA late responding to the desperate calls for help from American citizens? Would FEMA have responded more expeditiously if the citizens were mostly white? Would FEMA have used excuses like being unprepared and under resourced to justify their late arrival? The message conveyed by FEMA's delayed response is similar to message conveyed by the grand jury that chose not to indict the police officer Daniel Pantaleo for the murder of Eric Garner: black lives don't matter. Like the Garner case, the fate of a people was left in the hands of public administrators operating under the illusion that America is a colorblind post-racial society. FEMA, an agency of public administration, is an extension of the president's executive branch, and by default a reflection of the president's leadership. When FEMA arrived to New Orleans late, it symbolized George W. Bush arriving late. After a barrage of news footage from New Orleans, Kanye West answered the FEMA question in a way that struck a chord with many and outraged others. West courageously inserted race into the equation and took the nation by surprise. FEMA's response to the African American victims of Hurricane Katrina resonated with the chorus from Kanye West's song "Late," "I'll be late for that."

Public Administration and Law Enforcement

Late responses from FEMA resembled the contentious relationship between the African American community and law enforcement, the legal arm of public administration. In the song "All Falls Down," Kanye raps, "I say f*ck the police, that's how I treat em/We buy our way out of jail, but we can't buy freedom." The legal system's emphasis on individual rights and social equity have fallen short in the African American community's eyes given the number of police officers and civilians not indicted or convicted for the high profile murders of unarmed black males like Sean Bell in 2006, Oscar Grant in 2009, Mike Brown and Eric Garner in 2014 (Juzwiak, Chan 2014). Before these murders however, there was the infamous brutal beating of Rodney King in 1991. Police brutality, racial profiling, and murder, also known as justifiable homicide, have been well documented in Hip Hop music. From underground rap artists like Jasiri X to mainstream rap artists like 2Pac, Hip Hop has always addressed and condemned the legal system's version of public administration. Whether the black men were innocent, within the margins of the law, or on the fringes of the law, none of the men deserved to die; and rap artists expressed their feelings about police brutality as early as the controversial anti-police rap by NWA in 1988. But West uses his music to address the corruption in law enforcement from an institutional perspective. In songs like "We Don't Care," West alludes to systemic inequalities like differential treatment of black males, referrals to special education, and school suspensions as structures that increase the chances of

African American males encounter with the law (Noguera, 2001). Similarly, in the song "Crack Music" West invokes a common conspiracy theory about the government's role in the demise of the Black Panther Party, who's original purpose was to patrol African American neighborhoods to protect residents from police brutality, as one of the reasons many African American males have less protection from dysfunctional law enforcement. He raps:

> *How we stop the black panthers?*
> *Ronald Reagan cooked up an answer…*
> *When our heroes and heroines got hooked on heroin.*
> *Crack raised the murder rate in DC and Maryland*

Based on the content in the songs on West's first three albums, poor educational experiences for African American males are inextricably linked to the prison industrial complex and increased encounters with law enforcement, the legal arm of public administration.

The Public Pedagogy of Kanye West

The music on Kanye West's first three albums conveys strong social commentary about failed public administration in the domain of education and law enforcement. Through passionate lyrics, parodies and album interludes, West uses the public stage to share his disillusionment with the socioeconomic promises of American education, government conspiracies, colorblind ideologies, and conflicting views of meritocracy. He not only engages his fans and critics through his music, his antics have been misunderstood attempts to dialogue with them in social media, on awards shows and during concerts. West's discourse with the world using multiple media in the public sphere is the public pedagogy of Kanye West.

Public Pedagogy is education that happens in public spaces beyond the traditional formal class-room setting. In popular culture, public pedagogies have been shared through television entertainment, digital literacy, video games, social media, graffiti art, and music (Christen 2010; Hayes & Gee 2010; Reid 2010; Sandlin & Milam 2010; Trifonas 2010; Williams & Carruthers 2010; Wright 2010). Libraries, museums, colleges, universities, corporations, agencies and other public entities also engage in public pedagogy when they promote and share ideas in promotional print media (Osei-Kofi 2013, para. 3). These messages transmit values, perspectives, and points of view that sometimes sanction and reproduce inequality or hegemonic practices. Conversely, some groups use public pedagogy to present counter-narratives to reject the oppressive messages perpetuated by the dominant entities of media. This often happens in the arts, music, and other creative venues of expression. At these times, public pedagogy becomes a form of dialectical discourse between the oppressed and the oppressor, outsiders and insiders, counter culture and popular culture.

Popular culture has been a place to resist or reproduce inequality. Osei-Kofi (2013) asserts "popular culture is often a powerful educational force in service of the reproduction of oppressive social structures" (para. 4). Wright (2010, 140) suggests, like the heroic influence of the strong female lead in the 1960s series *The Avengers*, television has the "capacity to encourage … resistance to hegemonic constructions of gender identities. Sometimes, when entities of popular culture attempt to reproduce inequality, targeted communities will fight back. For example, to fight the public's

view of young people as passive, apolitical and self-absorbed consumers of popular culture, a group of youth used community arts as public pedagogy for social justice and "created art works that function as a disruption or dissonance in a public often closed to them" (Chappell 2010, 326).

Public pedagogy is also the process of teaching and shaping perspectives in public spaces. There are "various forms of public pedagogy at work in the rhetoric of newspapers, TV news shows, financial service companies, advertising industries, and the mass media" (Giroux 2004, 65). When an artist records a song with an embedded political, cultural, or socioeconomic message publicly heard by millions of people, that artist has engaged in a discourse with the public that has the power to influence attitudes toward race, gender, class, sexuality, identity, prison, education, politics, police brutality and more. Rap artists often engage in public pedagogy when they use Hip Hop as a platform to critique, navigate and transform restrictive or oppressive spaces in society (Giroux 2004; Williams 2010). Popular culture is one of the most influential spaces for public pedagogy to occur, and Kanye West has skillfully used popular culture and his celebrity status to engage the public on the world stage.

The public pedagogy of Kanye West can also be categorized as message music – music that provides entertainment value while raising the collective social and political consciousness of people. But West's music is more than message music. It had become a subversive prophetic educational anthem, a form of protest music with enough critical acclaim to given him social license to speak in spite of his love hate relationship with the media, critics, and fans. The album titles *The College Drop Out*, *Late Registration*, and *Graduation* coupled with the provocative song content makes West's album compilations a music pedagogy in and of itself.

Contextualizing Kanye West's Music Pedagogy

Kanye West's music pedagogy is Hip Hop message music grounded in the tradition of African American protest music. In order to understand West's musical and artistic responses to both real and imagined social inequalities in the media, education, politics, music industry, and public administration; it is important to understand the legacy of African American protest music. African American music is inextricably connected to the history of the people (Ramirez 2012). The symbiotic relationship between African American people and the music they create reflects the socioeconomic conditions of the times the music is created.

African Americans music has traditionally served as a spiritual and psychological refuge and a subversive weapon use to cope with historical and institutionalized forms of oppression (Sullivan 2014). Negro Spirituals were a subversive response to the oppression of American slavery. Blues music was created in response to the oppressive nature of sharecropping, and the Jim Crow system of segregation (Shmoop Editorial Team 2008). Gospel music, a refined version of Negro Spirituals, provided spiritual escape in the church. Jazz music, a hybrid instrumental musical form with roots in Africa and Europe, provided symbolic freedom from oppressive structures through improvisation. The impassioned sounds of Rhythm and Blues (R& B) music and Soul music thrived during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Funk music emerged during the Black Power Movement from the 1960s to the 1980s; and Hip Hop responded to the soaring unemployment and poverty rates during Reaganomics in the 1980s (Chang 2005). While the last three genres of music have had the most influence on Hip Hop music, elements of all genres of African American music can be found in Hip Hop music.

African American Protest Music

Protest music has played a vital role in movements throughout American history. The emancipation of American slaves, the women's suffrage, the labor movement, the civil rights movement, the anti-war movement, the feminist movement, and the environmental movement, all had their accompanying protest songs (Ruehl 2014). Forty years prior to Kanye West's protest music about educational inequalities and contradictions, African American singers wrote protest songs in the southern parts of the United States during the Civil Rights Movement. Songs like "We Shall Overcome" in the 1960s and 1970s became a haunting mantra reminding the world of racial oppression and class exploitation in America. "Whether as blues, jazz, R&B, gospel, or soul, black songs of protest continued to grow from the seeds of oppression" (Garabedian 2005, 202). Negro spirituals like "Go Down Moses" disguised black subversive resistance to slavery by using spiritual and biblical cover phrases to protect the Underground Railroad (Sullivan 2014). Billie Holliday's "Strange Fruit" illuminated the inhumane crimes of lynching black people in America. Marvin Gaye's "What's Going On" was an emotional piece that exposed the world to the poverty, contradictions, and inequalities faced by Vietnam War vets returning home to America. From James Brown's "Say Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud," to Nina Simone's "Mississippi Goddam," each of the African American protest songs reflected the injustices of the time and used its genre of music to interrogate and expose racism in America to the world. Below is a list of popular African American protest songs.

Table 1: African American Protest Songs

Music Genre	Song & Artist(s)	Protest Message	Year
Negro Spirituals	*Wade in the Water*, Fisk Jubilee Singers	Against: slavery	1901
Jazz	What did I do to be so Black & Blue, *Louis Armstrong*	Against: racial discrimination	1929
Blues	*Strange Fruit*, Billie Holiday	Against: lynching of Blacks	1939
Jazz, Blues, Folk	*Mississippi Goddamn*, Nina Simone	Against: racial discrimination in the South	1964
Soul	*Say it Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud*, James Brown	Against: racial discrimination	1968
Soul	*What's Going On*, Marvin Gaye	Against: Vietnam War	1971
Soul	*Living for the City*, Stevie Wonder	Against: systemic racism inner-city crime	1973

Source: about.com and progressivepupil.wordpress.com

Folk Protest Music

While Kanye West's music can be classified as African American protest music, his commercial appeal resembles that of the northern white folk singers in the 1960s and 1970s. Like West, folk singers also wrote protest songs that were commercially successful. Some of the classic protest folk singers included Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrthie, Tom Paxton, Joan Baez, Judy Collins, and

the group Peter Paul, and Mary. These mainstream folk singers often used their music as a platform to protest war, discrimination, and the military-industrial establishment (Rodnitzky 1999). The *I Ain't Marching Anymore* album in 1965 was Phil Ochs' response to the Vietnam War and the Watts Riots; the songs "Blowin' in the Wind" and "Talking World War Three Blues" reflected Bob Dylan's anti-arms race and pro-civil rights stance; the live concert recording of the songs "Oh Freedom" and "If you Miss Me at the Back of the Bus" was Pete Seeger's way of supporting protests against segregation; and Tom Paxton's songs " Lyndon Johnson Told the Nation" and "We Didn't Know" satirizes President Johnson's duplicitous explanations of the war and Americans' feigned ignorance of the war atrocities (Rodnitzky 1999).

Hip Hop Protest Music

Hip Hop, the newest genre of African American music, provided Kanye West the vehicle to protest some of the deceptive empty promises of American education and engage in what Freire (1990) and hooks (1994) refer to as liberatory pedagogy, education as the practice of freedom. As one of the most commercially successful Hip Hop artists to engage America in a discourse about the racial and socioeconomic inequities embedded in the institution of education, West in essence, takes on a trillion-dollar industry established as one of financial cornerstones of American society since 1920 (Kimball & Johnson 2012; Rossi 2014). However, West is not the first, nor the only Hip Hop artist to use Hip Hop as protest music. In 1989 the rap group Public Enemy, in their song "Fight the Power," addressed the suppression of free speech. In 1988 the rap group NWA in their song "F*ck tha Police," addressed police brutality in Compton California; and in 1998 Lauryn Hill's song "Doo Wop, That Thing" addresses destructive behavior of African American men and women. The song is one of her biggest hits on the album "Miseducation of Lauryn Hill," a whimsical play on words borrowed from Carter G. Woodson's book "The Mis-Education of the Negro." Public Enemy, NWA, and Lauryn Hill are just a few of the Hip Hop artists who have used the commercial success of Hip Hop music to protest societal issues in the way that Kanye West has.

Like the protest music of artists who came before him, the lyrics in Kanye West's music are more than an expression of opinion; they are an acknowledgment and validation of experiences that have been ignored or marginalized in politics, education, and law. Like a brave friend speaking up for someone who cannot speak, West's lyrics provide a non-violent cathartic way for millions of muted voices to be heard. When Hot 97's radio DJ Angie Martinez implied that Disney CEO Bob Iger might be scared of him, West replied with, "Why are people so scared of creative ideas and so scared of truth... All I ever want to do is influence and do good…" (Lewis, 2013). Kanye West's protest music has certainly "influenced" the way many people think about education and politics. Perhaps his music will inspire more public administrators to "do good" by improving systems that reproduce inequality. Below is a non-exhaustive list of Hip Hop protest songs since 1982.

Table 2: Hip Hop Protest Songs Since 1982

Hip Hop Artist(s)	Song	Protest Message	Year
Grand Master Flash & the Furious Five	The Message	Against: Failed Education & Jail Systems	1982
N.W.A.	F*ck tha Police	Against: Racial Profiling, Police Brutality	1988

Public Enemy	Fight the Power	Against: Suppressed Freedom of Speech	1989
Public Enemy	Burn Holly-wood, Burn	Against: The Racist Film Industry	1990
Paris	Bush Killa	Against: President George Bush, Sr.	1992
2Pac	Changes	Against: Negative State of Mind	1998
dead prez	Hip Hop	Against: Mainstream Hip Hop	2000
Lil Wayne	Georgia Bush	Against: Bush's Response to Hurricane Katrina	2006
Nas	Sly Fox	Against: Fox News	2008
Lupe Fiasco	Words I Never Said	Against: President Barack Obama	2011
Killer Mike	Reagan	Against: President Reagan	2012

Source: vibe.com and complex.com

Summary

With the intention of presenting a humanistic picture of Kanye West and shifting the focus from the messenger to the message, I begin this article with a brief biographical interpretation of Kanye West's complicated music career and controversial public persona. As a celebrity, West interrogated the music industry and George W. Bush's presidency. As a rap artist, West's music questioned the viability of a college education, institutionalized racism in public schools, and the integrity of police in the African American community.

In the second section of the article, I examined the themes on West's first three multiplatinum albums *The College Drop Out*, *Late Registration*, and *Graduation.* Even though West produced four additional platinum albums later in his career, none had the commercial success of his first three albums with education themes. On these three albums West grapples with being a financially successful college dropout, the limited life choices for African American males, and his own personal demons around materialism, conspicuous consumption, and newfound success as a celebrity rap artist. While West has join the ranks of fellow successful college dropouts Bill Gates, Mark Zuckerburg, Steve Jobs, and Sean "P-Diddy" Combs, some will argue that like West, these success stories are anomalies with special qualities and circumstances that in no way reflect the general population. Most college graduates earn about 56 percent more than high school graduates (Dunn 2014).

In the third section of the article, I unpacked the meanings behind West's messages about public administration. According to West, America's public administration has failed African Americans in education, public safety, and law enforcement. America was quick to bail out the rich during the financial crisis in 2008, but was slow to bailout the African American poor during Hurricane Katrina 2005. Finally, I examined Kanye West's public pedagogy by contextualizing his role in the entire landscape of African American protest music history. West, a Hip Hop artist, represents the latest iteration of African American music, following in the footsteps of great musicians who created message music in Blues, Jazz, R & B, Soul, Gospel, and Funk.

Implications

The music of Kanye West is unapologetically bold. It not only expresses West's views; it inspires people to think differently, challenge the establishment, and engage in courageous conversations. Because he is an artist, West gets to critique society with no filters. Because he is a celebrity, he gets to share his opinions with millions of people. He recently declared his intentions of running for president of the United States in 2020 on the 2015 VMAs. Whether he was serious or not, Eugene Craig III, a 24-year-old Republican and a fan of Kanye West, formed a Political Action Committee called "Ready for Kanye" (Weigel 2015). In the *Washington Post* Craig said, "I think [Kanye] will bring an interesting dialogue to our party, and he'll find a lot of people who want that dialogue. He's pointed out the crippling racial disparities in the law and the economy. He's talked about the pipeline of private prisons. He's a genuine entrepreneur" (Sebastian 2015, para. 4).

Ten years ago, Kanye West was on the cover of *Time* magazine as the smartest guy in pop music. This year he is on the cover of *Time* magazine again in its 2015 issue of the *100 Most Influential People*. Public Administrators should really consider the magnitude of Kanye West's political and cultural impact in the way the Republican Party has reconsidered the seriousness of Donald Trump's candidacy for president. Like Trump, West is an opinionated celebrity perceived as an antiestablishment outsider courageous enough to speak his mind in a society held hostage by politically correct reticence. Whether we agree with him or not, millions of people are listening to him. Perhaps Public Administrators should listen too.

Kanye West's artistry provides commentary on the public enterprise. With the help of popular culture and worldwide exposure, this commentary acts as public pedagogy, an educational discourse with his fans and critics on the public stage. One of the dominant features of West's public pedagogy is the ongoing questioning of the public enterprise and its patriarchal ideas. He questions public education, higher education, disregard for black life, post-racial meritocracy, the prison pipeline, the hyper-criminalization of black bodies, the music industry and more. Kanye West is not against the public enterprise; he just wants to change it by asking the hard questions.

Conclusion

Kanye West's public life and the music on *The College Drop Out*, *Late Registration*, and *Graduation* are a call to action to reevaluate the values and structural inequalities woven in the fabric of institutions of education, law, and public administration. West's narratives are not just about differential treatment of African Americans; they are about everyone. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1963) said, "injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere," and John Donne's poem *No Man Is An Island* captures this sentiment best:

> *No man is an island,*
> *Entire of itself,*
> *Every man is a piece of the continent,*
> *A part of the main…*
> *Any man's death diminishes me,*
> *Because I am involved in mankind,*

And therefore never send to know for
whom the bell tolls; It tolls for thee.

While some media prefer to bask in the pleasure of meticulously focusing on the character flaws of Kanye West, their judgmental blind spots unconsciously prevent them from hearing West's universal messages.

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Rights Perceived as Rules: Sacrificing Civil Liberties and Social Equity for Achievement, Advancement and Affiliation

Larry Karson

Introduction

Various theories and premises have been proffered to public administrators as to why police officers and criminal investigators violate the rights of citizens when investigating suspected criminal behavior. Some of the most noteworthy, and most frequently mentioned in policing literature, include "noble cause" theory (Crank & Caldero 2000) and the related "Dirty Harry" problem (Klockers 1980), sub-culturalization and cultural deviation (Herbert 1998), a distinctive worldview ethos leading to insulation (Skolnick 1966) and institutionalization. All contribute to the failures of law enforcement organizations (O'Hara 2012). Yet it is the premise of this essay that something far simpler can explain police misconduct in the day-to-day violation of the civil rights of suspected law violators and the undermining of social equity, namely workplace motivational theory.

Three Normative Premises

The author argues that motivated officers and investigators operate under three interacting premises. In combination, these three concepts can, and often do, lead investigators to violate the civil rights of citizens, a criminal act seldom prosecuted by the justice system.

Investigators operate with the same motivation as all other employees, public or private. The first premise is that investigators have to deal with the same stress and job pressures that any other employee may deal with and investigators attempt to be successful for the same reasons: promotions, future assignments, the work itself, peer approval, etc. Motivational theories such as Alderfer's ERG theory (1969), McClelland's Acquired-Needs theory (1985) and Herzberg's Two-Factor theory (1966) all offer a better explanation for the day-to-day behaviors of individual investigators than do the more accepted criminal justice explanations mentioned earlier that, though appropriate for explaining certain officers' actions, may not be the most applicable explanation for the mundane daily activity of most investigators. Alderfer's (1969) idea of the need for

relatedness, McClelland's (1985) suggested needs for achievement, power and affiliation, and in particular, Herzberg's (1966) motivators of achievement including recognition, the work itself, responsibility, advancement and growth express the motivations of line officers and investigators much more effectively than most theories currently described in criminal justice/criminology texts.

O'Hara (2012) describes how New Jersey state troopers, inappropriately using a Drug Enforcement Administration profile of drug couriers, eventually simplified the original extensive list of indicators of a possible courier to simply being a young African American or Latino driving a premium quality auto. This profiling was reinforced by the rewards troopers received when successful in seizing narcotics on the highways. "The profiles did turn up drug runners, and when they did, good things happened to the arresting troopers – commendations, pick of assignments, a bump in grade" (196). In time, the troopers would utilize pretext stops and obtain uninformed "consent" searches. Though stops without arrests increased, so did seizures, and with them, corresponding rewards. Even when brought to the attention of management, racial profiling continued, eventually leading to a major scandal when troopers were found intentionally under-reporting minority traffic stops (195-97). Why would the stops continue even when the problems were brought to the attention of management? The answer can be found in the rewards – positive reinforcement – offered to troopers who were successful in seizing narcotics. Those troopers were seen as successful by both management and peers and their rewards rated high on the scale of Herzberg's motivators.

Investigators see laws only as rules. The second premise is that investigators do not generally see due process and the concomitant laws as the embodiment of individual rights but, instead see laws as the rules to the game of "cops and robbers" they play and are thus made to be broken. As such, they treat the law (i.e. rules) as a professional athlete would treat a rule during a Sunday football game. As Trowbridge remarked, concepts such as "You go as far as you can go without getting caught" and "You want to take advantage of anything you can take advantage of" can become the operating concept that leads to success (2006). When *Miranda* was instituted, it was not seen as a person's right, rather it was maligned as a "rule" that would impede and hinder officers in investigations. To deal with the new rule, various innovative interviewing techniques were developed to circumvent the Supreme Court's decision. "It's certainly accepted as part of the culture that you game the system as much as you possibly can, and if you don't get caught, it ain't cheating" (Rohan 2015). Though referring to professional sports, the quote in Rohan's article on cheating is equally applicable to policing.

If necessary, investigators push the envelope – i.e. stretch the rules - to be successful. The third premise is that an investigator, to make a successful case, with success being defined as; a) arresting a suspected violator for the crime being investigated and, if possible; b) getting a conviction for that crime or a similar one, will test or push the legal or procedural limits or boundaries to achieve success – pushing the envelope. For an investigator, a distinction is drawn between the discretionary practices and explicit laws – a distinction which allows for more latitude in fulfilling his or her duties (Skolnick 1966). In choosing to stretch the rules, an investigator is looking for a way to succeed, in many cases through innovation and originality. That innovation may, if needed, be accomplished by doing something that, though not illegal or in violation of procedure, may be stretching law or policy. An example would be when the first officer who used a helicopter to over-fly the backyard of a suspect's home to more easily view over the back fence to see a hidden

marijuana garden then used that observation to justify the probable cause needed to obtain a search warrant of the premises, stretching the constitutional safeguards related to privacy. Being the first officer to attempt to use a helicopter to establish probable cause would, by definition, be "pushing the envelope" or operating perimeters of the agency. In this case, the courts approved of the action and that officer set precedent – much, one may assume, to his glory and peer approval. And unlike the "Dirty Harry" problem of Klockers (1980) where police are unable to achieve justice except through unconstitutional means, this legal process sanctifies an officer's otherwise questionable actions and reinforces an officer's view that laws are only rules (with the courts changing them at will) and stretching the rules can lead to legal acquiescence and professional success.

Breaking the Rules

An investigator, making a rational choice, chooses to achieve success by pushing the envelope; in some cases, eventually pushing the envelope of rules until it breaks. When a
rule is broken often enough it can actually lead to an established practice that either becomes acceptable because the investigator or officer comes to believe the conduct is legal or it becomes hidden based on a recognition that the conduct is illegal although a decision is made to continue the conduct and conceal the violation. An example of the former is the beating of a juvenile by guards in Bay County, Florida when a youth misbehaved in the local sheriff's boot camp (Miller 2006). Because the beating was structured – if, for example, a juvenile clutched his fist in anger, it was viewed as a sign of aggression and a punch by guards to the juvenile's arm muscles was authorized to compel him to open his hand; if clutched again, further strikes were acceptable to force compliance - and the procedures were allegedly allowed by policy, including being done in the presence of a nurse, the guards reportedly believed the conduct was acceptable and proper. The previous example of New Jersey troopers lying on documentation to minimize the record of traffic stops of minority drivers is an example of concealing illegal conduct as is an officer patting down all suspects, presumably for weapons, but in reality, searching for drugs or other contraband (Goldstein 2013).

On May 19, 2006 the Federal Bureau of Investigation served a search warrant on United States Representative William J. Jefferson's congressional office with more than a dozen agents spending almost 18 hours reviewing documents and eventually confiscating a variety of them along with a computer hard drive (Brubaker, Eggen and Lengal 2006). Reportedly, this was the first incident of agents searching the office of a congressional member.

A comment referring to the propriety of the warrant from Tony Snow, then the White House press secretary, alludes to the premise of this paper: "We are hoping that there's a way to balance the constitutional concerns of the House of Representatives with the law enforcement obligations of the executive branch" (Brubaker, Eggen, and Lengal 2006). For the executive branch, law enforcement obligations (read, in this case, stretching of rules) are equal to, if not outweighing, constitutional rights. As one anonymous law enforcement official stated, "I think there is a general shift toward being more aggressive and *pushing the limits*" (my italics) (Schmitt 2006). For a street investigator individual rights carry even less weight than they might for the White House and its Department of Justice.

Previously the FBI admitted that agents had misused their authority under the USA Patriot Act in obtaining information from telephone companies, financial institutions, credit companies and Internet service businesses by the inappropriate use of national security letters (Stout 2007). The use of the letters to obtain information in a timely manner can be legally justified by exigent circumstances when agents have already sought subpoenas for the information in an extreme emergency. Yet, as Stout reported, the inspector general of the Department of Justice found that letters, which require no judicial approval, were issued under the guise of exigent circumstances to obtain records where no emergency existed. Recently, it was revealed that FBI agents had violated Bureau guidelines specifically designed to protect civil liberties (Lewis and Federman 2015). A Texas FBI office had initiated an investigation of non-violent political protesters of the commercial Keystone XL oil pipeline, justifying the Bureau's actions by claiming the pipeline is "vital to security and economy of the United States" but ignoring internal approval policy normally required to prevent a circumvention of constitutional safeguards (Lewis and Federman 2015).

Other examples of pushing the envelope until it is torn – and the law broken – include, in addition to initiating weapons pat-downs without cause, searching all cars that are stopped, whether probable cause was developed or not, and stopping an auto without probable cause yet creating and documenting probable cause after a stop or detention when none existed – euphemistically termed "creative" report writing by some officers (Barker and Carter 1990).

A contributing factor in a patrol officer's inappropriate response in dealing with a citizen is the element of competition perceived by the officer between the citizen and himself. As one former officer remarked, some are determined to win by whatever means available (Richard Hill, personal communication, June 21, 2007). And for some of these officers, the belief that appropriate respect or humility is not offered by the citizen can quickly escalate a minor incident into a major confrontation between the two (Lai, Park, Buchanan, and Andrews 2015). When it does escalate, the potential for the officer to stretch the rules, possibly to the breaking point, to achieve victory can increase proportionally. It is at that point that a COP – "contempt of police" – violation is determined and the individual is arrested for whatever charge (such as disorderly conduct or failure to comply) that allows the officer to transport the now declared criminal to jail, most likely to be released the following day with charges later dismissed. The arrest itself is a victory for the officer in lieu of achieving respect through the authority of his or her position, whatever civil liberties may have been violated (Van Maanen 1978). Besides self-satisfaction, the officer also receives a level of peer approval for his actions.

In investigations, creative probable cause may be used as can "cherry picking" – using only the best evidence to justify probable cause and ignoring contradictions when writing up a court order or warrant to validate the investigators search or wiretap. This carries over to the non-disclosure of exculpatory evidence to defense lawyers (Texas Appleseed & Texas Defender Service 2015). These examples show "…the reluctance of investigators to recognize the dichotomy between the desire to convict and the due process rights of the accused" (Taylor 2005, 118).

That desire to convict while all but ignoring the rights of the accused is also found within the prosecutor's office, an office whose primary responsibility is justice, not convictions. Yet when the courts recognized that privacy rights extended to an individual's cell phone, an association of Texas prosecutors considered that it was "about as definitive a loss as we could have expected for

law enforcement officers" instead of recognizing that it was simply an extension of basic privacy rights into a 21st century technological society (Texas District and County Attorneys Association 2014).

Pushing the envelope is also an aspect of prosecutions. One recent example of this was a prosecuting district attorney in Texas obtaining a gag order limiting the defense from publicly criticizing the handling of the criminal cases of multiple defendants charged with engaging in organized criminal activity. Originally submitted and granted by a state district court judge, the district attorney's former law partner, it was set aside in at least one pending case by an intermediate court of appeal that accused the district judge of abusing his discretion. Witherspoon (2015b) reported that the district attorney effectively filed for a stay with the highest court in the state to leave the gag order in effect while he appealed, offering him the time to obtain indictments against the numerous suspects without pretrial publicity of his unusual practices adversely affecting the indictments. Prior to the gag order, Witherspoon had also reported that when a local police officer was randomly selected for consideration as a grand juror and was appointed as jury foreman by the presiding judge, the district attorney made the most of the fortuitous circumstances, failing to challenge the seating of the officer, claiming that if he had a conflict of interest, the officer could "simply step out of the grand jury chambers while others vote on or consider a case" (2015a). In both cases, the district attorney was pushing the legal envelope to achieve success using an innovative interpretation which, arguably, ultimately lead to peer approval among both the prosecuting bar and probable reelection in a conservative community still infamous for a century old lynching.

Conclusion

For many an investigator due process and the protection of civil rights are not seen as the issue – the issue is what rules should be followed and how to use the rules to achieve the investigator's (or patrol officer's or district attorney's) objective which, again, is a successful case; i.e. someone convicted, preferably guilty, but not necessarily of the charged crime. The reason an investigator strives for success is grounded, on a day-to-day basis, in workplace motivational theory more so than in noble cause, cultural deviation, institutionalization or in any of the other common criminal justice theories offered. Only when both public administrators and the public finally recognize that motivation and hold officers accountable for their actions may potentially routine deviant behavior be addressed and the demands of social equity be achieved.

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Ten-Twenty-Life

Valerie L. Patterson

Ten-Twenty-Life
Have you been read your Miranda rights?
Did they decide you just 'look like a criminal' in the domestic surveillance state?
With your hair twisted and your pants hanging past your thighs
Will you ever be free, to be, all that you can be and then some?
Are you the one who will make America great like it once was? As a bona fide contributor
to the prison economy – you've been marked by the legacy of slavery -
Your ancestors didn't have capital to invest, they *were* the investment, the industry, the
opportunity waiting for an oppressor, sometimes disguised as a founding father and pur-
veyor of patriarchy, supremacy, and prime African flesh
Ten-Twenty-Life, this is a remix.

Ten-Twenty-Life
Race *is* a nervous and necessary area of government
For the disenfranchised destined to be institutionalized (again, or corrected on rare occa-
sions)
"Spec prisons" depend on your failure to be rehabilitated.

In the Sunshine State to date the black-to-white incarceration rate seals your fate
4.4 jailed blacks for every one white inmate
It's a DREAM (Disproportion Rules Everything Around Me) she said.

One-out-of-four will find
That they are destined to spend their time
As 21st century field hands, bench pressing to antebellum proportions,
Born to fulfill the prophecy of incarceration.

Ten-Twenty-Life

I'm trying to tell you that the modern prison industrial complex is being built on the backs of black and brown and native sons and daughters
The ones who could/would/should have shaped a new world order, or voted in an election, once they were released, after being sentenced to life at the age of s-i-x-t-e-e-n (ijs).

The sign reads "CAUTION STATE PRISONERS WORKING"
So I blow my horn as I pass you cleaning the highway
I wander and wonder as you wave. I know you right? Your mother was in my high school class, your father was my grad student, you also live on my block
I believe that on your born day, someone counted your fingers and toes and officially documented the number of days left before your incarceration (Ten-Twenty-Life).

Speaking to myself I ask - what about race and class and power and wealth and the socialization process that must have begun as you were born. Maybe the first words you heard as you were being delivered sealed your fate, leaving you destined to serve your time receiving less than 25 cents an hour for your work, earning 76 million dollars in savings for your state.

We need reform, no we need more prisons, we need to close the achievement gap, no we need more prisons, we need empowerment, no we need more prisons, we need more prisons? Yes Virginia and many, many, many more prisoners.

Representative expert or representative bureaucrat, dualities consistently haunt me…

The Border Patrol Nation
and Governance:
(In)Security, Surveillance and
Subjectivity in
the American State

Terence M. Garrett

Introduction

Border politics became a high priority for the United States government following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and illegal immigration also became the "problem" of the southern US-Mexico border. As a result, a new and aggressive border policy was to be enforced. The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) was created in large part due to the 9-11 attacks and the push by policy makers for more national or "homeland" security, resulting in a consolidation and reorganization of 22 federal government agencies and over 170,000 employees (Kettl 2007; Garrett 2010a). The DHS defines homeland security as "a concerted national effort to prevent terrorist attacks within the United States, reduce America's vulnerability to terrorism, and minimize the damage and recover from attacks that do occur" (DHS 2008; in Garrett 2010b, 306). Homeland security has become more ubiquitous in the USA post 9-11, to the point that there is virtually no place to hide (Greenwald 2014).

The Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) is one of the agencies created by congressional statute combining the U.S. Customs Service (formerly of the Treasury Department) and U.S. Border Patrol (formerly of the Department of Justice) for border protection. Concerns over border security, primarily the southern border, dominate the news up to the present day despite the fact that none of the 9-11 terrorist attackers came to the US from across the border with Mexico. Aguilar (16 September 2015) notes that the number of border patrol agents have nearly doubled since 2004 from 10,800 to 21,400 in 2013 with over 18,000 of those agents on the border with Mexico. Terrorism is combined with illegal immigration by U.S. lawmakers in the aftermath of the 9-11 attacks (Garrett and Storbeck 2011) as well as the loss of Americans' safety, jobs and healthcare – all tied to the "problem" of illegal immigration (Pope and Garrett 2012, 167) – despite attitudes changing more recently concerning overall immigration. In a May 2014, a *New York Times* survey "conducted a wide majority (66 percent) said that most recent immigrants contribute to this country, up from 49 percent in 2010" (Cave 20 June 2014, para. 10). Managing America's southern border after 9-11 became paramount giving rise to the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and its

agencies as chief protectors of US security helping to create the spectacle (Debord 1967/1994; Garrett 2012) of the politics and perception of fear (Arendt 1969 and 1970; Correa-Cabrera, Garrett and Keck 2014; Correa-Cabrera and Garrett 2014; Foucault 1980, 2007, and 2008; Merleau-Ponty 1947/1969, 1948/2008, and 1962/2009) – a legacy of the aftermath of 9-11. The expansion of Customs and Border Patrol (CBP), one of the agencies of the DHS and mostly arrayed along the US-Mexico border, is noted by Bacon (27 August 2014):

> There are over 20,000 Border Patrol Agents; that number was as low as 9,800 in 2001. We have walls and a system of large, centralized detention centers that didn't exist just 15 years ago. Now more than 350,000 people spend some time in an immigrant detention center every year. The U.S. spends more on immigration enforcement than all other enforcement activities of the federal government combined, including the FBI, the Drug Enforcement Administration and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives. (para. 5)

In contrast, managing America's northern border remained virtually the same as before September 11, 2001. Strict control of border security is viewed as necessary to slow the invasion of the non-citizen, or *homo sacer*[1] (Agamben 1995, Garrett and Storbeck 2011; Pope and Garrett 2013).   The new immigration and border policies, conceived under an anti-terrorism agenda, criminalized immigration law that heightened enforcement and policing of southern border areas. Pope and Garrett (2013) concluded that Agamben's theory (2005) described and explained U.S. immigration policy and border security along the U.S.-Mexico border as:

- Policy "crackdowns" through the war on terror led to the making of public laws designed to prevent the further incursion on U.S. soil of undocumented border crossers by the federal and state governments.
- Latinos (or those who look like they could be "illegals") were the targets of the new laws passed by states and the federal government.
- Immigration and border security policies have led to Giorgio Agamben's notions of *homo sacer* (1995) amidst the "war on terror" through the state of exception (Agamben 2005) denying undocumented border crossers and citizens their basic constitutional and human rights.

The impact of the post 9-11 border and security apparatus have had ill effects on US citizens living along the border with Mexico, mostly Latinos, (Garrett and Storbeck 2011; Correa-Cabrera and Garrett 2014; see also Figure 1 below) creating citizens with a "one-dimensional man" (Marcuse 1991) status. A "new normal" was established by the 2001 Patriot Act in that the security apparatus of the USA designed policies "to prevent terrorism before it happened" (Priest and Arkin 2011, 134). The REAL ID Act of 2005 and Secure Fence Act of 2006 tightened identification restrictions on USA citizens and allowed the Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security to obtain property using eminent domain that superseded civil liberties – the right to own property – to take away land from mostly the poor, who, in most cases, were Latinos of Mexican-American decent. Some citizens such as migrant workers living in border *colonias*[2] were forced to submit to property loss without proper compensation, losing their political and human rights, as well as property confiscation by the Army Corp of Engineers and the DHS. Additionally, similar property sanctions were imposed against affected farmers and ranchers (Garrett 2012).

Figure 1: A child playing in the shadow of the border wall behind her Brownsville, Texas home (Photo by Scott Nicol, [n.d.])

Miller (2014) documented the beginnings of the encroaching environment of the border security apparatus (Agamben 2009) and has projected its expansion on the rest of society – within and outside of US borders. Within the context of the now-established border security apparatus, the growth of the "homeland" security-ideology continues unabated.

In the following sections, we will be examining Miller's (2014) explanation of the border patrol nation, or what may be termed the *border patrol-ization* of the U.S. body politic. At first, we will be considering how the American State "defends" itself against perceived external enemies – *the other* – defined in various ways as illegal immigrants and terrorists. Secondly, we will investigate the escalation of implications of the drug war and how it is promoted by political operatives and the media. Finally, we look at surveillance techniques designed to continue the border patrol-ization – done primarily for material gain by those in US society with political and economic power.

Defending the Nation against the Other

The project of Border Patrol Nation is to gate people into a world of clear and enforceable divisions. These are not only divisions between citizens and foreigners, insiders and outsiders, but also between the haves (and all the "interests" they protect) and the have-nots. It is a division between the global North and the global South. In this brightly divided world, the more apparent crime is that of the individual straggling street walker, not the profit-obsessed system that abandons entire communities of children, youth, men, and women to grow up and live their lives in

collapsing, contaminated, foreclosed ruins. The criminal is the person looking for a job without papers, not the "free trade agreements." (Miller 2014, 316)

[N]othing looks more like a terrorist than the ordinary man.
—Giorgio Agamben, *What Is An Apparatus?* (2009, 23; in Garrett and Storbeck 2011, 530).

Moving beyond the US-Mexico border but indicative of the mindset of the DHS, Miller (2014, 13) captures the extension of the presence of the agency as stated by Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) agent Jason Harrell who was flying a Blackhawk helicopter around a thirty-mile perimeter of Miami's Sun Life Stadium during a recent Super Bowl:

> Our mission statement says that we will defend the American public against terrorism…The Super Bowl is a high priority target…The U.S. government has come to us because we are a law enforcement entity. And we have assets that other folks don't have.

The Super Bowl CBP mission was explained by a Border Patrol supervisor, Mr. Guzman, as Amtrak and Greyhound buses brought fans to the stadium:

> *"After 9/11, everyone at the airports are [sic] being looked at, so they tend to use the Amtrak…or the Greyhound as a tool.* This makes Amtrak and Greyhound an *"all-threats environment… We don't know what's going to happen"* (Miller 2014, 15).

On the border in South Texas, Maril (2011) interviewed Customs and Border Patrol (CBP) Weslaco (Texas) Field Operations Supervisor, Omar Sanchez, who stated "We're [CBP] becoming … a paramilitary organization modeled after the military. It's taking time. We're becoming more professional" (222). Another CBP agent, identified by Maril as Agent Sparrow, noted that,

> *…Our job is to provide security. That's what CBP and DHS are supposed to do. We want Americans to feel more secure. Make people feel better. That's what security is about. So people can live their lives and not have to worry about the terrorists here* (224).

In effect, the CBP is a fully operational paramilitary organization with national security the central mission of the DHS agency. The search for the "other," the undocumented border crosser or terrorist, has other policy consequences – citizens' daily lives are disrupted all in the name of security. Citizens in the Rio Grande Valley region of Texas, about 90 percent of whom are of Mexican-American decent, are potentially constantly under surveillance by the USA government apparatus:

- The DHS Border Fence
- Unmanned aerial drones
- Custom and Border Patrol's Tethered Aerostat Radar Systems
- CBP vehicle checkpoints beyond the USA-Mexico border (up to 100 miles inland), for example, nearby Sarita and Falfurrias, Texas.

Additionally, borders continue to be militarized with CBP agent escalation, Texas DPS trooper surges (see more below), and increased electronic surveillance with towers near border fences.

Miller (2014) documents repeated intrusions upon the civil liberties of citizens within the US as CBP agents demand documents, search personal possessions, and detain people who have to say and many times prove they are American citizens. Latinos are most affected as they live in proportionally higher numbers near the USA-Mexico border.

Pro-escalation of the Border Drug War: Political and Media Spectacles

Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS) troopers and the Texas National Guard, were mobilized within the past few years by Governor Rick Perry (and later Governor Greg Abbott) with the support of the Texas legislature to increase the state's security presence along the border with Mexico in response to an influx of migrants – mostly children from Central America (Reynolds 21 July 2014). This border escalation on the part of Texas authorities is also based on rhetoric that signifies that Mexico is a "failed state" with regard to the war on drugs (see Friedman 2008; Grayson 2009, for examples) and unable to protect its own borders, let alone those who may be crossing into the US. The action was due to a perception by state policy makers that the US federal government was not doing enough to protect the border, despite the fact that most of the migrants were refugee children, some with asylum claims (Santos 18 June 2014; Preston 19 July 2014). There have been several deaths associated with the Texas border escalation, deaths perpetrated by the federal and Texas government security personnel. Federal agents have shot and killed at least 42 people since 2005 (Miller 22 April 2014, para. 37). In one incident in October 2012, Texas DPS troopers shot and killed an undocumented border crosser from Guatemala attempting to cross the border from Mexico into the state. A pickup truck used for smuggling near Peñitas, Texas contained migrants who were shot at eighteen times from a helicopter by a DPS aviation agent attempting to disable the vehicle by hitting the front tire (del Bosque 2 March 2015). The event was foreshadowed six months previously as …

> …*Discovery Channel* aired a documentary called Texas Drug Wars. In the 45-minute broadcast, DPS makes its vision for border policing clear, "We're not going to give up one square inch of this territory," says Stacy Holland, captain of the DPS aviation division. "Were using tactics and equipment that you will see in war zones." To demonstrate, a DPS tactical officer, perched in a helicopter with a rifle, aims at a suspected drug smuggler's truck as it careens along a busy highway in South Texas. "If you don't believe in border security, you will," says a voice over, "because it's coming to a town near you." (del Bosque 2 March 2015, para. 23)

The political spectacle (Edelman 1964/1985) and media spectacle (Debord 1967/1994; Kellner 2003) are supplemented by the perception of fear (Arendt 1969 and 1970; Correa-Cabrera and Garrett 2014; Foucault 1980, 2007, and 2008; Merleau-Ponty 1947/1969, 1948/2008, and 1962/2009). A spectacle of fear (Correa-Cabrera, Garrett, and Keck 2014) permeates the discourse and dissuades alternative ways of coming to public reflection concerning policies affecting human beings. Fear (Altheide 2006; Furedi 2005) trumps elected officials from contemplating changes in policy that will alleviate those people – Agamben's (1995) *homo sacer (*or the *Other) –* from further persecution.

The media spectacle is an attempt to exploit the border situation. For example, national security consultants like Sylvia Longmire (Staudt 2016) best exemplify and promote sensational and graphic anecdotes – tales of drug violence in Mexico spilling over into the US. Simultaneously, Longmire advocates increased promotion of the Department of Homeland Security – particularly the CBP – by equating the "drug war in Mexico" with the war in Afghanistan whereby "…[the US] need[s] to start appreciating the threat posed to our national security by Mexican cartels operating right under our noses." And "we've committed only $1.6 billion to the drug war in Mexico." …While spending "over $365 billion [in Afghanistan for war] since 2001, and almost 1,400 military members have lost their lives in the process" (2011, 218). Longmire (2014) has admitted that US policy-makers, especially in Congress, "believe our borders must be secured before tackling immigration reform have the process completely backward" (210). However, once the problems of economic-driven migrants have been dealt with by having legislation passed to enable their entry, Longmire believes the DHS and other federal agencies need to focus attention and project resources on terrorists, smuggling, money laundering and drug trafficking organizations.

The political and media spectacles affect the lack of having a reflective political discourse for civil society in the U.S. in favor of the security apparatus supported by corporations and sympathetic elected officials. Spectacles promote division between society's need for security at the expense of the polis. This problem is further exacerbated by and concurrently leads to the surveillance state – justifying and reinforcing the border patrol nation.

The Surveillance State

> *Morals reformed – health preserved – industry invigorated – instruction diffused – public burthens lightened – Economy seated, as it were, upon a rock – the Gordian knot of the Poor Laws are not cut, but untied – all by a simple idea in Architecture!*
> – Jeremy Bentham, 1787, "Panopticon" (1995, 31, italics in the original).

Bentham's concept of the panopticon is instructive to analyze how government and industry cooperate to institutionalize the ongoing project of "Fortress America" (Sementelli, 2012) at the expense of civil society. Foucault (on Bentham) notes that the "Panopticon functions as a kind of laboratory of power. Thanks to its mechanisms of observation, it gains in efficiency and in the ability to penetrate into men's behaviour; knowledge follows the advances of power, discovering new objects of knowledge over all the surfaces on which power is exercised" (1977, p.204). The border patrol project is well understood through the theoretical lens of the panopticon. The fortification of borders through surveillance systems is part and parcel to the border-patrolization of U.S. society. In the next section we will be examining the implications of the panopticon for the surveillance state (Greenwald 2014; Priest and Arkin 2011).

Surveillance and the Panopticon

> *… Never in the history of the world have there been so many hundreds of millions of people forced to leave their homes because they cannot endure the miserable*

*poverty imposed by "free trade" and globalization…. [Within the US] The Border
Patrol Nation convinces the country to comply with the expensive notion that we
need to be protected from these dangerous outsiders coming for our safety. The
country complies by handing over liberty, privacy and free speech, so that those in
authority can maintain constant surveillance, monitoring people's movements,
emails, texts, phone calls, purchases, social networks, and associations in order to
eliminate suspected threats before they fully develop. In short, almost everyone
outside the upper echelons of political and monied power needs to be closely mon-
itored* (Miller 2014, 316-7).

The Border Security Expo 2014 in Phoenix, Arizona – a two-day event – provided corporations in
the security surveillance genre to peddle their wares to governments in the US. Miller (22 April
2014) described items such "fake barrel cactus" cameras, miniature drones that fit in backpacks
for Border Patrol agents, biometrics facial recognition systems, border surveillance towers, and
other futuristic border policing technology. The surveillance apparatus is expanding beyond the
borders and becoming more ubiquitous. As Morgan and Krouse (2005) explain, "The US Depart-
ment of Homeland Security (DHS) … is attempting to develop scientific techniques such as bio-
metrics used to produce an extensive database on identity verification and discovery that contains
information on things like fingerprint recognition, hand geometry, facial recognition, and iris scan-
ning" (para. 2; see also in Correa-Cabrera and Garrett 2014). In 2013 the global video surveillance
market made corporations $13.5 billion, and sales of the industry will continue to rise to $40 billion
by 2020 with over 3 trillion hours of video surveillance, as Miller (22 April 2014) captures the
essence of the Border Security Expo 2014:

> [It] catches in one confined space the expansiveness of a "booming" border market. If you
> include "cross-border terrorism, cybercrime, piracy, [the] drug trade, human trafficking,
> internal dissent, and separatist movements," all "driving factor[s] for the homeland security
> market," by 2018 it could reach $544 billion globally. It is here that U.S. Homeland Secu-
> rity officials, local law enforcement, and border forces from all over the world talk con-
> tracts with private industry representatives, exhibit their techno-optimism, and begin to
> hammer out a future of ever more hardened, up-armored national and international bound-
> aries (para. 7).

The expansion of the security state apparatus continues unabated. Globally, the business of bio-
metrics surveillance generated an estimated $7.2 billion in 2012 (Singer 17 May 2014). There is
already a notable example of police using biometrics technology on unsuspecting US citizens.
Prior to the 9-11 attacks in 2001, Tampa police during Super Bowl XXXV deployed a face-recog-
nition system on fans in a covert manner, scanning tens of thousands of people. Journalists referred
to the game as "Snooper Bowl" and public outrage ensued as well as congressional criticism
(Singer 17 May 2014, para. 28-29). All the criticism and outrage changed after the 9-11 attacks
occurred, enabling biometrics corporations to take advantage of national and international security
concerns.

Conclusion and Discussion: The Other, Spectacles, and the Panopticon – Im-
plications for the U.S. Border Patrol Nation

The implications for the border *patrol-ization* of the U.S. are ominous for the continuation of what
is ostensibly a nation-state recognized as a democratic republic with protection of minority rights.

The State has the means to use power through "the state of exception" and it has escalated that power since the terrorist attacks of 9-11. The state of exception concept is used as a justification for surveillance of U.S. citizens resulting in a usurpation of civil liberties, especially Latinos who confront the phenomena based on many of whom are dwelling near the southern land border of the USA, – all in the name of the war on terror – leading to the erosion of democratically-derived rights for citizens and others (Agamben 2005; Pope and Garrett 2013).

Spectacles, media and political, accommodate border patrol-ization. News media and politicians promote and sensationalize violence – becoming inseparable from corporate sponsors benefitting economically from the abuse of migrants in the name of security (Garrett 2012). Drug wars, potential terrorist attacks, and human trafficking are rhetorically intertwined and used to end discussions for the public to ascertain the overall consequences of public policies designed to maintain the status quo or worse – to victimize further citizens and non-citizens in the name of homeland security.

Finally, the panopticon analytical concept is applied as a third theoretical lens to understand the process of border patrol-ization occurring at an escalated rate since the events of 9-11 and the subsequent war on terror promoted by the Bush administration. The normalization of surveillance – expanded with technology and legitimized as a means for security by the state – amplifies the state's power and leads to the subjectification of the public it is supposed to serve. Domestic surveillance has continued through the Obama administration (Greenwald 2014). Democratic discourse ends as the security threat ends democratic governance with the deprivation of civil rights and liberties.

Further research into these matters: (1) the state of exception for citizens, mostly Latinos living on or near the US-Mexico border; (2) spectacles – whether media or political pertaining to border issues; and (3) panopticism – the surveillance state and the deprivation of civil rights and liberties – in the name of homeland security, all need scholarly exploration. The central idea here of the border patrol-ization concept is to develop more insight into fully understanding the implications of border security policies passed by governmental institutions that truncate effective democratic governance.

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Endnotes

[1] Garrett and Storbeck (2011) interpret and apply Agamben's (1995) definition of *homo sacer* as the "the production of sacred and profane humans (Agamben 2007). The former class is designated as that of *homo sacer* and, as Agamben pointed out, contains those persons that the sovereign reduces to "bare life" (73). Unlike the latter group, these sacred persons cannot avail themselves of the rights of citizens." (Garrett and Storbeck 2011, 533).

[2] Garrett (2012) defines *colonias* as "The poor, mostly Spanish-speaking citizens of the USA and the Mexican migrants working side-by-side for many of the last 100 years have formed ad hoc communities called *colonias* – lands set aside for the workers to live on with dwellings made of whatever materials they could get their hands on, oftentimes begun without adequate sewage systems, electricity, potable running water, and paved roads" (743). And, for example, "In Texas, about 400,000 residents, mostly citizens of the USA (over 64 percent), live in *colonias* (Texas Secretary of State 2010) with 250,000 of those living in the four-county area of the lower Rio Grande Valley (James 2010). In Cameron, Hidalgo and Starr counties many *colonias* have had the wall run right through the middle of their settlements" (745).

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A Look Back

Public Reporting in Public Administration, circa 1939: The Annual Report as Fictional Radio Stories

Mordecai Lee

Note to Readers: A recording of the 1939 radio broadcast of the Interior Department's annual report and the pre-broadcast script can be found on the website of the Virtual Museum of Public Service. To access them, go to http://www.vmps.us/main. You will need to register to gain entry to the museum. (There is not charge to do so.) Once you have obtained access to the Virtual Museum, go to Gallery G-3: "Public Service Through the Spoken Word." There you will find the recording and the script of the broadcast (in two parts).

Public reporting is inherent to public administration and one of the characteristics which separate business and public administration (Lee 2002; 2006). However, as an activity of government, it predated the professionalization of government management which had begun in the Progressive era (1890-1920). The tradition of the executive branch issuing reports on its activities dates back to the beginning of the republic. The new Constitution directed the president to submit "from time to time" reports on the State of the Union.[1] Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton's famous document on the benefits of industrialization was a *report* to Congress (McGraw 2012). Newspapers often carried lengthy excerpts of official reports, including annual reports of Cabinet secretaries (Ritchie 1991, 196). When President Lincoln invited all his Cabinet secretaries to accompany him to Gettysburg for his scheduled remarks at the cemetery dedication, many begged off. They said they were too busy because their annual reports were due to be submitted to Congress within a few weeks (Goodwin 2013, 583). In 1914, the secretary of the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) postponed electoral campaigning on behalf of his party because finishing his annual report took priority (Houston 1970, 211).

The duty of the unelected government manager has been to continue this tradition and to contribute to an informed citizenry, the *sine qua non* of democracy. But with the growth of the modern administrative state, annual reports increasingly resembled a stapling of the annual reports of a federal department's various bureaus, each operating largely autonomously, each focusing its report

on what it thought was important. These were long and detailed documents which were usually not intended for popular audiences, rather for the bureau's attentive audience in Congress and for its stakeholders who had a strong interest and involvement in that bureau's work.

By 1928, Herman Beyle, the first social scientist to examine public reporting, viewed reporting as an important element of harmonizing inherently non-democratic public administration with democratic accountability. Beyle examined all the annual reports for one year from all the independent units of government in the Chicago area. He found they were largely dismal in terms of public interest, readability, and dissemination. After documenting the erratic quality of such reports, he developed a list of best practices for public reporting in American public administration (Beyle 1928, 141-49).

FDR, Public Reporting, and Radio

Radio was FDR's métier as president, the communication venue for bypassing the conservative publishers of daily newspapers in order to reach the public-at-large without filters. His famous "fireside chats" were *reports* to the citizenry on what he had done or sought to do, and the rationale for his initiatives. The first, on March 12, 1933, only a week into his presidency, was an explanation of his actions during the bank holiday and his reassurance to depositors that when the banks reopened the next morning, their money would be there and be safe. His next radio report, on July 24, 1933, summarized the first 100 days of his administration and the actions he had taken to stabilize the economy (Alter 2006).

One of the reasons FDR's radio reports were so effective was because he had a knack for speaking in plain language instead of the policy wonk lingo commonly used by those inside government. As president, he was able to describe and characterize what the federal government was doing in ways which were understandable to the lay audience, translating those faraway and abstract events into terms and mental pictures which were relevant to the listeners. (FDR also used that skill in his twice-weekly press conferences and in his speeches.) The key was to convey that what the federal government did *affected* individual citizens, was important for them, and was relevant. Given the sometimes eye-glazing and incremental progress of public administration, accomplishing such a goal was much, *much* harder to do than the routine insiders' language used in conducting business in Washington.

Roosevelt did not want the use of radio to be limited to just his own personal participation. He encouraged departments and agencies to record and provide informational programs to national radio networks and local stations. In 1936, a front-page story in the *New York Herald Tribune* stated that federal radio programs were at "a record mark."[2] Two years later, in 1938, he encouraged the National Emergency Council (which had morphed largely into an information service) to establish a radio section which was to focus on using radio to disseminate information about the work of the administration. This new office promptly began producing a series of radio programs titled "United States Government *Reports*" (Lee 2005a, 27, emphasis added).

Interior Secretary Ickes and Radio

Following FDR's lead, Harold Ickes, FDR's Secretary of the Interior, was determined to improve the public profile of his department. He viewed enviously USDA's large information program for its size, scope, budget, and congressional support. He tried to centralize and elevate his department's PR activities to something nearing USDA's, but got major pushback from congressional conservatives (Lee 2011, 152-53). Nonetheless, by administrative order, in 1937 he reorganized Interior's existing PR programs into a Division of Information attached to the Office of the Secretary (Ickes 1938, 366). The head of the Division was Michael Straus, a former newspaper reporter from Chicago.

Wearing his separate hat as the administrator of the Public Works Administration (PWA), a New Deal agency aimed at generating employment through federally-funded infrastructure projects, Ickes quietly allocated a small amount of PWA's discretionary funding to build and equip a radio studio on the top floor of the new Interior Department building, located a few blocks southeast of the White House.[3] PWA not only covered the costs of building the studio, it also initially paid the salaries of the PR staff working at the studio.[4]

Ickes stoutly committed to limiting the use of the studio to educational and informational programs. The products which would be produced at Interior's radio studio would merely be the radio equivalent of the traditional publishing activity of the federal Government Printing Office, he said.[5] He also set a policy that the federal government would not have its own broadcasting frequency or network. Rather, anything produced at the Interior radio studio would be aired only if a regular licensee or network decided to accept it and then broadcast it.[6]

The studio was completed in the fall of 1938.[7] Reflecting journalists' hostility to government PR which could bypass them, syndicated columnist Rodney Dutcher acidly reported that it cost $100,000 and "outshines all but the bigger broadcasting stations."[8]

In preparation for the studio's completion, Straus created a Radio Section within the Division of Information and hired Shannon Allen, who was working in commercial radio in New York City to head the Section.[9] In turn, Allen hired Bernard Schoenfeld to be its chief script writer.

The inaugural broadcast from the new radio studio was on November 14, 1938 on the NBC network and was part of the *Washington Star*'s series of radio forums. The subject was the economic and cultural aspects of domestic and Latin American tourism with Ickes leading the broadcast.[10] The program was largely a traditional non-fiction program, with a documentary and discussion style of presentation.

But Straus, Allen and Schoenfeld had in mind a wholly different approach to federal radio: fictional dramas. At the time, radio dramas were a staple of commercial broadcasting. Some federal agencies had already experimented a bit with that format. Allen had hired Schoenfeld because Schoenfeld was an experienced radio playwright. Allen wanted to go all in on radio plays to replace "dry statistical reports that are now the rule" with "dramatic treatment."[11]

Origins of the 1938 Annual Report as Radio Drama

In mid-December 1938, Ickes released his annual report on the operations of the Department for Fiscal Year (FY) 1938, which had begun on July 1, 1937 and ended on June 30, 1938. At 421 pages, it was mostly dense print, with many statistical tables, about a dozen photos, and one map (Ickes, 1938). As was the long-standing (but by now declining) tradition of American journalism, the release of his annual report was considered somewhat newsworthy. It received sporadic coverage, including in the *Washington Post* and the *New York Herald Tribune*. Both major wire services, Associated Press and United Press, moved it on their national wires. The newspapers which ran the stories tended to be in areas with a higher-than-average interest in the department because of its local impact and presence.[12]

A few days after the release of the print annual report, Straus asked Ickes how he felt about planning a radio program in January which would be a "report to the public on the success of the 1938 program" of the department. Ickes replied that in principle he was in favor of trying that, "but don't crowd me."[13] That comment should be seen in the context of his penchant for detail, micro-management, high profile in the news media, and busy public and political involvements on behalf of the administration (for issues unrelated his department's duties). He likely meant that he was, as usual, very busy, but probably particularly that he did not want to be rushed into approving a program before he could make a personal judgment if he liked the content and presentation format, *especially* if Straus was considering an unorthodox or unconventional approach.

Straus promptly followed up and said that the Mutual Broadcasting System was willing to commit an hour of network time on Sunday, January 8, 1939 from 8:00 to 9:00 p.m. EST. While it was prime time, that time slot was dominated by another network which offered a very popular entertainment program including ventriloquist Edgar Bergen and his dummy, Charlie McCarthy. Initially Straus suggested using the hour for a public affairs panel discussion on social security.[14] Allen and Schoenfeld quickly intervened and suggested a different use of that prime-time hour. How about a radio version of the Secretary's 1938 annual report? It would include some comments by Ickes (and perhaps other senior departmental officials), but would focus on short dramatizations. These mini-plays would try to bring alive the relevance of the department to average citizens. Straus pitched their idea to Ickes on Friday, December 30. Ickes was intrigued, but skeptical that an annual report could be translated to radio, even with fictional playlets. He gave Straus permission to develop the idea further, but said he would not give final approval unless he was satisfied with the eventual script.[15] He explicitly reserved the right, "which I fully expected to use," to cancel the plan after he would have an opportunity to review the draft of the script.[16]

Allen, Schoenfeld and another newly hired radio dramatist, Louis J. Hazam, feverishly drafted a rough script.[17] According to Ickes they "worked day and night" from his tentative go-ahead on Friday, December 30 to Thursday, January 5 when they finished the first rough draft. On Friday, the 6th he reviewed their draft and gave a very preliminary approval, but subject to a sign-off by the three assistant secretaries of the department who oversaw the various bureaus. The three weren't too thrilled with the responsibility Ickes shifted to them, objected to some of the passages, weren't excited about having speaking parts, but eventually acquiesced. Ickes then reviewed the revised draft on Saturday the 7th and then gave his final approval of the script.[18]

With the broadcast only a day away, Straus rushed through the paperwork for the cast required by the script Ickes had just approved. It called for 12 actors with speaking parts and an orchestra of 12 musicians.[19] Including agency officials, the cast totaled 32.[20] This was, clearly, to be a major production – and live. During the last 24 hours, the script kept being revised, practically through to air time.[21]

The network quickly disseminated an announcement of the program to newspapers for their radio listings. Some papers only ran brief notes, such as "a verbal report to the President on the 1938 activities of the Department"[22] and "Secretary Ickes and others, dramatizing Department of Interior report to President."[23] A few ran longer versions of the release, stating that this would be "the first time in radio history" of such an annual report. The program would "be presented in dramatized form, since the work of a number of departments [i.e. bureaus] is of such colorful nature as to lend itself to dramatization."[24]

The Broadcast[25]

The live program began somewhat enigmatically:[26]

1st voice: (dramatically) My Dear Mr. President…

Music: Heroic and majestic – such as coda of finale from Beethoven's Eroica.

2nd voice: (dramatically) Listen, America!

3rd voice: You who are part of America's brain at work; part of its muscles stiffening under gigantic tasks; part of its eyes and ears alive to new problems – listen to this saga of democratic progress!

Announcer: The United States Department of the Interior in cooperation with The Mutual Broadcasting Network presents…

2nd voice: (dramatically) My Dear Mr. President.

Music: Up and out…

1st voice: (quietly) <u>Now</u> – this very hour –

2nd voice: There lies on the desk of the President of the United States a blue-covered volume entitled…

3rd voice: "The Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior." It was written with the pen of progress out of our dreams for those yet born…

1st voice: This is the drama of that blue-covered report of the Secretary of the Interior to the President of the United States.

2nd voice: Here in the radio studio of his department tonight is the Honorable Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Department of the Interior. He is here to tell you something of the purpose of this program, and, later on, he will appear again with the members of his official family. This is the first time in radio history that a cabinet official has ever been on the air, together with the heads of all the Offices, Bureaus and Divisions of his department…officials who guide affairs which touch you personally in your daily lives. I now introduce to you, ladies and gentlemen, the Honorable Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Department of the Interior.

Ickes: Good Evening, ladies and gentlemen, and though it may be a trifle too late, a Happy New Year. I am confident that next year I shall be able to appear before you, to tell you that the progress of the Department of the Interior was even greater than what we are about to report today. This program brings to life my annual report for the year l938, as well as illuminates for you many of the high lights [*sic*] and achievements of the past year in the Department of the Interior. Without your help, without your understanding of what my Department is doing, no progress can be made. It is with this idea that this radio program is brought to you. It will report to the citizens of the nation what I and my helpmates have tried to so [*sic, do?*], to wisely manage our natural resources so that we may all achieve a higher standard of living. I am happy to bring you this unique radio program, and hope that my annual report, which to me is a testament of progress, becomes real and exciting to all of you.

Music: Up and out[27]

From that introduction the broadcast alternated between the announcers stating facts about the accomplishments of the department along with short dramas making more vivid the department's impact on individual citizens. For example, here is the playlet about the completion of the All-American Canal in 1938 by the Bureau of Reclamation:

1st voice: 1906. Imperial Valley, Southern California.

Sound: Rushing of river

Woman: Run for your lives! The Colorado River is overflowing!

Music: Hurry music up then segue to dirge like and under

1st settler: Nobody seems to be able to stop these floods! The valley has been ruined!

2nd settler: Better get out of here!

3rd settler: I'm sticking!

2nd settler: Fool! What's left? You saw what this last flood did!

3rd settler: I know I got a job ahead of me…It's going to be tough levelling the land. I'll put up a tent…

Voices: Laughter

1st settler: The Colorado will wipe you out as sure as Jehovah!

3rd settler: I'll make a little bet that my eighty acres can be planted with alfalfa and that I can start a dairy!

2nd settler: What makes you think so?

3rd settler: This valley is again filling up with settlers…I'm young and it's a young country.

2nd settler: The next thing you'll be telling me is that you'll be able to grow dates, eucalyptus and roses on your ground.

3rd settler: Mister, I wouldn't be surprised.

1st settler: Who do you think you are? – That king I used to read about that tried to stop the sea? If the Colorado doesn't flood our land and ruin us, then we got to worry about our land drying up from lack of water! And you've got the nerve to sit there and say that the time will come when roses will grow in your back-yard!

3rd settler: Just watch, Mister…Just watch…

Music: Up and out

Wife: Sam, you're my husband and I can talk to you. Those men were right. Everything we depend on comes from the land. That river – I hate it – we're dependent on it for every drop of water – we're caught between the flood and the drought! Oh, Sam, let's leave this place!

3rd settler: No, Annie. I never turned my back on a fight yet.

Wife: But what are we –?

3rd settler: There's others in this valley who feel like I do. We want to make our homes here. We want to build roads and schools. We want to change this into a farming community.

Wife: Farming community! Nothing but desert!

3rd settler: These other men and I are going to fight the Colorado River.

Wife: How?

Music: Sneaks in and under –

3rd settler: We've got to have a dam built on the Colorado to keep it from overflowing. Then we've got to have a canal stretching from the dam across this parched soil; a canal – may – be fifty, maybe a hundred miles long, which will bring water from the reservoir to irrigate this valley. That's what we need! And, by all that's Holy, we're going to get it!

Music: Up and out

1st voice: 1935.

2nd voice: The courage and the dream of these pioneer settlers of 1903 in the Imperial Valley comes true! The Bureau of Reclamation finishes the highest dam in the world – Boulder Dam – conserving, regulating and distributing water from the Colorado River.

3rd voice: 1938!

2nd voice: The second dream of these early settlers comes true! 1938!

Reporter: My dear Mr. President: – This year, water from the Colorado River was turned into the new all-American Canal.

Music: Up and under (march)

Voices: Cheering

Wife: (Older by twenty years) This is a day we won't forget –

3rd settler: Think of it, Annie! The Canal that I dreamed about away back in 1903! Yes, Annie – a canal that will bring water through mountain passes, sand dunes, desert and mesas, – eighty miles to our valley!

Wife: The first of my roses came out yesterday…

Music: Up and full, march –

Announcer: (over march) While the band plays in honor of the All-American Canal...and while an important human document…the blue-covered annual report of the Secretary of the Interior lies on the desk of the President of the United States.[28]

Some of the other fictional mini-plays conveying the broad scope of the Interior Department's duties were about the legal fight to regain royalties for oil pumped from federal lands in California, the impact of the Grand Coulee Dam on the economy of the Columbia River, grazing fees to stop illegal use of federal lands and the protection of the wildlife on those lands, use of educational radio to promote better relations with Latin America, protection of the Olympic Peninsula national park from forest cutting, the development of Enderbury Island in the Pacific as a refueling stop for transpacific civil aviation, and the production of helium for lighter-than-air aviation.

After that extensive *tour d'horizon*, the latter part of the program featured short statements from each of the departmwent's bureau chiefs and other senior officials. However, by this point, the broadcast was running long. The announcer had to hurriedly wrap up the broadcast before time ran out. He read very fast and skipped some text, ending with "this unique report is closed."[29]

Analyzing the Broadcast

While the term "popular reporting" was not in use in 1939, its meaning was explicitly verbalized as the purpose of the broadcast. The script stated that the report covered the work of the department's bureaus "which touch you personally in your daily lives."[30] This conveyed that citizens were often not aware of how the department's activities directly affected them. The department was *relevant* to them, not a distant and abstract Washington bureaucracy. Later, it said that the rationale of the program was because "democracy succeeds only in proportion to the understanding of the citizens of the problems of self-government. And we cannot really comprehend the problems confronting America today without knowing something of the work of the various departments within our Government."[31] In other words, informing the public about the record of the department was democracy in action.

The broadcast also placed the work of the department and the purpose of such popular reporting in the context of world events. Hitler's threats of use of force were very much in the air. The Anschluss of Austria had occurred the previous March and the Munich Pact had been signed in September. In Spain, Franco's anti-democratic rebellion was on the verge of defeating the Republic. In the playlet about the Office of Education's broadcasts to Latin America, a young man says to an older man that "there is only force left in the world…no mind…it is Götterdämmerung! Peace and friendship are empty words! Where is there hope in a world full of broken pledges – bristling sabres [*sic*] – epaulets and the cry of children?" The older man replies that the recent construction of a lighthouse in the Caribbean would be "an emblem of international peace!" and that "this lighthouse will symbolize the friendship of the Americas – will be a beacon of democracy."[32] Hence, public reporting was in part about strengthening American faith in democracy and proving its strength in the face of fascism.

Ickes and the scriptwriters were also acutely aware of the nearly constant attacks by the congressional conservative coalition on so-called propaganda from the administration, especially claims that public reporting by federal agencies was thinly camouflaged political and partisan advocacy. Therefore, there were only two references to the president himself. One referred to FDR signing legislation creating the Olympic National Park, the culmination of a goal first set by Republican President Theodore Roosevelt.[33] Later in the program, the National Park Service reported a record of more than 16 million visitors in 1938, "including President Franklin Delano Roosevelt."[34] While drawing attention and giving credit to FDR, these two references were in such factual contexts that even Roosevelt's most vitriolic critics would not be credible if they claimed these two references proved the radio show was political propaganda.

One of the problems of translating the annual report to radio was the inherent incrementalism of public administration which is largely antithetical to storytelling. The latter generally needs to have a narrative arc with a beginning, middle, and end. Hence the appeal of fiction. In a printed annual

report for specialized readers, the text can zero in on the specific agency activities in a particular fiscal year. But for a lay radio audience, a narrative limited only to developments in 1938 would be largely out of context and of little meaning. That's why most of the playlets often began their stories much farther back, to the beginning of the policy issue at hand, before being able to then focus on the most recent events. For example, the story of the importance of the All-American Canal in California's Imperial Valley (see above) started in 1906 in order to highlight the significance of what occurred in 1938. This was stretching the implied topic of a radio annual report. It was much more of a report on many of the important operations of the department from long before 1938 than being limited to agency activities in one fiscal year.

Similarly, the radio version could not really cover the contents of a 400+ page document. The script of the broadcast was only 45 pages, a fraction of the words in the hard-copy version. For example, the print report on the All-American Canal included two dense pages of financial tables (Ickes 1938, 82-83).[35] Therefore, the medium of radio and the use of dramatizations practically nullified the claim that the broadcast was of the department's annual report.

That the broadcast was live was both an advantage and a disadvantage. One advantage was simply the vivid impact of the audience understanding that it was occurring as they were listening to it, therefore making it seem more authentic. It was neither recorded nor edited. For such a complicated script and with so many actors and sound effects, there were only a few discernable glitches, dead air, and miscues.

Another advantage of a live broadcast was that the script could be revised up to broadcast time. In fact, the longest extant script was probably more akin to a shooting script for a movie, with the released version of the movie quite different. A comparison of the pre-air script to the actual broadcast indicates many minor changes. More discernable revisions included the discussion of controversy between Ickes and Standard Oil Company over royalties from the Elk Hills area in California. Given that the matter was still under litigation, it is likely that there was a tug of war between the dramatists who wanted to sharpen the story by skipping over what to them were minor details and the department's lawyers who insisted on the importance of accuracy, even at the expense of drama. A smaller script revision was in the playlet about the Office of Education's programs to promote civic education and forums. That segment shifted the gender of the leader of a town-hall style meeting from man to woman and downgraded that person's role from "will speak to you" to "leading the discussion."[36]

The key disadvantage of the broadcast being live was that the script tried to pack too much into a one-hour program. As broadcast, it ran long and had to end relatively abruptly, skipping most of the prepared text of the wrap-up.

Overall, this radio dramatization of a print annual report was a pioneering experiment in popular reporting. Through fictional playlets it ambitiously sought to make the day-to-day work of government relevant to individual citizens. The goal was to put a human face on public policy. But, the flexibility gained by using fiction – and therefore its appeal – nonetheless resulted in the miniplays which were simplistic, one-dimensional and even childish. The story of the farm couple in the Imperial Valley comes across as excessively melodramatic and flat. In general, while in parts

confusing, this broadcast nonetheless deserves recognition for its ambition and its novel approach to public reporting in public administration.[37]

After the Broadcast

Ickes was thrilled with the broadcast.[38] He thought it was a major success and breakthrough in reaching the public-at-large about the department's record of accomplishment. At the end of the month, Allen assessed all the radio broadcasts emanating from his section since its creation in 1938. He estimated that the value of the free broadcast time for the annual report was $11,908.33, making it the second most valuable program his new Section had prepared to date.[39]

Initially, the radio annual report was largely under the radar for the Washington press corps and Capitol Hill. It triggered no immediate political blow-back as happened so often with claims of propaganda by the administration.[40] With the exception of the advance press release by the Mutual Broadcasting System of its national radio schedule, there were no efforts by the Department to call attention to the broadcast before or after. Given the flood of releases routinely issued by the Department, the absence a press notice before or after the broadcast was likely deliberate. It could be that Ickes, Straus and Allen wanted to keep the novel nature of the broadcast under the radar. They may have felt they had found a way to communicate directly with the public and did not want to flag the innovation unnecessarily for the conservative coalition in Congress and its allies.

As a result of this apparent deliberate strategy, there was almost no news coverage of the broadcast. In particular, the major newspapers which covered the capital in depth – *Washington Post*, *Washington Evening Star*, *New York Times*, *Baltimore Sun*, and *Christian Science Monitor* – did not report on it. The only spot news coverage was a four-paragraph story in the *New York Herald Tribune*. It neutrally described the effort to make the department's work "vivid" through a "dramatic form." The content of the program was based on "stressing the 'American way' of government."[41] Two magazines noted the show. The next week, in an article on burgeoning federal propaganda under FDR, *Time* magazine presented a short excerpt from the broadcast and said that Straus "was pleased as punch" with the results.[42] In February, a *Saturday Evening Post* article was critical of the New Deal's use of free radio programs for ostensibly non-political broadcasts. It included three photos of the cast and writers, but there was no discussion of it in the text.[43]

Notwithstanding the limited news coverage, a few editorial writers took note of the broadcast. On Tuesday, the *New York Times* editorialized in favor of "what may be a large addition to the broadcast drama." In particular, it noted that

> Mr. Ickes has struck a new vein. If his theatre succeeds, a large extension of official dramatic literature may be expected. There are obdurate souls that have never acquired the taste for Government reports. Now, perhaps, they may condescend to hear them; and, if they don't turn it off too soon, be reclaimed by Mr. Ickes.[44]

A syndicated editorial service for smaller newspapers also complimented the program. The contents of the annual report "lend[s] itself surprisingly well to such dramatic treatment." It was "certainly an effective way of waking up the public to a lot of facts and problems which it should share." The editorial hoped that this precedent for public reporting would lead the way for all

government departments, including state and local government because "it seems a surprisingly effective way to sell democracy to the public."[45]

Ickes also received a few letters of praise from individuals who heard the radio report. One said that as a result of the broadcast "your Department and its activities have a wider and livelier meaning to me."[46] Another called it a "fine program" and suggested distributing a phonograph record of the report to all high schools for their civics classes.[47] Not all were positive. A citizen said he turned it off "before it hardly became started" because Ickes did not have a good voice for radio.[48] A PR man in New York submitted a professional critique, but first made a point of saying he was a supporter of the New Deal. He noted some praiseworthy elements (acting, writing, and direction) while criticizing others (script was confusing, too many voices, starting scenes with sound effects).[49] Straus responded that he agreed with many of the criticisms and hoped to do better the next time.[50]

It was not to be.

The political fallout in Congress from the broadcast has already been recounted in the literature and does not need to be repeated here (Lee 2011, 154-57). As a result of this inquiry, a few additional details can be added to that narrative. Initially, the reaction by appropriators in Congress was muted. The chairman of the appropriations subcommittee with responsibility for the Interior budget said he had heard it and that it held his interest. He suggested Ickes proactively send copies of the script to all members of the subcommittee to demonstrate that the contents were merely audio dramatizations of the print annual report, but no more. Ickes, of course, did.[51] As a result, with the script in hand, conservatives on the subcommittee could not blithely accuse Ickes of partisanship or propaganda within the program. That likely helped tamp down some potential congressional criticism of the radio annual report during the spring of 1939, when the subcommittee and then the full Congress were dealing with Interior's appropriations for FY 1940.

However, the oil industry, long an adversary of Ickes' policies, would not let the matter rest. It embarked on a coordinated effort to revive criticism of the radio annual report and other departmental radio dramatizations during the spring of 1940 precisely when Congress was considering the department's funding for FY 1941. At a public hearing on February 26, 1940, a spokesman for the oil industry testified on "Propaganda in the Interior Department" and vehemently complained about the contents of the department's radio dramatizations (US Congress 1940, 1866-1952). To give that testimony greater distribution, a few days later, a Congressman from Oklahoma inserted it in the *Congressional Record*. These fictional radio dramatizations, he said, were an attack on the industry, were propaganda, were a waste of taxpayer funds, were intended to promote public fear of the industry (including through "music, [and] sound effects") and, consequently, to arouse public support for increased government regulation.[52]

Four days later, Standard Oil of California submitted an appeal to the US Supreme Court seeking to overturn a ruling which sided with Ickes and to the detriment of the company. In its brief, it argued that Ickes' statements in the radio report proved that he was not an impartial arbiter when he had ruled earlier in the quasi-judicial regulatory process against the company.[53] The brief then attached the full text of the radio annual report.[54] These complaints and criticisms by the oil industry against Ickes' radio dramatizations, including the annual report, prompted some negative media

coverage, as if catching up from what the media missed after the original broadcast in January 1939.[55] One reporter wrote that "it was reported" (presumably by oil interests) that the contents of the radio annual report on the oil case could lead to "contempt of court proceedings."[56]

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the radio annual report was the most "sensational" of all of Interior's dramatizations critical of the oil industry and therefore the most compelling reason for congressional action.[57] In response to this lobbying and media campaign, on March 7, 1940 (more than a year after the broadcast) Congress voted to ban this kind of radio dramatization, at least for the Department of Interior during the upcoming fiscal year. The ban was then routinely renewed in the annual funding bill for many years after that.

Epilogue

The media depicted the congressional ban as on radio dramatizations or, at least, radio dramatizations of annual reports. This was incorrect. Rather, the law banned use of radio "designed for or calculated to influence" legislation.[58] That wording was on par with other legal restrictions on agency lobbying of Congress. As with other kinds of bans on propaganda and lobbying, this was easier said than done. After all, anything short of "call your Congressman" could be defended as allowable. Certainly, a radio program depicting a problem facing the federal government could be seen as silently conveying the corollary that legislative action was necessary to solve that problem.

However, an annual report was somewhat different from other radio dramatizations by an agency. An annual report was an official accounting submitted not just to the president, but also to Congress. As an outgrowth of the agency reporting on its experiences implementing its programs during the year covered the report, the contents of an annual report could include suggestions by the agency of the need for congressional action to improve the efficiency of the delivery of its programs and services. Therefore, the inherent nature an annual report would inevitably include explicit or implicit calls for legislation. In fact, the coverage of Ickes' print annual report for FY 1938 explicitly focused on his legislative recommendations.[59] That would put a radio dramatization of an annual report in a slightly different category than other agency-originated radio dramatizations, such as those promoting tourism or patriotism. The latter subjects were not as obviously or implicitly related to urging congressional action. Rather than split hairs, Ickes never again tried to broadcast another radio dramatization of his annual report.

Despite of the delayed political blowout over Interior's radio annual report, the department continued broadcasting other radio dramatizations. A later radio play Schoenfeld wrote at Interior was deemed the "Best United States Government Show" for 1938-39 with the script included in a book of outstanding radio broadcasts of the year (Wylie 1939, 473-98). Some other Interior radio dramatizations referred to Ickes' oil policies, hence oil industry complaints about these other broadcasts, not just the 1938 annual report.[60]

In general, radio dramatizations written and broadcast by other federal agencies also continued after the 1939 broadcast of the annual report. In 1941, Schoenfeld was hired by the Division of Information of the Office for Emergency Management (part of the Executive Office of the President). There he wrote and supervised a stream of radio dramatizations. Initially these were oriented

to justifying the controversial arms production buildup before Pearl Harbor. A pre-war radio drama he wrote at that time was selected for inclusion in a volume of outstanding radio plays (Kozlenko 1941, 304-13). After the US joined the war, his dramatizations were more vehemently a full-throated, though fictional, support for the war, explaining its significance to individual citizen-listeners (Lee 2012, 121-23, 168-69). After WWII, radio quickly lost its central role in American entertainment to television. The concept of radio dramatizations, whether from the private sector or government, quickly faded.

As for annual reports, the backlash against the 1939 broadcast likely contributed to the ossification of public reporting into unreadable and unread print annual reports. Some agencies tried to engage in popular reporting short of radio dramatizations. For example, there were some experiments with other media for annual reports, including a documentary-style short movie (Campbell 1953) or slides with a synchronized tape recording (Rosen 1962, 36), but they stuck to non-fiction. Lacking the excitement that fictionalizations can bring to a dull annual report, public administration gradually let the vigor of public reporting atrophy to a low-grade duty.

It was not until the coming of the Internet that revived public reporting, especially with a new orientation to popular reporting by the profession of government financial officers. Such 21st century reports included interactive websites, graphics and all other techniques for making annual reports interesting again. Now often called e-reporting, it has regained the interest of public administration practitioners and researchers as a modern approach to accountability (Greitens and Joaquin 2015; Porumbescu and Im 2015; Melitski and Manoharan 2014; Yusuf et al. 2013; Lee 2005b).

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Endnotes

[1] Section 3, Article II.

[2] Albert L. Warner, "2 More Federal Bureaus to Get Time on Radio: 4 Agencies Now Working with Big Chains on 'Non-Political' Broadcasts," *New York Herald Tribune*, February 8, 1936, 1.

[3] A voluminous report on all the projects funded by PWA discretely omitted listing this one (PWA 1939). A columnist complained that "the existence of the radio station was unnoticed until word leaked out it would soon be ready" (John C. O'Brien, "Radio and Film Publicity Plants Planned by U.S.," *New York Herald Tribune*, July 10, 1938, 3).

[4] "Nine Months in Radio," *The Reclamation Era* (publication of the Department of Interior's Bureau of Reclamation), 29:12 (December, 1939) 346.

[5] *Christian Science Monitor*: "Interior Department Plans Studios for Bureau Talks: Radio Comment," April 22, 1936, 8; "The Wide Horizon: Readin', 'Ritin' and Radio," December 19, 1936, 18.

[6] This policy principle continued in place after Ickes had stepped down (Carl 1945; Windes 1946, 12-13).

[7] On August 27, 1938, the Acme News Photo Service transmitted a photo of the new station's reception room. The caption described the reception desk as being staffed by "an office girl" (accessed February 11, 2016, "New Government Radio Station," http://www.ebay.com/itm/1938-Press-Photo-Reception-Area-Government-Radio-Station-Atop-Interior-Building-/350975013184). For undated photos of the new radio studio, probably taken around the time it opened, accessed August 10, 2015, "144. Interior, Eighth Floor, North Penthouse, Main Studio, Looking Southeast – U.S. Department of the Interior," http://www.loc.gov/pictures/resource/hhh.dc0230.photos.029812p/ and "146. Interior, Eighth Floor, North Penthouse, Small Studio – U.S. Department of the Interior," http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/dc0230.photos.029814p/.

[8] Rodney Dutcher, "Interior Department Sets Up $100,000 Radio Layout for Rehearsal Only," *Syracuse [NY] Herald*, September 16, 1938, 21. The column included two photos of the new studio.

[9] For Straus's and Allen's professional credentials, see "Who's Who" (1940, 169-170). Photo, "Shannon Allen; Chief Radio Section Interior Dept.," accessed February 10, 2016, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2009011626/.

[10] Based on the catalog entry in WorldCat/OCLC, Accession No. 61249896.

[11] "Radio: Professional Touch," *Time*, August 22, 1938, 33.

[12] December 19, 1938: "Ickes Urges Curb on Waste of Resources: Cites National Defense Needs to President, In Annual Report," *Washington Post*, 2; Associated Press (AP), "Ickes Asks Rule of Mine Output as Defense Aid," *New York Herald Tribune*, 7; United Press (UP), "Ickes Reiterates Stand on Helium Gas to Germany," *Galveston [TX] Tribune*, 3. December 20, 1938: UP, "Ickes Reports Record Program," *Oakland [CA] Tribune*, 20; Bascom N. Timmons, "Drilling of Additional Helium Wells for Greater Production Asked," *Amarillo [TX] Daily News*, 1; UP, "Ickes Points Out Record U.S. Reclamation Construction Program," *Billings [MT] Gazette*, 2.

[13] Memo from Straus to Ickes, December 21, 1938; handwritten reply by Ickes, December 22, 1938. File: Interior Department Report Broadcast over MBS 1-8-39, Speeches (#233), Box 309, Ickes Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division.

[14] Straus memo to Ickes, December 22, 1938, ibid.

[15] Straus memo to Ickes, January 3, 1939, ibid.

[16] Entry for January 15, 1939, p. 3157, Reel 3, *Harold Ickes Diaries, 1933-1951* (microfilm).

[17] For a photo of Allen, Schoenfeld and Hazam conferring about a radio script, see "Uncle Sam's Radio Station is Streamlined," *Washington Post*, Our Town in Pictures (photo supplement), May 5, 1940, 8.

[18] Ickes Diaries, op. cit.

[19] Straus memo to Mr. Numbers, Chief, Division of Appointments, Department of Interior, January 7, 1939. File: Cast, Box 3, Entry 854: Correspondence and Related Records 1938-1947, Records of the Radio Section, Records of the Division of Information, Record Group (RG) 48: Department of the Interior, National Archives II, College Park, MD. The actors were to be paid $10 each for the broadcast and the orchestra members $13 each.

[20] Stanley High, "Not-So-Free Air," *Saturday Evening Post*, February 11, 1939, 9 (photo caption).

[21] Ickes Diaries, op. cit.

[22] A.D.H., "Toscanini Returns to Air: Week-End Radio Specials," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 6, 1939, 14.

[23] "Leading Events of the Week: Radio Programs Scheduled for Broadcast this Week," *New York Times*, January 8, 1939, 11 (of Section 9).

[24] January 8, 1939: "Interior Department's Work to be Presented in Special Broadcast," *Big Spring [TX] Daily Herald*, 2; Russ Miller, "'Take it Away': News and Views of Air Shows," *Ada [OK] Evening News*, 10.

[25] There has been some confusion about the title of the program. While the script is consistent in calling it "My Dear Mr. President," some other sources used the title "Dear Mr. President" ("Radio Highlights," *[Findlay, OH] Republican-Courier*, January 7, 1939, 4; "Purely Programs: To the Chief," *Broadcasting* 16:2 [January 15, 1939], 32) and the Department's annual report for FY 1939 called it "Mr. President" (Ickes 1939, 388).

[26] I have made a few strictly stylistic changes in the presentation of the two extensive excerpts from the script. For example, the common style for stage plays and film scripts is to use upper case when identifying the actor who was speaking, the scene's setting, and for other directions, such as music. To improve readability and reduce distraction, I changed them to lower case. I deleted no dialogue, so all ellipses reflect their use in the script. Also, voices were numbered beginning with the second one. To improve clarity, I added numbering to the first voice as well.

[27] "My Dear Mr. President" script, January 8, 1939, P.W. 86715 (document control ID number), pp. 1-2. File: Speeches (in bound volumes), Volume IX (October 3, 1938 – February 6, 1939), pp. 2237-2281, Box 415: Printed Copies of

Speeches, 1933-1947, Ickes Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division. This is the longer of two scripts located in archival collections (45 pages vs. 42 pages). The "P.W." in the document control ID number likely stood for public works, an abbreviated reference to the Public Works Administration. As referenced earlier, some of the initial costs and staffing for the department's radio studio came from the PWA budget (also controlled by Ickes, but separately), so it could have been mere custom to assign radio related documents to PWA's filing system. However, it is also possible that this was a deliberate effort to bury the document by placing it outside the department's regular filing system.

[28] Ibid, pp. 16-19.

[29] Ibid, p. 45.

[30] Ibid, p. 20.

[31] Ibid, p. 43.

[32] Ibid, pp. 24-25.

[33] Ibid, p. 35.

[34] Ibid, p. 43.

[35] In one respect, the story of the canal was more effectively presented in the print version than the radio drama. The print report had the advantage over radio of visualizations. In this case, the report included an arresting aerial photo of a section of the canal (Ickes 1938, photo facing p. 56).

[36] Based on my comparison of the recorded broadcast and the script.

[37] Photos of the broadcast are available online (accessed February 11, 2016): http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2009012588/, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2009012590/, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2009012591/, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2009012592/, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2009012595/, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2009012597/. The Library of Congress's captions for all but the first photo are undated and don't identify them as from the broadcast. However, the photos and captions in High's "Not-So-Free Air" (op. cit.) provide confirmation that these Library of Congress photos were from the broadcast.

[38] Ickes Diaries, op. cit.

[39] Untitled, undated and un-authored progress report on the record of the Radio Section. It was likely written (or at least approved) by Allen and, based on its contents, probably produced about February 1, 1939. File: Reports (Progress), Box 12, Entry 854, Records of the Radio Section, Records of the Division of Information, RG 48.

[40] In reality, it is impossible to distinguish between information and propaganda (Lee 2012, 188-96). It is in the eye of the beholder.

[41] "Ickes and 12-Piece Band on Interior Broadcast: One-Hour Program Competes with Charlie McCarthy," *New York Herald Tribune*, January 9, 1939, 2A.

[42] "'Information Men'," *Time*, January 16, 1939, 34. The excerpt was from the opening lines of the program.

[43] High, "Not-So-Free Air," op. cit., 8-9.

[44] "Government Broadcasts" (editorial), *New York Times*, January 10, 1939, 15. The reference to "reclaimed" was likely a play on words, given the work of the Department's Bureau of Reclamation.

[45] "Living Reports" (editorial): *Naugatuck [CT] News*, January 16, 1939 and *Warrensburg [MO] Star-Journal*, January 17, 1939. Located in OV38, Scrapbooks - Chronological, Container 490, Ickes Papers.

[46] Letter from Charles G. Nash, Berkeley, CA, to Ickes, January 8, 1939. File: Interior Department Report, Speeches (#233), Box 309, Ickes Papers.

[47] Letter from Marvin W. Wallach, Chicago, to Ickes, January 11, 1939, ibid.

[48] Letter from William M. Wilkerson, Chicago, to Ickes, January 8, 1939, ibid.

[49] Letter from John Perry, Perry and Wise Inc., Public Relations Counselors, New York, to Straus, January 10, 1939, ibid.

[50] Reply from Straus to Perry, January 10, 1939, ibid. Perry's letter and Straus' response were both dated the same day. It is possible that the date on Straus' letter was a typo.

[51] Letter from E. K. Burlew, First Assistant Secretary, to members of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for the Interior Department, January 23, 1939, with script as attachment; reply from Subcommittee Chairman Clifton A. Woodrum, January 24, 1939, ibid. For reasons that are unclear, even though the mailing occurred after the broadcast, Burlew enclosed a slightly shorter (and earlier) version of the script (42 vs. 45 pages), which lacked the speaking parts of the bureau chiefs near the end of the program: "My Dear Mr. President" script, January 8, 1939, P.W. 86684 (document control ID number), File: Interior Department Report, Speeches (#233), Box 309, Ickes Papers.

[52] Wesley E. Disney (D-OK), "Propaganda of the Interior Department," *Congressional Record* 86:13 (March 1, 1940) 1123-1125.

[53] Standard Oil Company of California, Application for Rehearing of the Petition for Writ of Certiorari, *Standard Oil Company of California v. United States*, March 4, 1940, pp. 15-16. Appellate Case File, 604 October Term 1939, Record Group 267, Records of the United States Supreme Court, National Archives, Washington, DC. The legal issue related to a long-running controversy about title to former federal lands in Elk Hills (CA) under which a major oil field was later discovered. Ickes maintained that Standard Oil had obtained the mineral rights to the land falsely and therefore all the royalties from the oil belonged to the US, not the company. The Supreme Court turned down Standard Oil's motion. That ended the case. Ickes won.

[54] The transcript attachment is missing from the records in the National Archives. Email to the author from Robert Ellis, Archivist, Federal Judicial Records, December 14, 2014, author's files.

[55] AP, "Standard Oil Renews Fight for Oil Land," *Los Angeles Times*, March 5, 1940, 17; "Standard Oil Before U.S. Supreme CT [*sic*] Cites Interior Dept. Show as 'Unfair': Ickes' Radio Section has had Uncomfortable Period Since Oilmen Opened Attack on 'Bureaucratic Propaganda'," *Variety*, March 13, 1940, 22. The *Variety* article was located in File: Appropriations 1940-1942, Box 2, Entry 854, Records of the Radio Service, Records of the Division of Information, RG 48.

[56] Willard Edwards, "House Votes Move Curbing Ickes on Radio: Script Likened to Orson Welles'," *Washington [DC] Times Herald*, March 8, 1940. Archival location: ibid.

[57] Lorania K. Francis, "House Votes Curb on Ickes Broadcasts," *Los Angeles Times*, March 8, 1940, 8.

[58] 54 *Stat.* 406.

[59] For example, the sub-headline for the AP story in the *New York Herald Tribune* on Ickes' print annual report for FY 1938 was "Recommends to Roosevelt a Law to Let U.S. Fix Production, End Waste" (December 19, 1938, 7). Similarly, the coverage of Ickes' FY 1939 report also focused in his recommendations for legislation (AP, "Ickes Says War May Devastate U.S. Resources," *New York Herald Tribune*, December 29, 1939, 4.)

[60] The complete scripts of four later Interior Department radio dramatizations, all relating to the oil industry, were reprinted in the record of a congressional hearing investigating the oil industry (US Congress 1940, 1924-52).

Acknowledgements

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Bringing the Vision to Fruition: A Review of *Building Museums: Handbook for Small and Midsize Organizations*

Reviewed by *Jonathan Woolley*

When I first saw this book – which was entirely by happenstance – I knew it could prove useful so I bought it on the spot. The Minnesota Historical Society isn't usually a press that's associated with publishing books on public or non-profit management, but it has made a very good choice in choosing to publish this one. The book serves as a very useful source of information on the design and construction issues faced by those creating local museums and similar public facilities, such as visitor's centers at parks or wildlife refuges. It also serves to assist administrators of currently-existing museums which are considering expansion on the specific issues involved in creating and implementing such an expansion.

The book's goal is to assist officials at small local museums on the process of designing and constructing a new facility or a new addition to an existing facility. This is important: plenty of museum personnel and board members have a vague vision of where they want to go but often do not have a detailed idea of what they need to achieve that vision or how to go about getting there. A dream of a sparkling new building that does a wonderful job displaying their collection of town history can serve as an overall goal to be achieved. But the issues that need to be overcome to achieve that goal – what it takes to turn that vision into reality – are issues that many museum officials, trained as they often are in history rather than in architecture, finance, or project management, are unprepared for when they suddenly find they have to actually turn that dream into reality. Indeed, even many museum officials who have been trained in non-profit management may be unfamiliar with these issues since many non-profit management programs concentrate on operational and fundraising issues rather than on capital project issues. The book aims to rectify this knowledge deficit by explaining the entire process of converting that dream into reality – all the way from the first turning of that dream into a developable vision through to opening day. Along the way, it gives insight on the likely architectural and design issues, an overview of the financial considerations involved, and insight on the issues likely to require museum officials' attention during the actual planning and construction phases.

The three authors bring with them useful field experience. Timothy Glines once served as the manager of outreach services at the Minnesota Historical Society. David Grabitske is his

replacement; he previously served as a grants assistant in the society's Historic Preservation, Field Services, and Grants Department. They have previously written about improving interpretation at small museums. Robert Herskovitz is an outreach and field conservator with the society, with experience (and conference presentations) on exhibit conservation dating from the 1990's to the present. Thus, combined, they have experience in a wide range of museum planning, services, and administration. "Museums," as Gray notes, "undertake a number of functions that are specific to the internal requirements of their existence"[1] as well as the typical functions of a local non-profit. Anyone writing about museum planning, therefore, needs to have a background in implementing both types of functions to fully serve the reader. Combined, the three authors have the sufficient background necessary. In addition, their friendly writing style does a good job of conveying to the reader the lessons of their experience and their research regarding both types of functions.

The book itself is divided into eight chapters, plus a thirty-two-page appendix, a glossary, and a list of further reading. The chapters are divided chronologically into the steps involved in planning and building a building. Chapter One covers the initial visioning of the project and translating that vision into a realistic idea. Chapter Two follows up on this by explaining how the realistic idea becomes an actual diagram layout. Chapter Three changes tack and discusses an important issue not always present in peoples' visions: financing the project. Chapter Four, returning to the chain laid out in the first two chapters, discusses the actual details of designing the project. The fifth chapter discusses issues specific to small and medium-sized museums. Six and Seven deal with construction: relevant documents, bidding processes, site preparation, electrical and mechanical work, chemical issues (important considering the nature of the exhibits to be displayed and the people who will view them), and similar issues. Chapter Eight discusses moving in to the new building: administrative issues, exhibit shipping, and organizing commissioning and celebratory activities. The two appendices provide, respectively, an outline of how to organize space for various museum functions and a guide to understanding symbols on architectural blueprints and other specification diagrams.

It is the fifth chapter which is perhaps the most interesting from a non-profit administration point of view. "Museum environments," as the authors note, "are different from other buildings because collections often have more stringent requirements for their preservation than most people need in their day-to-day lives."[2] Most people who are either familiar with museum management or are frequent museum visitors will be aware of the issues involving humidity, but other issues, such as dust particle filtration, must also be considered when deciding which air circulation method is most appropriate for an exhibit space. The appropriate level and style of lighting is another issue, particularly as small-budget museums (and the foundations that run them) may end up using a designer more experienced with the needs of office buildings (which want as much light as possible so that employees can both keep awake and see what they're doing) rather than with the needs of museums (where too much light may fade the portrait of Tecumseh). Materials, security, and fire suppression issues specific to exhibiting objects are also discussed. One tends to forget the ways in which historic preservation can be influenced – and undermined – by these seemingly unrelated issues, particularly if one is a member of a newly-created board trying to create a community museum from scratch. This chapter provides useful reading for such a board member, highlighting that, while designing a small museum building may not be substantially different from designing a small general purpose building (which, from prior experience in their lives, they may be familiar with), long term success requires careful consideration of all the relevant issues.

The authors should have included quarantining in this chapter. Quarantining – temporarily segregating recent additions to the collection to ensure they do not include dangerous parasites or other things that could degrade the collection – is mentioned in Chapter Four, but only briefly, largely as a series of bullet points. R. S. Stephenson, the collections director of Philadelphia's impending Revolutionary War museum, has noted museums "have a responsibility to care for and preserve the entire collection."[3] But while plenty of non-profits don't want parasites entering their facility, other than medical facilities (and perhaps homeless shelters) it's hard to think of a type of non-profit with more to lose from parasites than historical or anthropological museums. A longer discussion on the importance of quarantining – a subject whose importance is likely to be unfamiliar to many people establishing local museums – as well as the additional emphasis it would have received in the reader's mind by locating it in the chapter devoted to issues specific to small and medium-sized museums, would have done a better job of implanting the issue's importance in the reader's mind.

Furthermore, constructing a museum isn't everything – what comes next is just as important to starting a new museum. Somebody has to market it to convince people to visit it – and most new local museums don't immediately earn the must-see status of the Smithsonian. (As Miles notes, "The potential future of the museum is dependent upon its ability to reach and engage community members."[4]) One can argue developing an initial visitor (and membership or donor) base – particularly during the first year – is just as important a part of building a new museum as is actually constructing it, but the book says little about this aspect of museum establishment. Presumably, the authors felt a discussion of this aspect of museum development was beyond the purview of their book. Yet it is an important part of museum creation – "If we cannot make our services relevant to the lives of our visitors, we cannot compete with the vast range of leisure-time opportunities."[5] – and one that the authors might have given some press to. A chapter (or even a half-chapter) discussing the initial marketing of the new or expanded museum space would likely prove useful to future museum officials involved in the creation or expansion of a local museum.

Nonetheless, those contemplating constructing or enlarging a small or medium-sized museum with find this book to be most helpful. This is true whether one is an administrative or managerial official or a board member. In particular, they will find it most useful if Chapters One and Two are used to frame the Functional Program described by Lord[6] and Chapters Three through Eight are used to frame the planning and construction processes subsequent to the preparing of the Functional Program. (The Functional Program is Lord's term for the needs analysis, projected usage and requirements analyses, and similar planning and pre-planning analyses that should be undertaken when considering the expansion or creation of a building.) Museum officials will find this book a useful how-to guide for the stages delineated in all eight chapters. It serves as an excellent reference tool (particularly regarding the appendices) for an administrative or managerial official or a board member. Historic preservation staff with little knowledge of conservation issues (an issue raised by Cummins[7]) also will likely find this useful at the facility design level, though not for detailed conservation information.

It could also prove important to a professor teaching courses on museum management or non-profit startups, particularly if used as a supplementary text to the course's main reading materials. It serves as a fine tutorial regarding the process of museum design and construction. Thus, it would

be useful whether one is teaching a full-length course on museum establishment or whether one is teaching a shortened course on the subject (such as for a certificate program). In particular, its ability to serve as an excellent reference tool for a student considering museum management means it is well-placed to serve as a supplemental text for a course, one whose value the students will appreciate when they have completed their studies and entered the field.

Lots of publications in non-profit and public management teach students about administering already existing facilities and institutions, and some may teach about establishing a new institution from scratch, but very few teach students about the process of actually building the institution's concrete facility. This book aims to rectify this deficit, and it does so quite well. It explains the entire process, from start to finish, in a very useful manner – one that is easy to understand for an organizational administrator who may not be familiar with the issues of designing and constructing buildings. It can also serve as a reference tool for administrators currently in the process of design and construction. Thus, while it is not an academic book, it is nonetheless a useful book both for current museum administrators and for students of museum administration.

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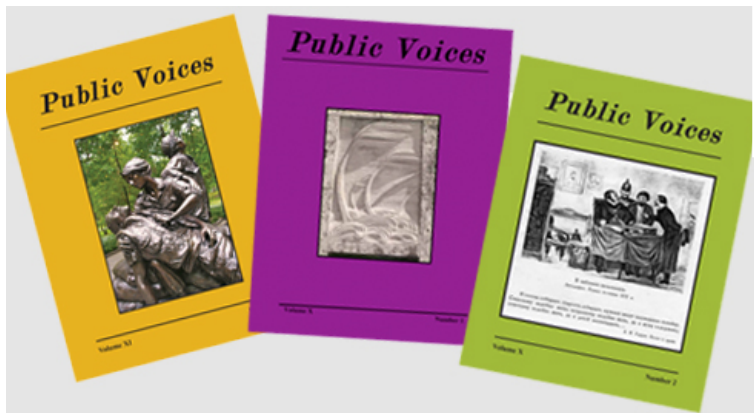
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