

# REFLECTIONS

NARRATIVES of PROFESSIONAL HELPING



Special Issue  
Aftermath of Historical Events  
Michael A. Dover, Editor  
Cover Art by Robin Richesson

Volume 23, Number 2

Spring 2017

# REFLECTIONS

## NARRATIVES of PROFESSIONAL HELPING

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# Reflections from the Editor

Michael A. Dover

**Abstract:** This serves as the introduction to Volume 23, Number 2 (Summer 2017). In this last issue as editor, the author summarizes the included narratives, which responded to the editor's call for narratives on the personal, professional and political aftermath of historical events for the lives of the author. Specifically sought were narratives about the aftermath of the election of Donald Trump as President.

**Keywords:** xenophobia, misogyny, Equal Rights Amendment, living wage, Women's March, James Dunn, Cuyahoga County Conference on Social Welfare, Sonia Abels, Paul Abels, rape, sexual imposition

Here in Cleveland and around the world, the 2nd anniversary of the historic Women's March took place in January 2018. January 2017 had come at a time when one might have thought mass protests would be diminished by the despondence so many felt about the advent of a US presidency built on a campaign which harnessed xenophobia, misogyny and outright racism to build mass support.

After the election of another retrogressive President, Ronald Reagan, the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. was accelerated with a series of sit-ins and other protests in January 1981. After the election of Donald Trump, mass protests about the Muslim ban and immigration rights, the continued work of the Black Lives Matter movement, and the historic Women's Marches have shown that the aftermath of historical events will include continued struggles against social injustice.

Just as a final decade of intense activism led to the downfall of apartheid, perhaps ten years from now we'll be able to have witnessed a truly revolutionary change in our body politic, one in which women have truly achieved the political power that women's suffrage a century ago promised. One lesson of the women's suffrage movement was how it formed coalitions. This story was told in Dan Okrent's book, *Last Call: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition* (2010), which discussed the alliance between the women's suffrage movement and the temperance movement.

Might there be another coalition to pass the Equal Rights Amendment as well as a constitutional right to a job at a living wage? Such an amendment was proposed in *Ending Poverty as We Know It*, by New Orleans activist and attorney William Quigley (2003)? Doing so would unite what I have identified as the maternalist and paternalist impulses in social policy advocacy into one united post-paternalist, non-maternalist movement which recognizes the reality that women are in the work force to stay. We do not need the retrogressive "family wage" of old. We need for every job to earn a living wage with adequate health care, child care, etc.

Might we also see a continued movement against gun violence, led by children and teens? We should not underestimate the possibility of fundamental social change in this country. After all, the persons living in these United States and in Puerto Rico are a very revolutionary people,

devoted to maximizing the potential of our constitutional democracy. Part of that democratic process should be granting full independence to Puerto Rico or admitting it as the 51<sup>st</sup> state. We always re-invent our movements for social justice, especially when racism, male supremacy and other reactionary social formations seek to reinvent themselves.

In the aftermath of historical events which shake us up and perhaps even shame us into resumed activism, it is certainly helpful to remember those who went before. One who did was Columbia School of Social Work Alumnus James Dunn, DSW, who was later a founder of the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond ([www.pisab.org](http://www.pisab.org)). He wrote a song with lyrics that said: "There is no such thing as burnout, once your vision's clear. Take strength from those who went before, and conquered doubt and fear." As we hopefully head into a period of heightened social activism, it helps to remember those who have inspired us, and to also look for new sources of inspiration. The narratives in this issue might be valuable in that regard.

### **The Powerful Cover Art of this Issue**

But before reading the issue, mention must be made of the original illustration by Art Director Robin Richesson, which graces the cover. This wonderful cover has taken a certain unit of expression, namely a hat of protest and the faces and bodies who wore it, and built it into a lasting representation of the millions of voices that have spoken out. The cover of this issue evokes a power that is growing in ways which are far more revolutionary than may be immediately apparent.

### **Narratives in this Issue**

In this issue, the first narrative, "Freedom and Diversity: Feeling Safe from Fear of Discrimination," by *Reflections* author and reviewer Patricia Levy, describes how traumatic events can threaten to place us in the role of victim. Whether victim of the harmful intentions of another person in our vicinity or of distant persons who set in motion historical events, we are often forced to spend a great deal of time reacting to these events. Often, as helping professionals, when these are historical events, we share with our clients the same experiences. In one example of how theory can contribute to narrative, Levy draws on theory to discuss how we and our clients react in the aftermath of changes in the social and political landscape. Levy points out that among those reactions can be a massive shift in our thinking as a population. That can be of a retrogressive nature, one driven by a process of moral disengagement.

Her analysis produced fear in me as I read it. Might we lose what we at least think we stand for as a nation? Levy recalls practicing social work for fifteen years in a society (Israel) which has lived in fear of war, terrorism and the reality of hundreds of thousands of Hezbollah rockets poised to rain death and destruction. It is easy for those of us in the West to fail to understand the fears and traumas faced by Israelis (Jews, Muslims and Christians alike). It is also easy to fail to recognize the fear and misery of those living in the West Bank, in Gaza, and throughout the Middle East. But Levy brought that fear home for us, discussing her own work here in the aftermath of the attack on the World Trade Center. Then, she provided an account of how anti-Semitism and the Shoah affected her own life. Starting from that standpoint, Levy discusses

practice, especially in response to clients affected by PTSD. She ends with a recognition, “But where everyone can become a possible target, whether it be from discriminatory acts, inequitable policies, or emotional and physical terror, an appropriate professional intervention becomes even more critical.”

As I write, mass movements have begun in the United States in response to just such an event: the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School shooting. The aftermath of that event will likely produce many new social activists, who will follow in the footsteps of the feminist and environmental activist for whom the school was named, Marjory Stoneman Douglas (1890-1998). Clearly, reactions to historical events can be retrogressive, but they can also be progressive. Sometimes it takes an event such as this to turn around people’s thinking.

As Orlando Patterson’s *Slavery and Social Death* discusses, we can be living with an ideological inversion, in which we see things exactly the opposite of how they really are (Patterson, 1982). Patterson (1982) explained that supporters of slavery often viewed slaves as parasites on the slaveowners and as utterly dependent. This was an ideological inversion. Slave revolts and the abolitionist movement reversed that kind of thinking. Clearly, it was the slaveowners who were parasites on the slaves. They were utterly dependent upon them for their work and their skills. In other words, there can be, in the wake of historical events, what might be called an inversion of the inversion.

Although it comes second in the issue, I will postpone discussion of “Reflections on the Election of Donald Trump: Uninspired and Inspired Responses from a Social Work Faculty,” by Jeffrey Dale Thompson. In “HBCUs Respond: Social Justice and Social Work Education in a Trump Era,” Anthony T. Estreet, Kenya Jones, and James T. Freeman discuss how faculty and students at three historically black university-based social work programs responded to the election and its aftermath. They sought to not only promote social justice, advocacy, and anti-oppression activism, but to turn the historical event into a learning experience. For Dr. Estreet, at Morgan State University, at first it was hard to do more than react together with the students to what happened. Soon, however, he and the students used an approach to learning which integrated discussion of the current political climate with study of a social issue that they were passionate about.

At Clark-Atlanta University, which uses an Afrocentric perspective to ensure culturally and linguistically sensitive practice, Dr. Jones also focuses on solutions to policy issues of concern to students. The focus of the common theme of the article, transformative learning, was applied to a thought experiment. Students imagined what they would do if they took over a large human service agency. They also discussed how to respond to impending cuts in basic social work services and social welfare benefits.

At Johnson C. Smith University, James T. Freeman begins by reflecting on his role as a father of two. Dr. Freeman then discusses how he engaged students in critical thought, as part of that school’s implementation of a transformational learning approach. In response to the confusion, fear, and apprehensive hope of the students, the university partnered with other universities and with the National Association of Social Workers to present panels at three locations. Students

also joined in a peaceful protest in Charlotte, North Carolina and made a commitment to increase both their volunteerism and their political action.

From initial shock, to anxiety about growing xenophobia, racism, sexism, and homophobia, in these three schools of social work there was a growing “sense of togetherness,” as the faculty, staff and students recognized the necessity of responding to the new political environment. Drawing on an innovative approach to transformational learning, the three schools sought to empower student learning, civic engagement, and social activism. They pledge to continue in that path.

THAT fall, within which September 11, 2001 fell, along with three buildings, and during which 2,753 died, and THIS fall, the fall in which President Trump was elected, are the focus of “After the Fall: An Inverse Apotheosis,” by Gregory Gross. Gross addresses the impact of the aftermath of historical events not only on the macro social environment, but on the individual soul and on he and his spouse Judi. He discusses his dual commitment to work and love. Throughout, it becomes apparent that both his relationships and his teaching were cemented and united through the use of the humanities. Accordingly, the article itself is presented via poetry, freestyle writing, and narrative. It is powerful. It is worth reading, line by line.

In “Disaster after Disaster: Unexpected Thousand-Year Floods and Presidential Elections,” Priscilla D. Allen and Jennifer L. Scott begin with a little-known disaster, the Baton Rouge flood of August 2016. That flood came shortly after 37-year-old Alton Sterling was shot in broad daylight by a Baton Rouge police officer. These social work educators and their students were already primed for the electoral disaster to come that fall. Due to the earlier experience of Hurricane Katrina, Baton Rouge already knew about the aftermath of historical events. As explained by the theory of *disaster capitalism* (Klein, 2007), a natural disaster often provides those with political and economic power a way to transform ensuing events for their own benefit. The authors asked what this meant for their student and colleagues and the communities with which they worked. Each author shared and reflected on their own reactions and those of the people with whom they worked. They concluded: “The lessons, and perhaps the silver lining of disaster aftermath, is that one ideally assesses what’s lost and creates a new meaning.”

In “Allies Rising: Stepping Forward in a Time of White Nationalism,” Ashley-Marie Hanna Daftary places the growing movement to defend the Dreamers in the context of white supremacy, xenophobia, and nativism. This narrative was designed to help us remember we all make mistakes and that we have to rely upon our compassion, both for others and for ourselves, as we respond to historical events. We have to find our allies, she concludes. Her article reminded me of something said once before: “Social work can defend its standards only if it realizes the organized nature of the opposition to it, why these interests are opposed, and where its own allies are to be found” (Reynolds, 1975, p. 166). Lest we forget, Dr. Daftary provides concrete suggestions of ways of acting together with those allies, including calling and writing our representatives, knowing our rights and those of immigrants and others, learning our history, understanding our role, and acknowledging the truth about the world around us. In this way, Dr. Daftary concludes, we can change our world for the better.

This issue really needed an account of the Women’s March. Kathy Byers, a long-time social activist and retired social work educator, provides one. She discusses how she and the other organizers used a “secret” Facebook page in their organizing of march participation in and from Bloomington, Indiana, with participation of over 1,500! Like several of the other narratives here, family was part of it. As *Reflections* learns more about how to include photographs, the narrative includes a memorable one of Kathy and her sister Laurie, from Inauguration Day. The narrative ends with an account of preparation for the January 20, 2018 anniversary march.

The issue ends with Ben Shepard’s narrative, which concludes with this important statement: “I fear we are entering a new gilded age, with more and more kids unable to afford school, find homes, or insurance. I fear our New York will become Sister Carrie's New York, a place where the poor face more and more challenges than they can endure. Let’s all work together to make sure they are not, we are not, no one is left behind to fend for themselves.”

As part of his activism over the years, Ben has been arrested one, two, three times at least, including at least twice since the election of Donald Trump. For Ben, as with others in this issue, solidarity is the solution. And it has been the solution during his 20 years in New York City. He tells of the lives of people like the late Gilbert Baker of Rise and Resist. He shares the wisdom of many other activists, quoting them. What a pleasure to have this important historical account in the pages of the journal, along with many photographs.

Jeffrey Dale Thompson’s “Reflections on the Election of Donald Trump: Uninspired and Inspired Responses from a Social Work Faculty,” begins on the fateful day, November 8, 2016. Living in a “Red state,” Thompson portrays the day, the day after, the wait, and then the inauguration. Thompson uses a powerful metaphor for this period: a deer seemingly immobilized by the headlights, but who eventually springs into motion. Which way into motion is the question, and Thompson describes seven: collaborating, researching, teaching, understanding, practicing, advocating, and reflecting. Thompson correlates each with at least one key social work value: the importance of human relationship, social justice, integrity, competence, dignity and worth of the individual, and service. The narrative shows how the author and those around him responded.

The Thompson narrative drew to a close in June 2017 (when it was submitted). Reading it leaves one with a realization of the power of narratives about our personal, professional and political responses to historical events. This issue was an effort to combine the role of editor with such a response. Early in 2017, I issued a public call for these narratives. I am grateful to the authors who responded. This issue is the only issue since Volume 18, Number 2 which is not double-blind peer-reviewed. The articles were accepted under condition of editorial review only, with the consent of key *Reflections* stakeholders. A similar issue was published as the Social Justice issue in 2010, and was edited by Paul and Sonia Abels.

### **Final Thanks**

By and large, I said goodbye as editor (and hello as publisher) in my introduction to Volume 23, Number 1, published in December 2017. In that issue, I said I would try to remember any others

I needed to thank, and there are no doubt those I have still forgotten. One thing bears reinforcing. As I approach my 70<sup>th</sup> birthday this year, *God Only Knows* (Dover, M. J., & Jordan, 2015) where I would be were it not for my wife Giselle, my daughter Daniela, and my son Mark. I am also grateful to my current and former colleagues and students at Cleveland State University School of Social Work.

I would like to again thank the Abels, Sonia and Paul (now living in Los Angeles). Thank you as well to Abby O'Neill, daughter of Sonia and Paul, for her support in bringing me together with her parents on two visits to Cleveland, and for her contribution to the upcoming *Special Issue on Librarians as Helping Professionals*, to appear shortly (in March 2018) as Volume 23, Number 3, Fall 2017.

I look forward to continued service as 2017-2018 co-editor and as publisher. I am grateful to one of the co-editors in particular, Arlene Reilly-Sandoval, who has done most of the heavy lifting for us as part of the transition. She enabled our 2017-2018 graduate assistant Tara Peters and I to focus on producing this issue and readying three additional issues to be published by April. This will bring the journal up to date with the publication of Volume 24, Number 1, co-edited by Melissa Emmerson and incoming Editor-in-Chief Darlyne Bailey.

But one person who is relevant to this particular issue is my down-the-hallway colleague Patricia Stoddard-Dare, Ph.D. When I was suffering a bad case of deer-in-the-headlight syndrome, her enthusiasm about attending the Women's March in Washington DC in January 2017, along with her husband and three children, helped me spring into action. In fact, the idea for this issue, as one way I have myself responded to this historical events, came shortly afterwards.

### **A Narrative Ending**

The longer I have been editor, the more I seem to think in narrative terms. My contributions to *Reflections from the Editors* have increasingly had a narrative component. After the election of Donald Trump, I attended one protest march against the Muslim ban, on a very cold fall day. I was pleased to see some of our CSU students at the march, as well as one other faculty member. But this didn't get me fully into gear. It was attending the Women's March in Cleveland with my daughter Daniela and daughter-in-law Lotte in January 2017 which did that, as well as hearing from Patty about her trip to Washington for the march.

Suddenly, I realized that I had to engage in the social movement organizing equivalent of "turning it over" to a power greater than myself: the vast and growing movements for social change that were springing up around me. I wasn't needed to help organize them. I could just follow. And follow I have largely done, although trying to contribute in my own ways. Below are some of the ways I have adapted personally, professionally and politically in the aftermath of recent historical events.

First, I resumed working with my colleagues in the Cuyahoga County Conference on Social Welfare (CCCOSW). The theme of the 2017 conference was What Happens when Everything Changes? NASW Ohio staff members Danielle Smith, Dorothy Martindale and Colleen

Dempsey proposed the title for the opening panel and the workshop: In Solidarity: Mobilizing an Intersectional Resistance, and Colleen moderated it (Dempsey, 2017). Although I actively worked with Joanne Hall and others as part of a group to organize this part of the conference, it was a labor of love and one which, in the end, I enjoyed from the sidelines.

Second, I turned to my students. I asked them to read the work of Patricia Hill Collins (2015) and *Reflections* authors Lee and Robinson (2015). Not only were they asked to summarize and discuss Collins, they were asked to theorize intersectionality in their own words. One of the students, long-standing CCCOSW organizer Katy Carpenter, took the definitions and combined them into a Word bubble, which was displayed at the above mentioned conference sessions. I also sought individual written permission from each student to quote their work. I then used it in a composite summary of their definitions, both for classroom use and for public presentation at the 2017 Cleveland State University Provost's Teaching Forum (Dover, M. A., & Cleveland State University Students, 2017). Later, I sent a copy to Dr. Collins, who reviewed it and responded (personal communication, August 18, 2017), "Sometimes when I publish something that is challenging for me, I wonder if anyone ever read it. Now I know that the intrepid students at Cleveland State did!"

Third, I took advantage of every form of training and education I could find, including Safe Space training (which I will take again this year). I found that making the time to attend campus events and sit and listen helped. This was, and is, a time when we need to find new ways of coming together and listening to each other. During this period as well, I concluded that perhaps we need to emphasize the importance of an old-fashioned concept: open-mindedness. Open-mindedness may be an important prerequisite to the critical thinking and diversity elements of general education curriculum. Student definitions of open-mindedness were also shared in the Provost's Teaching Forum poster.

Fourth, Giselle and I began a serious bout of movie watching and music listening. This included listening to the music of my son. One of his pieces was recorded in the aftermath of the Charleston Massacre: a somber rendition of *We Shall Overcome* (Dover, M. J., Crayton, & Jordan, 2015). Most recently, Giselle and I attended a movie I highly recommend, one which suggests the value of restorative justice as part of the prevention and resolution of social conflict, *The Insult* (Doueiri, 2017). To try to bring some order to the chaos, I began bookmarking events, news, and ideas emerging since the election, including a section on coping and self-care. This helped me make sense of what was happening around me. I publicly shared them on various social work listserves (Dover, 2018).

Fifth, due to the upsurge in bias incidents that have taken place since November 2016, I began looking for a permanent home for the Welcome in My Back Yard campaign ([www.wimby.org](http://www.wimby.org)), founded by Larry Fox and I in Ann Arbor in the early 1990s. The WIMBY signs were used on campus last fall by Student Affairs, and I also distributed them after a bias incident on campus. I took a pile to the Council on Social Work Education conference in Dallas in November. When I wasn't meeting with editors, publishing partners and prospective authors, I set up shop in the lobby, distributing the signs. My goal is to find a social justice-oriented center or institute which can provide a permanent home for the campaign, which is sadly much needed. The WIMBY

campaign is just one small thing that can be done to prevent and respond to bias incidents. It brings comfort to those affected to know that others publicly proclaim their opposition to bigotry. WIMBY also helps raise consciousness and contributes to discourse, as people ask about what WIMBY means.

Sixth, I have returned to my work since 1978 as a social worker who has been active in social activism designed to be true to the civil rights movement principle of working on one's own back yard (Dover, 2010). In other words, after a short break, I have resumed activism in relation to my profession, social work, both locally and through increased involvement in international social work organizations.

Finally, I continue to try to find a way to integrate my teaching, my service, and my advocacy work. Starting last Summer, I began reading a wonderful series of articles in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* ([www.cleveland.com/a-greater-cleveland](http://www.cleveland.com/a-greater-cleveland)), which involve the reporters in an unprecedented form of advocacy journalism. First, I spoke out about implications of the articles for changing social policies (Dover, 2017). Currently, in my teaching, students have been drawing on these articles for case examples that inform their policy practice and their application of theory to understanding the families and the communities and society in which they live. They will present them on March 9, 2018 at the Cuyahoga County Conference on Social Welfare (Dover, M. A., & Cleveland State University Students, 2018).

But if I am to teach students to speak out, I must speak out myself. There is one place within academia where professors have real power, and that is the power of the editor's introduction to issues of an academic journal. Not subject to peer review, the introductory sections of academic journals have long been a place where editors can address the issues of the day. That has long been the case for the editors of this journal. Accordingly, I will end by speaking out below.

### **Responding to the Outrages**

In responding to historical events, it is often important in their aftermath to find ways to harness the anger and outrage that events have produced. For instance, in the aftermath of the murder of Matthew Shepard on October 6, 1998, there was a national and international outcry. At one rally, on the diag of the University of Michigan, something important was said, which bears repeating. Ann Arbor City Council member Chris Kolb spoke. He didn't shake his fist in anger and try to stoke the flames of outrage. He said, "Turn your anger into resolve." He repeated, simply and powerfully, "Turn your anger into resolve." It was that resolve which led to the strengthening of hate crime statutes, to include the LGBTQ+ community throughout the nation.

Once again there is outrage at the many bias incidents which have taken place in the aftermath of the November 2016 election. There is also outrage about sexual harassment, rape and sexual imposition, to which the #metoo movement has responded. Finally, people continue to die due to unnecessary use of deadly force by police, which shows the continued importance of the Black Lives Matter movement and other efforts to reform policing. Clearly, we still need to turn our anger into resolve, as many are realizing.

For instance, at the Strong Women, Strong Leaders awards ceremony at Cleveland State University on Thursday March 1, 2018, one of the awardees was Cammie Collins, who graduated with a degree in journalism and promotional communication in 2017, and plans to attend law school and work as a civil rights attorney. As a transgender woman, she described how she had “morphed her anger into activism.”

Likewise, the student survivors of the February 14, 2018 shooting at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School have called for turning anger into activism. One survivor, a 9<sup>th</sup> grader, said: “We’re going to use this fear and anger to motivate us for change” (viewed on MSNBC, Wednesday February 28, 11:00 am). Turning anger into activism is now an important public discourse. Earlier dissertation research had shown the important link between moral anger and social activism (Master, 2009).

Just as the earlier anger about the murder of Matthew Shepard led to strengthening hate crimes statutes, today’s activism must succeed in strengthening laws about gun manufacturing and gun control. We must also strengthen laws about rape and sexual imposition (Falk, 2014, 2015). Sexual imposition statutes already prohibit sexual contact in a number of situations, including when one person is not aware it is happening or is unable to understand or resist (Ohio code § 2907.06). The statute also prohibits this: “No person shall have sexual contact with another when the offender knows that the sexual contact is offensive to the victim.” The law seeks to ensure that even in the absence of violations of the rape portions of the law, sexual imposition provisions may apply.

However, there is a need to strengthen provisions on sexual imposition to address what appears to be a grey area between current law on rape and sexual imposition and current policies on sexual harassment and discrimination in workplace and educational settings. As Cudd (2006) has shown in her book length study of oppression, oppression is typically rooted in coercion. Applied to the question of sexual imposition, the implication is that even in the absence of the use of physical force, and even in the presence of some form of consent, it should be considered sexual imposition when a person takes immediate advantage of their unequal possession of organizational or financial power and in a clearly coercive manner initiates sexual contact. There is considerable law which criminalizes commercial transactions involving inadequate consent due to fraud, extortion, and so forth. Current law criminalizes threats to the integrity of market transactions. Why is there not sufficient parallel law with respect to intimate human transactions? Why is the human body not equally sacrosanct? This is the question I feel compelled to ask, as we go to press with this issue of this journal.

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# Freedom and Diversity: Feeling Safe from Fear of Discrimination

Patricia Levy

**Abstract:** This paper provides personal reflections of an American Jewish social work faculty member, memories of growing up in the United States, reactions of some minority students to the changing policies of the present administration, and the role of the social work professional to intervene with clients related to experienced discrimination and fears of the changing environment around them.

**Keywords:** freedom, diversity, Jewish faculty, discrimination, traumatic event; anti-Semitism

## Introduction

When a traumatic event occurs that is out of our control and through which we become the victims of other's harmful intentions, we may spend a tremendous amount of time trying to recover our balance and our sense of living while grieving and while buried within our losses. This is what fear and discrimination can do to us. Similarly, it is necessary to know how to get through such adversity and to come out on the other side. The present sharing of this author's past memories may aid professional helpers as we cope with and assist victims' fears and actual encounters with discrimination, at a time when the political and social landscape changes and impacts the positioning of affected groups in society.

Contextually, social systems theory speaks to the importance of the dynamics and function of interactions between the relationships of people to the social, physical, and political realities in which they live. In addition, cultural adaptation can be seen as forming the definitions and parameters of social functioning on micro, mezzo, and macro levels. As Cushman puts it, we must find a "way of conceiving of the self and of arranging ourselves socially and politically" (Cushman, 1995, p. 3). He goes on to explain that "the self is always a product of a specific cultural frame of reference, configured out of moral understandings and local politics" (p. 12). This is reinforced by an individual's experience of his or her self psychologically and of family, neighborhood, school, and community. Thus, through everyday living, people experience repetitively the contexts of their environment. Behavioral patterns are created and prescribed along with an understanding of social values expressed through beliefs and social ethics. They form the foundation for our conduct as we express our commitments to ourselves, to others, to our community, to our country, and to our place in history.

Certain shapes and characteristics of culture define the manner in which power is perceived and conveyed. Deviances from certain established moral truths are socially digested, and racial stereotypes and gender imperatives are constructed and operated on. Martin Heidegger and Hans-George Gadamer were cited as to the effect that "a particular culture is created by the components of its conceptual systems" that are translated inter-generationally between people through a "clearing." In addition, the "paradox of the clearing is thought to be caused by its horizontal nature: Horizons are created by the culture's particular way of perceiving. The placement of the horizon determines what there is 'room for' and what is precluded from view"

(Cushman, 1995, p. 20).

In an extreme form, the “clearing” can become one that conceives of, legitimizes, and rationalizes acts of war, acts of terrorism, and power manipulations that may lead to acts of discrimination. Sometimes things go in cycles. After a few years of acceptance and respect for diversity and feelings of unity relationally between peoples, we can swing back to the past. With the campaign and election of President Trump, the “clearing” seems to be in a shifting mode from what were accepted values of diversity and equality to an emphasis on security and further legitimization of social, economic and political inequalities between American citizens. This perceived “worldview” can form a return in the U.S. to a basis of harm, violence and destruction aimed at disempowered others.

### **Reflections on Personal Memories**

Having worked in Israel for 15 years as a medical social worker in a general hospital, war was a common experience for everyone around me, along with the possibility of a terror attack. One night while serving as the social worker on call to the emergency room, the phone rang at 2:00 a.m. The nurse on the other end of the line told me that a wedding party on their way home was attacked by a terrorist group and that part of the severely wounded had been brought into our hospital. When I asked where it had happened, the response was “somewhere near the hospital” and that I was needed. Since I lived in another town, I drove that night peering cautiously all around me while at the same time wondering how to take cover should I run into the terrorists. Finally, arriving at the hospital, I found the lobby was full of family members and relatives crying, demanding answers, while others milled around not knowing what to do. Inside the emergency room, medical staff was triaging the wounded. Upset, some were wondering aloud if their loved ones were alright who lived and worked in the same vicinity. One lesson I learned was that no matter what, you just keep going. I tried to professionally address the needs of the family members in the lobby, facilitating communication with hospital personnel, providing support services and connections to outside resources while at the same time informally supporting the emotions expressed by emergency room staff.

Several years later on September 11th, I was teaching a social work class in the Midwest. The Pentagon, and the two World Trade Towers were attacked by al-Qaida terrorists. The students, through their cell phone messages, began to receive news of the attacks. Looking bewildered, they wanted to leave the classroom immediately, which they eventually did. Students and faculty seemed stunned and voiced incredulousness in reaction to what had happened. Knowing of my having worked in Israel, a student asked me, “Did you ever get used to this?” My first thought was that no one ever gets used to terror, to the perpetration of physical and emotional violence.

### **The Past**

Coming from an immigrant background, my maternal grandmother and my paternal grandparents left Europe to be free from anti-Semitic harassment, political oppression, and violent attacks particularly in Eastern Europe towards Jewish populations. My family settled in the Pacific Northwest and strove for acceptance to be recognized as “American first.” In the

1950s, however, during the McCarthy years, I remembered as a child being ostracized by neighbors who stopped speaking to us and losing some friends to play with because the view was if someone was Jewish then that person must be a communist. My mother claimed that this went on for seven years. Becoming a columnist for the local newspaper reporting local news events, people in the community finally started to make contact with her. When I got older, being one of maybe three Jews in high school, we were constantly fending off a string of people—although perhaps with good intentions—whose mission was to turn us into Christians. When they were not successful, they became verbally rude and threatening.

It was during this time that I went to wait for a friend outside of her church. She was teaching Sunday school. Having gotten tired of waiting for her outside of the building, I went in when I heard voices of little children and their teachers repeating in mantra style, “Who killed Jesus? The Jews killed Jesus. Who killed Jesus? The Jews killed Jesus.” I walked into the classroom seeing what seemed to be a large group of 4 year olds sitting on the floor looking up to four young teachers, including my friend. “What are you saying?” I asked. “The Jews didn’t kill Jesus. The Romans killed Jesus.” The teachers looked embarrassed and the children looked confused. “Oh yes,” one of the teachers said, and they changed the mantra to “Who killed Jesus? The Romans killed Jesus.” I stood in the back of the room. It took a few repeats before the children got it right. I couldn’t stay in the room forever and left the classroom feeling that perhaps with my leaving, the mantra would change back to what it was: sowing the seeds of difference and anti-Semitism in those tiny minds against Jews.

In college, another episode took place in the dorm one morning when I was running late. I dumped my laundry on my bed and I ran to class. Coming back for lunch, as I walked down the hallway, I saw my clothes tied in knots from end to end, strung from the doorknob of my room into the public shower/toilet room. On each knot was pinned a religious saying. I was stunned and angry, and after untying each piece of clothing, I put them back in my room and went downstairs to the student dining room. The group I thought was my best friends huddled together at a table giggling. I approached and slammed my lunch tray down on the table, asking what they thought they were doing. Looking up at me smiling their response was that all the biblical sayings were from the Old Testament, so I had nothing to be upset about. I walked away.

I was raised during a time when being Jewish was considered a racial identity rather than that of just another religious group. As such, it was a minority that, during the 60s, fell outside the “mainstream” known as part of the White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) group.

As mentioned previously, part of my family had fled anti-Semitism in Europe to experience freedom as a people and freedom of worship. Until World War II, the story was that one family member came to America, worked, and then brought over another family member to the U.S. who then brought another family member. But all the remaining relatives went silent, not being able to escape the Nazis. Later, after the war, while in college during the 60s, I visited my elderly Polish aunt: I found her sitting in her wheelchair in the living room with tears running down her face while viewing a group picture of about twelve people dressed in old time European dress. My aunt, who spoke in heavily-accented English, turned to me saying, “Look, do you see these people?” Feeling sad for her, I responded, “Yes, this is a nice picture.” More

tears spilled from her eyes. “No, no! You do not understand. They are all gone!” They had all died in a concentration death camp. With sudden clarity I finally understood why every time I saw my aunt, and then at the end of each visit, she would cry, hugging me to her chest. We were her generation of survivors.

During the 60s, I participated on my college campus in Vietnam protest marches and watched on TV the civil rights marches organized by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Many Jews joined with them. One well-known friend who marched arm-in-arm with the Civil Rights leader was renowned Rabbi Abraham Heschel, who walked next to Dr. King on the march to Selma (Jewish Women’s Archive, 1965). The Civil Rights Movement raised consciousness for a wide array of minority groups including many young American Jews and raised hope that anti-Semitism and discrimination would end not only for this population but for all marginalized groups in the U.S. Unfortunately, to date, this fight has not ended.

### **The Effects of Fear**

Since the Trump election, attacks have increased on Jewish sites. These have included mass attacks on Jewish grave sites in Philadelphia (BBC News, 2017) and bomb threats on Jewish Community Centers (Green, 2017). But the attitudes that brought about such attacks on Jewish population centers in the U.S. seem to have also impacted other populations, even reaching into the classroom.

Whether because of a backlash to the election of former Black President Obama, the rhetoric of the Trump campaign, or an executive order still being examined as to its constitutionality in the courts as a possible Muslim ban (McCarthy, 2017), these events, among others have been felt in the classroom. In social work classes, discussion on topics of social justice aligned with the Social Work Code of Ethics have taken on an even more serious tone when speaking to possible dilemmas that may arise in meeting the needs of clients who, for example, may be undocumented, and of the role of advocacy within social service agencies and in the organizing and facilitation of community action programs. Some Hispanic social work students have at times narrated stories of divided family members—some with immigration documents and some not—and of the difficulties in remaining connected and visiting relatives living outside of the U.S. Additionally, they have commented on their perceptions of a rise in prejudicial statements and discriminatory incidences that they have experienced since the election. Also, during a course on diversity, young African American speakers addressed their feelings of discomfort with what they perceived as sanction in the public arena to repeat echoes of past historical racial sentiments and acts of discrimination. They voiced fears of becoming victims potentially marked for physical attack.

### **The Psychology of Political and Social Harassment and Discrimination**

How does the sanctioning of potential acts of disenfranchisement and of discriminatory incidents impact its victims? What does it feel like to cope with being targeted as a stereotyped labeled population, like the lady who offered to “Jew [me] down” to a price for her house cleaning services, or the tall lanky student who after an interfaith educational session blocked my way out

of the room and in a tone of hysteria leaned over me claiming that he knew I had killed Jesus, or a former colleague who attempted to tear down a mezuzah from my office door.

Psychologically, it can be numbing to be the focus of a verbal or nonverbal attack. Often from ignorance, these acts ring of echoes of historical persecution from the past. This can cause feelings of “confusion, fear, anger, guilt, lack of insight and feelings of powerlessness” (Rackley, 1999, p. 94) for those who have been targeted.

These types of actions may derive from what Albert Bandura calls “mechanisms of moral disengagement” (Bandura, 1998). Institutions of political and social power may be enabled to manipulate widespread public division, fear and anxiety. Perceiving social sanction, others may become emboldened to perpetrate incidents while at the same time remaining disengaged to their victims. Fear of being emotionally and physically harmed can constitute feelings of loss of control, a lack of self-efficacy, and post traumatic stress symptoms for survivors. For primary and secondary victims, worry about the safety of family, friends and associates takes precedence, contributing to acute stress reactions producing feelings of overwhelming anxiety. Consequently, minority client populations in particular and student communities in general need an overall response plan that will be able to deal with these primary and secondary victims. There is a need for instructional teaching to bring forward discussion of these issues, including training for professionals who are emergency responders and who may similarly be experiencing these feelings while working with affected populations.

### **We Have a Mission: Respect and Acceptance for Diversity in Intervention**

I once had contact with a campus diversity affairs coordinator. He presented two principles:

- 1) Everyone wants to be accepted and respected (even people who do bad, harmful things)
- 2) Everyone wants his/her own way.

A third concept related to human behavior is, “People do what they do because they think they can.” And... they usually can. The question is, “Why do they think they can?”

From one federal administration to the next, whole social welfare policies have been constructed to rule the health and welfare of American citizens, what they are entitled to and what they are not. Finding a meeting ground between the first two principles can explain the rationalization of seemingly conflicting values. Social workers deal with these issues all the time. Our practice, our livelihood and our professional purpose are based on all the inequities seen in our society and seem to be an inherent part of it.

Is it possible to have acceptance and respect for all peoples when we may need protections of our own freedoms and security at the same time? To what degree do we submit our personal values in submission to a higher authority’s world view, particularly if that world view contains methods and processes that may further discriminate and divide Americans socio-economically, racially, and politically?

A major goal of social work is to aid clients to gain a sense of personal empowerment. In one

example, Shalev & Ursano (2008) have stated oftentimes that people face “a mismatch between situational demands, personal resources and survival mechanisms for failure...when scarce resources are wasted in fighting against uncontrollable dimensions of stress” (p. 1) to carry on with their lives.

Clients need a rebuilding of their sense of hope in order to be motivated to make change, thus increasing the quality of their experiences in life. A societal environment that negates these efforts can drain away personal and community energy that tries to make positive change and to look forward: “That tomorrow will be a better day.”

In light of the multitude of individual and personal contexts, practitioners’ goals are to restore and strengthen the resiliency and well-being of their clients. These professionals will need to learn about and concentrate on individual coping styles to deal with the ongoing side effects of adversity that clients are facing in their lives, including encounters with deprivation and discriminatory events. Consequently, during the initial assessment and intervention phases, using a strengths perspective by social workers carries with it an acknowledgment that clients bring the personal into the story of what happens to them.

When times get rough, clients can often remember in detail modes of coping with past crises. Consequently, one question that the social worker may ask is, “Is this the first time you’ve had to overcome a hard time?” For the author, the answer has never been a yes. When I ask a client to tell about what happened and how they overcame that event, it is the telling that signifies non-verbally through body language and eye contact, and verbally through tone of voice, that the client may show signs of experiencing a sense of internal empowerment that can then aid them to cope with the difficulties and possible trauma that is currently facing them. In order to identify clients’ strengths, social workers must be able to delineate between the behaviors they are viewing as to whether they are a direct result of the discriminatory incident they experienced or a blend from prior events of harm that they have faced. The National Center for Post-Traumatic Stress (2001) has recommended extended long-term intervention for those who may experience prolonged post-traumatic symptoms, which can include fear, anxiety, episodes of re-experiencing, and hyper arousal.

The social work encounter is a setting that, according to its core values, promises freedom of self-determination and interventions that must provide an environment of safety. This will minimize the sense of threat, attending to the unusual degree of the victim’s “disrupted state” and inability to activate effectively their “normal coping methods to reduce stress” (National Center for PTSD, 2001, December 16, p. 94). An additional goal of intervention is to help the victim “to adapt to the stress of the crisis” and to gain some feeling of control over what is happening to him or her. We must understand our clients’ and students’ “sense of coherence” (Antonovsky, 1987); their estimation of and belief in their ability to manage what has happened to them and their understanding of what has happened to them. Finally, this also includes particular attention being paid to the meanings they have assigned to the consequences of the acts that have been committed against them in light of the spiritual and cultural contexts from which they have come.

Signs of rehabilitation and recovery in communities, families, and individuals are also social constructions of interpersonal structures that need to be placed within the cultural contexts of “socially-determined systems” (Durst, 1994, p. 32). The provision of uniquely adapted support interventions by professional practitioners can demonstrate understanding that cultural expression has formed “the nature of these relationships (of clients) and the lifetime of socialization our clients have experienced which shape these relationships” (Durst, 1994, p. 30) within their communities.

### **Conclusion: The Right to Freedom and Safety**

I am writing this paper from Israel where, as a Jew, I am part of the majority and not subject to a minority status. Israeli society isn't perfect either, and needless to say there exists a different composite of social, political and economic systemic equities and inequities. Upon my return to the U.S. as an American Jew, and as social work faculty, I've made a commitment to further the areas of social work that deal with social injustice and discriminatory actions cloaked within potential social policy decisions that may be at odds with our constitutional values of equality and the social work professional code of ethics to guarantee dignity, integrity, and self-determination without fear in a free society.

A student expressed the day after September 11th that “They (the terrorists) are going to kill us.” Her professor tried to reassure her, “I don't think so. Not in the middle of Kansas.” But where everyone can become a possible target, whether it be from discriminatory acts, inequitable policies, or emotional and physical terror, an appropriate professional intervention becomes even more critical.

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# Reflections on the Election of Donald Trump: Uninspired and Inspired Responses from a Social Work Faculty

Jeffrey Dale Thompson

**Abstract:** This narrative account is a chronology of events beginning November 8, 2016 and culmination June 1, 2017 with the submission of this narrative. The events illustrate some of my own personal perspectives and responses to the election of Donald Trump to the U.S. presidency. These perspectives and responses evolved as I personally came to grips with the reality of this administration and the potential for policy initiatives negatively impacting vulnerable populations. This evolution is illustrated with the use of seven key terms associated with the six core values of the social work profession: collaborating, researching, understanding, teaching, serving, advocating, and reflecting.

**Keywords:** policy, vulnerable populations, social work values, collaborating, researching, understanding, teaching, serving, advocating, reflecting, integrity, relationships, social justice, competence, dignity and worth of the individual, Donald Trump

## Election Night

A small Methodist church in a “Red state” hosted the voting in my precinct. An official led me to my machine, explained the controls, and backed away only slightly. He remained uncomfortably close. Was he attempting to ensure I voted the party line? Statistical data indicated that the majority of voters in my state would push buttons beside the name Donald J. Trump. Some would even say that my vote didn’t matter at all since I was voting in a state whose majority was Republican. Nonetheless, I stood proudly and cast my vote in defiance. Not that I didn’t also fit that demographic pushing buttons for Trump: 51 year old white male in a southern state. Nonetheless, the election official in my immediate periphery continued hovering, as if he were ready to cast dispersions on anyone who dared to diverge from the way of Red. Still, I didn’t like the hovering and broke the silence: “Do you mind stepping back a bit...?” He tried to reassure me that he couldn’t see my ballot screen and backed off...maybe a step. I voted, received my sticker, and exited thinking how strange that interchange with the keeper of voting machines. Little did I know that the night was about to get much stranger.

Not much leading up to this night was believable. I can still hear Governor Jeb Bush speaking about Trump in the early Republican primaries: “This is not a serious kind of candidate” (Collinson, 2015, par. 32). Evidently a lot of people differed. Somehow, candidate Trump traversed the political landscape all the way onto the ballot as a “serious candidate” for CEO of the free world. That was a story, but the bigger story was the glass ceiling soon to be shattered. The Clinton campaign staffers, buoyed by recent polls, built a reception stage with a non-metaphorical glass ceiling, symbolizing the meteoric accomplishment of a woman shattering the ceiling all the way to the presidency.

But that metaphorical breakage would have to wait. Election night 2016 was off and running. I

was in the “cave” where I had watched many epic battles before, particularly classic sports battles. My beloved Kentucky Wildcats rode a historical wave to a perfect 38-0 season all the way to Final Four back in 2015, two wins away from a historical season and a national championship. It was in this very cave that I watched the Wisconsin Badgers steal history from those Cats. I was distraught, but the next day, life went on. Not one U.S. policy was impacted and there was zero worldwide impact. But tonight’s contest was markedly different. A loss for the candidate with progressive values, in my opinion, would impact history very negatively. But, I wasn’t worried. With all the polling data and confidence in that data, I felt like November 8th was more a formality, the stamp of authenticity on what pollsters could see in their quantitative crystal balls: Clinton wins! As the night progressed, I wasn’t even concerned as Trump pulled off a couple of early surprises. I thought: ‘Ok. This night might just contain a modicum of drama.’ After all, the adrenaline rush of a closer contest resonated with this sports enthusiast.

Midway through the evening, Trump pulled off a few more surprises. So, this spectator moved forward in his seat, ready for the inevitable tide of progressivism and better judgment to prevail, ready for the serious candidate to close the deal. But as the evening grew older, Clinton momentum hadn’t yet kicked in. I inched up further toward the TV. As the “anomalies” piled up precinct after precinct, they were becoming, by definition, less like anomalies. Then, Michigan. Then, Pennsylvania. Each Trump victory delivered greater unease and downright concern. The angst hovered about me like the election official earlier in the evening, yet I couldn’t step it back this time. This was happening. My cell phone dinged a new message. “What the \_\_\_\_\_ is going on.” I remember sitting there in a surreal disbelief because I didn’t know actually “what the \_\_\_\_\_ was going on” except that Donald J. Trump was about to be elected as the 45th President of the United States.

From the political commentators, who looked surprised and subdued, it was clear that the night had all but slipped away from Clinton. Soon the political prognosticators would call it. I couldn’t hear them call it. Like a grieving loved one defying the doctor’s “call” of death, I just turned off the screen. I went to bed fantasizing that perhaps the morning would reveal a magical surprise. I do remember waking up surprised after an election night many years ago. I couldn’t watch them call that election either: I was 12 and had 6th grade the next day. But I remember the glee in my mom’s voice when she woke me for school: “We have a new president: Jimmy Carter.” I didn’t know much about politics and had not learned much more since my parents asked me if I knew about Watergate a few years earlier; I told them Watergate was the big gate they installed by the river to keep water from flooding the town. But, mom was happy with Jimmy Carter, so I was happy with Jimmy Carter. I didn’t wake up to a miracle on November 21, 2017. The morning news yielded no surprises, no Hail Mary comeback, no shards of glass mixed with confetti celebrating a punctured ceiling. Wednesday morning, that ceiling was unscathed, and Candidate Donald J. Trump became President-elect Donald J. Trump.

### **The Day After**

A blanket of gloom stretched across Wednesday morning. I remember sensing a similar mood on November 21, 2007, when Barak H. Obama was elected 44. Back then I lived even deeper in the South, not far from sites where bombs ripped through churches and where water hoses and

police dogs were used as weapons. Fifty years after those infamous events I worked at a non-profit agency where Obama supporters were scarce; I may have been the sole Caucasian inspired by Obama. The collective mood that morning was mostly dismal. I remember one woman commiserating with another, both agreeing on the gravity of the day. It is not for me to judge how much of that gloom was related to policy and how much was related to race, but the next few years yielded many racial rants from people who could tolerate Obama's politics better than the color of his skin.

On post-election day 2016, my dismay was most certainly connected to race. I had heard Trump generalize about Mexican "criminals" and "rapists" (Hing, 2016, par. 1) and throw down the gauntlet to African Americans when he rhetorically asked for their votes: "What the hell do you have to lose?" (Egan, 2016). The Wednesday after, I was afraid we were about to find out how much we ALL could lose, especially vulnerable Americans. Wednesday was rife with the reality that entire policies could be rolled back: two steps forward and ten steps back. Yet, those of us grieving would have to move forward, as schedules and routines demanded allegiance. My Wednesday routine was The Law and Social Work at 8:00 a.m. at the university where I had taught for five years. I really had no plan for some sort of post-election speech, some dirge like word scramble to rally the troops. I couldn't really vent the way I needed. After all, of the 35 students in my classroom that morning, at least some would not be grieving at all, but would be quietly satisfied. I taught at a university in the Bible belt, in a Red state. Even so, more than the majority of the students claiming social work majors at APSU gravitated towards progressive political views while a smattering of others identified with conservative political views. In all of my classes, I tried to refrain from any dialogue or rhetoric which might alienate or unfairly generalize minority political views. So, on the morning after such a divisive election, I would need to use great care in room C-133. But the air in the room hung heavy, the students subdued. Even the talkers remained silent and the unlikely elephant in the room was hardly referenced. I said something in passing about "Your president-elect..." I was referencing something about a policy point (I could have picked one of 100) which was incongruent with social work. The class ended with little fan-fare, just a quiet class of students perhaps not ready for debriefing.

### **The Wait**

Not all hope was absent that Wednesday, as a trump card might just be in the deck. That deck was the 75 days till the inauguration. Maybe, just maybe, one of those days would cough up a card. Perhaps some revelation, or the deep state, or some scandal would be the card that kept this man from Pennsylvania Avenue Yet, the clock was ticking. Every day hope resided in some force beyond my control. Something or someone would surely intervene to alter the unthinkable. I had to maintain hope. After all, people needed hope. Sometimes we need a miracle, even a hero. President-elect Donald J. Trump was about to step up on a platform, stand before a Supreme Court justice, and receive the reigns. I couldn't help but see another platform, one that seemed to be built on division, xenophobia, white nationalism, and ableism. I heard names like Bannon, Sessions, DeVos, Pruitt: These were the "rollback" people, rolling back policies like the retail store rolls back prices. These slashers of policy with swords of injustice were bad news to anyone committed to the ideas of social justice and equity, especially in consideration of societies' most vulnerable and marginalized. It was both shocking and unbelievable. Nothing

was off the table: educational programs for poor children, healthcare for millions, assistance paying for utilities in the dead of winter, sanctuary for those deemed illegal. so, every day I would check the news. Could it be the Russian scandal? Will they discover some sort of collusion? Will this entire platform be dismantled before it ever sets up shop? Something had to happen. Please tell me the “powers that be” are uncovering every stone in efforts to discover the scandal that surely must exist. This truly felt as if the sky was falling. Chicken Little seemed less like a fairy tale. Even though rolling back policy was my greatest concern, I couldn’t help but think about Trump having possession of nuclear codes. But...it was ALL about to happen.

### **Inauguration Day**

The inevitable march towards Inauguration Day kept in lock step. No hero had emerged to stop Mr. Trump. No scandal. No move by the magical powers. No “cigarette smoking” character like C.G.B. Spender who, with a word, could fix anything. Evidently, Spender lived only in my dreams and in the X-Files series of the 90s (The X-Files Wiki, n.d.). From all appearances, 45 was about to be sworn in. It was a cloudy, gloomy day on Friday, January 20th in Washington, DC, with a chance of rain; even the weather seemed to understand. The crowd gathering was distinguishable from a distance as a series of red dots peppering a gathering crowd. Each red dot represented a cap resting on the head of a person who hoped, and evidently believed, that Donald J. Trump would “Make America Great Again.” The pomp and ceremony launched at 11:00 a.m.. The music was beautiful, except it sounded more like a dirge to me. The prayers were eloquent, but I honestly had to turn off the TV before Franklin Graham took the stage. His father Billy Graham had been an icon to me and my evangelical-minded family. Yet Franklin seemed to fall far from the tree, propping up a president-elect and a platform which seemed so far from core Christian teachings. Yet, no hero emerged to stop Mr. Trump. It’s not that people had not taken a stand. People had taken to the streets: Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, Nashville, etc. They filled the streets. But no one stood up who could single-handedly or even collectively stop this.

For whatever reason, I turned the TV back to the inauguration to see the actual swearing in. That surreal, sinking feeling held sway: no way Donald Trump can stand in our nation’s capital and take that oath. As he faced the monuments of our past, surely Lincoln would stand up from his stone chair at the Lincoln Memorial and shout from the stairs: “This is not what emancipation is about.” Surely Martin Luther King, Jr. would untether himself from the stone wall on Independence Avenue and we would hear that magnificent voice once again: “I still have a dream...and THIS is not it.” Yet, reality requires new voices, preferably ones still breathing. Yet no voice was enough to halt what seemed unbearable. No Hail Mary would help. No trump card fell. Just Trump. On the platform facing the historic artifacts of our nation’s past, Donald J. Trump became the 45th president of the United States of America.

### **The First 130 Days**

I wish I could say that, once the “Regressive” era arrived, I wasted no time channeling my best Jane Addams, that I had modeled what an advocate should be doing in the first 130 days. Indeed, that might make a better narrative account and that is the story I would like to tell; but it’s not the real one. This narrative unfolds more like me looking like a deer in headlights. Many of us

who have lived or traveled in rural areas actually know what a “deer in headlights” looks like. Mesmerized by the incongruity of the lights, the deer is frozen. No amount of instinct or ability is of any assistance to this speedster of nature; instead of darting into a distant line of trees, the deer stands frozen, hypnotized, a spectator of lights. That is what the first few months of Trump’s presidency seemed to me. The incongruity of it all kind of froze me in place. My instincts to act seemed impotent, or perhaps it just seemed futile to bother. I became a citizen caught in the headlines. I think I was still waiting for some superhero, Spender, or the deep state. Like Ricky Bobby from *Talladega Nights*, I must have uttered an existential cry as desperate and as disoriented as Ricky Bobby’s plea: “Help me Jesus! Help me, Tom Cruise! Help me, Jewish God! Help me, Allah! Help me, Tom Cruise!” (“Ricky Bobby *Talladega Nights*,” n.d.).

The next few weeks and months consisted of me trying to get past the headlines and get moving again. It’s not like I didn’t have good excuses after all. I had no shortage of things to occupy more time than I had. Take faculty duties for example: My faculty duties occupied legions of time teaching, advising, and research, and giving service to the university and community. How did I have time to be an activist? I would even make a good candidate for poster-boy of the sandwich generation: parents and children living under a single roof (Parker & Patten, 2013). As a result, I think I have had good cause to be excused from the front lines in early 2017. However, even in my excuses I could not escape the call to be active in the fight against the policy slashers. Repealing The Affordable Care Act could have significant consequences for my 76-year-old father. He spent an inordinate amount of time stressing about co-pays and sparring with his insurance company. How much worse could this be after Trumpcare? Caring for and educating my boys also took me back to the Trump team. My wife and I had recently pulled one of my children from public schools because he was not receiving proper educational accommodations. If it were a battle to get schools to adhere to mandated educational accommodations before Trump, how much worse would it be with Trump? After all, Trump’s choice for education secretary had not impressed on the notion of greater accommodations. Even my excuses reminded me that things were deteriorating in “Trump’s America,” as policies were rolling back at warp speed. Yet, I continued spectating, a teacher caught in the headlines, waiting for someone else to step up.

Thankfully, people were stepping up and standing up. Protest was increasingly difficult, as measures to quell protest were proposed and protesters were ridiculed. The label that seemed to slice deepest was “snowflake.” I didn’t want to be called a snowflake. I prided myself on being a strong person, able to handle my own. I have had to unlearn the excessive parts of assertiveness thanks to a loving but honest wife who reminded me that strength is knowing when to choose battles and when to walk. Yet, I didn’t want to be called a snowflake, but I also didn’t want to be run over in traffic. They started running over protesters. They started proposing legislation, slap-on-the-wrist laws for people who ran over protesters. Trump’s America was becoming downright scary. But at some point, perhaps out of desperation, the deer finds its way free from the headlights.

### **Finding My Way**

This narrative is about this social work professor escaping from the morass of the headlines and

eventually finding my way. At times, it was like one step forward and two steps back. The points below lay out how I found my way. These points are not laid out like stepping stones on a quiet walk, but like anchors on an upward climb, anchors not proportionally laid out for ease, but requiring stretching and reaching beyond comfort level. These seven points are collaborating, researching, teaching, understanding, practicing, advocating, and reflecting. And each one of these is related to one or more of the six social work values-importance of human relationship, social justice, integrity, competence, dignity and worth of the individual, and service (Reamer, 2006).

### **Finding Allies: Collaborating (Importance of Human Relationships)**

Snowflakes are innocuous, frozen wafers until they join other snowflakes. The more flakes gather, the greater the impact. I survived the blizzard of '65 in Hammond, Indiana and the blizzard of '78 in Western Kentucky. But the one I remember most was the 16 inches dropped on Louisville, Kentucky in 1994. The city was immobilized and everything was canceled that wasn't related to life and death; I learned firsthand how snowflakes could change everything if they bonded. So, my first organized attempt to collaborate was with a local politician sympathetic to social work values. The quaint little Mediterranean restaurant where we met was adorned with elements of middle Eastern culture and life. It served as a reminder of our collective commitment to immersion into and welcoming of cultures other than our own. We both shared a concern that cultural diversity might not be as welcome by this new administration. I peppered this seasoned politician with one basic question: "Should we be really concerned about Trump as president?" Is the sky really falling? Is it Chicken Little Time or not? And what can we do? Mr. Sterling was concerned but measured in his responses. He wasn't resigned to some sort of doomsday scenario, but he was concerned about policy rollbacks and the potential for Trump to inadvertently start war. Yet, Mr. Sterling did not commiserate with Chicken Little, and he showed strength and confidence as he encouraged social workers to do what social workers do; be informed, be active, and be hopeful.

One of the six social work values is the importance of human relationship. Social workers find strength in those relationships as we navigate paths not unfamiliar to social workers. The roll call of social workers who have bonded is familiar, as are the accomplishments of this collective. When social workers join, they create settlement houses, help craft welfare laws, protect children from any circumstance which might limit or steal any part of their childhood. But there is much work to be done presently, and the need to unify and act is critical. Since that initial meeting in January, I have found many allies, including NASW in Tennessee and on the national level. Joining with other like-minded people creates a greater impact; there is strength in numbers. But, that strength is diluted if the quest for truth is not paramount.

### **Unearthing the Fake from the Real: Researching (Integrity and Competence)**

The last few months has demonstrated that information does not equal truth. In the season of Trump, sorting out fact from fiction has been difficult, but integrity demands that we do the work; competence sees that it is done well. After all, social work is an evidence-based profession; we are, ostensibly, experts at sifting fact from fiction or opinion. I consider myself a

pretty decent sifter of truth, having taught research at both the bachelor's and master's level. But this past spring has reminded me that I too can be sloppy. I carelessly passed something along on social media which was misleading. After discovering my error, I quickly deleted the information, sent out a sort of arcane apology, and hoped no one noticed. Now I double check everything I pass on. It doesn't matter who created it or passed it to me; if fake news intersects me, I have a responsibility to expose it.

Sometimes fake news is enticing. Recently I thought Donald Trump had damaged himself in a *People Magazine* article before becoming president: "If I were to run for president, I would run as a Republican. They're the dumbest voters in the country. They believe anything on Fox News. I could lie and they'd still eat it up. I bet my numbers would be terrific" (LaCapria, 2017). Even though I personally do not believe that Republicans are less intelligent, I was hoping this was not "fake news." Yet, before I dared pass this information along I thought it might be good to authenticate it. It didn't take long to discover that this was indeed faux (LaCapria, 2017). It did sound like a Trumpism and possessed soundbite quality, yet no amount of social appeal can compete with the truth. Social workers must pan for facts, picking out truth nuggets from that which needs discarding in the daily feed of news and continually emerging information and misinformation. Even in the last few months I learned to diversify news sources. I watched everything I could, read everything I could, and even sought out advice from others. I started watching news sources with different ideological biases. I began consulting sites and organizations whose sole purpose was to check facts. I searched out the consumer book culture. I read both anti-Trump consumer reading and pro-Trump consumer reading.

Social workers must also demonstrate competence at a level much higher than the basics of searching out fact from fake news. We must also take opportunity to understand what really happened with this election. How did the pollsters get this one so wrong? What were people thinking in parts of the U.S. known as The Rust Belt? Is it fair to cast dispersions on someone who voted differently? Is one political party more morally upright or justified than another political party? This latter question is an area of research I myself have great interest in and one in which I have launched a study. But there are numerous outlets of research to be explored. Social workers value understanding, and seeking understanding is the next anchor on the climb.

### **Reaching Beyond the Battle Lines: Understanding (Dignity and Worth of the Individual)**

Closely related to researching truth, social workers need to reach beyond battle lines; this requires understanding. Divisions existed in America even before the election of Donald Trump. But after the election, battle lines became fences and walls. I wondered: How does one even begin to traverse this new battlefield of values and ideas? How could I, how could we, best act to preserve policies which protected and aided vulnerable populations? It is not like I hadn't encountered this question before. In a Macro Social Work class I taught, we juxtaposed the social change models of Saul Alinsky and Martin Luther King, Jr. Alinsky (1971) laid out his plan in *Rules for Radicals* and legitimized the demonization of the opponent, while King proposed a more neutral approach of calling out injustice but recognizing the humanity in each person (King, 1964; Kirst-Ashman & Hull, 2012).

By February of 2017, it seemed that everyone was more Saul Alinsky in approach. Snowflakes versus deplorables and racists. The rhetoric was ubiquitous and it was easy to be drawn into conversation streams on social media. One such stream centered conversation on the association of Trump supporters with racist views. One contributor to that stream seemed much more Alinskian: "Anyone who voted for Trump is a racist." I viewed things a bit differently: "Well, I think some people who voted for Trump are racists. And that his platform appeals to racists. But I think it is a stretch to say that everyone who voted for Trump is racist." I think we eventually agreed to disagree. But the conversation reminded me of the need to be more understanding and less generalizing.

In social work circles in which I have associated, there seems to be an assumption that good social workers are Democrats. Yet, a few of my own students identified more with conservative ideology, and one of them requested office time with me in early spring. Battle-weary from the crossfire of rhetoric, she began questioning her own calling as a social worker. I explained that the social work profession gravitates more towards progressive politics since this seems to be the most consistent pathway to help the most vulnerable. I told her that, if she could demonstrate that another approach works better, can be sustained, and reaches as many or more people, then I would be the first to support it. If the evidence demonstrated that private philanthropy is more efficient and sustainable over time, then that's the way social work should advocate. But until that is demonstrated, then the profession should continue to advocate for programs and funding that work through local, state, and federal entities to assist others.

Discerning social work practitioners and educators move beyond the rhetoric to a greater understanding. Attempting to understand why people hold particular views or vote one way over another can be challenging, but can payoff hugely. I spent Christmas day 2016 with people who voted for Trump and will likely spend Christmas 2017 with the same people. Labeling these friends as uncompassionate or racist seems to overgeneralize. On the other hand, trying to understand can be arduous and frustrating. The aforementioned friendship has spanned nearly 40 years. My friend and I disagree ideologically on political methodology, but to attribute race as the key issue in his vote for Trump would be oversimplified. We both grew up in the same small town where racial divides existed, but these divides were mitigated through school and sports. So if not race, then what? One single, overarching issue determines most of his votes: abortion. Although I can understand his desire to see less abortions in America, we differ on how to reach that goal and many others. Anti-abortion does not equate to pro-life; my friend and I have been back and forth over this on numerous occasions. Pro-life is, by definition, an oxymoron if by pro-life you demonstrate that your platform is mostly pro-birth. Indeed, social workers need to understand that one single issue can trump (no pun intended) a thousand others. For others, this election was about jobs, or health care, or draining the swamp. And for some, it was about race and nationalism, but social workers are remiss to overgeneralize by lumping everyone into simple categories.

Person-in-environment considerations involve the strenuous but necessary work of considering decisions within discreet environments (Miley, O'Melia, & DuBois, 2011). How we respond once we understand is also important. If we discount someone's moral code that led to a voting decision, then we have deepened the battle lines (assuming of course that one's moral code is

not, by definition, built on a platform of prejudice). The dignity and worth of individuals demands that we do our best to understand people; integrity is following through on the quest to understand. Yet, the quest to understand will not always result in agreement over issues. Being conciliatory does not equate to acquiescence. If Trump does something good for the country, or for historically marginalized people, I can applaud. But when he does the opposite, I will stand in the way. These are times in which we must be very discerning people. We must reach across the battle lines and find as much common ground as possible, but stand up for what we believe.

### **Capturing History Unfolding: Teaching (Competence)**

One constant in the last few months was my trade; I taught social work students. And President Trump helped. Trump quickly became a case study in themes related to law and social work. My class just happened to be studying the U.S. Constitution and the branches of government. What more could a professor ask for than a current event which beautifully illustrated the current balance of powers? On January 27, President Trump issued an Executive Order curtailing travel for Muslims from seven different countries. On February 5, U.S. District Judge James Robart issued a restraining order halting the enactment of the order. After the U.S. Justice Department appealed the order, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals rejected an emergency stay (McGraw & Kelsey, 2017). I may not have been happy with the Trump's agenda, but I might as well take advantage of the current headlines which seemed to provide great teaching points.

Not only has the court balanced out the president's policy, but Congress has done so as well. The irony in this latter case is that the GOP controls Congress. Yet, when the time came for the president to fulfill the campaign promise of "Repealing and Replacing Obamacare," the president was faced with a divide between Republicans who supported the bill and those who opposed it. As roll call time approached in April, the president did not have the YEAS. But the dissenters, interestingly enough, dissented for two very different reasons. There were those who wanted to roll back just about every facet of The Affordable Care Act and those who wanted to tweak the law. The man who claimed to be "the closer of the deal" was struggling to close the gap between more hardline conservatives and more moderate conservatives (Pear, Kaplan, & Haberman, 2017). The lesson in this is that CEO is different from POTUS. Mr. Trump may not have had to deal with a balance of powers, but President Trump had to. Again, civic lessons in constitutional governing and the balance of powers were being served before our very eyes, custom-made for my Law and Social Work classes.

The presidency of Mr. Trump has provided teachable moments far beyond constitutional law and balance of powers. The many policy issues again at the forefront of political discussion, such as healthcare reform, welfare reform, and immigration reform provided ample opportunity for illustration and discussion. One such point of emphasis centered around alleged cuts to the popular program Meals on Wheels. When the news first broke on this story there was uncertainty as to the impact the Trump budget would have on the elderly food program (Korte, 2017). Nonetheless, it provided an interesting point of emphasis for my Research II class. I informed the class of the breaking news on the topic and I proposed a simple question: "What should be the basis of a whether or not a program is funded?" Students wasted little time regurgitating the knowledge consumed over two semesters: Programs should be statistically

assessed regarding overall efficacy for clientele, assuming efficacy is properly operationalized. The social work value of integrity demands that we continue to do in the midst of whatever life throws our way, what it is we are called to do. And teachers should keep up to date on current events so as to utilize every presentable pedagogical means available to illustrate what is being taught. That is what competent teachers do. Goodness knows that Mr. Trump provided a lot of early illustrations. But social work teachers must also remember what most essentially defines the profession.

### **Serving the Most Vulnerable: Practicing (Serving)**

Social work is, at its essence, a practice-based profession. Those of us associated with this profession at any level have a common DNA gravitating towards changing lives through direct practice. Social workers really need no such written dogma such as the following: “Social workers pursue social change, particularly with and on behalf of vulnerable and oppressed individuals and groups of people” (Reamer, 2006, p. 254). This is what we have always done for as long as we can remember. We were uncomfortable when an “outcast” was ridiculed during 7th grade recess. We got caught associating with the untouchables. Before we knew it, we were going out of our way to assist others in need and were choosing careers with less pay appeal and more heart appeal. And it usually had something to do with vulnerable or oppressed populations. From the elderly in retirement homes to foster kids in DHS custody, we have been there. We attempted to embody what Jewish poet Emma Lazarus envisioned through a poem inscribed at the Statue of Liberty: “Give me your tired, your poor / Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free / The wretched refuse of your teeming shore / Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me / I lift my hand beside the golden door!” (Lazarus, 2002). And when we were not helping immigrants, we might just be found among the poorest of the poor in sections of town we had been warned to avoid. And, God forbid we be found among those who ridiculed or bullied the disabled. So, we collectively got a sick feeling in our stomachs when Candidate Trump appeared to mock *New York Times* Reporter Serge Kovalski (Carmon, 2016). After all, those are the people we have always stood up for.

I for one have found purpose in the trenches, standing up for and championing the cause of the marginalized, first as a pastor of an inner-city church and then as a social work practitioner. I engaged in direct service in both roles. By 2012 my compassion was badly fatigued, and if there is such a thing as burnout, I was scorched. I badly missed the formal teaching role that ministry provided. Upon joining academia, I quickly learned that it involves teaching about how to reach vulnerable people and offering case studies from our own and others’ practice. However, as time passes, we move further and further away from fresh and innovative field experiences. Academia even requires community service as a tenure requirement, but the obligatory community service requirements don’t necessarily satisfy the soul. For the past couple of years leading up to the election, I had felt the tug to be back on the front lines of service. The Ivory Tower was indeed like a tower removed from the suffering of vulnerable people. It seems as if I had experienced some sort of compassion fatigue reversal, a sort of compassion atrophy (at least an atrophy in exercising that compassion). Five days a week, sometimes more, I went to my office. I taught classes and met with students. On weekends I took my family to our favorite restaurant. Ironically, it was those times dining out with my family and dropping \$65 on a single

meal that I realized how far from practice I had gotten. On our way out of the parking lot one Sunday afternoon, there was a man with a sign asking for food. Since I wanted to be a responsible caregiver, I did not give cash to panhandlers. But I could supply an emergency bag of goodies. So my family and I stocked up on several non-perishable items and stuffed the baggies. It was great for the guilt after having just dropped \$65.00 on single meal. Just roll down the window, hand off a baggie, and drive off full of both dinner and that good feeling of having made a difference. But, as time passed, we ran out of baggies, and life became busier each passing year. But one constant for our family was darkening the door to our favorite restaurant. Another constant was the panhandlers, always in that same spot by the restaurant. After the first time I drove by as if not to notice, it got a bit easier the next time. But I wondered what I was teaching my children.

Two weeks ago, we passed by the same place. Again, a gentleman was there with a sign. I couldn't drive by again. I handed my son some cash (the gentleman was on the passenger's side of the corner) and had him hand it off. If looks of sincerity are any indication of authenticity, this gentleman was in real need of help. His eyes met my eyes as he looked past my son and thanked me and indicated that the cash would help his family. As I drove from that spot and out of the parking lot, I wept. My teenage son and his younger brother were perplexed at my tears and I tried to explain that the tears were out of compassion for this man and conviction for what I had allowed myself to become: being too busy to carve out quality time with and for people like the gentleman we had just helped. No amount of policy change through a Trump presidency or any other administration could ever keep me from spending quality time with people like this gentleman. Perhaps the Trump administration necessitates that we all step up our efforts to spend time in volunteer and spontaneous practice opportunities in service to others. As policies are rolled back, we will see more people holding signs than perhaps we have ever seen. As for me, this educator must rearrange some things and become an "edu-actor" again, especially in Trump's new world.

### **Representing the Marginalized: Advocating (Social Justice)**

Nothing can replace grassroots organizing and advocacy. Unless the data demonstrate clearly that social policy and federal laws have either a neutral or even detrimental impact on vulnerable populations, then we must be a people devoted to political advocacy. Grassroots organizing will indeed be an upward climb, as Kaufman (2003) alludes to but also provides hope:

The dominant set of ideas that rule our society encourage us to have a passive view of our place in the world and a pessimistic view of the possibilities for change. Once we break free from this dominant set of ideas, a whole new world of possibilities for changing the world opens up before us (p. 12).

After many months of journeying, as the above narrative details, I have found my way forward in advocacy, breaking free from the passivity and pessimism of which Kaufman noted. One tool I have used is social media, a boon for social advocacy during the Trump presidency; it gathers people from the four corners and joins them together. I discovered a well-organized, well researched, and up to date grassroots organizing network: National Association of Social

Workers (NASW). The days of do-it-yourself advocacy are over: search out your Representatives or Senators, get a mailing address, write a letter, apply a stamp, and drop it in the mail. If you know your zip code, you can connect to NASW's current advocacy objectives, and the political operatives for your area are pulled up for you. All you have to do is supply some basic information and then a form letter is submitted to your local politicians. NASW has facilitated this advocacy in my home state as I have contacted political operatives in the House and Senate. Additionally, NASW Tennessee has provided state practitioners and educators with weekly updates regarding the legislative agenda in Tennessee. NASW Tennessee also sponsored a day in which social workers gathered at the state capitol and learned about current policy initiatives and also met local and state politicians. Social workers from across the state of Tennessee learned about efforts to repeal The Affordable Care Act. In addition to the above efforts, Karen Franklin, Executive Director of NASW Tennessee, is interested in collaborating with other social work operatives as we move forward: "NASW Tennessee is open to exploring other opportunities for incorporating advocacy and policy in classroom and community learning experiences" (K. Franklin, personal communication, May 30, 2017). We are in the process of setting up a meeting presently to see how we can flush that out.

As for the time being, I have renewed energy and impetus for advocacy efforts. I will continue to learn all I can and make as much difference as I can as I continue to join forces with other social workers locally and nationally. Sometime in the next week I will sit down with what looks like a good book: *The Trump Survival Guide: Everything You Need to Know About Living Through What You Hoped Would Never Happen*. I think the title says a lot, but the book says a lot more. My first review of the book revealed a plethora of practical information, from organizations to join to different types of advocacy efforts ranging from the environment to women's reproductive issues. I will continue to read, watch the news, seek out the opinions of others different from me, and do what I can as I bond with others.

Engler & Engler (2016) remind us that the entire previous century illustrates the power of peaceful protest and the dividends of stepping up and joining the work of advocacy:

Decade after decade, unarmed mobilizations have created defining moments. In the United States, these include the sit-down strikes in Michigan auto plants of the 1930s, the antiwar and campus free-speech movements of the 1960s, the welfare and women's rights protests of the 1970s, the nuclear freeze campaign and AIDS activism of the 1980s, direct action to protect old-growth forests and oppose corporate globalization in the 1990s, and demonstrations against the Iraq War in the early years of the new century. Internationally, strategic nonviolent conflict has been critical in helping to overthrow undemocratic rulers in a litany of countries, from Chile and Poland, to the Philippines and Serbia, to Benin and Tunisia (Int. xvii).

Social workers have often been at the forefront of these reforms. Francis Perkins (Secretary of Labor under Franklin Roosevelt), and Harry Hopkins (instrumental in crafting the New Deal) are identified as social workers. Jane Addams influenced change through advocacy in a number areas: disease prevention, health clinics, housing codes, child labor laws, and industrial safety guidelines (Karger & Stoesz, 2014). Social workers have influenced change in a legion of ways

that have gone unheralded and have never made the history books. At this time, at this very hour, social workers must draw lines in the sands of time and once again be the champions of social justice.

### **Rehearsing a History of Hope: Reflecting (Integrity)**

As of late May, as I am submitting this narrative account, impeachment talk escalates. Will 45 be impeached or will he survive the Russian probe? It seems that as time passes, and as I regain a sense of perspective, the prospect of a Trump impeachment is not as exciting as even a month ago, especially when I consider the political succession process. Why should I place any hope in a Trump impeachment? In my Generalist Social Work class, we spoke of this thing called “locus of control” (Singh, 2006). Clients are often out of sorts and disappointed in life because of misplaced notions of control. Clients, human beings like me, often hope for something to happen outside of themselves when they can control what happens inside themselves regardless of what happens environmentally. Social workers can actually de-empower clients if we are not crystal clear on locus of control. Being hyper-focused on what we cannot control quells empowerment. But locus of control is also about realizing that we do have power to impact our environment

I cannot in any meaningful way control whether there is a scandal of enough proportions to impeach Donald Trump. And my control is pretty much nil on how a Trump, Pence, or Ryan presidency lays out policy change. As for policy change, just hours before I submitted this narrative, President Trump withdrew from the Paris Climate Agreement. The collective world shook its head again. I cannot do much about that withdraw at this moment, but I can impact what I do. As I reflect on that, I can do a lot. And when I join other likeminded people, I can do amazing things. So I am incorporating my own pedagogy. These days I will hyper-focus on what I can control. Perhaps the greatest eureka moment is realizing I do not need Spender or the deep state or a scandal. I do not need a hero or a superhero. Superheroes are not really needed. I just need to be me and do what I do, and collaborate with others and oppose all policies which disadvantage people or planets.

Reframing and reflecting through writing this narrative has been good for my soul. We as social workers should reflect more often and reframe things from time to time. It adds perspective and can bolster our collective integrity. As we reflect together, perhaps Trump is not the worst thing that could have happened to progressive ideas. Maybe he, by default, will turn out to be one of the best things that could have happened. Maybe the Trump presidency will awaken a slumbering body of activists. Maybe now we will not leave it to the other person to take to social media, to march in the streets, to organize people at a grassroots level. I am the other. Whoever reads this narrative is the other. It is time we all quit waiting for heroes. We don't need heroes. We need me. We need you. We need us. We have a way to go and a long list of policy issues with which to consider: healthcare, welfare, living wages, jobs, housing, criminal justice, racial rights, immigration status, women's issues, education, the environment. We must act quickly and with creativity. After all, when snowflakes join, as I have learned literally and metaphorically, a lot changes happen.

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# **HBCUs Respond: Social Justice and Social Work Education in a Trump Era**

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**Abstract:** Given the current political climate following the election of Trump to the White House, it is important to ensure that Schools of Social Work are responding in a way that is promoting social justice, advocacy, and opposition to any form of oppression. This reflective narrative discusses how three assistant professors who are faculty in Schools of Social Work at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) engaged their students in transformational learning to embrace the aftermath of the election results. This is a reflection about empowerment and preparing future social workers to address social justice issues.

**Keywords:** HBCUs, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, social justice, advocacy, oppression, Morgan State University, Clark Atlanta University, Johnson C. Smith University, Black Lives Matter, transformative learning

## **Introduction**

This article is a reflective narrative of three social work educators at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) and their responses to the campaign and election of Donald Trump. There are some that would argue that teaching at and attending an HBCU provides a buffer from the “typical” impact of racism and discrimination. This would be a true argument if everything operated in a vacuum and faculty and students were not affected by outside influence. However, outside influences and experiences oftentimes shape the views, opinions, and beliefs of faculty and students who attend HBCUs. One such topic that has traditionally sparked ongoing discussions in the social work profession is politics and its impact on the larger community.

One such occasion that we could all vividly recall was the campaign and even more exciting election night of November 4, 2008. This was no ordinary election for us because an African American man named Barack Obama was running for the office of the President of the United States of America and was making significant progress towards being elected. We all sat in front of the television as the election results came in hoping and praying for his victory; for his success was all of our success. As we sat around and discussed the current state of politics and our political leaders, we remembered the feeling of hearing President Obama’s acceptance speech. It was like all of the black community was on a never-ending natural high. President Obama winning the election was more than just another person becoming an elected official. He was the first African American president and for many a solid indication that changes within the community were on the horizon. President Obama represented hope and provided a positive outlook on the future of minority communities.

For eight years, we were able to witness and benefit from progressive policy making as a result of President Obama and his leadership. Consequently, his term as president came to an end as did the era of hope and optimism. Just as we have never forgotten the positive election results for

President Obama, we will never forget our devastation at the election results for Donald Trump. Since the beginning of his campaign, Donald Trump ran on a platform of nationalism, isolationism, xenophobia, racism, Islamophobia, and proudly disparaging behaviors and attitudes toward women, people with disabilities, LGBTQ people and many other minority communities (Anderson-Nathe, & Gharabaghi, 2017). His campaign and subsequent election demonstrated a side of America that many of our students at our respective HBCUs have never seen. While some of our students expressed that they experienced covert racism and/or discrimination, they were primarily experiencing a shift in society where the ongoing rhetoric included sayings such as “racism is over” (Arroyo, Palmer, & Maramba, 2016) or the belief that things were “better” since we had an African American president (Wade, & Younge, 2015). Since Donald Trump’s “rise to power,” those beliefs have been tested. Students are experiencing in real-time the effects of hate speech, alt-right influences, white privilege, and questionable politics and their impact on the American way of life. Moreover, these experiences are occurring at much faster rates due to instant access to information through social media (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Snapchat, etc.) (Wells et al., 2016). As these real-time experiences spill over into the classroom, we as social work educators have to address them head on and adapt our teaching curriculum while also balancing our own emotional responses to these political happenings (Robbins & Singer, 2014).

### **History and Importance of Historically Black Colleges and Universities**

As a critical component of our reflection, and more recently an ongoing topic within the media and the Trump administration, is that of Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Recently referred to as “pioneers of school choice” by Betsy Devos who was appointed Secretary of Education by Trump, we felt it was necessary to discuss the history and importance of HBCUs within the context of politics and social justice. Following the volatile political climate of the U.S. Civil War, HBCUs emerged and were established as a consequence of segregation towards formerly enslaved African Americans (Arroyo, Palmer, & Maramba, 2015).

Among the more than 100 notable HBCUs, Cheyney State University founded in 1837 in Cheyney, PA is listed as the first Historically Black College/University. Other HBCUs established prior to the Civil War include Lincoln (1854) and Wilberforce University (1856). According to Bowles, Hopps, and Clayton (2016), “HBCUs were established in part because of denied access to traditionally White institutions, but primarily because of a thirst for higher education and social mobility of descendants of former slaves, they have played a critical role in the evolution of American society”(pg. 120). HBCUs have had a significant impact on millions nationally and globally with a universal purpose of offering higher education and upward mobility to people of color (Bowles, Hoops, & Clayton, 2016).

While originally established as a means to provide higher education to African Americans, the National Center for Educational Statistics has continued to report increased enrollments among non-blacks such as whites, Latino/as, and Asian Americans (Arroyo, Palmer, & Maramba, 2015). HBCUs are of immense importance as they have been a source for greater equality in their vision and teachings around cultural competence and understanding the impacts of oppression on society and various sub-groups. Consistent with their overall goals and mission

statements which are often rooted in social justice, HBCUs continue to uplift minority communities by consistently graduating more African Americans and people of color than any other universities (Chiles, N. 2017).

Following the 2016 election, the importance of HBCUs was further highlighted by President Donald Trump's requested visit from all of the HBCU presidents and leaders. The meeting, which took place on February 27-28, 2017 during Trump's first 100 days, was attended by a large majority of the HBCUs administrators and was followed up with an executive order called the White House Initiative to promote excellence and innovation at Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Several HBCU presidents and leaders spoke and sent out campus-wide responses regarding their ambivalence in participation in the meeting, but also expressed the need to be present for the discussion, as HBCUs have always been seriously under-resourced across disciplines, professions, and academic support, including library and archival services (Hopps, 2007).

### **Social Justice and Social Work Education**

Since the election of Trump, one of the areas that students began to focus on and discuss in the classroom was that of social justice and advocacy. While consistently discussed in social work education in general, many of our students began expressing a need to participate in social justice activities in response to the politics of Trump. Some of these social justice responses included both local and national protests as well as social media campaigns such as #BLACKLIVESMATTER (Johnson, 2017). As we discussed this increase in student involvement, it became more noticeable that the election of Trump was also a catalyst for students to become more active in their community and to speak out against things that are harmful to themselves and others. This change resulted in much more active classroom discussions as well as students that appeared to be more versed in current news and "trending topics" on social media. As social work educators, we were also faced with a teaching dilemma: How do we incorporate the current syllabus material with current happenings in politics?

One of the ways that we talked about addressing this immediate need of our students to discuss current politics and social justice issues was to engage students in a transformational learning approach: "Transformative learning is an approach to learning that generates new possibilities transcending the taken-for-granted status quo. This approach to learning is facilitated by encouraging creativity, 'the engine of imagination,' and problematization, which is 'expressed in questions'" (Witkin, 2014, p. 594-595). Using this process, we encouraged the students to relate the current news or "trending topics" to the current course content. We attempted to encourage the students to think about the larger context of the issues and how they cannot just affect one specific issue, but have larger further reaching consequences. Our hope was to assist our students in understanding social justice and advocacy from a social work standpoint and utilize these skills to formulate a position for their areas of concern (homelessness, substance use disorders, mental health, child welfare, school social work, gerontology, public health, etc.) (Adams, 2016). The following section will describe how we used transformative learning in our respective universities to foster and encourage social justice and advocacy in the era of Trump.

## **Reflections from Morgan State University School of Social Work Faculty**

Morgan State University is a historically black college (HBCU) located in Baltimore, Maryland. Founded in 1872 as a Bible institute, Morgan State University has undergone significant changes and is designated as Maryland's public urban university and the largest HBCU in Maryland. Consistent with the ongoing changes at the university level, the School of Social Work was established in 1969 as the Undergraduate Social Welfare Program in the Department of Sociology, College of Liberal Arts. It was not until 1975 that the program received departmental status and the name was changed to Department of Social Work. Following the addition of a Masters and Doctoral program in 2006, the social work department was formally recognized as a School of Social Work in 2009. Since the start of the social work program at Morgan State University, faculty and students have engaged in social justice and community work in Baltimore city and surrounding areas.

Within the School of Social Work at Morgan State University, there is a large focus on doing community work and pushing the motto of “#URBANSTRONG.” For me, the #urbanstrong motto means to work hard and uplift the community in all the work that we do. Being a faculty member at an HBCU is rewarding and in many cases very protective from the experience of African American faculty members at a predominately white institute (PWI) (Zambrana, 2015). However, during the campaigning and subsequent election of Donald Trump, the effects of his campaign, which included racism, sexism, classism, xenophobia, and other discriminatory practices, began showing up in the classroom. I remember vividly the morning after the election results; it was such a disappointment to realize that America had voted for a person that said so many distasteful things that were offensive to many minority groups. All I could think of at the time was “What does this all mean?”

While this was a larger question in general, it resonated with me throughout the day, constantly wondering what effect this election would have on students, clients, families, communities, and as a society. I had a genuine concern and fear for my community and the people that I worked with in the community. These thoughts were distracting for many days following the election. One day I walked into the classroom and was met with a variety of stares from students. Some of the students looked stressed while others did not have any reaction, just the look of being numb. Immediately, I tried to figure out how I was going to address all these different emotions and cover the material for the session. As I began class, I simply started with a question, “How are you doing”? This led to a variety of responses and emotions. When it was all said and done, it was time for the class to end. We did not even get started on the planned material for the session.

As the class ended, I realized that this level of emotion and concern would be prevalent until people figured out what this election meant overall. As such, I had to think of a way to engage the students in political discourse while also covering the require information for the class. As I was driving home from the university after the class, I called my colleagues and asked if their students had a similar reaction to the election as mine did. Both stated that their students could not stop talking about it. As we progressed in our conversation, the question of how to incorporate these ongoing and much needed discussions into class came up. As we talked about

various possibilities, I suggested, “Why not let the students come up with how to integrate the discussions?” This question led to further discussion about transformational learning that put the power of the learning in the students’ hands. Additionally, this approach allowed for students to have creativity with how they integrated the information (Witkin, 2014).

Using this transformational learning approach provided students with a way to discuss the current political climate while also discussing it from a perspective or social issue that they were passionate about. However, the students were not the only ones who benefitted from this approach. I was also able to engage in the discussion with the students and discuss my thoughts and concerns around the information and intersections of the many topics presented. In a sense, this transformational learning approach created a safe space for expression of feelings and to voice concerns and fears related to the election. Additionally, this was also a space where students would discuss their increased involvement in social justice activities such as protests, as well as things that were going on in the social media environment which were as relevant to the class. As a faculty member in the School of Social Work, I was pleased that my students were able to utilize and adapt to this approach as a means to understand politics, social work and social justice.

### **Reflections from Clark Atlanta University Social Work Faculty**

Clark Atlanta University is a historically black college/university uniquely situated in the Atlanta University Center (AUC) within the metropolitan community. The location offers students both southern and urban aspects to learn, utilize and apply hands-on applications within their internships. The School of Social Work has the distinction of being the oldest historically black accredited school of social work in the world. The program seeks to prepare social work practitioners and leaders with knowledge, skills, and abilities to address social problems locally, nationally, and globally. The Whitney M. Young Jr. School of Social Work (WMYJSSW) prepares social work students with an emphasis on the Afrocentric perspective as a lens to screen for culturally and linguistically sensitive interventions with at-risk populations.

As a faculty member who teaches within the practice and research foci, it has always been my aim to thread the knowledge from each of these core classes into conversations, discussions and coursework, to offer students an opportunity to implement the core values of social work. This past year has been extremely interesting as the discussions around the presidential debates and changes from the President’s first hundred days have affected the social work profession and society.

During the presidential election, classroom discourse centered on how each of the candidates’ proposed policies would impact the practice of social work and ultimately their client base. Students shared how important it is to distinguish between their professional and personal values. Several discussions and class activities centered on females in leadership and the role of service. Students researched and discussed female leadership globally as well as directly, and the differences that they felt about leadership and gender equality. A large majority of the current student body within the School of Social Work are women of color, and several expressed that within their internships they have women supervisors who guide their practicum. Given the

negative tone and demeaning messaging towards women from Donald Trump, I augmented our coursework to include information around the gender pay gap and how it impacts our profession as well as our clientele. Rather than focus on the issue individually, I encouraged my students to focus on solutions and how they could become more involved in policy to create change.

Another topic that seemed to permeate our classroom discussions was that of service and experience. During the election campaign process, it was apparent and regularly reported that one of the candidates, Donald J. Trump, had not previously held a position within politics or the area of public service. As a way to address this glaring issue within the context of social work practice and education, I had the students share their conflicted views on how years of service were a hindrance for one candidate and a possible strength for another. As part of this transformative learning process, students had to make a case for themselves to take over a large human service agency using their current level of experience. Given the mixed demographics of the student body with regards to age, this provided for a wide variety of responses from the students. During this process, students made great cases for why they should be offered the position of administrator even when they may have had limited experience. This process allowed for an open discussion regarding the various candidates and what they may or may not bring to the position. Students were able to research and learn that Hillary Clinton's years of service were often seen as a strength and a weakness. We discussed her public service and work with children and families for over twenty-five years as a strength and also a weakness as she was often referred to as a "career politician." If society and the profession sought major change how would that be possible with someone that had been involved in public service for so long? Students were also able to research her work and discuss the pros and cons of the platform she was running on. They were also able to do this with Donald Trump despite his negative rhetoric. In looking at Trump, although he did not have years of service, he shared his expertise within the business world and offered a business model as a strategy to change several major entities. The purpose of the transformative learning was to allow students to express their feelings in a way that was also constructive for classroom time and was solution oriented. I wanted the students to understand their power in advocacy, but also their responsibility to be able to make informed political arguments based on facts. As a major component of social justice and advocacy, I also encouraged and engaged in dialogue around the importance of voting. Many of our students within the class were local; however, several were from other areas and saw the importance of mailing in their votes and voter registration.

After Donald Trump's victory was announced the discussions in my classroom then shifted to how the change in government could affect their internship agencies and clients. Within the first hundred days, Donald Trump rendered several changes that impacted students directly and indirectly. The most concerning to students were the travel ban and the cutting of school lunches. Being that many of the students utilized the holistic Afrocentric lens, when the travel ban was first passed, it impacted a few of our international students, and one was held in another country as she was traveling when it was enacted. As frustrating as this was for me, it also provided students with a clear example of the direct impact of political action. Students were able to see beyond their own world view and personal feelings to discovering a more global view which impacted their colleague. The transformational learning approach offered international students opportunities to share their thoughts and feelings regarding the travel ban and the recent

election. Other students were deeply engaged and interested in hearing and learning more about international student experiences to have a deeper understanding of cultural sensitivity within themselves and their clients. Many of the class projects submitted by students centered on enhancing cultural sensitivity and the impact of the current administration. Students focused on learning about oppressed populations and understanding the recent changes from their view with the goal of developing solutions and continuing to be change agents.

Another topic that emerged as a result of the election of Donald Trump was the proposed cutting of school lunches for children. This was a hot topic for students in my class as they debated the rationale as well as the impact of such a political decision. When looking directly at the cutting of school lunches, students were appalled at President Trump's communication director's statement "that there is no evidence to prove that free lunches help the students receiving them reach higher educational standards." From those statements, students understood the importance of moving beyond "doing the work" while also incorporating program evaluation and dissemination of true findings. I encouraged my students to further discuss the impact of other proposed cuts which could affect agencies where students were placed for their internship. I assigned coursework which consisted of research on local and state representatives and their voting patterns. I wanted students to be heavily involved in the political process and to learn more about their elected officials' backgrounds. Additionally, I wanted students to identify those social workers who were engaged in activism and politics to see the importance of social work integration in policy. As we continued to discuss the impact of Trump on minority communities and clients, we discussed the Affordable Care Act and the proposal to replace healthcare with another model. I expressed to students the importance of understanding these changes and how some of the government cuts could potentially impact agencies to the point of needing to close, thus causing some students to lose their internship placements. As these discussions occurred in my class, each of them presented students with a chance to learn and gain a better understanding of the importance of connections within each of their classes as well as the impact of having social workers at the table. Through the transformative learning approach, students were able to understand that research offers the opportunity to see issues from multiple perspectives and develop solution-oriented approaches to social justice and advocacy.

It is my continued goal as a social work educator to bring real life issues to the classroom and incorporate them into both practice and research. Furthermore, the mission of the program is to prepare advanced social work practitioners as leaders who pursue social justice with a commitment to service with diverse populations, address disparity issues that prevail globally and engage in competent practice.

### **Reflections from Johnson C. Smith University Social Work Faculty**

Johnson C. Smith University (JCSU) is a 150-year-old HBCU with a rich history of making a contribution to the development of a socially just society. The history of the university demonstrates an institution committed to create change agents for building a better society. The institution creates a safe environment to nurture and protect student development socially and academically. The process of obtaining higher education has historically been a mechanism many members of marginalized societal groups have employed to create social opportunities for

societal change and to ensure both individual and group upward mobility. In August 2014, JCSU launched the first graduate program in the university's history. The university's selection of social work education to be the inaugural graduate degree demonstrates the institutional commitment to social justice.

My personal reflection of the election of Donald Trump is in the capacity of a father of two children, one twelve and one fifteen. My daughter, who is the youngest and is in the 7th grade, presented the greatest challenge for me. This election had successfully divided citizens along party lines, ideological values and beliefs, and even among some of our youngest and most vulnerable members, such as middle school youth. My son who is 15 was much more distant from the drama of the election, but he closely examined the rhetoric and was verbal about how candidate Trump's derogatory use of language and apathetic attitude prevented him from connecting with Trump. He was clear that, based on his observations as an African American male, he did not believe that candidate Trump would fairly represent the issues of all members of society fairly nor equitably. The morning after a full night of anticipation, the results were in and shock and trauma held a tight grip as the nation reacted to the news.

I remember vividly the election of Donald Trump, which was a shock that was felt by many who feared the damage and social upheaval that could quickly become a reality under the leadership of someone whose rhetoric was so bigoted and filled with hatred of others. This billionaire who ran on the promise to "make America great again" was never quiet about his intention to return America to its former greatness, nor did he ever directly define the causes for which America had strayed from greatness. The best the American people had in the interpretation of his rhetoric was his campaign platform to build a wall and keep out illegal Mexican immigrants, create a ban barring Muslims from entering the U.S., tax goods coming from China and Mexico, repeal and replace the Affordable Health Care Act, increase and expand military capacity for war, and ensure aggressive reaction to terror against American enemies (Johnson, 2016). As a member of a marginalized community, I connected with how the language of Trump's campaign created fear and terror in the heart of citizens who are aware of their marginalized position in America. The arrogance and attitude of superiority displayed throughout his run for the presidency was frightening to me and my community. The definition of white privilege, a term used to describe societal privileges not accessible to non-whites, is the invisible package of unearned assets, both recognized and unrecognized advantages accessed by those who identify as white (McIntosh, 1990).

One of my many roles as a social work educator is to engage students in critical thought. The graduate students at JCSU take my social problems and policy course as a part of the final year curriculum. As the campaigning and subsequent election of Trump was happening, it was my goal to ensure that students learned and discussed the history of the social welfare institutions, the qualitative differences between ideologies, values and political party affiliation, in addition to building on the knowledge, skills and beliefs of the profession in an effort to identify social problems. I engaged students in this process through the transformational learning approach. This process of helping students shift through the many voices they have developed over a lifetime is a highly reactive professional activity for graduate social work students. I felt it was necessary to shift the way I taught and engage students in the content, given the real-time

examples of shifting politics.

As my students were developing their professional identity and utilizing professional competencies in their field placements, I felt the need to ensure that students had an appropriated outlet as a means to gain clarity regarding their personal and professional development. The election of Trump brought out many emotions and thoughts, especially in North Carolina where we were already engaged in the controversial HB2 legislation which restricted the facilities of individuals within the LGBTQ community. The rhetoric of Trump was increased and many of the students were conflicted, given their personal religious or cultural beliefs. One of the more difficult tasks that I had to undertake was to ensure that students understood how social norms, societal values and beliefs, family values and training, religious or church experiences, educational training and personal dreams and aspirations influenced decision-making and behaviors. Two of my goals in using the transformational learning approach was to provide my students with a place for creative critical thought and to create an environment that supports the development of social consciousness that impacts and connects the student to the professional values, skills and competencies. The use of critical thinking pushed students to uncover and individually investigate their core personal beliefs, values, and behaviors evaluating each against the profession's expectation and code of conduct. This process was necessary for my students in understanding the importance of being able to meet others where they are without judgment or value in order to provide appropriate social work services.

As an important note, during the campaign and election period, students were exhibiting confusion, fear and apprehensive hope. There were several other social issues that were impacting student response: locally and nationally the issue of police brutality was escalating; racial tensions were high as a result of the South Carolina church shooting killing nine church members; and citizens were rioting in the Charlotte area in response to yet another police shooting killing a husband and father who suffered traumatic brain injury. JCSU held several events on campus to help students navigate their political and social response to a marked number of social unjust events as well as the election of President Trump. There was a partnership created between JCSU, University of North Carolina Charlotte (UNCC), and the National Association of Social Work Charlotte Chapter where several panels were provided to address the issue of race, social justice and political action. These events were held in three locations, one on the JCSU campus, the second on the UNCC campus, and the third at the NASWNC conference in Asheville, NC. Several students participated in all three events; many students noted their participation and having a role in the peaceful protest occurring in the Charlotte area; students also committed to increasing their civic engagement activities and being more politically involved.

### **Conclusion**

From our perspective, the election of Trump created a variety of responses from students, faculty, and the larger community surrounding HBCUs. While there was initial shock at how America could vote for a person who engaged in the use of xenophobic, racist, sexist, and homophobic remarks to represent the country, there was also a sense of togetherness which occurred as a need to rally against the type of society that promotes such behaviors. Moreover,

there was a sense of necessity to look for groups that were specifically target by Trump and his campaign. As demonstrated in this reflection, the rise of Trump to power led to more political discussions and the incorporation of transformational learning into social work courses at three HBCUs as a means to embrace student learning and engagement. While there is still much work to be done, we wanted to ensure that future social workers felt empowered and were able to engage in social justice, advocacy, and creative critical thinking. Despite the negative rhetoric that has plagued the White House, we have all pledged to do what we can when we can to stand up against racism, oppression, discrimination, and sexism within our roles as social work professionals.

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# After the Fall: An Inverse Apotheosis

Gregory Gross

**Abstract:** Memories of the fall of the Twin Towers on 9/11 stimulate the pressing nature of a variety of other twins. In 2001 the attack produced a number of stirrings in the twin arenas of the macro environment and the individual soul. Years later, in present time, other twins—love & work, author & spouse, and love & mercy—promise hope.

**Keywords:** World Trade Center, 9/11

## AFTERmath

Within a year after the Fall, my wife Judi and I drove the 150 miles to ground zero to peer as witness-tourists down into the hole. That a single hole stared back at us disturbed me because I had expected two holes, one for each tower; a pair of footprints 100 floors deep, a fitting depth of absence to mark what was once—i.e. twice—the towers' presence. Our trip served but a single purpose: to see for ourselves that the tele-images, real in themselves, I guess, had marked a real event. Without those footprints, certain doubt that they had ever actually existed crept in, for what we saw instead was not like a tooth gone missing and leaving its ghost behind to invite a new tooth in its place, but rather a brown hole where perhaps once had stood an urban mall or a neighborhood, or two dozen football fields. No Twins/No trace/No Truce! But I had been there before.

In 1976 I co-chaperoned a New York City trip with a group of teens from the residential treatment center where I had worked at the time, one year before the start of my college teaching career. That evening we went up the Towers, ascending to the Observation Deck via two elevators, each one an esophagus, each one of us a mere bone-in-the-throat, each one of us trapped until spit-out to the enclosed deck. All four walls surrounding the deck had etched on the glass the shapes and names of various sights and sites. "There's Liberty! Oh, there's Broadway, The Chrysler Building, Empire State, two rivers, East Orange!" The disparity in size of the Twin versus all those other buildings outside suggested that the Twin was more than a building, more than its distant cousins out and below who beyond the glass appeared as some urban zoo, a diorama in a museum, old worn out species in comparison to its twin-keepers.

Decades passed and eventually 2001 arrived to find me alone in my college office, awaiting advisees on a Tuesday morning.

On the day after the Fall, the campus stood in turmoil. Many students placed special significance at the thought that one of the four planes had quite possibly flown over Albany en route, that our dorms and classrooms had shared their airspace with terror, and that a casual look-up to the sky had witnessed in flight what had not yet happened. They reminded me of 1976 when the dark sky of New York introduced planes close to that Deck, each one blinking—in retrospect winking—at us a warning, 25 years in advance. Meanwhile I'm still looking for that twin abyss and the depths of Self and Other.

## AFTER FALL

“Cities are distinguished by the forms of catastrophe they have assumed .... New York is King Kong, or the blackout... the Towering Inferno” (Baudrillard, 2001, p. 198). Unlike Chomsky (2008) or Sontag (Nunez, 2011, p. C5.) who maintained that 9/11 occurred because we had it coming to us due to the Evil that was U.S. foreign policy, Baudrillard asserts that the attack represented the endgame of a postmodern urban fate. After all, events do reframe the city within which they have occurred (e.g., Hiroshima and Dresden both dripping with WWII annihilation). The remake of King Kong had the beast see in the Twin Towers a reminiscence of the twin hills of Skull Island, thus merging the twin events, fictional and real, that define NYC. Likewise, when Crocodile Dundee said he wants to stay in order “to broaden my horizons,” he looked to the Twins. For Kong and Dundee, the Twins’ 4-directional gaze marks the horizon where the known and unknown meet. Likewise, the Event represents the edge of the Countdown decade, come a year too late than forecast by the Y2K event that never happened. That we looked “forward” to the new century by counting down, not up, suggests we had already abandoned progress, providence, and history with a millenarianism that saw no tomorrow (Baudrillard, 2000, pp. 34-35). Some pundits point to warnings of the attack—a smaller WTC bombing, the USS Cole, Somalia—but warnings draw attention away from wishes. The new century had already been a bust. No Y2K, no clear-cut winner of the presidential election, Di not yet dead! At some subconscious level, we crave the event and the redefinition of meaning it promises. We crave that mixture of jubilation and terror that might interrupt or replace the banality of everyday life, a “perfectly sacrilegious desire for the eruption of Evil ... [that] restores the balance of the forces of Good and Evil” (Baudrillard, 2007, p. 129). We often do not wish to awaken from such nightmares, not simply because they often offer more “life” but also because “we would be disappointed to be awoken from it, for it will have shown us how to think the irreplaceable, a truth or a meaning that consciousness might hide from us on waking ... (Derrida, 2005, p. 167).

In short, deep down, we harbor The Injunction of the Event—no longer a will to power or to death but to the spectacle. We come to it not as voyeurs but as those caught up in longing, the imperative of Desire. Tautologically speaking, mobile homes cause tornadoes, and wishing makes it so. THIS event stands emblematic of Baudrillard’s claim (2005) that we have reduced Good to Happiness and Evil to Misfortune so that bad events are reduced to mere accidents (p. 139). Such events whet and sate our millennial hunger for the “new victim order” whereby we become the hated other due to our wretchedness, which has replaced sin as grist for confession, reflected in a “necrological mirror” of recycled catastrophe and a search for repentance (Horrocks, 1999, pp. 56-57). Derrida (2002) notes of tele-events that in watching the spectacles, we, too, are being watched (p. 122), a reversal of subject/object and a reminder that The Twins is us! The Twins is New York! Their verticality mirrors Americans’ ever upward climb. Sky’s the limit. The Twins mark the spot where two rivers and ocean meet, the modern Fertile Crescent gone postmod in an era where information and globalization spell the end of the center of the earth. Baudrillard & Nouvelle (2002) remark that the Twins represent the city itself and its end; the Towers, clones of each other, (p. 38) remind us that their “excess of visibility” gives rise, not to the end of history, but to the “dilution of history as events” (Baudrillard, 2001, p. 277). In the way that pornographic sex is more real than real, Terrorism is worse than real; it is symbolic

(Baudrillard, 2003, p. 29). Like the bombers themselves, the Twins committed suicide, one after the other in a pact of implosion that enacts a primal scene (p. 43). Their trace suggests twin lingering images: one of two spare holes extending 100+ stories down—the inverse apotheosis, the other suggested by Baudrillard (2009) of the grin of Cheshire Cat hovering after the rest of him has vanished. “Or like the Judgment of God: God disappears, but he leaves behind his Judgment... but the grin without the cat is even more terrifying” (p. 25).

## AFTER ALL

“To claim to speak of death, or the world’s woes, or anything else ‘objectively’ is an illusion, for language is always more real than what it speaks about” (Baudrillard, 2003, p. 43).

“A thought is beautiful only if it is naked beneath language. In other words, violent. Each sentence is the spark of a will to power” (p. 82).

### A Leap of Faith / Freefalling Through Impulse

*Calcium litenight/ the shifflicker blues/ cotton mouth/ warts on a perfect nose/ Uncas/ details in the descant/ walk a mile in my water moccasins/ a speck of reason/ Panamanian dawn/my soul as white and clean as an eggshell newmoon/ Yoda in chainmail/ angels in sweats: saints in suits ya/ yonder Tokyo, west of East Orange/ shards of Phillip Glass/ pardon my skinlessness/ Not tonight, Oedipus/ the bastard blame of the bossa nova/ painless windows past my gaze/ Here it is/ When I look in your eyes I see the man that you wish that I was/ healing Tropic of Cancer/ Wingman for Pegasus/ the reification of deification: the deification of reification/ the missing chord/ placentas wagging a rhapsody in plaid/ hubcaps & hepcats/ OK so far/ rain2rust2rest/ Nemo resurfacing/ Come, Morpheus/ the fiction of friction: The friction of fiction/ idealists/ “O’er a perfumed sea”/ Turn and face the camera/ Here it is/ the comfort of coolness on flesh/ 4 green fields/ two in the bush/ blank stares of Easter Island/ morning coffee creaming up my throat into my grateful mouth/ breathment/ “That’s her last ziti before she died”/ witness projection/ rethink impossible/ Hasidim in madras chromosomes/ almost gone almost gone almost gone/ dirty jokes whispered in convents/ Orpheus under the El/ This callow fate/ Here it is/ Just want to see his face, cool as clay at the heat of the day/ the future of renewables; the renewable of futures/ the brokendown Beemer blues/ All saviors are zombies but not all zombies are saviors/ As seen on TV; not sold in stores/ Oh merciful Heaven’s Wind, lift me now/ What-a-dump!/ Hell’s ice crystallizing under my toenails/ I swear my morning cereal said “Snap, Crackle, and Fuckyou!”/ deep weep/ mysteries of satanic mechanics. The boredom of regret: the regret of boredom/ Call me Telemachus/ face to face with Lotus Eaters/ “Say my name is called Disturbance”/ purrrr-gatory on my mind/ What’s for lunch/ (nevermind)/ Here it is/ The Laffer curveball/ Groundhogs leave their holes to find food and seek sex (that’s a fact)/ my personal vanities and double standards/ roasted nuts & rusted guts/ What’s that smell/ a river choked with sentiment/ maqua/ catch me (if you can)/ and the white wind drove me mad/ the thrill of spinechill/ ashlite mudpack/ OK so far/ the impossible exchange/ the teeth of red dogs wagging three heads/ Starbuck horizon/ why hast thou forsaken me, Walt Whitman/ lung cancer advocate/ swampscents/ the time of cicada dropping to bloodroot/ “a certain fertile sadness”/ roadkill resurrected on St. Christin’s Day/ that with no counterpart in nature/ quaking*

*aspens at Mossrise/ French letters opened but unread/ froth on my saddle/ Here it is/ Salesbury Plain/ Til Damascus/ Hold me/ nuns in neckties/ "Breathtaking in its expansive scope"/ the endless striving of the Faust/ defrocked gynecologists/ the mysterium tremendum/ a re-gifting of the Secret/ my soul caught in the gesture of remembering/ shedding my skin & secreting my Self/ in the wake of the vigil of the wake/ bloated by grace/ gaping promises/ Stan Getz it/ would that I had loved more/ my Sharona/ how's my hair/ red corpuscles gone blue heart to heart/ greenflash of absinthe/ who did put the ram in the rama lama dingdong/ this is my body which I have given up for you/ whitecaps today, darling/ but wait; there's more (or less)/ an empty kindness; a kind of emptiness/ ice fishing for repentance/ "My little town blues are melting away, NY NY"/ There's that rhythm again/ stay hungry/ the pink eyes of spring rabbits and Edgar Winter/ The Elvis forecast—2 below Tupelo/ going bareback gone/ roll tide/ my own private Calcutta/ pondice/ on my knees—arid below; moist above/ solo mapleseed spinning in freefall/ a paper diamond rising like the miracle of bloodrush/ a spoonful of smack boiling at my fingertips/ As a matter of fact, I DO want fries with this/ used scars/ morning mouth at my ear/ whoa Bethlehem/ Triple bypass, two to go/ head first/ compass point/ 9th floor already/ just like you/ horseflesh/ traction at the tenderloin/ Just one more rung on Jacob's ladder/ Holsteins gone dry/ Tuesday's ruby sky wrapped all around me/ Washing me down (hold me)/ terminal velocity terminal/ Here it is/ the party you have reached is not .../ daydreaming cottonwood/ the comfort of loneliness/ All my children widows now/ the erratic dramatic/ Dew in the desert; a solitary drop on the rippled back of a scorpion/ "love minus Zero/no Limit"/ White striped sheets on a creekbed/ fiddleheads bowed in sympathy/ Here it is: the murmur of pavement/ The Joy in your heart/ the rivers of march/ Momma! Mercy! Merde!*

"It is from the perspective of death as the place of my irreplaceability, that is, of my singularity, that I feel called to responsibility" (Derrida, 2008, p. 42)

## AFTERWORD

Indeed, the ability to think, to think in other terms  
is challenged by the shrinking of a horizon  
diminished by an absence of meaning,  
a breaking of ties,  
and a dictatorship of the market—  
and this all aggravated by the phenomenon of terrorism.  
(Chérif, 2008, p. 5)

(pause)  
(cough)  
(clear throat)

## EPILOGUE (After THIS Fall)

Mention of spouse, Judi, opened this essay. Together since high school, our fiftieth wedding anniversary but months away, we, too, are twins. Not identical, mind you; not joined at the hip.

A twosome but not a gruesome twosome, one hopes. But Twins, Unfallen! Then again, we-as-couple represent one half of another twinning. Mention of work also opened this essay, first in social work, second in higher education. (Did I mention that Judi has a Ph.D. and taught high school for over thirty years?) Freud pointed out this second twin-ship when asked the meaning of life. He replied, “To love and to work.”

Freud named the twins that drive us, not just during catastrophe but day to day. These twins stood abreast in this essay as un-named protagonists. The academic section on terror, “After Fall,” wreaked of Work, with its quotations and citations, its saying the unsayable, its challenges and invitations, its intellect “at work,” its head spinning and its heavy lifting. In contrast, the italicized “Leap... Falling...” offers up head-swirling Love with its stream of consciousness, its pulsations, its rational irrationalities, and its heavy breathing. And its central refrain, “Here it is,” a reminder of love’s often unseen, overlooked presence and demands, along with love’s immediacy, on one hand, and its promise(s), on the other. Which brings me back to the twin in my bed....

Judi knows that for me work has taken on the character of paramour. Judi also knows that I am about to kiss this lover goodbye forever. Looking ahead to this fall semester, my forty-first, I see work beckoning as always but now with a wicked smile—no, a wicked smirk—aimed not at my eager eyes but right between them. That smirk mocks the tortured farewell that Fall promises, come December when winter begins and announces my retirement with the season’s cold and snowbound early darkening. But as they say, “I’ve got my love to keep me warm.”

### The End at Last

In the summer of 2016, I went on a kick. Between semesters, with much time on my hands, I read six novels in a row by Jack Kerouac. Why? My research on poet Alan Ginsberg reminded me of unfinished business—in this case un-started business. How could I NOT have read a single word by J. K., and after all these years?! One of the six, Maggie Cassidy, nailed teenage love as experienced by a boy; this boy. One line stuck out for me, and it provides the bolded spine in the poem below, not on love and work but rather on yet another universal pair of twins—love and death.

The poem, as yet untitled, promises Hope throughout, but in two places especially. The first is “waters of March,” a phrase that ends the stream of consciousness poem above and appears below in the final stanza. Both “Marches” promise renewal with their waters streaming from winter’s freezings. The second promise stands embedded within the six “Welcomes” below, each a welcoming to the verdant, though unknown, future, nurtured by those waters. Maybe endings aren’t so bad.

#### ***“That the ONLY love***

*A purity breaks out*

*from torrents of*

*anticipations,*

*moistening palms seeking same*

***can only be***

yearning for fingerfood  
feeding  
widemouth wild and lyrical  
supping, upping, cupping  
diamond orbs of nocturnal angels  
(who knew?!)  
taking curves a tad too  
fast for gracemaking;  
nightfall full from Coppertone eruptions.  
Dharma dawn arises at the wait:  
Rocking hard and rolling Holy  
toward  
Drake's Devil Cakes. . . .

**the FIRST love,**

**the only death**

**the LAST,**

Only a cubist God/could have invented quaking aspen,/ Each leaf asparkle, a-faceted alive/with  
the gift of AllNature—/GRATITUDE!/Unspoken as Argos dusk/voiceless as Bhuddha Dipankara  
dawn/There all the same/though not all the while/cloven by the Diamondcutter/of Mercy and the  
waters of March-mama,/merde,/merge,/mourning,/doves at sun's set sutra.

Breathe! Open! Suck! (welcome)

Breathe! Render! Gasp! (welcome)

Breathe! Recall! Give! (welcome)

Breathe! See all! Choke! (welcome)

Breathe! Soften! Clot! (welcome)

Breathe! FORGIVE! Sigh! (welcome)

“This is my body which is given up for you.”

Ah, Alas, At last...

All a-quaking toward

Angelfood!

**the only LIFE within....”\***

Greg Gross

**\*from Kerouac, J. (1959/2009). MAGGIE CASSIDY. New York: Penquin Group. p. 26.**

p. s.: Just re-watched the 2014 film on Brian Wilson and The Beach Boys. Great flick. And that title: “Love and Mercy”! More twins! (Don't get me started!)

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# Disaster after Disaster: Unexpected Thousand-Year Floods and Presidential Elections

Priscilla D. Allen and Jennifer L. Scott

**Abstract:** One person's disaster may be another's opportunity. Depending on the level of damage one has personally experienced or witnessed others experience may determine the level of impact or fate of recovery. The authors reflect on the state of Louisiana where racial turbulence and a thousand-year flood happened just prior to the presidential election in 2016. Using a base of "disaster capitalism" to frame how we may understand the still-evolving Trump administration, we reflect personally and professionally on how some may profit from the enterprise of disaster and how human service professionals may mitigate devastating results through their own awareness of the narratives and changing societal attention or alienation. Three narratives are presented within a broader discussion of the historical relevance, timing, and experiences of the faculty and practitioner who were initially destabilized by the election results.

**Keywords:** disasters, Louisiana, Baton Rouge, disaster capitalism, Alton Sterling, Hurricane Katrina, floods

## Disaster after Disaster

In August 2016, Baton Rouge and nearby parishes felt the devastating effects of the 1000-year flood that destroyed 110,000 homes with more than \$20 billion in damages, killed 10, and displaced nearly all of the people residing in flood impacted areas (Gallo & Russell, 2016). Before miles of destroyed belongings were collected, Louisiana and the nation confronted the election of a president that campaigned with divisive rhetoric. Over a year later, people are still homeless and at risk for enduring economic exploitation and mental health challenges based on the result of disaster exposure, lack of support, and economic hardship (Chang & Broome, 2017). Over a year later, people were either disgusted, disheartened, or delighted with the state of the U.S. and its leadership. In some ways people were either harmed or spared by the election. The writers fell into a category concerned about how the results may harm the most vulnerable.

Since 2000, more than 28 subtropical cyclones/hurricanes have struck Louisiana (Landsea, 2017). Likely the most well-known, and also the most expensive was Hurricane Katrina which caused over \$106 billion in damages and destroyed parts of New Orleans and nearby parishes in 2005 (Burnkard, Namulanda, & Ratard, 2008; Lorenzetti, 2015). The resultant flooding due to the levy breach killed 1,577 people, notably people who were poor and living near the levee break and unable to evacuate. Ninety-three percent of the decedents were Black and 40% were over 65 years old (Heldman, 2011). A month following Katrina, Hurricane Rita hit the southwest region of the state. Less than five years later another major hurricane, Gustav, struck Baton Rouge. That same year the Deepwater Horizon (BP) oil spill gushed 210 million gallons of oil in the gulf for five solid months from April to September, rendering those related to the waterways and fisheries jobless and devastating the Gulf (Allen & D'Elia, 2015).

Disasters, whether natural, human-caused or even, perhaps, political, are highlighted or forgotten, depending upon media interest and the political climate. Coverage may depend on who's harmed and who's escaped the wrath of disaster. Understanding what is heard or what evades attention may be partly understood through the lens of "disaster capitalism" (Klein, 2006, 2007), which speaks to how disasters can be immensely profitable in a free market economy.

Louisiana, like the rest of the U.S., can also be seen through a lens of still recovering from the disaster that was an economic system based on slavery and subsequent legislated racism through Jim Crow laws and separate but equal policies. Less than a month before the flood, the capitol city witnessed the killing of 37-year-old Alton Sterling. Sterling, a Black man, died on July 5, 2016 in broad daylight, from the gunfire of a Baton Rouge police officer. The tragedy prompted painful reactions to police brutality and energized both the Black Lives Matter movement and a counter Blue Lives Matter effort, which itself ultimately succeeded in passing legislation that made resisting arrest a felony.

For Louisiana, the 2016 flood was just another major disaster in a state all too familiar with catastrophe. There was another storm brewing: the 45th presidential election, which like a hurricane's unpredictable path, wasn't clear where it was headed and what aftermath it would leave, but there was no question people would experience the effects differently depending on the ideological topography and perspective. The following reflections on the election disaster are from three experts in the helping profession: clinical psychologist, Dr. Richelle Allen, who was working in a large public mental health facility in Massachusetts, and two social work faculty at Louisiana State University, Dr. Jennifer Scott, a scholar interested in poverty, inequality and immigration policy, in her second year, and Dr. Priscilla Allen, a gerontologist who focuses on psychosocial care of older adults receiving long term care, who is in her sixteenth year. Their memories are presented to illustrate how disaster can create tension and power differentials that both help and hinder those positioned to help.

For some, the election of Donald Trump felt like an unexpected disaster, forcing those who could most anticipate that their lives would be detrimentally impacted should he fulfill his campaign promises to learn new ways of thinking, coping, and practicing. "Disaster capitalism" speaks to how disasters - both natural and human made - yield enormous profits in a free market economy; a governmental hands-off or outsourcing approach, more like a state-within-state, less fettered by restrictions (Klein, 2007). Conceptualized by journalist Naomi Klein, "disaster capitalism" helps us to understand how some profit immensely after devastation occurs.

The "disaster capitalism" lens is helpful to understanding how both the Trump administration's use of crisis and the state of seemingly constant disaster in Louisiana wear people down to get them to stop fighting by blaming both sides. The government can appear humanistic through the offshoots to private enterprise and focusing on how some organizations rebuild and appear to have a sturdy infrastructure, yet reducing the government's responsibility to the people most hurt (Klein, 2006). The media, or the political party may focus on the well-funded projects and blame those who don't reap financial rewards as languishing and incapable of bouncing back. Disaster after disaster in Louisiana wears people down and hinders their ability to fight the power differentials to win better lives for themselves, and then can be blamed for their own failings. As

an example, the people who work the front lines of repair are paid minimum wages, while those who set the contracts in times of recovery profit in enormous ways and become more powerful. The lists of disasters and destruction are mentioned with the historical underpinning that capitalism without concern can erode the foundation that people need to be productive; in a structural scaffold, we may even rely on those who suffer. The belief of the capacity of the disenfranchised and those of us who work to counter social injustice, however, is never extinguished, but it may have been tested in the days, weeks, and months after the election.

### **Election Reflections**

What does this mean to those we serve, work with, teach, and counsel when we ourselves are reeling?

Dr. Richelle Allen, a psychotherapist in Massachusetts reflected:

*On the morning of November 8th, it was a challenge to be a therapist and listen for meaning while my own internal echo shouted: "Not my president!" My first post-election clinical activity was stages of change, a weekly psychotherapy process group for individuals with life threatening medical conditions secondary to intravenous drug use. Four women and three men, each individuals in early recovery, each intimately familiar with one disaster after another, seemed unmoved—consistent with the emotional numbing often seen in individuals with complex trauma, I thought. To address apparent alexithymia, I explicitly checked in about the change we had all just experienced. Each of the women surprisingly commented with relief that it wasn't "her" and together agreed that their relief was in large part because our new president is not "a woman." The consensus among this group of young white women in (allegedly) one of the most progressive states in the country, was that a woman could never handle the emotional stress of a job like the President's. My mantra changed to "Not my country."*

*Meanwhile, I received anecdotal evidence that the demand for psychotherapy drastically increased in places like college counseling centers after the election. I didn't see that shift in the state system, however, but the setting may not have been similarly explored. Beyond obvious difference in ideology (And where does that come from anyway?), perhaps those who are healthy enough to fight against internalized hate respond with outrage and those more familiar with disaster and shame normalize the mess and carry on with perpetual numbing.*

Dr. Jennifer Scott, an assistant professor at LSU shared her practice perspective and concern for the immigrant population post-election:

*For about the last decade I have been working with the Hispanic/Latino immigrant community in the U.S. The largest portion of my work life during this period, outside of research, has been with a worker center in Texas where, among other things, I would conduct intakes with construction and domestic workers who had not been paid for their work or were injured on the job. For many of these families, life was lived paycheck to*

*paycheck, and a loss of any income could spell disaster. Even when they were able to recover their wages or receive compensation for injury, it rarely meant long term financial security; jobs in this sector are precarious and it was not uncommon to see a worker again for a new case of wage theft or injury. On top of this struggle (or at times arguably creating it), some families had to cope with a constant awareness of an additional source of impending disaster, that they or their loved ones could be picked up by immigration and deported. The feeling of waiting for the next disaster was often palatable.*

*Having arrived in Baton Rouge just in time for the 2016 floods, I was just barely getting my bearings in this new community when the election results hit. Tasked with teaching social welfare policy, I take seriously my charge to support students with a diverse range of backgrounds and political opinions in learning about the architecture of our social welfare system and the policy making process in a way that encourages them to engage in policy advocacy, both as citizens and on behalf of their clients. I encourage students to look at social problems through multiple frames, research the debate on policy positions and to interview and understand stakeholders with contrasting perspectives as part of policy analysis.*

*Yet the rhetoric of the Trump campaign and what I understood of the soon to be president's policy positions challenged my understanding of both the pedagogy and purpose of this practice. Regardless of one's positions on questions of public policy, the man who would become the new president ran a campaign that used stereotypes, not data, about Mexicans and immigrants (among others) to incite a base of support among people who either felt economically marginalized or were unwilling to consider sharing their wealth. So how does one present as rational policy positions that are grounded in stereotypes, not real information? Is it responsible to ask students to take seriously statements that present a very real challenge to science and reason? To act as though I accept and/or ask them to accept that an administration that has willingly associated itself with white supremacist groups explicitly interested in disenfranchising and marginalizing communities of color could propose anything that does not actively support those heinous goals?*

*Since inauguration we have seen one attempted policy after another promise to further terrorize immigrant communities, to keep people in a state of waiting for the next disaster. Increases in number of raids by immigration enforcement have torn more families apart, and even citizens have been deported because they fit the profile. To support his candidacy, and then his presidency, a person must either agree with these stereotypes or simply be willing to throw people (or not mind if someone else throws them) under the bus for a fairly ambiguous promise of personal economic gain. By asking us to accept alternative facts, this administration calls us to question what it means to encourage understanding "both sides." Teaching and advocacy require supporting students to understand that for policy positions to even warrant consideration all sides must first be grounded in rationality, fact and a sense of social justice if we are to avoid disaster.*

Dr. Priscilla Allen, a gerontologist and professor at LSU recalled a teachable experience:

*I showed up for my social work class just following the election with few words; my intention was to help people to focus on their community engagement projects. I wanted to get in and get out unscathed, which was out of character for me; I'm by description, a processor to the point of saturation, and typically relish and invite productive conflict in order to activate problem solving and learning.*

*On this particular morning, however, I felt raw and unwilling to engage in what I was still reeling from. What I failed to recognize was that there were students feeling the same, and those who saw a silver lining were likewise willing to share and the two positions were brewing a storm in the midst of my resistance. The atmosphere was tense. A student suggested there was something going on and we should talk about it. I had encouraged students to bring issues up to grapple with, to process, but it was me that felt incapable to bring up the election. I didn't want to isolate anyone or myself. I felt alone and risk-averse. In times where there is the incredible burden and opportunity of academic freedom, there is also a very real responsibility not to disenfranchise persons in their own classroom. Everyone was on edge. Friends. Family. Students. Administrators.*

*Finally, I sat down and opened the class for discussion. It may have been one of the more memorable experiences in my 16 years. The students called me out on my resistance. We spoke. I listened. There were people on both sides, some who were disgusted, and others who wanted to say to give the new administration a chance. It was a message in tolerance and in listening. Social workers must have a nonjudgmental stance with their clients. It doesn't mean we are nonjudgmental, it just means we must examine our feeling and continue to work on the proverbial but important adage: starting where the client is.*

The three of us may even understand why people wanted the troubling charismatic Trump. He told his voting base what they craved to hear, what they believe they can become, and it didn't hurt that his supporters overwhelmingly despised President Obama. Depending on your position, he is the bully or the hero. Someone who will stand up and unabashedly present as a protector of the working class obviously carried clout among the majority of the electoral college count. A renowned expert in race and class discrimination put it this way. "If I hadn't gotten a raise in 12 years and someone promised me one, I'd probably vote for them, too." Considering the piqued hope of at-risk people is relevant.

There is no doubt that disaster hurts those who already have limited resources, live in flood-prone areas with housing that is often less secure, and live in places that are globally and economically disenfranchised (White, 2013; World Bank, 2017). Those who lost loved ones or property, however, or who experienced the trauma through other people's anguish may feel the toll so much that they live in a position of suspended reality, denial, or disillusionment. Identifying trust and resource assistance especially for people feel disconnected or disempowered is key. When Trump won the election, there were people who were elated, or spitefully happy, but there were many people who experienced unspeakable devastation and fear, watching in slow motion, unable to make sense of the historical event, as if disaster had struck.

We can anticipate long-standing psychological trauma for people who've endured natural disasters and who've been preyed on by forceful neglect. Being aware of the cost of disaster and the exploitation of both the political and the private enterprise using a "disaster capital" framework may be a valuable tool in the minds and efforts of those who fight social injustice. The lessons, and perhaps the silver lining of disaster aftermath, is that one ideally assesses what's lost and creates a new meaning. Like rebuilding after disaster, a renovated interest in the political sphere with more participation may result. That is if the survivors are fortunate to work with people who will help them to evaluate the possibility, the restructuring and integration of trauma, unpacking the pros and cons, and share to the experiences with interested agents invested in true recovery.

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# Allies Rising: Stepping Forward in a Time of White Nationalism

Ashley-Marie Hanna Daftary

**Abstract:** In the wake of rising white nationalism targeting immigrants, social workers and helping professionals must re-evaluate their professional identities and their daily practice. Today, we are met with a challenge that requires a new approach. This approach requires all helping professionals to actively tackle an ideology of white supremacy that has been ever present in the United States. Although many historically disenfranchised communities have been aware of and actively work against this ideology, I and other white helping professionals have been visibly absent to this reality and the fight against white supremacy for far too long.

This article outlines my personal and professional response to the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States and his approach to immigration. This includes steps I have taken in my role of an aspiring ally, dedicated to becoming more involved in social justice efforts and the fight against the racist and nativist policies, practices and discourse in the United States.

**Keywords:** white nationalism, racism, anti-oppressive practice, immigration, white supremacy, Dreamers, nativism

In the fall of 2016, I embarked on my professional journey in the world of academia as an Assistant Professor and newly minted Ph.D.. Dedicated to teaching and researching about structural oppression and anti-oppressive practice, I hoped, and naively thought, that it was possible through much of my work related to immigration and the experience of unauthorized immigrants and their families would soon be obsolete.

My research and education have taught me that racism and nativism have been constants in U.S. immigration policy and practice throughout history and that this reality is unlikely to change without a significant paradigm shift in the United States. Yet, based on commentary within my political and social circles, and continued bi-partisan support for Dreamers, I was optimistic that immigration reform was on the horizon. I believed that this immigration reform would offer a pathway toward U.S. citizenship for the many unauthorized immigrants who have worked or been educated in the United States.

I had considered a number of political outcomes for the presidential election. In a podcast about Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), I shared my fears of what might happen to DACA recipients if one of the republican presidential candidates were to win the presidency. I knew that it was possible that one of the candidates who had been overtly hostile to immigrants, Latino immigrants in particular, might win, but I truly believed it to be unlikely (links to podcasts: <http://www.insocialwork.org/episode.asp?ep=195> and <http://www.insocialwork.org/episode.asp?ep=196>).

What I did not see or consider were my blind spots (Banaji & Greenwald, 2016). My privileged existence (being a white, college-educated, and native-born U.S. citizen) quickly filtered out what I had learned through my studies and research. My protected personal experience continued

to blind me from the realities of the racism, nativism, and other burdens that people of color and immigrants are forced to confront every day. This caused me to disregard U.S. history and the ways that historic racism and nativism continue their presence in U.S. society. I could not imagine that as a country, we could ever seriously consider a candidate who overtly degraded people of color, immigrants, the LGBT community, women, persons with disabilities, the poor and many other historically marginalized communities. I could not comprehend how such a candidate would stand a chance to win.

The night of the 2016 presidential election, as the votes came in, I became more and more uncertain of the outcome. I went to bed that night feeling sure that when I read the headlines in the morning, my current concern would feel like a silly, distant memory. The next morning, I woke to discover that Donald Trump, the candidate who ran a platform based on white supremacy and xenophobia had won. Donald Trump had been elected president of the United States by a majority of white U.S. citizens, both men and women.

### **The Aftermath**

The days following the election results, I received calls from K-12 education teacher colleagues who did not know how to support their students, particularly those in immigrant families who were now terrified that their family members would be deported. Over the next few weeks, I spoke with various teachers of color. They shared the increased burden they felt as students who did not trust their white teachers, came to them for support. Already dealing with the stresses of teaching preparation and serving the students in their own classrooms, teachers of color were further called on to provide support to terrified students.

I spoke with friends and colleagues who seriously contemplated leaving the country. One of these individuals actually left the country, knowing that they would not be safe under the new leadership and the increased overt racist nativism in the United States (Huber et al., 2008). I had previously mused that I too would consider leaving the United States if the what seemed to be increasingly overt racism, nativism, sexism, etc. continued. I did not want to be associated with this culture.

In reality however, the structure of the United States provides me with a blanket of security that many individuals and families I have worked with and continue to work with do not have. As a white, U.S. citizen, I benefit from much of the structural oppression that I fight against. It is part of my history and the history of the nation in which I was born and raised. Because of my white, U.S. citizen identities, I have received many unearned privileges that protect me from deportation, racial profiling and institutionalized racism. I know that ignoring or turning from the bigotry, hate, xenophobia, racism, etc. only further implicates me in the oppression of communities of color, immigrants, and other historically oppressed groups. Without engaging in and re-dedicating myself to the pursuit of equitable outcomes for all persons, I will only continue to contribute more to the problem than the solution.

As time has passed, social media has continued to provide an additional lens or filter to see the world. This lens has not eradicated the blinders I wear subsequent to my privileged identities,

but it has helped me to more clearly see the world in which we live.

The reality is that I live in a time where Nazi flags, which symbolize the death, destruction and genocide of many marginalized communities, are flown at rallies in the United States. I live in a time where I am witness to the unjust death of people of color at the hands of white police officers. I live in a time where immigrants, who are part of the social fabric of this nation, are demonized by the president of the United States. I live in a time of INJUSTICE, in a time where many overt forms of oppression and discrimination have surfaced in much subtler, but equally harmful ways (Brooks & Newborn, 1994; Solorzano, 1997). I live in a time where many of the older, more overt forms of oppression and discrimination have resurfaced. I live in a time where the challenges confronting us must be addressed.

In the wake of rising white nationalism, the president of the United States and his administration have demonized immigrants, particularly Mexican immigrants (Dawsey, 2018; Fang, 2015). Calls for the continued militarization of the border and the policing, detention and deportation of immigrants persist, despite consistent evidence that these draconian policies and practices only worked to increase the very things they reportedly sought to eradicate: crime, injury, death at the border, as well as the number of unauthorized immigrants settling permanently in the United States (Cornelius, 2007; Massey & Capoferro, 2008; Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2002). Despite the evidence showing counterproductive returns, the administration yet again has chosen a path of negative returns.

Most recently, the administration called to rescind Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), a program that was designed to increase productivity by providing temporary relief from deportation plus 2-year renewable work permits for a select group of immigrants that came to the United States as children (USCIS, 2017a; USCIS, 2017b). In addition, the decision to terminate the Temporary Protected Status (TPS) designation for immigrants from El Salvador was made just days before Donald Trump allegedly asked, “Why are we having all these people from shithole countries come here?” (Dawsey, 2018; USCIS, 2018).

As a white U.S. citizen, brought up and educated in a racist nativist system (Huber et al., 2008), it is easy to deny the racist nativist history of the United States and the blatant racist nativism present in public and political discourse, policies and practices. Correspondingly, it is equally easy for me to deny the benefits I receive based on these historical and contemporary oppressive policies and practices. However, the choice to deny this means that I am actively consenting to racism, nativism and a white supremacist nation that oppresses all people of color. As a social worker, this does not fit my value system.

A reality in the United States is that the dominant white group continues to vote white government officials into power. Throughout history and today, these public officials are responsible for creating the laws, policies, practices and structures that benefit themselves and those like them at the expense of communities that have been historically disenfranchised (Harris, 1993). Because of this history and my identity as a white, U.S. citizen, and social worker, it is my responsibility to be a leader and actively address the white supremacist and racist nativist policies and practices of our nation.

The white dominant community is responsible for creating and maintaining the white supremacist systems in the United States. Since this is what we have built, it is our responsibility to undo. White individuals, including myself, can no longer leave it to communities of color and other historically disenfranchised communities to address these issues on their own. As a social worker, I am called to address any and all injustices when and where I see them. I am called to and must stand up to racism, sexism, heterosexism, nativism, classism, environmental injustices and all types of oppression.

### **Now What?**

Participation is where we as allies can make a significant impact. While a huge variety of options to participate exist, focusing on where we excel (which might entail putting ourselves in uncomfortable situations) is how we can participate effectively. For me, this means actively participating in forums that need the research, practice experience and voice of social work academics.

This past fall I participated in a two-part podcast entitled, *Why DACA? Why Now?* This podcast was an opportunity to reach a wider audience and share information about DACA, including what it is, how rescinding DACA will negatively impact our community and nation, common myths and associated truths, and implications for social workers. The podcasts may be accessed at: <http://www.insocialwork.org/episode.asp?ep=226> and <http://www.insocialwork.org/episode.asp?ep=228>.

Speaking publicly within a recorded medium has rarely been in my comfort zone. With the uncertainties that our communities now face, comfort is exactly what brought us to this place. My professional focus is on research, advocacy and instruction; speaking publicly is exactly where I need to contribute and where I can contribute most effectively. Following the recording of these podcasts, audiences appeared to be genuinely interested in learning more. I was told that in just the first few weeks of availability, the podcasts were accessed more than double the average rate. Only time will tell if the listeners take to heart what was said, make changes and become actively involved in activism and advocacy. What is certain however, is that as an advocate and aspiring ally, I cannot take a “one and done” approach to check off my participation boxes. Instead, I have to make an ongoing commitment to social justice engagement and advocacy.

With this in mind, I have opened up to participating in speaking engagements. Recently I joined a local panel discussion about DACA entitled *DACA 101*. This was another opportunity to share information about DACA as well as suggestions about how to be an ally. Although, this type of speaking engagement does not draw crowds of thousands or make local, state or national headlines, it is a way to engage, advocate and live my commitment. Even if the crowd is small, if one person is impacted and takes a more humane or compassionate stance when it comes to immigration, then I have been successful.

This philosophy translates into my daily interactions in my personal and professional life. As a human being and a social justice advocate, I am a work in progress. I am not perfect, but I am

committed to staying engaged, growing, and doing better. One aspect of this is recognizing that the words we use have power. When dehumanizing language is used in a formal or informal conversation with a friend, family member, colleague, acquaintance, or stranger, I address it, always working to do this from a compassionate space so that I can more effectively create a dialogue that will result in positive change. Conversely, if I make a mistake and use a dehumanizing term and am given feedback, I do my best to listen, to be present, and bare witness as I develop an anti-racist white identity (Tochluk, 2007).

One example of dehumanizing language often heard in political and public discourse is the term illegal immigrant. When this term is used in a conversation, I address it. A more appropriate term is either undocumented or unauthorized immigrant. These terms do not reduce a person's humanity to legal or illegal. After all, I have committed traffic violations and have never been labeled as an illegal American.

In addition, within the immigration debate, there is often discussion of who is a good immigrant and who is not. This false binary is harmful and negatively impacts immigrants and our community. It also hurts opportunities for coalition building across communities.

I recognize that rarely are minds changed instantly. I also recognize I might not always be successful. However, these conversations continue to help me refine the way I respond to racism and nativism, and allow me to plant more seeds of awareness including within myself. After all, it is only where seeds are planted that trees can grow.

### **Self-Reflection**

When I talk about racism or nativism, my words might not be as eloquent as I would like. I make mistakes. I hurt others. When I do, I strive to recognize and own up to them, and then change. The reality is that I, like everybody, make assumptions and generalizations. Given the level of racist and nativist messages and stereotypes I hear every day on the radio, television, in the media and in personal conversations, I am bound to be impacted. As an aspiring ally, I must work hard not to internalize these messages. In addition, I must work hard to recognize these biases so that I do not act in discriminatory or harmful ways because of them. The reality is that we all have to work hard and be dedicated to unlearn the racism and nativism that surrounds us (Boutte & Jackson, 2014).

Remembering that everyone makes mistakes helps me to be compassionate with myself when I unintentionally hurt someone based on the blind spots caused by my privileged identities (Banaji & Greenwald, 2016). However, as an aspiring ally, it is also my responsibility to practice critical self-reflection when I make a mistake so that I can change (Heron, 2005). For instance, I might ask myself:

- What caused me to make that assumption?
- Where did I get this thought or idea?
- What are the potential racist or nativist undertones of what I have said?

This practice is difficult, but it is a critical component of becoming an ally. After realizing I have made a mistake, it is my responsibility to make amends, modify my behavior and continue to actively reflect. This is not an easy task. It is exhausting. However, paraphrasing what a white colleague once said to me: “If we are exhausted by becoming more aware of and trying to change our behavior, how much more exhausted are all the individuals that are negatively impacted by it [microaggressions and other harms]?”

My privileged identities give me space to breathe, to take a break and to get away from the racism, nativism and hate that divides our communities. Not all individuals have the same space or the opportunity to take a break. The reality is that as a white, U.S.-born citizen, I am not a target of the racism and nativism that pervades the United States. When I feel overwhelmed or feel like giving up, these are the thoughts that cause me to re-dedicate myself to social justice work and start again.

Building awareness matters; silence is little more than subtle approval. Silence on issues related to racism, nativism and other forms of oppression is not an option (Boutte & Jackson, 2014). White American feminism has historically and continues to silence and marginalize women of color (Crenshaw, 1989; Lorde, 2003). White American feminism continues to dismiss the way that people differently experience the world and oppression based on their intersecting identities. Therefore, it is especially important that I as a white American, I as a feminist, and I as an aspiring ally actively recognize each individual’s intersecting identities. I must intentionally and actively practice cultural humility and advocate behind or beside communities that take an inclusive approach in advocacy (Boutte & Jackson, 2014; Chavez, 2012).

### **Final Thoughts and Recommendations**

This narrative has given me the opportunity to reflect on what I have done and also what I have not. I have much room for growth and am committed to becoming more active in my daily personal and professional life so that one day I can say that I am part of the solution to the racism and nativism endemic to U.S. society, not just part of the problem.

I would like to conclude this article with a few additional suggestions I shared at the DACA 101 panel mentioned previously. These are steps that can be taken to support immigrants, including unauthorized immigrants and immigrants protected through DACA and TPS. These are steps that I, as an aspiring ally, am working to incorporate into my practice as I have found them to yield positive results. I hope that they will be useful to the readers who are interested in becoming part of the solution to the injustice faced by so many. What I urge all aspiring allies to remember is that there is a range of participation, from nothing to everything. I encourage aspiring allies to start from any area where they can personally excel, whether that means enabling a forum for stronger voices to be heard, to leading discussion for others to hear your voice, or becoming active in groups that will hold you accountable and lead by example. It takes ongoing and active participation to lead to change.

*Call and write your representatives.*

Calling and writing is among one of the strongest methods to tangibly show support.

Government officials are responsible for drafting and voting on laws and policies that have wide and sweeping implications for everyone living in the United States. While emails are easy, they are just as easily discarded. In contacting your representative, specifically voice your support for legislation that provides a pathway to legal permanent status and U.S. citizenship to immigrants. Equally important, voice your displeasure for any legislation that includes policy or practice that separates families (e.g., increased ICE raids, private immigrant detention centers, the increased militarization at the border, etc.) or has been linked to increased crime, injury, or death at our border (e.g., border wall). For instance, there is a bi-partisan bill, the DREAM Act, that is currently being re-introduced. This same bill has been introduced for over a decade, but has never been implemented. To get such a bill passed, it is imperative to show your support. When closing your letter or phone call, indicate how support for your view (e.g., a clean DREAM Act) is necessary to earn your vote. If possible, schedule a weekly phone call so that your message of inclusion and equality stays fresh in the mind of your representative. Some helpful links to connect with your representatives include:

- <https://www.usa.gov/elected-officials>
- [https://www.senate.gov/general/contact\\_information/senators\\_cfm.cfm](https://www.senate.gov/general/contact_information/senators_cfm.cfm)
- <https://www.house.gov/representatives/find-your-representative>

*Know your rights and immigrants' rights.*

If the U.S. Department of Homeland Security Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officials were to come to your place of work, your home, or other places and spaces, know your rights and the rights of unauthorized immigrants. Talk to your employer, the administration, and legal department about how to handle a situation when you are confronted with an official from ICE to ensure that all unauthorized immigrants are protected to the full extent that they can be. The ACLU has posted a simple guide here: <https://www.aclu.org/know-your-rights> .

*Protect privacy.*

Listen to immigrants and the different perspective shared by immigrants. However, if an individual shares her or his status, keep this information confidential. Be understanding. Listen. Under no circumstances should you ever document a person's status in email or any other format. This is especially important for helping professionals. In case notes, emails, or other forms of documentation, NEVER write down or document an individual's unauthorized immigrant status.

*Know where to send friends, colleagues, or clients who are in need of support.*

Research pro-immigrant organizations, reputable immigration lawyers, culturally responsive counseling services and referral resources, and other supportive services that will maintain confidentiality and treat immigrants and family members of immigrants with dignity and respect. If these services do not exist in your area, actively advocate for increased supports and access to resources for the immigrant community.

*Learn your own history.*

Familiarize yourself with your own history and the history of the U.S. (Boutte & Jackson, 2014).  
. Do your own research to understand how racism and nativism are codified in policies and

practices and how it is normalized in our organizations and in the larger society.

Remember, it is not the responsibility of individuals from marginalized groups “to teach” us as allies (Tochluk, 2007). All too often, those who embody privileged identities do not do the work themselves. Those with privilege often leave the hard work to those who are oppressed by the dominant U.S. society. To be an ally, you have to be willing to do the hard work. Do your own research and then be open to listening to the perspectives of the groups you are learning about (Boutte & Jackson, 2014). It is your responsibility to gather reliable information. When doing so, make sure that the literature you read includes the voices of the community and history you are researching.

*Know your role.*

Actively address the white supremacist and nativist policies and practices of our nation, like the decision to rescind DACA and TPS. It is necessary to speak directly to aspiring white anti-racist allies. In order for anyone in the white community to truly be an ally, we must first focus on ourselves and our roles in creating the divisive and inhumane environment in our organizations, in our local community, in our state, and in our nation. It is important to remember that the dominant white group is responsible for continuing to vote white government officials into power. These same voters and the government officials voted into office are ultimately responsible for creating the laws, policies, practices and structures that benefit themselves and those like them (meaning white people) at the expense of communities that have been historically disenfranchised.

As allies, we can no longer leave it to communities of color and other historically disenfranchised communities to address injustices on their own. The white dominant community is responsible for creating and maintaining the white supremacist systems in the United States. So, it is our responsibility to dismantle it. However, do not overshadow communities of color and other historically disenfranchised groups who have been doing this work both now and throughout history (Boutte & Jackson, 2014). Be supportive and step up when you need to. Also, because of this history and our white identities, it is our responsibility to take a cue from work already being done within communities of color, to support agencies and organizations that represent historically disenfranchised groups and that are dedicated to anti-racist and anti-oppressive work.

*Acknowledge the truth about the world we live in and then work to change it for the better.*

We live in a dangerous time. We have not made the kind of progress in civil rights that most of us would hope for or believe that we have. In this spirit of the social work code of ethics and values, we must take the attack on immigrants (e.g., DACA & TPS) as an opportunity to confront our nation’s racist nativist history and contemporary racist nativism (Huber et al., 2008). We must confront the reality that faces our clients, colleagues, friends and family members. If we do not acknowledge and actively address the white supremacy our nation was built on, it will continue to pervade every aspect of our lives.

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# One of Five Million: A Story of Showing Up and Being Counted

Kathy Byers

**Abstract:** On January 21, 2017, people of all backgrounds—women and men and gender nonconforming people, young and old, of diverse faiths, differently abled, immigrants and indigenous—came together, 5 million strong, on all seven continents of the world. We were answering a call to show up and be counted as those who believe in a world that is equitable, tolerant, just and safe for all, one in which the human rights and dignity of each person is protected and our planet is safe from destruction. Grounded in the nonviolent ideology of the Civil Rights Movement, the Women’s March was the largest coordinated protest in U.S. history and one of the largest in world history (Women’s March, n.d.).

**Keywords:** Women’s March, human rights, quilters, Occupy, Black Lives Matter, Michel Coconis, National Association of Social Workers, Facebook

I was one of those 5 million people participating in the Women’s March and this is my story. There are millions of other stories about what prompted so many people to protest peacefully for basic human rights. There are millions of other stories of women, men, gender nonconforming people, and children traveling to Washington, DC and to many other cities and towns across the globe to protest and proclaim their beliefs and values. Marchers included those prominent in the Women’s Movement, elected officials, entertainers and, yes, millions of ordinary people like me who were moved to take action. There was even a small group of quilters who “marched” at their quilt retreat in Spring Mill State Park in Indiana. The National Association of Social Workers (NASW) organized more than 500 social workers (Clayton, 2017) to participate in the various marches, but I suspect that number is a huge underestimate of the actual number of social workers who participated in the marches. I, for one, was not included in that count of 500 since I went on my own, taking a plane from Indianapolis to DC.

From the moment I heard about a potential march, I was sure I needed to be there, to stand up for what is right and to be part of history. I have been an activist since high school when I wrote letters to school board members in support of a teacher denied tenure, and I worked on President Kennedy’s campaign and the GOTV effort. I marched in the 60s for civil rights and worked on a general strike in Boston to protest the Vietnam War. In my heart, I knew this Women’s March would be historic and I wanted to be there. I wanted to be there because I felt (and still do) that everything that I have ever fought for was under attack with the election of Donald Trump as president of the United States. And I knew that being the daughter of two social workers and a social worker myself, I could not stand by in a helpless daze while rights were taken away.

I called my sister, Laurie, in California to encourage her to march with me. As it turns out, she had an old law school friend (Sandy) who lives blocks from the National Mall and she ended up hosting a whole houseful of guests from around the country, connected with her through various contacts—what an eclectic group we were. I suspect that all over the DC metropolitan area there were many who opened their homes to “friends of friends” who then became friends in the process.

I flew into DC on Thursday before the March so I could do some other things while I was in town. On the plane, I sat next to a Republican attorney from Indianapolis. He was a contributor to the Pence campaign and had been invited to the Inauguration, but was told they must wear suits to all events. He seemed a bit resentful of that mandate. When I asked what he hoped Pence would accomplish as vice president, he said, “Keep Trump under control.” We both laughed. He asked if I was going to the Inauguration as well, and I told him I was attending the Women’s March (I was not wearing my pink pussy hat at the time) and he seemed a bit taken aback at first, at a loss of what to say to me. I suspect he did not know anyone else who was going to the March. But he then asked me what I hoped to accomplish by going and I told him my health insurance story from when my son was born prematurely and we had to impoverish ourselves to qualify for Medicaid for him. I told him how important universal health insurance was to our country in helping reduce costs for business and keeping our people healthy and productive. I think he listened to me, and I hope to this day that he remembers that conversation whenever someone talks to him about restricting health insurance. It was a civil conversation between two people coming from very different points along the political spectrum. I wish we were able to have more of those conversations across our differences in today’s political climate. We are all in this society together, dependent on each other in so many ways. We have to learn how to talk to one another and really listen so we can work together toward the common good.

When I got to Sandy’s house in DC, she had tickets for the new African American Museum of History and Culture, so I met up with my friend, Michel Coconis (long-time social work activist and teacher who was also in town for the March), and we walked through as much of the museum as we could. We focused our time on the powerful history portion, and we both realized how little of our history we even know. It certainly was not taught in the schools we attended. When we came to the Obama exhibit at the end, I cried a bit at what we have lost. We exchanged comments with those around us about how much we will miss President Obama and his family. It seemed fitting somehow that we were saying goodbye to the Obama administration as we got ready to protest the Trump administration on the day following his inauguration.

On Inauguration Day, Laurie and I steered clear of the Mall and wore our pink pussy hats that I had knitted as we walked down to the National Geographic Museum where we had multiple, positive interactions—thumbs up from passing police cars, actual conversations with other marchers at intersections, and even a long conversation with a man in a pink hat in Whole Foods, where we stopped on the way back to Sandy’s house. When I went back to where the man was to get more wine, he chatted with me again and took a picture of me with his wife. The pink hats were a sign of solidarity with positive, progressive thinking, and they opened conversations with many strangers along the sidewalks. We saw one confrontation with police down the street, but did not venture near. The streets were fairly empty overall, nothing like they were the next day as the Women’s March dispersed. The aerial pictures of Trump’s inauguration compared to Obama’s and compared to our March tell the story. Social media will keep the lies about crowd size from taking hold.

We were up early on the day of the March to eat a hearty breakfast before we set out for the Mall. We had all read the instructions about high security and what would be allowed and what would not be allowed on the March; we planned accordingly. As it turned out, with the flow of

humanity toward the Mall, there was no way any security could have handled the crowd efficiently, so we just walked onto the Mall as you would any day of the week. There was no security in sight, no police, no official looking people. At first I was a little apprehensive as I feared counter-protesters, but those fears were without merit. With Sandy guiding our group of about 10, we tried to get close to the center of activity. We never made it. Instead we just joined into the positive flow of people in pink hats marching for women's rights, human rights, environmental rights, voting rights, their signs telling their individual stories. Such a fabulously positive event with people smiling, singing, helping each other over walls, finding each other in the crowd of half a million people, taking turns, talking with strangers and friends alike and taking pictures of each other with our signs. Even the children on the March were happy and content. A few people carried instruments and we even marched for a while with a very informal band playing patriotic songs. And the signs—the creativity and the humor of the signs—many of which were left at the White House and at Trump's hotel as memorials, standing witness to what had happened, reading “We are here and we are not going quietly into the night.” Most of the signs were homemade like mine, with our own thoughts, issues, and concerns and our own sense of humor. The diversity and creativity were truly inspiring.

We never got close to the stage or even to a large screen—there were so many people—but we were not frustrated because it was just important to BE there, bearing witness, adding our bodies to the growing total—a sea of pink hats, all different sizes, shapes, colors, styles —moving slowly or even stopped. Everyone was so polite. There was no shoving or pushing or selfishness or disrespect. It was all, “No, you go first. I insist.” At one point when we were not making any forward progress toward the starting point of the March that was to go to the White House, Sandy led us in a diagonal to the March route. It seemed as if several thousand other people had the same idea at the same time, so we had a mini-march to the March, singing, clapping, chanting, and smiling. It was the most polite and peaceful march I have even been on, but we were not quiet. We chanted chants from the Occupy Movement: “This is what democracy looks like!” from Black Lives Matter, and from pro-choice rallies, “Our bodies, our choice!” We even did a sort of wave ROAR that would come around a corner and move forward.

There were only two confrontation points that I experienced. First, in the middle of the flow of people and to one side, there were anti-choice protesters who started yelling at us and that confrontation turned into a shouting match between the two sides before we moved on. The other confrontation was as the March was dispersing into the DC streets. We passed a flatbed truck with a pro-Trump display including some supporters that was trying to back into the street where all the Marchers were walking peacefully. The shouting became pretty ugly quickly so we left the area, walking toward Sandy's house. We turned back to see the flatbed truck getting a police escort away from the feared pink pussy hats.

Throughout the March, we stayed together in our little group of 10 or so, sometimes having to wait for Laurie who had gone off to get yet another picture of a sign; she did get some pretty amazing photos. We were out from about 9:00 a.m. to about 4:00 p.m. When we got back to Sandy's house, we heated up the big pot of chili we had made the day before. Around her big dining room table, we ate chili and salad accompanied by copious wine and laughter as we shared our stories with the house of 15, plus some extra folks who dropped by—wonderful

camaraderie and a sense of togetherness with people from all over the country: young, old, gay, straight, black, white - this is what America looks like!



Byers and her sister, Laurie, on inauguration day

As I write this, we are now getting ready to march again. I will not be flying to DC this time, but I will participate in a march planned for Indianapolis on January 20 to mark one year. What have I been doing since the march a year ago? Sometime shortly after the election in 2016, one of my social work friends, Jean Capler, and I were having breakfast or lunch when we decided we had to DO something, that as social workers we could not just sit by and let what felt like a Trump wave roll over us. We had to act on our Code of Ethics and organize and advocate for social justice. Jean had been very involved in the fight for gay marriage here in Indiana, among other causes that we shared. Out of that discussion emerged the idea of forming a “secret” Facebook page to support advocates working to advance a broad array of progressive issues.

We had a call-out meeting December 14, and 51 people came with another 50, giving us detailed reasons why they were unable to attend: family in the hospital, children’s recitals, and such. About a week later, Call to Action launched our Facebook page and we now have over 1,300 members. We focus our action alerts on state and national issues and also provide support for each other when we are feeling discouraged about the battles we must wage. We have sponsored a training on how to talk with your elected official and co-sponsored several rallies, including several die-ins to protest the effort to repeal the ACA.

We have participated in a number of local protests, including a vigil and rally following the death of a participant in the Charlottesville events. Our page has posted many alerts and we know that our members are calling and emailing their federal and state legislators as they post comments about how their calls are received and what the positions of legislators are on various issues. The page has a great deal of activity, which gives us hope that many people are engaged. One woman about my age at the training on contacting your legislators said it was the first time she had written to her legislator. I encouraged her to write more as she learned that it really was not that hard. Many of us will be attending the January 20th March.

I turned 72 in the fall of 2017 with little to celebrate on the political front, much to worry about with a Trump presidency, and a recommitment to organizing and social action. I was first a social work student in the late 60s and I feel as if I have come full circle. I must advocate again for voting rights, for civil rights, for women's rights, for marriage rights, for free speech, and on and on. As my mother, also a social worker, would say, "There is no rest for the weary." We must keep on keepin' on. This is not the retirement I signed up for. But I will continue my efforts to fight for what is right. And I hope that many reading this short reflection will do so as well.

The rise of an autocracy in our government scares me and I want to be able to say that I did everything I could to stop it and reverse it with the election of a new Congress that will stand up to this president who would take away so much that we, as social workers, have fought for. The 2018 midterm elections are just around the corner and it is imperative that social workers become involved. If we believe in empowerment for our clients, we cannot forget their political empowerment as we assist in empowerment in other areas. We need to make sure that we help clients, co-workers, and the general public get registered to vote.

Your local League of Women Voters can help you develop a nonpartisan voter registration campaign for your agency or practicum site. You can learn how to register voters by using the resources available at: Voting is Social Work (<http://www.votingissocialwork.org>), a site developed by the collaboration of the Nancy A. Humphreys Institute for Political Social Work (<https://ssw.uconn.edu/our-community/centers-institutes-projects/nancy-a-humphreys-institute-for-political-social-work/>); the Congressional Research Institute for Social Work and Policy (<http://crispinc.org>); and Influencing Social Policy (<http://influencingsocialpolicy.org/>), and funded by the Fund for Social Policy Education and Practice at the New York Community Trust. The site has lots of practical suggestions for those interested in voter empowerment, and folks at the Humphreys Institute are most willing to help you develop initiatives in this area.

Get Out the Vote efforts will be critical in this next election to make sure that the voice of the people is really reflected in the vote. Voter registration is only the first step in the process. Helping clients understand the rules for voting in your state, and the times and places, is part of voter empowerment and is non-partisan in nature. Most importantly, helping clients understand how they can become informed about the candidates and their positions is imperative in voter empowerment. Publicizing candidate forums, holding a forum at your agency, and inviting all the candidates to visit your agency and learn about its services are all educational opportunities that can have great benefits. These activities, again, are nonpartisan.

Throughout this year, I have realized my role as a “doer” not a leader. For most of my professional life, I was a leader: social worker to administrator in delivering services to families; social work faculty member to a BSW program director; member of boards of directors to president of boards. Now, in retirement, I am happy to take on more of the role of a “doer,” a follower. I still initiate actions like Call to Action or Voter Empowerment, but they are always initiated in collaboration with others. I find I do not need the accolades that sometimes come with leadership. I am content to see others honored, others who may have been my students, others I have encouraged to assume leadership. This resistance of which so many of us are a part takes many leaders and many followers to be successful. I am happy that I am able to play my own small role to move our work forward.

We will march again in January, but we have a great deal of work to do yet this year, beyond marches, protests, and calls to our elected officials. There is the very real work of voter empowerment that lies ahead. I hope that social workers seize this opportunity to stand up and stand with our clients and colleagues and engage in the political process. I hope that more social workers run for office themselves so that social work values will be at the table in the political process. Our voices must be heard on issues of social justice. Remember what my mother said, “There is no rest for the weary.” We must encourage each other as we fight to move social justice issues back to the fore. I hope that you will join in this fight and contribute what you can.

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# **Our Solidarity was the Solution - Looking back on 2017: Rising and Resisting for Two Decades in NYC**

Benjamin Heim Shepard

**Abstract:** This first-person narrative reviews the resistance to the first year of the Trump Administration. The author recalls a trip to Washington DC to disrupt the peaceful transfer of power in Washington DC, as well as three other trips to fight the assault on social policy by the Trump Administration and the Republican controlled congress, getting arrested each time. Back in New York, the author worked with his union and engaged in civil disobedience fighting for the homeless with Voices of Community Activists and Leaders (VOCAL). The author reviews debates about strategies and tactics, as well as the efforts of groups such as ADAPT, Rise and Resist, Housing Works, Center for Popular Democracy, ACT UP, New Sanctuary Coalition, and VOCAL. He considers the friendships which support such efforts to renew democracy from the bottom up, while fighting the war on the poor.

**Keywords:** solidarity, ADAPT, Rise and Resist, Housing Works, Center for Popular Democracy, ACT UP, New Sanctuary Coalition, Erica Garner, Charles Shively, Gilbert Baker, James Lawson, civil disobedience, Charles King, Mark Milano, Eiryn Griest Schwartzman, Fighting for Our Lives AIDS Candlelight Vigil, Occupy Wall Street

I moved to New York in September of 1997. Sure, I had been around, visiting between grad school and college, following a girl up Vassar for a year in 1990, drinking at Max Fish on Ludlow, coming into the city in the 1970's, driving through a sea of cars on Houston and Canal Streets. But 1997, was the year, I made the love affair official. And with the exception of a month or few abroad, a fall and spring semester in 2007 there, I have been here. My twentieth year in the city was the most abundant in years. I saw more music, acted up, rising, resisting, traveling and teaching as much as possible, navigating a most savage of times. On the one hand, many of the things I have fought for as an activist for two decades - a stronger public sector union, health and social welfare programs, and a clean environment - have all taken significant hits. But no one is out for the count, none of us. Still the threats were everywhere. So we responded and pushed back on all sides, organizing, defending our friends facing deportation, women fighting harassment, homeless people looking for shelter, disabled people fighting for healthcare.



Solidarity was expanding everywhere, even when I was the first to get out of jail. Everyone needs support. Scenes from tow out of four arrests in the first year of the Trump administration.

Writing about the healthcare protests in DC, my friend TW Collins referred to Dorris Lessing (1962, p. 434), who wrote: “Very few people really care about freedom, about liberty, about the truth, very few. Very few people have guts, the kind of guts on which a real democracy has to depend. Without people with that sort of guts a free society dies or cannot be born.” Here is to those who have the “guts” Collins concluded. This year, a few of my heroes, those with a lot of these guts, shuffled off. These were people who looked to no one but themselves to find solutions, stepping up, organizing selflessly, listening actively, and building a working consensus around ways to combat oppression, using gestures of care and creativity. A few of these included Erica Garner, Charles Shively, and Gilbert Baker. Each went in their own ways pointing to the utility of love, art, and collective mourning; one could argue both Garner and Baker died of broken hearts. May they rest in power. The last time I saw Gilbert was at a Rise and Resist meeting in January.



Gilbert Baker at a Rise and Resist Meeting at the Center, January 2017, casually dressed as a member of a concentration camp, adorned with the pink star that he thought so drab, ever aware of the meaning of symbols. It was the last time I'd ever see this quiet hero. I left the meeting early. He stayed, seemingly knowing what was at stake.

With their spirits in mind, here is the story of the year of a year of activism, teaching, making friends, renewing friendships, watching some go, and others come my way as we fought our way through the first year of presidency the majority of the voters had not wanted.



This writer making new friends at the Trump inauguration.

The day of Donald Trump's inauguration, I met my friends with Rise and Resist and ACT UP at West 13th Street, and got on the bus to DC at midnight, driving into the night. I mostly slept on the way there, dozing in and out, thinking about the fifteen or sixteen trips to jail over the past two decades since I have been involved with non-violent direct action. These expressive actions were always a useful means for a hyperactive emotional kid to act up and do something with that

well of emotion bubbling inside. They were ways to scream when my friends were getting sick or the city was bulldozing community spaces or restricting civil liberties or unions or starting wars or police were beating people, whatever the issue was. Civil disobedience opens a delicious form of defiance and expression. It's always been an outlet for emotion and communication. Hopefully it could be one again. As my friend Savitri D once wrote: "The shared experience of being arrested can be powerful, also weirdly intimate." Doing so, people usually find a lot of common ground as solidarity expands, lasting through time.

Riding through the night I was getting more and more excited about the weekend. I would not be wandering aimlessly. I would be going straight at the darkness. The sun was nowhere to be seen when we arrived in DC at 5 am. The city was filled with people in red "Make America Great Again" hats. These were not urbanites. Mostly men, white men, and a few women, the line to get inside the inauguration was filled with them, all white. I was supposed to meet Tim Murphy, a New York writer, whose work I adore. He's written about drug use and HIV in the past, AIDS protests I've taken part in, etc. For the inauguration, he seemed to move into the mindset of one of the Trump supporters New Yorkers seem to know very little about. We made our way inside and through security for the inauguration ceremonies at the United States Capitol. Tickets were easy to come by. Few wanted to actually attend. By 6:45 am we'd made our way past security. We'd have to stand there for five hours before the magic moment when we'd seek to disrupt the inauguration, without getting found out first. I kept blowing the cover.

"Benjamin!" Tim scolded me when I told him about us talking about his book at my Marxist reading group.

"Look around you."

Looking, I saw a sea of red hats and white people, not a person of color in sight. We found our standing room only spot by 7 am, meeting up with Jacques and Jackie and Yougourthen. Tim stayed in character, chatting with Trump supporters for hours.

"Things that happened in the past do not matter," Tim declared.

"It's been dark for eight years," one of his new friends replied, shaking their head.

"I think he's liking this too much," I whispered to Jacques, of the Yes Men. "Like Ed Meese condemning the porno he's documenting. He's getting Stockholm syndrome." Murphy was at it for hours.

The crowd was getting more and more excited as the jumbotron showed Trump's limo making its way to the Capitol.

"He's coming! He's coming!" a woman to my right cheered, looking at the image of the limo making its way to the ceremony, in a scene reminiscent of Triumph of the Will.

"USA USA USA!" the crowd screamed.

“It would sound better in the original German,” I moaned to Jacques.

By 11:30 am, dignitaries were being introduced. Bill and Hillary, even Jimmy Carter received boos.

“You guys can’t boo Jimmy Carter!” I followed. Most agreed. Things only got worse when the minority leader Chuck Schumer read a civil war soldier’s letter to his wife.

“Boo!!!” “Sit Down!” “Get off!!!” “You’re killing me!” the Trump supporters screamed, sounding boorish. “Drain the swamp!”

A hushed silence filled the air as the president elect begin his oath of office. And screams filled the air.

“Inept illegit” we bellowed as Trump began his oath of office and we attempted to disrupt the normalization of the transfer of power.

“Not my president!”

“You elected a fascist!!!!” Tim screamed.

A commotion ensued. I was worried we were going to get beaten up. There were thousands of them there. One man put his hand around my neck. And another grabbed the whistle I was blowing.

We kept screaming, along with about ten others planted throughout the crowd. And all the world saw the images of us being beaten. And the police started to pull us out. I was more than happy to oblige, walking with the policeman.

“Thanks for being cool about it,” the policeman told me.

“No problem. You guys have your hands full today,” I told the policeman.

Charles King of Housing Works, who trained me in civil disobedience always said be good to your arresting officers, making friends if you can. One of his arresting officers at the ACT UP Stop the Church action in 1989 invited him out on a date. Charles demurred. But he later regretted it.

People all over the inauguration had acted up in union, one woman declaring “pussy grabber,” another man stayed when the police did not come and the crowd took him down, strangling him.

The police escorted us out of the inauguration, confiscating our tickets but not sending us to jail, where I thought we’d at least spend the night.

Adrenaline was oozing out of my ears. But it felt ok. I was glad I had taken part in the big action.

It was better than staying home, more empowering. I spent the rest of the day navigating between tear gas, police, and anarchists in the streets. It was eerie walking the streets, watching police and anarchists clash, liberals and Trumpheads go to loggerheads, as the Trump crew took control of the helm, erasing language about climate change and reproductive autonomy from White House websites.

In the weeks before and after Trump's election, we—a collective we-poured into the streets—immigrants, Muslims, students, women, people of color, LGBT activists—and it seemed all of New York. A few days before, on MLK day, members of the newly-formed anti-Trump group Rise & Resist staged a cough-in at Trump International Hotel and Tower in New York City, to fight against the radical changes to the American healthcare system proposed by the Trump Administration and Republicans, coughing and chanting, “We Love Obamacare, Trumpcare Makes Us Sick!” Saturday February 4, 2017, LGBT communities converged at the Stonewall Monument in solidarity with Muslim, Latino, refugee, and immigrant communities being targeted by the Trump administration. On the way to Sheridan Square, I passed thousands with signs, declaring, “Stronger Together,” “Gays Support Muslims,” and my favorite, “Never Underestimate the Power of a Faggot with a Tambourine.” Solidarity seemed to be expanding everywhere. The courts pushed back against the immigration ban.

My city of friends was working. Every time I come to an event like this, I feel like I live in a city of friends, with people I have known for two solid decades popping up everywhere, people I have acted up with, gone to jail with, ridden bikes with, prayed at Judson Memorial Church with throughout my years here. This is where the democracy of the streets matters. Rather than throw up our hands in despair, we all tapped into a collective spirit of do-it-yourself action, connecting all of our stories and ambitions, forming a collective community capable of igniting democracy from the bottom. This DIY spirit helped us find a route to fashion a better world, building alternatives that support mutual aid, green space, social welfare programs, community gardens, bike lanes, wind power, expressions of care and creativity, within a public commons of our own creation.

Each week, something we cared about was taking a hit. The president was attacking Muslims so we flooded into the streets at JFK airport. He was attacking the Paris Climate Accord, so communities pushed back; Michael Bloomberg and Jerry Brown declared the US would maintain its commitment to the accord, regardless of inaction at the federal level. The president retaliated with taking on more programs, including restricting the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. (Many of my students are part of the DACA program. They come to class early, take care of their parents and siblings, work extra jobs and do internships on the side. They are some of my best students.) The president said he would give Congress six months to fix the problem. It was hard to imagine a solution forthcoming when the issue of immigration had been a political quagmire for decades. Tears welled up in my students' eyes when they spoke about the problem - the uncertainty of wondering if they really were going to be sent back, expelled to places that weren't home, the places their parents had brought them from. The cruelty of the president was astounding. Despite it and in the face of it, each week we responded to his callousness with more and more mutual aid, direct action, and community-building.

Over the year, many of us debated what was the best approach to coping with what looked like a fascist president at the helm. Some organized with Rise and Resist and its ACT UP roots, inclusive and direct action-based; its model was critical in the current moment. Some resented the credit Rise and Resist got for bringing so many people into organizing.

Others supported Antifa and their approach to taking on the ascendant fascism. Some thought the first amendment should be curtailed in the face of hate speech or opinions we disliked. For others though, it was more important to highlight voices we care for and support them instead of opposing the ones we find offensive. We can all protest. And can talk with those with whom we disagree, track hate speech, confront it, educate, fight ignorance with knowledge and support public education so people have tools to combat bigotry and break down stigma. But shutting down events among those we dislike feels backward. It does not prefigure a better world. And it invites a backlash from the state, inviting an even bigger crackdown. I liked the pies the Pieman used to throw at right wingers. What I do not support is the notion that everyone has to march to one drumbeat. And if we oppose shutting down this or that tactic, we are the enemy, as some implied. Robert P George and Cornell West suggest that rather than shut down discourse, might it better serve the cause of truth seeking to engage the speaker. "If we don't protect the free speech rights of all," says Brenda L. Jones, executive director of the ACLU-EM, "we risk having the government arbitrarily decide what is, or is not, acceptable speech." As an educator, I appreciate the University of Chicago position that the campus supports vigorous debate, instead of trigger warnings and safe zones. Academic freedom means people with different positions have to be allowed to talk. I invite this from my students, reminding students civility matters, but so does the right to disagree. It is boring to share all the same positions.

Over the year, I saw elements of both right and left authoritarian thinking, seemingly intolerant of different ideas, favoring vanguardism, and opposed to debate. Friends from the right and left walked away from dialogue, disengaging and withdrawing into their silos. Sadly, there are times when the left feels as stultifying as the right. And both extremes seem to favor restrictions on free speech. The solution to a democracy deficit is more debate, not less.

My colleague at the City University of New York, author Sarah Schulman, referred to these debates with hope: "Confused American leftists realize that stopping people from talking is not as effective a tactic as saying what kind of world we DO want to live in."

"The people preventing Republicans from safely assembling on the streets of Portland may consider themselves fierce opponents of the authoritarianism growing on the American right," wrote Peter Beinart (2017). "In truth, however, they are its unlikeliest allies." I appreciate the need to make racists afraid again. But I also hope the left can maintain a commitment to a Gandhian repertoire of non-violent civil disobedience. Violence begets violence. It invites crackdowns. This was a key tenet in James Lawson's training of activists during the Civil Rights movement. When we become violent, we become the monsters we oppose. I still believe we can change the tides of history by maintaining a commitment to non-violence. It has worked in the past. It worked this year, and I will believe it will work again.

It is possible for the creative and passionate ideals of anarchism to merge with current

movements to create a better world, but there has to be room to disagree. Only then can we begin to collaborate on the ground, as anarchists and peaceniks, liberals and radicals, atheists and church-goers have always done - when they have come together rather than fight each other. Over the year, anarchists and Catholic Priests fought white supremacists in Charlotte; liberals and radicals converged in Washington; radicals and immigrants participated in Jericho at Federal Plaza for those facing deportation, and many others crowded the streets in front of Trump Tower in NYC as the city swelled with a conversation about what real democracy could mean. In between fits and starts, we began to expand on the lessons of the debate over diversity of tactics hashed out during the global justice movement years, allowing a thousand flowers to bloom, not just the ideas we support. Many came to see that our solidarity was our solution. I hope we can learn to broaden and expand the tent of the left into a united front of opposition to the fascist right, supporting, rather than undermining each other, and collectively imagining something brighter. I hope we can work on inviting and including, because, as we saw in the results of the 2016 election, those excluded from the conversation will turn elsewhere.

As the year went on, I ran into fellow activists I had not seen in years. Kate Barnhart and I ended up in handcuffs three times together. I had not seen Jay Walker since 1998. This year, we ran into each other at event after event, went to D.C. and were arrested together, talking like old school chums as we drove. Austin Horse decided to join us the night before one of the trips to D.C., and brought a bust in honor of a fellow bike messenger who had no insurance and died. My friends from Housing Works and Center for Popular Democracy helped organize the D.C. healthcare actions in ways that were inviting, inclusive and compelling for everyone involved. Emails were open. So were invitations. Mom's and their kids, people with disabilities, elders, high school students, queer and faith based activists were all part of their coalition taking part in a transparent model of mass civil disobedience.

Mark Milano, an old ACT UP veteran, organized the cough-in at Trump Hotel and the corresponding D.C. actions. He said that as a person living with AIDS, the actions helped give his life meaning. He said the struggle gives his existence and his very being a sense of meaning. At almost every demonstration, I ran into my friend Jenny Heinz, whom I've known since the early days of the anti-war movement around the Iraq Invasion back in 2003 when we were arrested at the Carlyle Group. Jenny believes formal democracy is broken. To her, there is no separation of life from the art we are consuming, and our activism should have no separation either. She told a story about going to the Lincoln Center wearing a small sign that said: "NO! In the name of humanity, I refuse to accept the rise of fascism in America." The security told her she could not carry it.

"But I don't go anywhere without it," she replied. "I'm asking everyone what they are going to do about this mess." She said it was a public space. He told her again to take it off and escorted her out. The next day she got on the phone with Norm Siegel, her old lawyer, who had supported her and the grannies who got arrested attempting to register for military during the last Gulf War. And he started inquiring.

"You should call the Times," I told her at the protest in Washington Square Park at a rally for the death of presidency.

After the protest, she called my contact with the paper. The paper of record started covering Lincoln Center's hostility to free speech, and the Lincoln Center changed their policy. Jenny had a way of getting things done. This was not her first time around this rodeo.

"We're gonna have to have some fun along the way here, everyone," said the MC, smiling during Rise and Resist's Mock Funeral for the Presidency. "Otherwise what is the point?"

"We're just getting started! We're just getting started!" everyone chanted during the event wailing, honoring, remembering, grieving, marching, singing, chanting, and demanding the rebirth of a Presidency dedicated to the service of all peoples and "sacred fire of liberty" that President George Washington swore to uphold.

Throughout the spring, we rallied for education, for science, for the homeless, for women, and our friends who were facing deportation.

In March, we arrived to accompany Ravi and others from the Sanctuary movement for their check ins with Immigration Customs and Enforcement and hold a rally in their support.

"I see a wall of love..." Ravi declared looking out a sea of bodies at Foley Square, elected representatives, members the Sanctuary Movement and their supporters, before he went inside for his check-in. It seemed all of New York was there. This is our New York! Immigrants are New York! Members of the congregation at Ravi's church, Judson Memorial, were there. For Judson, "Sanctuary is a strategy we choose driven both by patriotism and the decisive compassion cultivated through Christian practice. No one is a stranger or a foreigner to God."

During the Jericho walk, we surrounded the ICE building, locked hand in hand. Ravi walked upstairs into the Federal Building, with his preacher and supporters.

"We are Ravi!" the crowd screamed as he went up. "We are Ravi!"

Shortly, we heard the office decided not to hold Ravi, a friend saved by our resistance, at least for the moment.

Despite individual victories, the challenges of the new administration were every day. In the fall, we heard that the Supreme Court case of *Janus v. AFSCME* - a case Elizabeth Warren warned us "could defund unions for teachers" - was on the docket. The case was a direct assault on labor, workers, and, by extension, higher education as a whole. So members of our union started talking, connecting, and recommitting to supporting each other, in as broad a way as possible. Faced with the multiple crises, we needed everyone out there doing various kinds of organizing, collaborating, and cooperating. Of course, this meant respecting the different ways people could contribute. Some people made calls and others put their bodies on the lines with direct action.

In July, activists around the country, including Housing Works, ACT UP, National ADAPT, Rise and Resist, disability activists, liberals, and even a few anarchists, put all their skills together to stop the bills that were designed to kill the Affordable Care Act. Using every tool in

the kitchen sink, they lobbied, bird-dogged Senators, made office visits, sat in on hallways, and generally made a stink all summer long, as congress failed in their ACA repeal attempts all summer long.

My friend LA Kauffman posted a note on social media congratulating them. “Wow, let’s hear it for the heroes who won this health-care fight and showed not only that resistance works, but HOW it works.” Kauffman referred to the disabled people from National ADAPT who were the first to put their bodies on the line to block these hateful bills, taking bold action time and time again. She was thinking of the people with HIV and those who rely on Medicaid, organized through CPD Action, Housing Works Inc., Rise and Resist, and other groups, who sat in over and over again to fight for all of us. “This was a battle led and won by the most vulnerable among us: disabled people, queer folks, HIV+ folks. One key organizer told me she estimates that women made up 70% of those on the frontlines -- and a great many of the men who joined them were either gay or HIV+ or disabled or all of the above. They got on buses in the middle of the night, put their bodies directly right in the way of a government hellbent on depriving us of basic care, endured miserable hours in police custody, and then returned to do it all again. All the phone calls and all the local protests around the country played a big and crucial part, too, but direct action set the tone and led the way. I am in awe of all who fought so hard, and so grateful.”

The creative outpouring of theatrical and disruptive organizing served as a useful testament to the ongoing utility of social movement activity favoring a diversity of tactics, rather than a strict adherence to one model or another. There is no one right way to respond to the previous unimaginable political reality we had found ourselves in. It was necessary for people to put their bodies on the line, picket, make phone calls, and keep their sense of humor.



In the fall of 2017, I went to D.C. four times to fight the repeal and replace movement against healthcare. On my first trip, we took on Graham Cassidy’s healthcare bill, filling the hearing at the at Dirksen Senate Office Building with people in wheelchairs, screaming, rolling out of their wheelchairs, and causing commotion, before the senators pulled their support. I’ll never forget walking through D.C., seeing all the healthcare and disability activists - many in wheelchairs - and joining them to clog the halls of Congress, where we demanded that our representations would have to bear witness to those who depend on healthcare - to see us, united.

Eiryn told me that the aca repeal would decimate medicate, limiting her right to life and liberty. Shes here to fight back! - with Eiryn Griest Schwartzman.

Senator Collins pulled her support for the bill during the hearing, sending the repeal effort to its end.

A month later, we were back, this time fighting the tax bill which would gut the ACA healthcare mandate and take 13 million people off healthcare. The Republicans had not passed one bill all year long, despite control of congress. They were desperate. But so were we. So were the disability activists pushing for access, defending the Americans with Disability Act and their to right live free, outside asylums and institutions, where they would be consigned without the support of Medicaid and the ADA.



Arrest number two in DC with disability activists.



Arrested trying to stop the rich from stealing from the poor in dc. the tax bill is the most regressive piece of legislation of my lifetime. Photo by Timothy Luceford. As Jennifer Flynn Walker wrote: "It's another day in Trump's America so we are shutting down another murderous hearing. CPD Action, Housing Works Inc."

I rode down to D.C. with Kate, Austin, and Timothy Lunceford. On the drive from Brooklyn to DC, we told stories of the time we'd spent in jail, the direct action, and more. The stories helped us pass the time and create a collective mythology of our efforts. "We tell stories to give life

meaning,” says memoirist Amy Hoffman. “We impose structure on chaos. We choose a beginning and an end; we elevate some details and discard others; we try to find lessons and useful information,” (quoted in Becker, 2017). This is precisely what we were doing by sharing our experiences with each other.

Tim, a long-term AIDS survivor, was wearing a hat with a picture of Elizabeth Taylor, who he befriended during the early AIDS years. The hat included the words:

“Our compassion is more compelling than our need to blame,” Elizabeth Taylor.

“I guess we’re getting arrested with Elizabeth Taylor,” I noted.

We talked about his years of aids activism, and how he never let the fights or bickering get him down. “We are only on this planet but for so long, so I can’t let that stuff worry me,” he explained, his Zen philosophy an example this activist might do well to emulate. He smiled and told stories about bird dogging senators, following them into bathrooms and lobbying them, and talking with John McCain about cancer, before his last vote against ACA repeal.

I also ran into my friend Heather who works for Senator Sanders. She was not sure we could beat back this assault. She promised to call a friend who is a photographer to show up at the hearing. . All day long, we bird-dogged, asked questions, and generally annoyed the representatives on their way to the hearing. They seemed to surprised regular people were there asking questions. As senators walked into the hearing, we pled with them to kill the bill. Each one dismissed us, except for Sanders who got a rousing applause.

When Lindsey Graham called Jennifer Flynn “rude,” my friend Kate pointed out that the tax bill puts her health at risk. As the hearing began, more and more chaos ensued. Inside the hearing, several members of ADAPT started to pull themselves out of their wheelchairs. Mark Milano, who had spent weeks lobbying and speaking with receptionists, without ever getting access to actual decision makers, was wondering what to say. He was fully aware that as a man living with HIV and cancer that this bill would have a profound impact on his life. As the hearings began, he knew this was his chance to speak with the decision makers. He screamed, “Mic Check! I am 62-years old, a few years from Medicare. If enacted, this bill will prevent Medicare from paying for my cancer treatment.” Other disability activists had pulled themselves out of their wheelchairs, causing chaos to ensue as the hearings began.

While activists inside were mic checking, outside the hearing, we blocked the halls. “Health care is a right,” we chanted. “Kill the bill! Don’t kill us!” Wave after wave of people were arrested. Others were literally dragged away over the people blocking the elevators. When a reporter asked me why I was there, I said, “I’m here because this is the most regressive piece of legislation of my lifetime.” We spent the afternoon in jail. When we got out, we heard that several of the moderates were supporting the bill.

“You can only dodge bullets so long before eventually one hits you,” my friend Zach said. He had been arrested four times this year. “I got arrested this time because it’s a horrible, horrible

bill,” he explained. “I could not live with myself if I hadn’t done everything in my power to stop it.”

On the drive home, Austin, Kate, Tim and I talked over the events and read reports about the hearings. After I got home I added posted a note on Facebook: “Just back from D.C fighting America the greedy. This tax bill is the worst, most regressive bill I’ve seen. We have to push back harder, get more people calling and showing up, bird dogging, screaming at senators willing to steal from the poor to pay for the rich. People from Maine need to lean on Collins who caved. I saw Lindsey Graham call Jennifer Flynn Walker rude for reminding him that the CBO score for the bill has nothing to do with the bullshit he was spewing to the press. I saw people with disabilities haled away, moms with their kids in wheelchairs fighting for their children’s future, people with HIV fighting for healthcare which would save their lives, and still the Republicans plan to pass a tax bill adding a 1.4 trillion dollar tax giveaway, increasing taxes on those making less than \$75,000.00 a year so the Koch brothers and the elite can get a tax break. Is this America?”

I went down to D.C. one more time on December 18, 2017

Tim and I sat together on the bus ride down. We spoke with our fellow passengers about why we were protesting.

“We’re building a community here,” said Judy Pleune both members of an affinity group of elder organizers committed to civil disobedience, “This is how we expand the resistance.”

Mark Hannay of ACT UP was busy counting possible votes for the legislation.

Tim talked about the story of his activism that had grown out of his concerns for the health challenges faced by gay men as result of homophobia, hate, and later, HIV/AIDS. He attended his first Fighting for Our Lives AIDS Candlelight Vigil in 1987. At the march, one of his friends told him about an angry group that had just formed and was meeting at the Lesbian and Gay Community Services Center in the West Village. He was talking about the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, several veterans of whom were organizing the healthcare demos in Washington.

Over the years, Tim has watched cohorts drop in and out of the group, yet he stays the course. “I wasn’t a member of the Swim Team,” a cohort of ACT UP’s cutest activists. “I wasn’t fucking around. Matt Ebert was always the chalk queen. When he left, I became it.”

I met Tim in one of these meetings two decades ago, around the same time I connected with Jennifer Flynn and Paul Davis.

“America has no idea what is about to hit them with this bill,” said Tim. It was especially relevant for his experience as a man living with HIV and cancer for years. He depends on the types of public health insurance that would be gutted by this bill. “Americans who have their parents live with them, who get Meals on Wheels a few days a week, they are going to lose that funding,” Tim continued. “They are not thinking about that.” The funding would change block

grants for healthcare, and create cuts to entitlements, money for transportation, schools, and more.

Our conversation switched between Tim's past, his time in New York, the present, and our current journey to Washington. "I want to go into Collins's office and rip the books off the wall," he vented. "She doesn't understand. I've been through cancer. This will kill me. I can't live without insurance."

Judy Pleume and Bev Price, on the bus in the back and joined our conversation about why we were traveling to D.C. again.

"We've been here for years," Judy explained. "We are now nothing but a body to get in the way. It is important to build a community. We're not sure we'll win."

But Bev argued that it was important for people to see that Americans give a damn. "We're not sheep. We can't just wait for 2018."

I have known Judy and Bev since the early days of the anti-war movement in 2003, where I also met Jenny Heinz. I asked Judy when she became an activist. "I was a Freedom Rider," she said. Bev was involved with the no-nukes movement.

"We are here to voice public opposition to the Tax Bill," explained Mark Hannay, who was sitting to the right of them reading. "And scare up opposition. Even if they pass something, they are going to have to fight for every inch."

When we arrived in Washington, we all converged at the Capital Skyline Hotel. I ran into Garrett Wilkinson and Gregg Gonsalves, who were chatting about the Kansas experiment and what happens when lawmakers radically slash taxes. Wilkinson is from Kansas. The experiment in Kansas robbed the budget of money for police, public education, and even the Kansas Public Employees Retirement System that administers benefit plans for state and local public employees.

"This is what the federal tax bill will do to the country," Gregg said. He was another ACT UP veteran, who now teaches at Yale.

While we waited for the outline of the plan for the day, I spoke with Wendy Brawer, who joined the action at the last minute. She was an environmentalist and explained why she was there. "I think the focus away from renewable culture makes it harder to make change, to push for renewables. With climate change impacting us in more ways every year, California had to spend some \$110 million dollars on fires. With no revenue, how will that be possible?"

While we were standing and talking, we met Stephanie, who was forced to jump out of a third story window during a fire. "The ACA coverage saved my life. It sounds morose, but thank goodness, my accident happened before 2017, when the ACA was still thriving. This bill takes away this possibility."

Jennifer and Paul started the training.

“When we fight, we win!” they chanted. “When we drag this out, we win. When we expose this criminal negligence, we win,” Paul said. “They thought they could pass ACA repeal and replace legislation the first day of the term. And then they didn’t get anything passed all year. They thought they could pass tax reform in November. And now here we are a week before Christmas and nothing has passed.”

They asked, “How many want to get arrested for the first time?” Many people raised their hands. There was a sea of applause.

“How many have been arrested three times?” I raised my hand along with several others. More applause.

“How many have been arrested over six times this year?” another group of protestors raised their hands.

We gave them a standing ovation.

The plan of the day was to lobby all day, do office visits with senators and members of the House till 8:00 p.m., when we’d stage a die-in in the Capitol Rotunda.

Paul explained that the House and the Senate want to vote this week. If Congress refused to respond to lobbying, acts of civil disobedience would take place all week long. Activists had to be aware they might be put through the system if they disrupted Congress.

“People are falsely arrested and put through the system all the time,” Jennifer said. “We have an obligation to bear witness to this pain.”

Before we broke into groups according to region, some DACA activists came to speak, pointing out that our struggle was their struggle and vice versa.

We saw the DACA folks throughout the day as we lobbied. We met with with Congresswoman Tenney’s staff, David Kinzler, and Senator Corker’s legislative director. “This is a bet on the American people!” he told us, arguing that the cuts would be offset with a trillion dollars in new anticipated revenue. We asked for his source for that.

He rattled off a few conservative think tanks.

“No real economist believes that,” said Arlene Geiger, an economics professor at CUNY. Trickle down has never worked.

When Kinzler asked how this bill could hurt the poor, Gregg Gonsalves responded with a discussion about excess death, a condition of preventable mortality caused by environmental hazards, poverty, disaster, austerity, or neglect. by “What was disheartening was the

disingenuousness of his remarks to us,” Gregg said when describing the meeting. “In defending the Senator’s flip-flop on the bill, Mr. Kinzler ended up making a case that the bill would pay for itself through economic growth. I’m not sure why the office had this late-stage conversion to supply side economics, but there we were.”

He said all this with a straight face and the group of us in the room got more and more agitated. There were tears and heart-wrenching stories of health problems, and of the need to keep our investments in Medicare, Medicaid, and the ACA individual mandate. Mr. Kinzler held the hands of those who were crying, and he looked concerned, but he was cold as ice. When we talked about how the bill would hurt people, Mr. Kinzler seemed baffled. We talked about PAYGO, the well-announced plans to tackle entitlements next, but he kept saying that this bill doesn’t touch health programs and PAYGO won’t be invoked.

As we watched him speak dismissively of the 13 million people at risk of losing their health insurance if this passes, it reminded me of Stalin’s adage: a hundred deaths is a tragedy; a million is politics. To the senator, this was just politics. The oldest moral philosophy in the world is the intellectual justification for greed, said Arthur Schlesinger. We saw it on full display here.

Our next stop was at Senator Collins’s office. Her staff refused to meet the disability activists. Several locked their doors on us. One told us the office is private property. Lindsey Graham ran away from the disability activists. Activists chased a senator from Arkansas to the elevator. Jerry Moran, the junior senator from Kansas, hid from his constituents who’d come all the way from home to meet with him.

There is something wrong when those who represent us refuse to hear us or talk with us. It is a reflection of a broken democracy.

At the Capital Rotunda, we met Ady Barkan, the disability activist with advanced ALS who gained national recognition after he confronted Senators Jeff Flake and Susan Collins over their support for the Republican tax scam. He reminded us that democracy is beautiful. It was up to us to make it work.

The police told us the protest was illegal. At that point, we lay down for a die-in and began to sing “This Land is Your Land” and “This Little Light of Mine” on the floor of the Capital Rotunda. The energy of our frustration was bursting through the air, and manifested in many positive ways. Paul proposed to his fiancé at the action.

Ady, several other disability activists, ACT Uppers, veterans of the Women’s March, and many others joined the action. Some 65 of us were arrested screaming for the democracy to hear us, to kill the bill, to reflect our diversity, and the voices of the majority, who voted for someone else besides Trump. Despite feeling as if democracy was broken, we also felt we were going to fix it, one direct action at a time.

Back in New York, I went to the New York Stock Exchange, where 500 protesters filled the

street chanting, “Kill the Bill. Don’t Kill Us!” More than 60 of us laid down for a die-in.

The die-in, which was organized by unions, community groups and religious organizations, happened at the center of corporate profiteering on the eve of the Congressional vote on the tax bill.

At the time of this writing, half of Americans believed the tax bill would lead to higher - not lower - taxes for themselves and their families. The bill is hugely unpopular with the public, but Republican Congress members are advancing it anyway to mollify their big-money campaign contributors. “My donors are basically saying, ‘Get it done or don’t ever call me again,’” U.S. Rep. Chris Collins, R-Western New York, said recently.

The protesters blocked the main entrance to the Stock Exchange and much of the intersection of Wall and Broad Streets. They held tombstone shaped signs that said “Tax the Rich!” and “Stop Wall Street Theft.” Many also carried giant checks written out to “The Very Rich.” When police warned the crowd to move or face arrest, 15 protestors refused and were arrested. The crowd continued the non-violent demonstration.

“All day, all week, Occupy Wall Street!” we chanted. “Tax the Rich, not the poor!” It felt meaningful to be at Wall Street for the action, where we were taking on the same banks and powers the Occupy Movement took on, trying to challenge the inequalities that this bill would only expand.

After the Stock Exchange action, I ran to my policy class, where my students and I talked about the actions throughout the fall and the assault on social policy. They presented on the Volstead Act, the Clinton Crime Bill, the Clear AIR Act, No Child Left Behind, NY Universal Health Care Act, the ‘Death with Dignity’ bill, and so many more. A subtext of the class was the question about what can be done about the war on the poor, “I pray my 13-year-old son will not find himself in solitary,” confessed our final presenter. We all pray this country can make it



through this period with Dreamers threatened with deportation, record homelessness, mass incarceration, and increasing healthcare costs.

Throughout the actions, solidarity was expanding everywhere. Thank you to Alan Timothy Lunceford-Stevens for all his leadership on this. He was there supporting us action after action in DC, welcoming us out of jail. Note the plastic bag, holding my belongings, I was holding.

The mass civil disobedience

actions in D.C. were some of the most powerful of my lifetime. Throughout the year, we fought back hard. We found new forms of solidarity in the streets and in the struggle, often supporting each other in ways we had seemingly abandoned during the Obama years. Faced with the ascendant right, our solidarity was our solution this year, and it will be next year.

At the end of a long year of protests, my friend Nikki wrote me a note that said, “Thanks Ben for the work you did going down to D.C. and being in the streets. It’s important. It’s inspiring. It reminds me that in the dark times we will be singing. And that doesn’t mean things are okay, it just means that there is a light that can’t be extinguished.”

I met so many great people this year. There is a joy in being with resisters, to being free and with like-minded and jubilant friends. Through each of our actions, we communicate, protest, scream and search for meaning. We tell our stories.

Yet, as the first year of the Trump administration comes to a close, and as I look back on my shared experiences of resistance, it’s necessary to evaluate whether we engaging the total social process. Is there still room for us to improvise, to engage and challenge ways of thinking, protesting, and taking on power? Are our efforts, our actions, up to the task for the challenge we face? Can we do a better job of talking to each other and scaling our actions up to the tasks at hand? Are our stories compelling in ways that bring more people into the conversation?



Our lawyer Kate took this picture of Garrett Wilkinson and I outside the senate offices on Senate office building as we shut down the hearings for the Cassidy Graham ACA repeal bill.

The Affordable Care Act is still in place and the Right Wing in Washington is playing out their

Faustian bargain. They made a kind of deal with the devil that certainly will have an unhappy end; but we're all part of the collateral damage. As we prepare for another year of sustained solidarity, let us allow a thousand flowers to bloom; continue to counter hate speech with acts of love and care; and invite more dialogue, not less. Let's prefigure our idea of a better world and work together to create it.

We pushed back a lot this year.

In the streets, with my comrades, it felt as if democracy might be on the mend. Yet, for it to really mend, we need to combat the ongoing war on the poor.

On the way home from my last trip to DC, I took a five am subway ride from Union Square where the bus dropped us off. It was a cold December night. The train was full homeless people sleeping. The moving cars seemed to be a shelter of last resort. I fear we are entering a new gilded age, with more and more kids unable to afford school, find homes, or insurance. I fear our New York will become Sister Carrie's New York, a place where the poor face more and more challenges than they can endure. Let's all work together to make sure they are not, we are not, no one is left behind to fend for themselves.

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