

SANCTUARY

SANCTUARY is a student-curated archive of The New School's response to the election of Donald Tr*mp. The publication exists to facilitate a collaboration among departments and individuals—a way for us to become transparent and interconnected through our shared activism and dissent. It is a rallying cry to all those engaged in resistance against this administration and its policies. It is also a distinct challenge to us all to define what sanctuary means institutionally. At The New School, both practically and symbolically, do we have the will and mechanisms to resist the administration and protect our community when it becomes necessary?



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AN ARCHIVE OF THE NEW SCHOOL'S
RESPONSE TO THE ELECTION OF
DONALD TR*MP

EXILE PUBLISHING

EXILE PUBLISHING THE NEW SCHOOL

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PREFACE

On November 9, 2016, many of us awoke to a previously unfathomable world.

The shock of the new reality, perhaps, was not the election of Donald Tr*mp. That was simply an unexpected confirmation of the greater, more unbelievable, realization: the worst impulses of our society are not fringe elements. The popular minority is large enough to become the governing majority, and every victory won for social equality over the last five decades is back in jeopardy.

The current political and social environment is not unique—it resembles the challenges that forced The New School into existence—but it is new. In this era, as in the last, our society is tasked with fighting the worst angels of our nature, and this government, to expand our definition of justice and freedom.

From founding mother Dorothy Whitney-Straight, who funded the original New School for Social Research, through activist Eleanor Roosevelt, African-American scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, anthropologist Margaret Mead, political theorist Hannah Arendt, urban social justice activist Jane Jacobs, civil rights leader James Baldwin, historian Gerda Lerner, and intersectional feminist Jacqui Alexander, to the modern day social justice activist Maya Wiley, sociologist Alexandra Délano Alonso, fashion designer Angela Luna and artist Victoria Lawlor, The New School community has faced down oppression in every era of its existence.

Ours will be no exception.

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INTRODUCTION

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In retrospect, it was probably inevitable that we would create a piece of work that explores “sanctuary” as an idea.

The first day of class came seven days after Donald J. Trump was inaugurated as the 45th President of the United States and six days after over 3 million women and their allies marched in protest. Despair became resistance, and we brought that into the classroom.

Not just any classroom, but one housed at The New School, a university founded on similar ideals, in similar times. Since its inception, The New School has been a place of *refuge* and *refusal*. These terms seem at first to be at odds with one another—one suggesting push, the other pull—yet what we have come to learn is that they live symbiotically within our institution. This dichotomy is one that has long existed here: in refusing to accept intolerance and exclusion, we have always provided refuge to those whose thoughts, teachings, and identities were vulnerable to the political regime of the time. It is this commitment that animates the meaning of “sanctuary.”

SANCTUARY interrogates this notion. In curating this archive, we faced our greatest (and most unexpected) challenge—the sheer volume of mate-

rial. Our research uncovered the The New School as a living community of active resistance in all its forms, engaged in a miscellany of acts of protest and solidarity. Documenting *everything* has proven to be impossible. The prolific nature of resistance work at The New School was both the guiding force behind this project, and its chief limitation.

Initially, our decision to create a print publication also seemed limiting. In a world where “current” is currency, a physical, un-updateable book’s relevance feels ephemeral. And yet, that same sense of capturing a snapshot in time freed us from continuously searching for the next piece, the next protest. It allowed us to bear witness, for as long as books can be read, to how The New School community rose up in this moment.

Certainly, the struggle has been, as it always is, balancing the ideal with the feasible—juggling ideas and negotiating compromise, research, inspiration, criticism, deadlines, content curation, editing, budgeting, and more deadlines.

The process, then, has been an education. We learned that the political is personal, and that often-times resistance comes in the form of testimony. We learned that part of refusal at an academic institution is to raise the consciousness of the wider community to the danger in front of us. We learned that to protect the vulnerable, the privileged amongst us must put our bodies on the line. We learned that to be a sanctuary campus our university must live up to, and beyond, its promises.

A university is fundamentally a community of communities whose collective pursuits embody the ideals of the institution. But it is this—the *ideals of the institution*—that must be defined, articulated and then adhered to.

The New School was founded in protest. In 1917, a group of educators, whose philosophy and ideals did not suit the more bureaucratic academic milieu of the time, resigned from Columbia University. They rejected the stifling of academic freedom that had transformed the institution of higher learning into an instrument of patriotism. Instead, these radical scholars sought to create an institution that was free from the dominant influences of corporations and political conservatism. Aspiring to a scientific approach to social inquiry that emphasised a progressive education rooted in critical theory, they established The New School for Social Research.

In 1933, then director Alvin Johnson recognized the unique danger facing European scholars critical of Hitler and Mussolini. He acted, creating the University in Exile as a refuge for those mainly Jewish and socialist thinkers who could no longer continue their scholarship at home. Shunned by other American institutions, the University in Exile became a sanctuary where exiled European academics could pursue their endeavors.

These pivotal episodes of our history are rightly valorized. They represent the fulfilment of the founding institutional promise of pragmatic progressivism. Yet, with time, The New School for Social Research grew into The New School, and the

mantle for fostering a place of sanctuary passed from the administration to the student body.

Perhaps most comparable to SANCTUARY is the student-led anti-war exhibition at Parsons in 1970. In lieu of a year-end showcase, artists designed works which reflected a need for peace and an escape from brutality. To mirror Vietnam War propaganda, the students purposefully employed graphic imagery such as styrofoam tombstones, body bags and dolls smeared with blood-red paint. The exhibition forced attendees to confront the realities of violence. In the tradition of The New School for Social Research of old, an event generally intended to celebrate end-of-semester successes instead became a platform to provoke and resist.

In the late 1990s students again rose in objection when beloved professor Jacqui Alexander, the only queer, black gender studies educator at The New School, was unjustly denied tenure. Students of color and those within the LGBTQI community launched a protest that culminated in a nineteen-day hunger strike and an hours-long occupation of an administrative building in which the provost and vice president were held hostage. The students, calling themselves The Mobilization, invoked the University in Exile as the source of their guiding principles.

Today, while we struggle against the Trump administration, graduate student workers in the midst of a campaign to form a union are facing vehement opposition from The New School administration.

In response to the external challenge presented

by the new government, President David E. Van Zandt and The New School Board of Directors have been proactive and bold. “We will not disclose any person’s citizenship or immigration status, nor will we cooperate with immigration authorities unless forced to by a court order or warrant,” Van Zandt wrote in a letter to the university.

But the institutional response to the student union campaign reveals a university only partially committed to upholding the ideals of its foundation.

It is imperative that The New School returns fully to its roots in this historic moment. Forced to make a choice between remaining employed at Columbia University or signing a loyalty oath to the United States, the founding scholars of The New School stood on the side of civil liberties and social justice. And faced with a world in which their European colleagues’ careers and lives were in danger, The New School undertook a radical act of institutional bravery, forming the University in Exile. Today, it is critical that the institution step up, again, to intervene on behalf of the marginalized within and outside its community.

The New School must be a true sanctuary campus.

“You should all feel empowered to express your opinions about political and social issues and to act on them,” Van Zandt wrote.

We agree.

A BETTER
WORLD
IS
POSSIBLE

**THE POLITICAL
IS PERSONAL**

28 STUDENTS RESPOND TO DONALD TRUMP'S ELECTION

TABITHA SHIFLETT, CPCJ

As a woman, I am genuinely terrified of what is to come. America has spoken by electing a misogynistic, arrogant, bigoted, sad excuse of a man to lead this country. And, while I acknowledge that Donald Trump is, in fact, the president-elect, I refuse to accept that our country is actively participating in the hate-infused world he has created.

I am a victim of sexual assault and a survivor of rape—two serious issues our president-elect refers to as “locker room talk.” This comment alone makes my stomach churn.

I am fearful for the future of the young girls and women who are currently living in Trump's America. Unless we come together as a community, this presidency—fueled by hate and sexual harassment—will desensitize the public. Unless we fight, rape culture will be normalized and women will continue to be told that we are valueless, sexual objects who were “asking for it.”

As a North Carolinian, I am ashamed.

A few days following the election, The Loyal White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan—a chapter of the white supremacist group in Pelham, North Carolina—announced plans to hold a “Victory Klavalkade Klan Parade” in honor of Trump on December 3. But as an American, I am hopeful. Together, we can overcome the hate.

SHONA KAMBARAMI, SGPIA

A few minutes before midnight on election day, surrounded by a rainbow crowd of weeping Hillary Clinton supporters at the NBC Democracy Plaza, it became clear to me that I was watching the unthinkable happen, in real time. I left.

On my subway ride to rapidly diversifying Bed-Stuy, a deathly silence was interrupted by a woman who entered the car two stops in. “Do you have your papers?” she asked to nobody in particular. She repeated the question to a young African-American hipster, who nodded. “Good. Good. Because if you don't, he's going to be rounding us up.”

Half the train car was crying. Even the stoic among us were affected. I haven't stopped. The despair comes in searing waves, when I least expect it: when my cousin posts “I'm raising a young black boy and I'm terrified,” or when I see an article on Twitter about women rushing to get IUDs inserted because they're afraid of what comes next. When a Muslim woman is afraid to wear a hijab or when my friend—a fellow sexual-assault victim—could not comprehend how little our pain matters.

I don't know what comes next.

Originally published by The Nation on November 15, 2016.

FOLLOWING THE ELECTION ON NOVEMBER 8, *THE NATION* REACHED OUT TO ITS NETWORK OF HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE WRITERS, STUDENTNATION, FOR THEIR REACTIONS TO THE RESULTS. TO CREATE A SNAPSHOT OF HOW YOUNG PEOPLE ON CAMPUSES ACROSS THE COUNTRY WERE PROCESSING THE ELECTION OUTCOME, THE NATION PUBLISHED A SELECTION OF 28 OF THESE RESPONSES. INCLUDED HERE ARE THE TWO PIECES FROM STUDENTS AT THE NEW SCHOOL.

CITIZEN

DALIA ELHASSAN, BA CREATIVE WRITING '19

CITIZEN IS A CREATIVE NON-FICTION SHORT STORY BY LANG SOPHOMORE DALIA ELHASSAN, PUBLISHED BY THE EUGENE LANG OFFICE OF CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ON JANUARY 27, 2017. THE PIECE IS A REFLECTION ON WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A CITIZEN, AND ON ELHASSAN'S OWN EXPERIENCES EMBRACING AN IDENTITY FORGED IN BETWEEN THE MARGINS, AS SUDANESE-BORN AND AMERICAN-RAISED, AS A MUSLIM WOMAN AND AS A NEW YORKER. CITIZEN WON THE HAJJA RAZIA SHARIF SHEIKH PRIZE FOR LITERARY WORK THAT ADDRESSES THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING MUSLIM IN AMERICA, AND WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF THE OAKLAND ARTS REVIEW.

I carry visions of my home in my chest. Home is belonging to quivering sunset and the textured curve of a mango rind. It is what sky against skin looks like, and what the borders I find myself skirting contain. Home is a question of belonging that draws me back to childhood. It is the notion that someone that grew up tearing up maps of Africa and claiming other nationalities, someone who swallowed two other languages before her own and gutted her throat of any accent, who fashioned denial into the clothes she wore and food she ate and in the hair she relaxed and refused to braid, couldn't possibly do generations of Sudanese immigrants justice.

They came toting impeccably dressed children—pants and checkered button-ups pleated sharply; hair laid, pressed, and braided; sandalwood musk behind the ears and on the necks—and put their best front forward. They fled the country not because of the war, like many of the Southerners, but from what Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie calls a “lethargy of consciousness”. It's the drowsiness that names their bones fatigued, that beckons for visa applications and boarding passes. They will awaken in faster-paced places: the United Arab Emirates, Europe or the Americas.

New York, 1989. My father has slept in an attic stripped bare of warmth or dignity for a few months now. He's become friends with the floorboards and the last two hundred dollars he made he strung onto a wire back to Khartoum. It is winter and this is the first time he's left Sudan in his twenty-four years, the first time he's felt a bitter cold and all he can say is that he never imagined snow to be so white. For the first month he works seven days a week and doesn't have a word to describe the progression of time in American days. He doesn't have the words or the language to say that day and night bleed into one another like watercolor on origami paper, or that he cannot understand how the Sun and moon meet on opposing sides of the same sky in the late afternoon, one glowing brilliantly orange as it sets and the other rising a dull yellow on the tail of the first. He recalls an ayah in the Quran that describes the way the Sun and Moon roll over one another, each running for an appointed time and decides that this will suffice. At this point, his legs are still good enough to stand on for fourteen, fifteen, sixteen hours a day and the diabetes hasn't crept up on him quite yet. In ten years, the arthritis will come knocking on his right knee and kura, or soccer as the Amreekan call it, will be one of the first warmths he sacrifices on the bitter road of becoming American.

Miami, 2000. My mother is still the apple of her village tree but she's fallen in a different country. In a photo, her skin is bright and pale (from the help of a compact powder three shades too light; this,

“I WAS TOLD THIS WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT MOMENT IN MY LIFE BECAUSE I’D GAINED SOMETHING SO VALUABLE; AND YET, ALL I COULD FEEL IN THAT MOMENT WAS LOSS.”

however, she will not admit) and her eyebrows do not arch quite yet, but curve gracefully around her brow bone. Her hair is voluminous and chemically straightened, the strands stiff enough to pass as straight but not quite silky enough to be mistaken for a white woman’s. In another photo, her skin is the right shade of creamy brown (courtesy of a Cover Girl liquid foundation and the thought that, in America, it’s tacky to wear makeup that doesn’t match your skintone) and she is smiling with her arms crossed above the door of a 1995 Toyota Camry. It is dented, bought second-hand on a stranger’s front lawn in Liberty City. We take it home and a few months later, she gets her license and declares she is a woman now, more American than Sudanese. But her voice is still warm with a honey language, accent plump with memory and history.

New York, 2015. Between 34th and 8th, a woman took claim of my body. Her right shoulder dug squarely into the valley of my chest and sends me flying, first backwards and then forwards. In my head, I observe it all with clinical precision. The car lights bend in the foreground. In the background, I see her lips moving. She’s called me something, but I can’t hear what. The red, white, and blue lights of Penn Station glow in my peripheral vision. When I turn and look back for her, she is already down the block, ambling from one foot to the next and doesn’t shove anyone else. Her hair dances in the space between her shoulders and neck. I try to catch some-

one’s eye, look for anyone who has witnessed this theft. The pain in my chest grows. It caves in when I find no kind faces and am met with empty stares. The air drops ten degrees, and I begin walking again. It isn’t until the lights grow into swollen orbs, looking more fit in the hands of a fortune teller than the street, that I realize I am sobbing and no one is meeting my gaze.

New York, 2015. Wednesday, 9 am. The N-400 application is heavy in my bag. Mama’s sitting next to me and whispering prayers into the stagnant air. Don’t worry, she says, you’ll pass this. I nod curtly. In the periphery, I glance at the others on this train, those whose eyes are trained carefully on fluorescent phone screens or those whose gaze seems caught traveling through an endless tunnel, their vision hollow as they stare past my own eyes. I think to smile, perhaps breaking the morbid trance each of us exists in as we stare the other down, but I decide against it. I break eye contact when I notice mama’s turned to me again, lips moving nearly in time with the words of Kelly Clarkson’s Breakaway. It’s a song I’ve listened to when I needed strength to draw on without having to ask for it. Mama’s lips are pursed now.

Simi’tini? Did you hear anything I just said? she quips.

I shake my head no, *could you please repeat that?* She’s silent for a moment but turns back to her phone

“BEING BORN IN SUDAN AND RAISED IN THE US HAS BEEN AN EXPERIENCE OF LEARNING TO LIVE BETWEEN THE MARGINS.”

screen. *I just wanted to tell you, she begins, that I’ve waited for fifteen years for this day. Maybe now my nightmares will be over.*

My brows furrow. I have to ask her why she would call this a nightmare. She’s silent again.

The only thing I’ve ever prayed for was an easier life for you in this country. All those years finally paid off.

She says all of this quietly and doesn’t look at me this time. She goes back to whispering her prayers, and I’m stunned silent by the power of a single navy blue book, the proclamation of belonging. I hold back tears, claiming so as not to ruin my mascara, mostly so as not to appear so affected.

It’s just a test, I say back, knowing I’m being flip-pant, it’s just a single stupid, easy test.

New York, 2015. Outside the train station, I find the tail end of my scarf bunched in my hands and see it wet. I’ve walked three streets numb to how physically distraught I am. The skin on my chest is swollen and sensitive to the touch. On the platform, I stand close to the stairs and make sure to grab hold, afraid of the broken thought of being pushed. I’m not, and am grateful for the empty corner of the subway I am met with. My eyes are bloodshot, bruised and seedy like mishandled strawberries. I keep them trained on my flats until I feel a hand on my shoulder. I flinch. When I look up, I’m met with concerned eyes and a warm face. The face is a she, and she is

wearing a satin white scarf around her head. In the crawl space between being invisible and hypervisible, she is the first person to see me tonight. Her lips are moving and I only briefly register concern before nodding my head. When she pulls me in for a hug, my spine shifts and I hang on tighter.

In the moment my face is nestled against her right shoulder, I recall the bright-eyed girl who followed me onto Canal Street a few days before. She’s caught me on a street corner and asks if Muslims celebrate any holidays this time of year. I smile and say yes and no, offering explanation about the lunar calendar and dates shifting back eleven days each year. She nods, eyes smiling, and says she’s a Jew. Her family came as immigrants before World War 1. As replica Michael Kors wallets are shoved at us from every direction and my feet dance right and left navigating the streets, I feel her voice catch my hand and squeeze it comfortingly. My eyes are curious. She tells me don’t worry; this country has and always will be one of immigrants. Don’t worry, she pleads, just don’t worry.

New York, 2015. Wednesday, 10:52 am. *Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?* The interviewer has his right arm held up and mine is a mirror to his. I smile, nod, chirp *I do* and sit.

The test goes quickly. As he rails questions off my

“SHE TELLS ME DON’T WORRY; THIS COUNTRY HAS AND ALWAYS WILL BE ONE OF IMMIGRANTS. DON’T WORRY, SHE PLEADS, JUST DON’T WORRY.”

application back at me, I clench the fingers around my right hand tightly and say no when appropriate, answer with explanation when needed, and affirm without hesitation when most necessary. My lips are frozen in a cryptic smile and the upper half of my body speaks with ease. When his eyes fall on the last page of the test, he begins to draw broad red check marks across the answers I’ve marked *yes*.

Do you support the constitution and form of government of the United States?

I reflect on the early days of my childhood, on the books. Headlines roaring off the page with words I didn’t quite yet understand, Susan Sontag’s critiques of post-9/11 US foreign policy, and mostly, exploited images of the dead who were swallowed by grief, mostly poor and mostly colored. In the half-second pause I take to answer, I hear snippets of Suheir Hammad’s poem *first writing since*.

“there have been no words./i have not written one word./no poetry in the ashes south of canal street./no prose in the refrigerated trucks driving debris and dna./not one word./i do not know how bad a life has to break in order to kill./i have never been so hungry that i willed hunger/i have never been so angry as to want to control a gun over a pen./not really./ricardo on the radio said in his accent thick as yuca, “i will feel so much better when the first bombs drop over there”./a woman crying in a car parked and stranded. I offered comfort./a hand she did not see before she said, “we’re gonna burn them

so bad’./my hand went to my head and my head to the dead Iraqi children, the dead in nicaragua, in rwanda who vie with fake sport wrestling for America’s attention./people saying, this was bound to happen. let’s not forget U.S. transgressions./hold up, I live here./these are my friends and fam, and we’re not bad people./do not support America’s bullying.”

Yes, I answer, *without a doubt*. Suheir Hammad comes back again, I hear my thoughts in her voice.

“*Shit’s complicated,/and I don’t know what to think.*”

Excellent, he says. *Now, do you understand the full Oath of Allegiance to the United States? And are you willing to take the full Oath of Allegiance to the United States, including giving up all loyalty to prior nations of citizenship?*

My mouth dries. *This isn’t a big deal*, I think to myself, *say yes because it isn’t a big deal*. But the air has already shifted. I feel my right foot smack against the front of the desk, eager to cross the threshold of citizenship, cross into the threshold of comfort, of safety. My spine straightens, and I smile. In the crawl space between my eyebrows, a bead of sweat grows. I blink once and inhale. Before exhaling an exuberant yes, I see the words of Suheir’s poem bolden beneath my eyelids:

i have never felt less american and more brooklyn./the stars and stripes represent the dead as citizens first, /not/family members, /not lovers./the most privileged nation, most americans do not know the

difference/more than ever, there is no difference.

This is what it means to be finally be a citizen, I think, as I feel the single-syllable word affirming my loyalty pass from my lips. When I reached down to grab my bag before I go to shake the interviewer’s hand, I blink back the bitter-sweet tears that welled between my lashes. I was told this was the most important moment in my life because I’d gained something so valuable; and yet, all I could feel in that moment was loss.

New York, 2015. Citizen. Noun. A legally recognized subject or national of a state or commonwealth, either native or naturalized. Legally recognized, legally represented. I’m staring down at a Google page with the definition panned up. There’s a fading bruise between my breasts where the woman hit me the week before. My breathing is no longer labored, my lungs heavy with a pain more abstract than literal. Being born in Sudan and raised in the US has been an experience of learning to live between the margins. It is making a home for myself on the back of a hyphen wedged firmly between Sudanese-American. It is finding comfort in being marginalized. I press my fingers gently against the tender skin. This must be what it means to be a Citizen.

Originally appeared in Lang CESJ on January 27, 2017.

THE NINTH

HILLARY FERGUSON, MFA CREATIVE WRITING '17

HILLARY FERGUSON IS AN MFA CANDIDATE IN POETRY AND FICTION AT THE NEW SCHOOL FOR PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT, AND A CO-FOUNDER OF THE JOURNAL *POLITICS AND POEMS*. HER POEM *THE NINTH*, ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED ON *PUBLIC POOL*, EXPRESSES THE EMOTIONAL EXPERIENCE OF BEING IN NEW YORK CITY ON NOVEMBER 9, 2016.

the day after the election
I sat on the train across the aisle
from a black woman and a white man
and I hated him didn't even know him
but the woman and I looked at one another
for ten seconds which is nine seconds too long
to stare at someone on the subway we were both crying
all of us really were crying all of us except the white men
and the woman sighed and pointed at my bag I had
a Hillary sticker still sticking and I nodded
she understood that I understood we both felt the same
way we all did the City was quiet heads were down
and I got off at Fulton St to teach a writing class comprised
mostly of minorities and I didn't know what to say nobody did
the clock ticked and tocked and ticked some more five minutes passed
and one girl said *well shit, guys, if we die from nukes*
at least Leo DiCaprio won his Oscar finally it was the first time
the only time all day I laughed the whole room laughed
until we cried I don't mean that metaphorically or
hyperbolically we did laugh and we did cry and continued on
when I left I stood by the bridge overlooking the tunnel
I got high and ate sushi FYI the two are not great combos

it didn't soothe me at all just made me feel things more deeply
 I took the subway (again) something I rarely do I hate
 public transport don't like all the bodies they claustrophobe me
 make me anxious not this time I guess the desire to be
 in close proximity to others without speaking but feeling
 their body heat knowing we were still moving
 could still move and continue on it rained that day
 as if the sky was crying over us saying *why*
did you do this and who really is to blame I don't know
 so tired of the infighting and the finger pointing it happened
 the impossible did the thing they said would never occur
 he's there and the only thing we can do is protest to make our voices heard
 we got angry Allie and Amanda and I and everybody else
 15000 people stormed the streets took over 5th ave they chanted
New York Hates You over and over again I wanted to shout *stop!*
that's not helpful! and Amanda said *No!* she said *fuck*
going higher I'm ready to go lower and my therapist said
we're in a unique position now to show how capable we are
of love even in the midst of such hatred and I'm not sure who is right
 I can't separate or compartmentalize this feeling when one
 person is sad there are people to help you up but we're all sad
 collectively depressed and oscillating between anger and despondency
 last night Montana and I were talking she said *no one*
and nothing feels steady and I said *it's the worst*
sort of emotional whiplash I don't even know
 what hurts me most I'm queer am jewish am woman
 and for the first time feel Other feel marginalized
 by which I mean truly marginalized don't know how
 people of color have dealt with it for so long and I feel worse
 wondering if this is even a tenth of their pain and struggle

in class the other night Lea and I yelled at one another for the first time
 when I admitted that she scoffed and I didn't know how to respond
 other than *I'm sorry* and *what I'm saying is I feel guilty*
 she said *feeling guilty does nobody any good* and she's right
 later Alexandra texted me she was at HarperCollins a safe space right
 a literary space but there were two men in the elevator with her
 one said *I guess we have permission to grab whatever we want*
 and she texted her partner he said *Jesus,*
would you just relax and you know I'm tired exhausted of men
 telling women to relax or be quiet or calm down or don't overreact
 what else am I/we supposed to do all I want is to cry and then fight
 and then cry again it's been one week since he won
 and it's not going away

This poem originally appeared on Public Pool.

HOME SWEET HOME

AZZAH SULTAN, BFA FINE ARTS '16



DISPLAYED AT THE BUSHWICK COLLECTIVE ART EXHIBITION IN JUNE 2016, *HOME SWEET HOME* WAS INSPIRED BY ANTI-MUSLIM RHETORIC OF THE 2016 ELECTION CAMPAIGN, AND THE ARTIST'S OWN EXPERIENCE OF ISLAMOPHOBIA IN AMERICA. *HOME SWEET HOME* IS AN AMERICAN FLAG, HAND-STITCHED BY THE ARTIST USING HIJABS DONATED BY MUSLIM WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES. THE PIECE IS INTENDED TO CONVEY THE PAIN OF NAVIGATING THE INTERSECTING IDENTITIES OF MUSLIM AND AMERICAN, WHICH ARE OFTEN MADE TO SEEM CONTRADICTORY.



To preserve a sense of safety and acceptance, today's American Muslims feel compelled to hide their faith and religiosity. *Home Sweet Home* is an attempt to communicate this pain with those outside the Muslim community, and to have them understand that although America may be "the land of the free," it has not been welcoming to us. We Muslims are told that in order to be American, we must be secular. We are told that Islamic values don't coincide with American values. We fear association with the term "religious extremist," so we water down our beliefs and alter our appearance to present ourselves as less overtly religious. I am interested in transforming negative stereotypes about Muslims into creative solutions that counter false beliefs.

Home Sweet Home is a testimony to our various backgrounds, coinciding with a common idea of what it means to be both Muslim and American. After calling out on social media, I received headscarves from diverse parts of the United States. The women who donated these scarves were either born and raised in the United States or arrived at a very young age. Their scarves have been stitched together to create an American flag. With this flag I aim to convey the harmonious coexistence of both Muslim and American identities.

This work originally appeared on Parsons School of Design's online repository of student work.



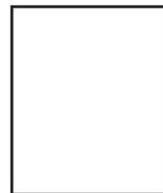
Friday, Feb 17

POST CARD WRITE-IN

Send you local representative a postcard or two or three:
the Women's March
Black History Month
the Immigration Ban

be heard!!

10am - 3pm, NW Lobby corner of 2 W 13th



#RESIST ART CLUB

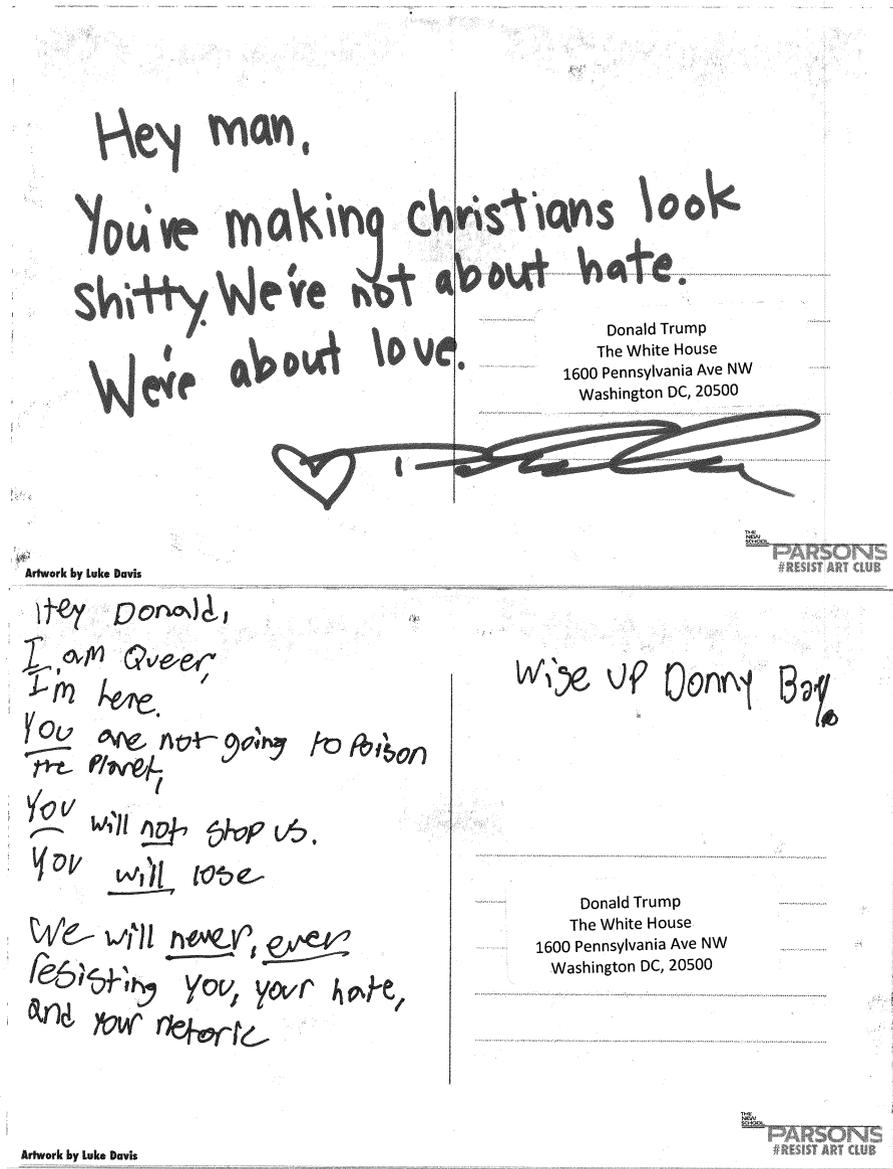
#RESIST ART CLUB

ORGANIZED BY JESSICA IRISH,
PROFESSOR OF DESIGN AND TECHNOLOGY

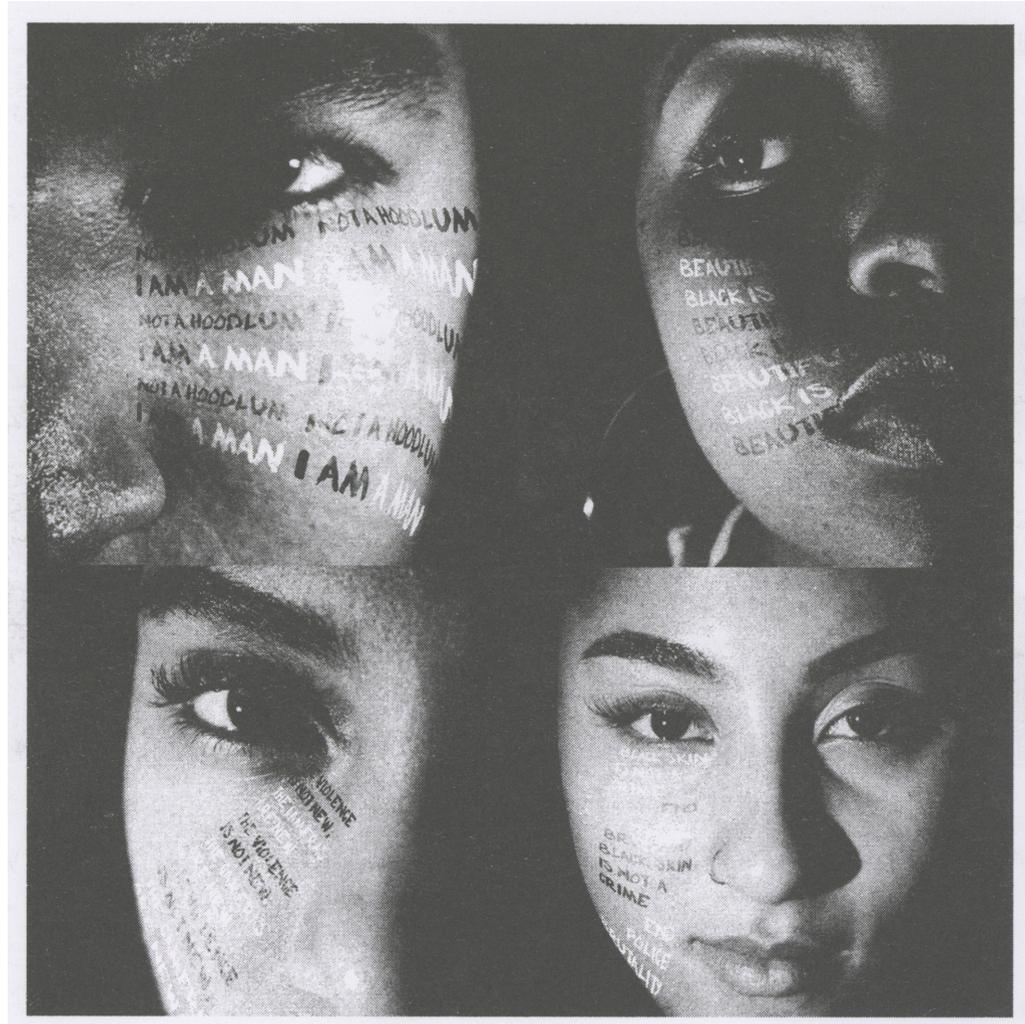
In celebration of International Women's Day, #RESIST Art Club hosted a write-in where members of The New School community could send personalized messages on student designed postcards to either local or national political representatives. Photographs from the event capture postcards before they were mailed, displaying both powerful narratives and art from participants. Organized by Jess Irish, #RESIST Art Club brings together students, alumni, faculty and staff in an effort to create thought-provoking imagery for use in resistance related activities and independent journalism.



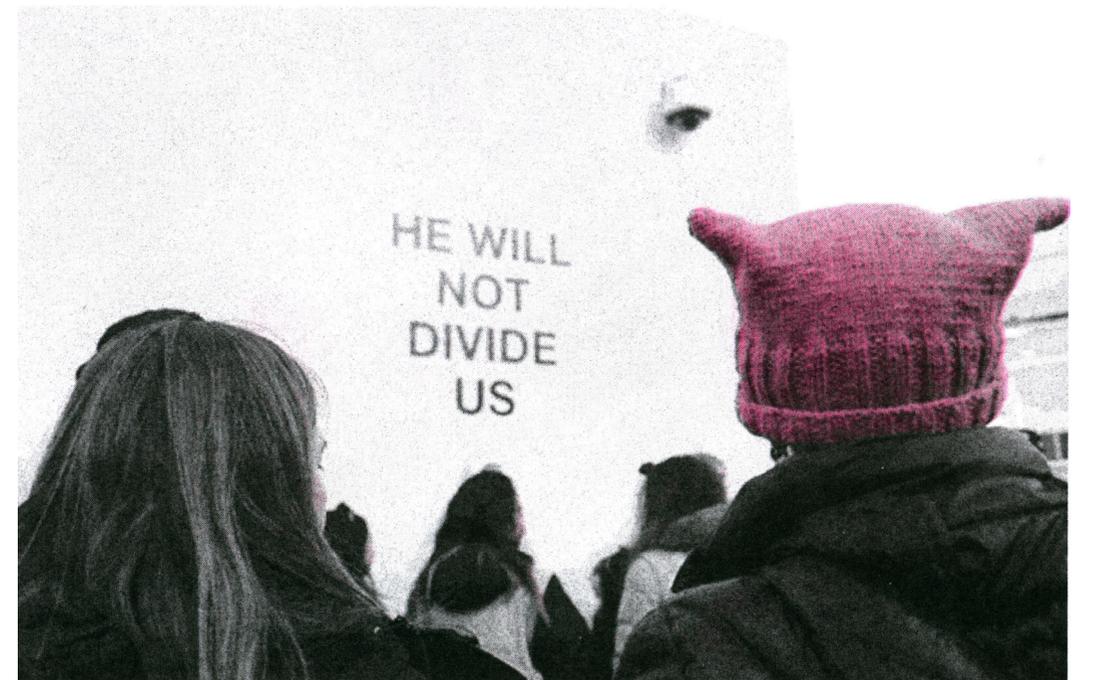
POSTCARD ART BY VERONICA LAWLOR



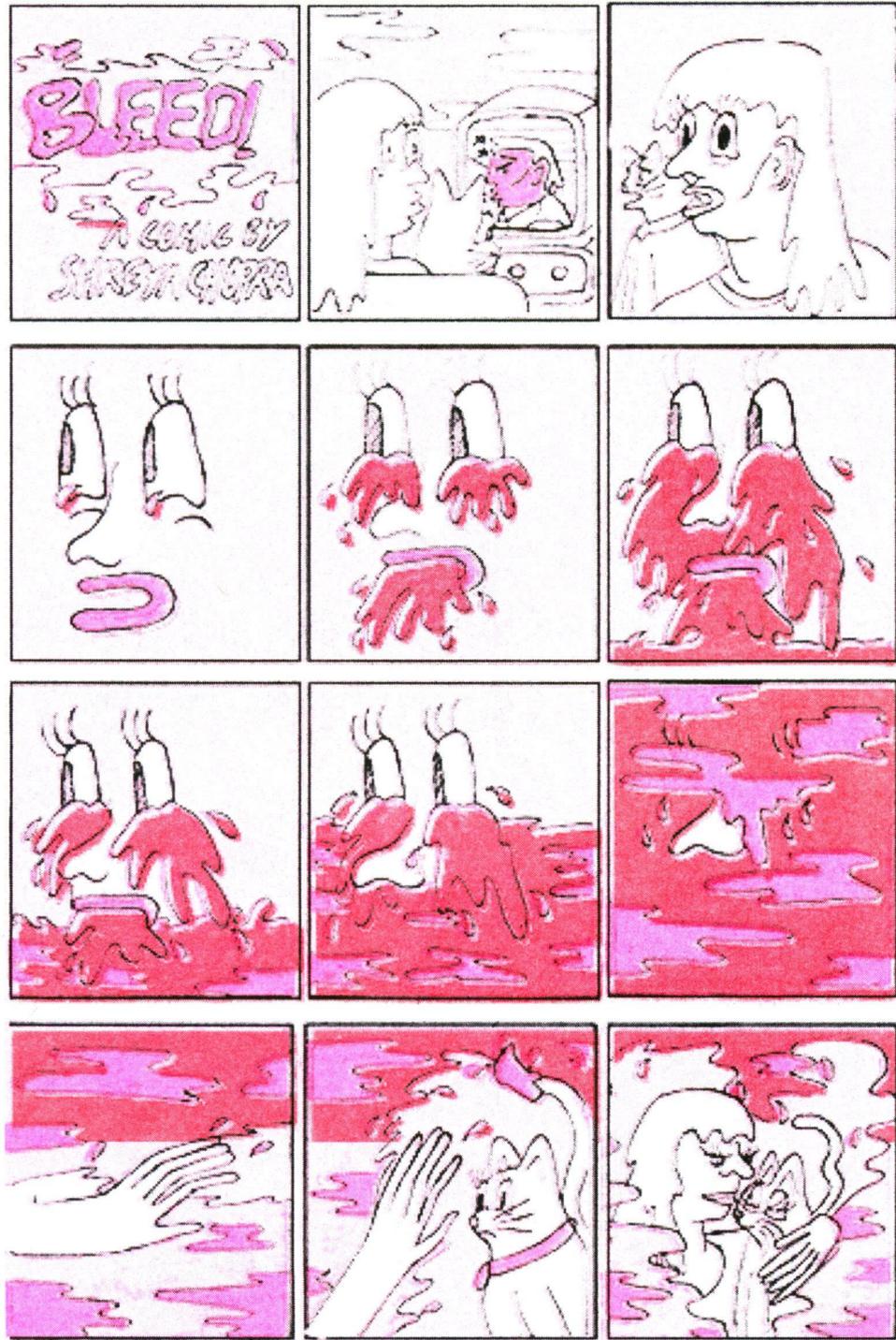
POSTCARD ART BY CHARLOTTE RENNER



POSTCARD ART BY DOTS ABESHINBIOKE



POSTCARD ART BY KAREN NGUYEN



@shreyachops

POSTCARD ART BY SHREYA CHOPRA

How to make a magazine and a home,
from *12th Street* #7 (2014)

What is scarier to me
than Trump winning
this election, is the
millions of people who
support him. He is a
mirror of our values.

12th Street

After eight years as an annual print journal, *12th Street*
will be reborn in digital form in Spring 2016. New poems.
New stories. New essays. New art. Keep your eyes peeled
at 12thstreetonline.com

12TH STREET IS PUBLISHED BY THE PROSE HONORS PROGRAM, WRITING AND DEMOCRACY, OF THE UNDERGRADUATE WRITING PROGRAM AT THE NEW SCHOOL

He is a frightening
reminder that
hate is deeply
bedded into many
people. History
has an odd way
of repeating itself
from progress we have
regressed.
I will not lose hope
I will not lose my voice

How to make a magazine and a home,
from *12th Street* #7 (2014)

No one was dancing or
singing on the subway today.
The scene in the city today
is silent -- one of mourning.
Today we mourn, tonight
we fight. And tomorrow, and
the day after, and on and on
and on and on. We fight
12th Street because we have

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to, we fight
for those who
can't. We fight
to break down walls
faster than they build
them, to come together
faster than they can
divide us. There's
a limit to their cruelty,
but there's no limit
to our energy. We know:
when we fight, we win.

Various hazards and characters
in "Who Speaks for Earth?," a story
from *12th Street* #8 (2015)

Nov 9
donald,
with all my strength
and soul, I will harness
the dividing - selfish - hateful -
defeating - oppressive rhetoric
you have created to
galvanize new found
spirit & passion for a
12th Street better future.

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it will be hard
but I'm willing
to try if you are.

-Sarah Jane
she/her
NYC

WHAT WOULD THOREAU DO?

MARK GREIF, PROFESSOR OF LIBERAL STUDIES, AND
CHRISTOPHER LYNDON, HOST OF OPEN SOURCE PODCAST

This year marks the 200th birthday of Henry David Thoreau—the radical thinker from Concord, Massachusetts who said “no” to government in slavery time and in 1849 wrote the everlasting manual for dissidents in the essay *Civil Disobedience*. Thoreau comes up pointedly in this week when President Trump says he’ll root out undocumented immigrants in what have been declared sanctuary cities in states like New York, Massachusetts and California. In one of his fiercest essays, “Slavery in Massachusetts,” from 1856, Thoreau was responding to the news that under the Fugitive Slave Act a black “slave preacher” named Anthony Burns had been captured in Boston and, despite a near-riot of street protest against Federal troops and US Marshals, was returned to bondage in Virginia. “I have lived for the last month,” Thoreau finally wrote, with the sense of having suffered a vast and indefinite loss. At last it occurred to me that what I had lost was a country.” It’s not a precise parallel here, except in the feeling that an essential piece of the country is at risk, again. So I asked the young Thoreauvian, Mark Greif, to remind us of the author of so much American Gospel, the very odd stick from Concord. Mark Greif is a writer and founding editor of the journal *n+1*. He’s collected his own essays under a title that’s straight out of Thoreau: *Against Everything*.

—Christopher Lydon

Mark Greif: You know Thoreau’s a funny character, and I’ve found myself thinking constantly in the last few days: What would he make of Trump? What would he make of this government? What would he make of millions of people in the streets at the Women’s March? The contention that Thoreau has, the claim he makes over and over again, is always to start with the individual first. Start with yourself. A Thoreauvian vision of Trump, first of all, is to seem him as a great time-waster, a kind of new time-waster-in-chief, someone who will engross our attention and keep us from living our regular lives, noticing our neighbors, noticing what’s right in front of our nose.

At the same time it’s very hard to imagine that Thoreau, who so detested the Mexican War and the US invasion of Mexico, who so detested slavery, and on other occasions more or less suggested that it was impossible to live in the state of Massachusetts or in the United States as an ordinary person if there was anyone enslaved elsewhere in the United States. It’s funny to imagine him now because, on the one hand, I think he would insist, “you must not let this fool, this comedian, this menace take over your ordinary lives. Do what you would do,” and at the same time it seems clear that he would insist, “you can’t live just an ordinary life but have to manifest yourself in some way by conscience in opposition to this state that would engross you or count you or make you part of an ostensible mandate,” let’s say.

Christopher Lydon: The beautiful line and the challenge in that “Civil Disobedience” essay is that

"A THOREAUVIAN VISION OF TRUMP, FIRST OF ALL, IS TO SEEM HIM AS A GREAT TIME-WASTER, A KIND OF NEW TIME-WASTER-IN-CHIEF, SOMEONE WHO WILL ENGROSS OUR ATTENTION AND KEEP US FROM LIVING OUR REGULAR LIVES, NOTICING OUR NEIGHBORS, NOTICING WHAT'S RIGHT IN FRONT OF OUR NOSE."

the individual of moral conviction and action is already a majority of one. That's what you've got to cultivate, and that's what will change history, but how?

MG: Thoreau works it through as a set of puzzles, and that essay "Civil Disobedience" has meant so much to so many.

CL: To the world.

MG: To the world. Martin Luther King. But also, it's still, I think, provides the kind of template for what people call "direct action," "civil disobedience" now, but it's a very puzzling essay because on the one hand, he does say just as you say, "forget about majorities. Forget about putting together a majority."

CL: Even forget about law, compared to truth.

MG: Absolutely. Put the right before the law, and put your single conscience before the state, before every other voter let's say. At the same time, there is this insistence why should that work? Right? I mean, why should a majority of one exist, or why should it matter if any one person withdraws from the Union,

withdraws him or herself from the state, the United States, Massachusetts, etc. In part, his insistence I think is that it works if you make yourself seen, and there's a real back and forth, you know, with Thoreau between saying, "My life is mine. It only happens once, and the best thing I or anyone can do is to live it is fully and richly as possible. Go to a cabin in the woods if that's what it takes," and this other side which suggests that we have to be exemplars for each other and that going to a cabin in the woods is, in some way, not meaningful without a world of people in town saying, "What's that weird guy doing in the woods?" and without being prepared to explain yourself to them whenever they ask.

"Civil Disobedience" is interesting too, of course, because it's his most "town" writing, in a way. We don't think of Thoreau as an urban writer, but the core of that essay is the time when he spends one night in jail, and what he says is, "For the first time I overheard what all the cooks and dishwashers said in the town-inn kitchen. For the first time I overheard the people walking through town in the middle of

the night," and he essentially says, "I saw my town for the first time. I saw what the real institutions of my town are from the other side, from being the person locked up," and he more-or-less says everybody could do with a night in jail just to see how things work from the inside and from the point of view the person who's least regarded.

CL: I'm trying to think of people who were a majority of one. Martin Luther King was a majority of one. Nelson Mandela was a majority of one.

MG: Thoreau, of course, likes to set the great up and then tear them down, but in one of his kind of orations, one of these grand flights in "Civil Disobedience," he says, "You know what the problem with governments is? The problem is that they take Christ and they crucify him, and they take Washington and Franklin and call them rebels," and he more or less says at one point that the people who are the truest civil servants are, inevitably, the ones whom the state first of all decides are their enemies. They're the people who've stepped out of line.

It is an essay that deliberately has these qualities of a puzzle, a mind bender, a set of the Zen koans or something but one that really survives and is useful today. I sometimes think What Would Thoreau Do: WWTD in these times because he presents you with these immediate puzzles about things we get used to. The laws are there. They represent us all, etc. He says, "Well, does it really represent you? What would it take to ask if this represented you?" And then, in a situation like now with Trump where so many people are prepared to say "Not my president. I didn't vote for him. He represents everything I'm against," well, that's all fine, but what will you do with it? Do you go out to stand somewhere to remind people? Do you go home to say, "I'm not going to

"'YOU CAN'T LIVE JUST AN ORDINARY LIFE BUT HAVE TO MANIFEST YOURSELF IN SOME WAY BY CONSCIENCE IN OPPOSITION TO THIS STATE THAT WOULD ENGROSS YOU OR COUNT YOU OR MAKE YOU PART OF AN OSTENSIBLE MANDATE,' LET'S SAY."

spend my time embroiled in a kind of folly"? And he doesn't give you a straight answer, or he doesn't give you a simple answer.

CL: Muhammad Ali strikes me as an extraordinary case too: broke the law, was denied his greatest achievement, went into exile and came back triumphant and remained himself.

MG: And in a sense was lucky to get to come back and have years of lionization, if that's luck. I mean, I'm sure he himself was not always grateful to the sort of people who in the past had attacked him who now were friendly, but certainly, there is this history of the great American figures, especially black figures who are, because they speak out, speak the truth, pushed away: W.E.B. Du Bois and Paul Robeson losing his passport and so forth.

At the same time, I worry for myself. I'm not a particularly heroic or courageous person—although often indignant or outraged—and for the rest of us, the not-quite heroes, to think about what it would mean to withdraw a cent to things that you don't believe in. It's a tough task, one that I guess is back

"AND THEN, IN A SITUATION LIKE NOW WITH TRUMP WHERE SO MANY PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO SAY 'NOT MY PRESIDENT. I DIDN'T VOTE FOR HIM. HE REPRESENTS EVERYTHING I'M AGAINST,' WELL, THAT'S ALL FINE, BUT WHAT WILL YOU DO WITH IT? DO YOU GO OUT TO STAND SOMEWHERE TO REMIND PEOPLE? DO YOU GO HOME TO SAY, 'I'M NOT GOING TO SPEND MY TIME EMBROILED IN A KIND OF FOLLY'?"

on the agenda now.

CL: Thoreau in a way was against everything, except arrowheads and fishes and the woods, but he left a mark!

MG: He was! I mean, it's the thing I admire endlessly about Thoreau and about many others of our kind of heroic pantheon, and it's the thing that made this idea of being against everything make sense to me, both as a kid growing up near Walden Pond and visiting it to go swimming and wondering who was this guy of whom everybody admires and buys bumper stickers of now and mugs that say "simplify simplify" from the Concord shop, and yet, in his own time so clearly seems to have been such a crank.

I mean, I guess the principle of *Against Everything*, ordinarily, is simply that it's reasonable and right about the things that people say are good and just and true to ask if they really are, to ask if you really believe in the things that everyone seems to believe in and to say "no" first and push first as a way, I guess, of finding out the things that you really do love, the things that you really do stand for and believe in. That's the Thoreau-ian principle as I take it.

CL: And he's 200 years old this year so the moral is: Read Thoreau, and feel free to be a crank in the age of Trump.

MG: Be a crank, indeed. You know, Trump in a way he suddenly presents us with the spectacle of a million things that one really is against, one should be against, almost too easily, a mockery of what it is to separate right from wrong or good from bad, and because of that I do think there's an additional challenge of not letting the Trump moment engross all of your attention nor to assume that the rest of your life is all good and right.

CL: Right after the election, Mark, you wrote that we don't have a president. "No President" was the motto. Sounds like Thoreau's motto of "better than small government would be no government," but where do you go with that slogan?

MG: I was trying to think what was good in a moment of really realizing the worst, having the worst-fear president, and I was trying to think too why I felt uneasy with the slogan that you heard from people: "not my president." It always worries me a bit when you think you can simply opt out of responsibility for a state that relies on the collective consent of the governed.

I think with his vision of "no president" is something other than a slogan. What I imagine, really, is that it might well be time, in a country that vowed it would not have kings or queens and would not have single leaders, to find a way out of always think-

"AT THE SAME TIME, I WORRY FOR MYSELF. I'M NOT A PARTICULARLY HEROIC OR COURAGEOUS PERSON—ALTHOUGH OFTEN INDIGNANT OR OUTRAGED—AND FOR THE REST OF US, THE NOT-QUITE HEROES, TO THINK ABOUT WHAT IT WOULD MEAN TO WITHDRAW ASSENT TO THINGS THAT YOU DON'T BELIEVE IN. IT'S A TOUGH TASK, ONE THAT I GUESS IS BACK ON THE AGENDA NOW."

ing of ourselves endlessly fantasizing in relation to single individuals. Presidents or possible presidents. During the election I did find myself thinking this was crazy to spend so much time thinking "Am I more like Hillary? Am I more like Donald? Do I like Hillary? Do I like Donald?" Who cares? Why even use these single names for single people as kind of exemplars of who we might be as a nation?

I thought maybe it's time to grow up, get rid of an executive that was never meant to be very powerful in the first place, force ourselves actually to look at Congress and make them do things and think, as probably the founders wished us to, in kind of collectives of two houses of Congress, of representation from all of us, etc. Not just as a thought experiment, I do feel kind of in earnest. It actually might be good to think about what the United States would be like if we could get rid of presidents altogether, and certainly, Trump presents a real case of it because I do think his election is illegitimate in many ways, and as a political personality he seems illegitimate to be a leader precisely because of his life and lies and all the rest.

I think there's something there too about Thoreau of use now, and something very unfamiliar to us now about Thoreau is that he really did think of himself, rightly, as being very close to the founding, right?

So, it's let's say 75 years earlier when he's writing his major works, and there he was in Concord and Lexington, and he thought, "Oh, these people who started a new country and founded the nation, well, that's my grandparents' generation." But, for that reason, he had this odd idea that every person or every American might think of him or herself as, again, being a kind of founding generation.

You might have to ask yourself, "Well, we gained our independence, we said. Did we actually gain independence?" It's in line with his great joke about writing his book for those who are said to live in Concord. The joke, of course, is that he doesn't mean that there's any doubt about where they're located but that there's some doubt, by his standards, of whether they're really living, and Thoreau would put to us the question all these hundreds of years later: Have we really achieved independence in the way that we promised ourselves with this government, and if not, what would it take?

This is a transcript of an interview done on Open Source, a weekly program about arts, ideas and politics. The transcript was published by Literary Hub on their website Literary Hub on February 1, 2017.

I WILL NOT...COOK FOR HER NO VOY A...COCINAR PARA ELLA

MARTA MARTINEZ

ON INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY, MARCH 8, 2017, WOMEN FROM OVER 50 COUNTRIES AROUND THE WORLD PARTICIPATED IN A WOMEN'S STRIKE. TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY WERE ABLE, PARTICIPANTS REFRAINED FROM BOTH PAID AND UNPAID WORK, DID NOT SPEND MONEY, AND ORGANIZED RALLIES AND MARCHES. THE WOMEN'S STRIKE DREW ON THE POWER OF WOMEN AS A WORKFORCE AND UTILIZED THE TACTICS OF LABOR RIGHTS, QUEER RIGHTS, AND CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS TO BRING ATTENTION TO THE INTERSECTING OPPRESSIONS OF NEOLIBERAL CAPITALISM THAT AFFECT ALL WOMEN. *PUBLIC SEMINAR* ASKED WOMEN PARTICIPATING IN THE STRIKE AND PROTESTS LEADING UP TO IT TO SHARE THEIR STRIKE STORIES AS PART OF A SERIES CALLED "I WILL NOT..." THE FOLLOWING IS ELDER CARETAKER MARTA MARTINEZ'S RESPONSE, AS TOLD TO *PUBLIC SEMINAR*.

Mi nombre es Marta Martínez, soy salvadoreña y llevo veintiocho años viviendo en Estados Unidos. Pertenezco a la cooperativa Golden Steps para el cuidado de ancianos, desde la cuál decimos "presente" al paro internacional de mujeres.

Yo trabajo con una señora de setenta y tres años, la cuál es diabética, usa un marca pasos y pierde el balance para caminar. Pensé que iba a estar poco tiempo con ella, pero ya tengo año y medio. Hace tiempo le dejaron de dar terapias en casa, pero yo he seguido ayudándola con ejercicios de movimiento. Aunque su recuperación es lenta, creo que le he ayudado mucho. Depende mucho de mí, sin mí se siente muy débil, muy nerviosa. Le gusta que esté presente cuando la va a visitar alguna enfermera o médico. Se siente fuerte si estoy a su lado.

Soy madre de dos niña pequeñas — siete y cuatro años — quienes demandan mucha atención. Mi esposo me ayuda, pero la mamá es la mamá, así que tengo que pasar tiempo con ellas. No tengo suficiente tiempo para todo lo que tengo que hacer. En mi trabajo muchas veces me quedo horas extra sin que me paguen porque siento que no puedo dejar abandonada a la señora.

Soy apasionada de este trabajo. Antes me dedicaba a limpiar casas. Sin embargo, cuando me embaracé a los cuarenta y dos años de la más pequeña de mis niñas, decidí que tenía que buscar un trabajo que requiriera menos fuerza física y que me gustara. Me

My name is Marta Martínez, I am from El Salvador and I have been living in the United States for twenty-eight years. I am a member of the Golden Steps cooperative for elder care and we say "present" to the International Women's Strike.

I work with a seventy three years old lady who is diabetic, has a pacemaker, and has difficulties walking. I thought I was going to spend little time with her, but it has already been one year and a half. Some time ago she stopped receiving therapies at home, but I have continued helping her with physical exercises. Even if her recovery is slow, I think I have helped her a lot. She depends on me greatly, without me she feels very weak, very nervous. She likes me to be present when a nurse or doctor visits her. She feels stronger if I'm by her side.

I am the mother of two little girls, seven and four years old, which demand a lot of my attention. My husband helps me, but Mom is Mom, so I have to spend time with them. I do not have enough time for everything I have to do. At work, I often do overtime without payment because I feel that I cannot leave her abandoned by herself.

I am passionate about this job. Before I was cleaning houses. However, when I got pregnant from my youngest girl at forty two, I decided that I had to find a job that required less physical strength and that I liked. I like to be with older people, listen to their stories and learn from their experiences. In

gusta estar con personas mayores, escuchar sus historias y aprender de su experiencia. En fin, conocer cómo es el proceso de la vida, que es una de las cosas que aprendemos en la cooperativa. Tenemos entrenamientos de todo tipo, por ejemplo en Alzheimer, desnutrición y CPR. Yo tengo la necesidad de estar en cada entrenamiento pues siento que hay algo nuevo que aprender cada vez. Recientemente tuvimos un open house. Vamos a tener gente nueva. Yo exijo mucho, que la que va a trabajar en esto tenga la pasión, que junte la mente con el corazón. A veces siento que soy exagerada, que me gana el sentimiento. Doy más de lo que debería de dar y expongo mucho más de lo que debo exponer.

Es muy difícil tener que poner primero el trabajo que la casa. Por ejemplo, el día de la operación de mi cliente, teníamos que estar en la clínica a las siete de la mañana y la transportación llegaba a las seis. Ese día mi hija tenía escuela. Mi esposo trabaja en la noche y llega en la madrugada. Le rogué que se levantara temprano y me fuera a dejar a la niña a la escuela, pero es muy difícil. Usted sabe: esposo, padre, hombre. Yo soy mujer, mi cliente es mujer, y trato de entender muchas cosas de ella. Mujer con mujer se identifican, se entienden, se conocen. Yo tenía una necesidad fuerte de acompañar a la señora porque no tiene familia. Hay ocasiones en que el sentimiento me gana. Su hijo varón, que es el que debería estar a su lado, está, pero no está. Escucha jeringa y se asusta, dice que no puede. Ella lo que hace es ocultar su situación de salud frente del hijo. Conmigo a su lado ya no son sólo sus dos ojos, sino dos ojos más, dos oídos más, y una lengua más, ¡aunque la suya sola ya es terrible!

El cuidado de ancianos es algo que lo toca a una, por muy fuerte que la persona sea. Cuando se es madre, hermana, hija, es inevitable tener este sentimiento. A veces no es tan abierto, tan expuesto, pero sale con el tiempo. Se comparten risas. Usted se

short, to understand the progression of a lifetime, which is one of the issues we learn at the cooperative. We have trainings of all kinds, for example on Alzheimer, malnutrition and CPR. I have the need to be in every single training session because I feel there is something new to learn every time. We recently had an open house. We are going to get new people. I am very demanding; I want them to have to have passion about this job, bringing together mind and heart. Sometimes I feel that I am exaggerating, that I become too passionate. I give more than I should give, and I expose myself much more than I should.

It is very difficult to put work first and home second. For example, on the day of my client's surgery, we had to be in the clinic at 7:00 am and transportation arrived at 6:00. That day my daughter had school. My husband works at night and arrives at dawn. I begged him to get up early and take the girl to school, but it is very difficult. You know: husband, father, man. I am a woman, my client is a woman and I try to understand many things about being women. A woman identifies with a woman, we understand and know each other. I had a strong need to accompany the lady because she has no family. There are times when emotions win over me. Her son, a young male, who is the one who should be by her side, is present, but he is also not. He listens to the word "needle" and gets scared, says he cannot withstand it. She is hiding her health condition in front of her son. With me at her side, it is no longer just her two eyes, but two more eyes, two more ears, and one more tongue, even though hers is already quite something!

Elder care is something that touches one, no matter how strong the person may be. When you are a mother, a sister, a daughter, it is inevitable to feel that way. Sometimes it is not quite in the open, it is not exposed, but it comes out with time. Laughter is shared. You are fond of the person who cleans your house; a thread of feeling starts to appear. There are

encariña con la persona que limpia su casa, se va a formando un hilo de sentimiento. Hay cosas de ella que sus hijas no saben. En esas conversaciones usted va descubriendo cosas que la atan a esa persona. La señora con la que trabajao habla español. Yo creo que las personas que hablamos español tenemos otra venita que nos une.

Tuve otra paciente con Alzheimer, ella era americana y la atendí con medicaid. Hicimos click desde que nos vimos. Eramos como seis personas las que la veíamos. Gracias al entrenamiento que he recibido, yo iba notando que ya no sabía quién era quién. Me comentaba ella de unas compañeras de agencia que llegaban a trabajar para ella y que se ponía a hacer ejercicios. Estaba sentada queriendo ir al baño y la de la agencia haciendo ejercicios. En este trabajo una se enfrenta a cosas así que duelen. La señora tenía una jorobita y la cabeza se le caía en el pecho. Cuando dejé de trabajar con ella, de algún modo consiguió mi teléfono y me llamó. "¿Cómo lo consiguió?", le pregunté. Ella se rio y me dijo, "ven a verme, te voy a esperar sentada en la puerta". A veces iba sólo a verla, aunque no pudiera ir a trabajar. Le dió un infarto. No sé si fue descuido, fue en la madrugada. Tenía noventa y siete años y hasta el día de hoy la recuerdo. Me afectó mucho. Lo he ido digiriendo poco a poco, como un amorcito que vivía en mí. Todavía tengo mucho cariño por su memoria.

Otra señora con la que trabajaba se me murió a mí. A mí, a mí. Su esposo falleció y no tenía hijos. Tenía un sobrino muy bueno que le hacía su comida. El sobrino me decía que tenía negocios en upstate y que no podía ir por estar pendiente de ella. Por mis hijas no puedo extender mi horario de trabajo, pero él me rogó que trabajara con ella. Habían intentado con varias personas, pero ella era muy difícil. Conmigo era otra persona, hasta se dejaba bañar. Llegué un día viernes, la bañé y le dí de comer. Estuvimos platicando. Ella tenía una sillita que era su

things about her that her daughters do not even know. Through these conversations you discover things that bind you to that person. The lady I work with speaks Spanish. I believe that people who speak Spanish have another vein that binds us.

I had another patient with Alzheimer, she was American and I attended her with Medicaid. We clicked since we saw each other. Around six people were taking care of her. Thanks to the training I received, I noticed that she no longer knew who was who. She told me about some of the women who came from agencies, who would arrive and start doing gym exercises. She was sitting wanting to go to the bathroom and the agency people doing exercises. In this work one faces things like that that hurt. The lady had a hump and her head would almost hit the chest. When I stopped working for her, somehow she got my phone number and called me. "How did you get it?" I asked her. She laughed and said, "come to see me, I'll wait for you sitting at the door". Sometimes I would go just to see her, even though I could not go work for her. She had a heart attack. I do not know if it was due to carelessness, it was at dawn. She was ninety seven years old and to this day I remember her. It got me hard. I've been digesting it little by little, like a little love that lived in me. I still have a lot of love for her memory.

Another lady I worked for died under my care. Yes, with me. Her husband had died and she had no children. She had a very good nephew, who cooked food for her. The nephew told me that he had businesses upstate and that he could not take care of them because he needed to be with her. Because of my daughters I cannot extend my work schedule, but he begged me to work for his aunt. They had tried several people, but she was very difficult to handle. With me, she was another person, she even let herself be bathed. I arrived on a Friday, bathed her, and fed her. We chatted. She had a little chair that

“THIS MARCH 8 I WOULD HAVE LOVED TO ATTEND THE MARCH, BUT I HAVE NO ONE TO LEAVE MY DAUGHTERS WITH. HOWEVER, I WILL JOIN THE STRIKE.”

lugar favorito. Después de que la bañaba, la sentaba en esa silla. Ese día le dije: ya me voy, ahí le queda la comida en la refri. La encontré muerta en el mismo lugar que la había dejado. La camaba estaba intacta. Todo estaba como lo había dejado. Pensamos con la policía que ella murió ese mismo viernes. Yo creo que fue segundos después de que me fui. Cuando yo llegué y abrí esa puerta...

La cooperativa se fundó en el 2011 y yo comencé a trabajar con ellas en el 2015. Cuando se fundó había muchas ganas de levantarse como cooperativa, pero al mismo tiempo no encontraban el camino. Trabajar en grupo no es fácil porque cada quien tiene diferentes opiniones, así que eran muy pocas al principio. Ahora somos catorce, la mayoría de las integrantes tiene trabajo, está activa y aprendiendo.

Hay una diferencia entre trabajar sola, trabajar con una agencia y trabajar con una cooperativa. Cuando trabajo yo sola, soy mi propio jefe, yo me mando, pero también sólo logro alcanzar lo que mi persona permite. No puedo llegar lejos por mi cuenta porque no estoy educada. La cooperativa me ha dado educación y he aprendido a trabajar en grupo. Todas somos dueñas, pero también tenemos una mesa de liderazgo que nos supervisa. Tenemos un estatuto, reglas, línea a seguir. Actualmente me desempeño como presidenta de la mesa de liderazgo, que es un comité donde se toman las decisiones. Cuando algo no se puede arreglar ahí, la discusión se lleva a membresía. En la cooperativa tenemos un contrato con el cliente. Si estoy por mi cuenta, me botan cuando quieran y se acabo. Con la cooperativa tengo un respaldo, cuento con un seguro y con asesoramiento legal.

was her favorite spot. After the bath, I would sit her on that chair. That day I said: I will leave now, there are leftovers in the refrigerator. I found her dead in the same spot that I had left her. The bed was intact. Everything was as I had left it. We thought with the police that she died that same Friday. I think it was seconds after I left. When I arrived and I opened that door...

The cooperative was founded in 2011 and I started working with them in 2015. When it was founded, there was a huge desire to set it up as a cooperative, but at the same time they could not find a way. They were very few at first since working in groups is not easy because everyone has different opinions. However, now we are fourteen, most of the members have jobs, are active and are learning.

There is a difference between working alone, working with an agency, and working with a cooperative. When I work alone, I am my own boss, I boss myself around, but also I only manage to achieve what my personhood allows me to. I cannot get very far on my own because I'm not educated. The cooperative has given me education and I have learned to work in a group. We are all the owners, but we also have a leadership table that supervises us. We have a statute, rules, guidelines to follow. I am currently chair of the leadership table, which is a committee where decisions are made. When something cannot be fixed there, the discussion is brought to the entire membership. In the cooperative we have a contract with the client. If I'm on my own, they'll throw me out whenever they want and it's over. With the cooperative I have a contract, I have insurance and legal advice.

“TOMORROW MY CLIENT WILL BE WITHOUT ME. I WILL NOT COOK FOR HER, I WILL NOT DO ERRANDS, I WILL NOT WASH HER CLOTHES, I WILL NOT BUY HER GROCERIES, I WILL NOT TAKE HER PRESSURE, I WILL NOT ACCOMPANY HER TO THE DOCTOR, I WILL NOT REMIND HER THAT SHE HAS TO INJECT HERSELF WITH INSULIN, NOT MONITOR HER PACEMAKER, I WILL NOT MASSAGE HER FOR HER CIRCULATION, WE WILL NOT DO MOVEMENT EXERCISES SO THAT HER FEET DO NOT GET RIGID.”

En la cooperativa, el pago que recibo por mi trabajo es mío. En la agencia, ellos cobran un sueldo por mí y me pagan lo que ellos quieran. La agencia no me educa y, cuando me mandan con un cliente, no sé si el cliente tiene Alzheimer o con qué situación me voy a encontrar. Con la cooperativa, sí sé. La persona que toma la llamada averigua en qué condición está el cliente y cuál es la situación familiar para que la trabajadora vaya preparada lo mejor posible y sea orientada por otras compañeras, si así lo necesita.

La agencia está mal para el cliente y está mal para el empleado. El cliente no sabe si la persona que le van a mandar sabe leer y escribir, no tiene ni idea. En la cooperativa somos varias trabajadoras y si hay un cliente con necesidades específicas, se le canaliza a quien este más capacitada. En la cooperativa estamos entrenadas. Por ejemplo, sabemos realizar un CPR, mientras que cuando una trabaja con agencia, no sólo no nos enseñan cómo hacerlo, sino que nos prohíben usarlo si surge una emergencia. Cuando la señora falleció, llame al 911. Me decían: ¡hazle CPR! Yo les decía: ¡no, está muerta, está muerta! No entendían que estaba muerta o quizás me lo decían por mantenerme alerta. En la agencia

In the cooperative, the payment I receive for my work is mine. In the agency, they charge the client and give me whatever they want. The agency does not educate me and, when they send me with a client, I do not know if the client has Alzheimer or what situation I'm going to find. With the cooperative, I do know. The person who takes the call finds out in what condition the client is and what is the family situation, so that the worker is prepared as best as possible and is guided by other colleagues, if necessary.

The agency is bad for the client and bad for the employee. The client does not know if the person that they are going to send knows how to read and write, they have no idea. In the cooperative, we are several workers and if there are clients with specific needs, they are channeled to those who are more qualified. In the cooperative we are trained. For example, we know how to perform CPR, while when working with an agency, they not only do not teach us how to do it, but we are prohibited from using it if an emergency arises. When the lady I worked with passed away, I called 911. They told me: Perform CPR! I told them: no, she's dead, she's dead! They did not understand that she was dead or maybe they

me dijeron, “si hubiera estado viva, igual no hubieras podido hacerle CRP. Cuando estás trabajando para nosotros, está prohibido”.

En Golden Steps somos mas fuertes como cooperativa que solas o como empleadas de una agencia. Este ocho de marzo me hubiera encantado asistir a a la marcha, pero no tengo con quién dejar a mis hijas. Sin embargo, voy a sumarme al paro. Mañana mi clienta estará sin mí. No voy a cocinar para ella, no le haré mandados, no lavaré su ropa, no compraré sus groceries. No le tomaré la presión, no la acompañaré al medico, no le recordaré que tienen que inyectarse la insulina, no monitorearé su marcapasos. No le daré masajes para la circulación y no haremos ejercicios de movimiento para que los pies no se le pongan rígidos. ¡Ojalá se tome sus medicinas!

were saying that to keep me alert. In the agency they told me, “If she had been alive, you still could not have done CRP. When you are working for us, it is prohibited”. At Golden Steps, we are stronger as a cooperative than alone or as an agency employee.

This March 8 I would have loved to attend the march, but I have no one to leave my daughters with. However, I will join the strike. Tomorrow my client will be without me. I will not cook for her, I will not do errands for her, I will not wash her clothes, I will not buy her groceries. I will not take her pressure, I will not accompany her to the doctor, I will not remind her that she has to inject herself with insulin, nor monitor her pacemaker. I will not massage her for her circulation and we will not do movement exercises so that her feet do not get rigid. I hope she takes her own medicines!

This testimony was originally published on Public Seminar on March 10, 2017.



UN-AMERICAN
&
COURTLESS

NO HATE
NO FEAR

IMMIGRANTS, RESPECT
YOUR RIGHTS
WE STAND
WITH YOU!

WE ARE ALL
CONNECTED!

D BAN
MUSLIMS

**CONSCIOUSNESS
RAISING**



FEET IN 2 WORLDS IS A PROJECT OF THE CENTER FOR NEW YORK CITY AFFAIRS AT THE NEW SCHOOL. HELMED BY NEW SCHOOL JOURNALISM PROFESSOR JOHN RUDOLPH, FI2W BRINGS TOGETHER MEDIA JOURNALISTS AND NEW SCHOOL STUDENTS FROM IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES ACROSS THE U.S., BROADCASTING THEIR WORK ON PUBLIC RADIO AND THE WEB AND HOSTING TOWN HALL FORUMS. IN THE WAKE OF THE 2016 U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, FI2W INVITED A GROUP OF YOUNG IMMIGRANTS TO DISCUSS THEIR RESPONSES TO THE ELECTION, TRUMP'S IMMIGRATION POLICIES, AND HOW MUCH POWER DECLARATIONS OF SANCTUARY CAN ACTUALLY HAVE TO PROTECT IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES.

BETWEEN FEAR AND HOPE: YOUNG IMMIGRANTS IN POST-ELECTION AMERICA

HOSTED BY JOHN RUDOLPH, PROFESSOR OF JOURNALISM

Fear and dread have swept through immigrant communities following Donald Trump's election as president. Trump has promised to immediately deport 2 to 3-million undocumented immigrants once he takes office, and since Election Day the nation has seen a dramatic increase in hate crimes aimed at Muslims and immigrants, widely thought to be inspired by Trump's anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim rhetoric

In response, a growing number of cities, college campuses and churches have declared themselves to be sanctuaries for undocumented immigrants. Some states—including California and New York, home to large immigrant populations—have said that they will resist Trump's immigration policies.

But no one really knows what will happen when Trump takes office. Feet in 2 Worlds invited a group of young immigrants to talk about their responses—in both words and deeds—to the incoming administration.

Zuleima Dominguez: "Our community is still working - we are trying to work with the local state to make schools sanctuaries, and same thing with the cities. And here it came up, to be a sanctuary, and...to say that we are going to be helping undocumented people and our Muslim brothers to not let Trump attack us."

John Rudolph: "The governor of New York has stated that New York is going to be tolerant of immigrants. There are sanctuary cities being set up around the country. In California, the governor of California recently came out with a similar statement. So there are certain states and cities and municipalities that are stating very specifically their opposition to what Trump has said he will do and about immigrants. Does this make you feel any more secure?"

Dominguez: "Even if the city is a "sanctuary," I don't feel secure at all because it means that I can't travel, I can't do anything, I can't live my life how I'm living it currently. It's a feeling that I can't explain. Many people ask me how I feel and if I feel safe living in New York. It might be that it would be a little safer than living in Ohio, or Georgia, or all of those states. But it's not just me personally -- it's a "we." We are talking about 11 million undocumented people. Their lives are at risk, [or risk] being deported to their countries. They might be facing death in their countries and he wants to deport them."

Rudolph: "These assurances from local and state officials do not make you feel safe?"

Dominguez: "Not completely safe"

Francis Madi: "I think you're completely right to feel that way, even when an elected official comes out and says that they're going to make sure undocumented immigrants are going to be safe in our state or in our county or in or city. There is still a huge feeling of apprehension because immigrants tend to still be discriminated against in a city like New York. It still happens. It happens on a much bigger

“YES, YOU ARE ENTITLED TO FEEL AFRAID...BUT AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE FEELING EMPOWERED.”

—FRANCIS MADI, NY IMMIGRATION COALITION

scale when you're living outside of the city. I myself live on Long Island and we are constantly hearing about hate crimes and hate speech going on. I think it helps, and I say this because I recently met with advocates from other states and I felt like we have so many more resources in this state that many immigrants don't have in other [states], especially at the southern border. But I feel like you can't really stop hate from happening. We need to have a conversation about immigration because just having an announcement about it won't make it work.

Arun Venugopal: “I am a US citizen -- I was born here. I am a guy, I am a journalist. I've got all of these things going for me but even i feel more wary of walking down the streets, standing on a subway platform. A couple of things have happened to people I know in Queens, in these diverse neighborhoods, and it makes you look behind your back...I think it's a heightened moment for everybody. It is happening in NYC—the hate crimes are skyrocketing. I have a friend who is a self-defense instructor who gives bystander intervention training, and she was saying that when she saw that it was happening even in the perfect neighborhood—Jackson Heights, this sort of mythic place that people around the world know of —when you see that happening in Jackson Heights, you know things are getting bad. The Southern Poverty Law Center documented dozens of hate crimes and attacks since the election—I feel like that really peaked right after the election and then kind of tapered, but there is no way to know if that is going to dissipate or stick around

Madi: “That will also depend on the approach that

the new administration has on these types of hate crimes.”

Peter Jacob: “I think that is the danger in itself of what trump has influenced in this nation. While I was running for office, I was a victim of a hate crime. Someone spray-painted swastikas first on the sidewalk in front of my house and then on the back of my home, where I live. It's one thing if you go on my facebook and say what you want on my wall and comment on stuff like that, but it's another thing if you come on someone's property.”

Rudolph: “How did that make you feel?”

Jacob: I grew up in Union, a very diverse town. We have lived there pretty much since we came to the United States. It was just saddening, disappointing, just shocking that it would happen in a town like Union.

Rudolph: Does it scare you?

Jacob: It first it did, that my family lives there and someone would come and do that. But then i realized why I'm doing this--the reason why I became a social worker and the reason why I ran for public offices, because we want to dispel this is of ignorance. We did a press conference and it brought many members of the community—religious leaders, elected officials, other leaders in the community—to address it. So it really strengthens what we are doing, like what we saw at Standing Rock: a collection of individuals coming together. If we have to pick off one issue one by one, that's what it is going to take in this nation. We have to dispel this type of hate and ignorance. They drew swastikas—clearly a sign of hate. Originally a symbol that came out of

India from Buddhism and Hinduism and Jainism that meant something positive and then they flipped it around and turned it into something negative during the regime. So, I am pretty sure it was not something positive that they wanted to spray paint on my home. It was definitely negative. I don't come from a Jewish family. They saw the name Jacob and assumed. This is the work that we need to do in this county.”

The discussion excerpted above originally appeared in an episode of the Feet in 2 Worlds podcast published on December 15, 2016.

PARTICIPANTS

Agunda Okeyo, a writer, producer, filmmaker and activist born in Nairobi and raised between New York City and the Kenyan capital.

Peter Jacob, the Democratic candidate for Congress in New Jersey's 7th Congressional District. A native of Kerala, India, Jacob is a social worker who was endorsed by Bernie Sanders. He was defeated by the Republican incumbent Congressman Leonard Lance.

Zuleima Dominguez works with the Youth Power Project at Make the Road, a New York immigrant advocacy group. Zuleima is from Puebla, Mexico and came to the U.S when she was 7 years old. She is a recipient of DACA, President Obama's program to provide temporary legal status to young undocumented immigrants.

Francis Madi is also a DACA recipient. She was born in Caracas, Venezuela to a Lebanese father and a Venezuelan mother. She works on Long Island as a Regional Outreach Associate for the New York Immigration Coalition.

Arun Venugopal, a reporter with WNYC, New York Public Radio and a contributor to their podcast The United States of Anxiety. He is a former Feet in 2 Worlds fellow.

tion status, another important step that I've started to take and I strongly encourage other people to take who are in my same situation as well is to make an emergency plan for yourself..it essentially entails spelling out the documents and any personal effects regarding your immigration case, and making sure those are all [...]

As we know the detention and deportation system can happen pretty quickly here and we want people to not only be safe and know their rights but be prepared in case of an emergency. [...]

One of the biggest things we say within the undocumented youth movement is the more out you are the safer you are. The more people who know about you, the more people who know if you were to disappear one day in the middle of the night.

John Rudolph: What about schools, churches, universities that are also declaring themselves sanctuaries? Is there any connection between those institutions and the governments in those municipalities?

Lena Graber: There are a ton of different campuses and churches, in many ways the origin of the sanctuary movement in many ways comes from churches that were concerned about protecting families or different refugee groups, etc., and those policies are important as well. They tend to, the jurisdictional structure behind schools, tends to be somewhat different and separate from local governments but also related, but they tend to develop parallel policies that govern the way a campus or a school district is going to operate.

John Rudolph: What do you see as the next step in this evolving debate, controversy, over sanctuary cities and sanctuary policies? [...] What's next, what are you getting ready for?

Nisha Agarwal: [...] I think a very big part of this, and this will be very challenging, is actually having coordination among cities. It's a very diffuse and diverse set of cities that are potentially at risk here of losing their funding and how we're able to stand together and have our partners in immigrant rights movements stand with us, when we are going to face some real challenges, that I think remains to be seen. And I think that level of coordination is something that we've not had to do to this degree in the past. We're preparing and thinking about how we work together not just individually, how we fight back and continue to protect immigrant communities.

The discussion excerpted above originally appeared in an episode of the Feet in 2 Worlds podcast published on February 9, 2017.

“AS WE KNOW THE DETENTION AND DEPORTATION SYSTEM CAN HAPPEN PRETTY QUICKLY HERE AND WE WANT PEOPLE TO NOT ONLY BE SAFE AND KNOW THEIR RIGHTS BUT BE PREPARED IN CASE OF AN EMERGENCY.”

—KEMI BELLO, IMMIGRANT LEGAL RESOURCE CENTER

PARTICIPANTS

Nisha Agarwal, Commissioner of New York City's Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs.

Lena Graber, an attorney with the Immigrant Legal Resource Center in San Francisco (special projects attorney).

Kemi Bello, an undocumented immigrant from Nigeria and a DACA recipient who works as a Communications Manager for the Immigrant Legal Resource Center.

Arts in Migration: An (Im)migrant Justice Arts Exhibition

February 16th 2016

Wollman Hall

6-9 PM

Art Exhibition, Workshops,
and Food

NO HUMAN BEING IS ILLEGAL
NINGÚN SER HUMANO ES ILLEGAL!
KEIN MENSCH IST ILLEGAL!



CONSCIOUSNESS RAISING

ARTS IN MIGRATION: AN (IM)MIGRANT JUSTICE ARTS EXHIBITION

CURATED BY JASVEEN SARNA, BA LITERARY STUDIES '18

FEATURED ARTISTS: MALLIKA SINGH, MARIANNA LUNA,
EMIRĒDERVISHI, PRITHI KHALIQUE, ANTHONY JIMENEZ,
SACHI CHANDIRAMANI, DALIA ELHASSAN, NAOMI KHANU-
KAYEV, PAUL MARCUS, ROSE PARK, AZZAH SULTAN, SAHAR
SEPAHDARI, JEANA LINDO, AND NOURA KIRDLY.

On February 16, 2017, Lang Civic Engagement & Social Justice partnered with SAALT (South Asian Americans Leading Together) and Sisters Art Salon to put on *Arts in Migration: An (Im)migrant Justice Arts Exhibition*. The exhibition featured works by New School students and community members of immigrant backgrounds and according to the organizers, “served to create a space for positivity, resistance, and art,” which they noted is particularly important in light of the anti-immigrant rhetoric and policies of the Tr*ump administration.

Arts in Migration was curated by Lang student and SAALT Fellow Jasveen Sarna.

SACHI CHANDIRAMANI

STILLS FROM *ABC - VIRTUAL/REALITY*



PAUL MARCUS

THE DOOR



*what if the
darkness was
really good
and the light
was bad?*

SANCTUARY CAMPUS: RESISTANCE AND PROTECTION WITHIN AND BEYOND THE UNIVERSITY

ALEXANDRA DÉLANO ALONSO, PROFESSOR OF GLOBAL STUDIES

ALEXANDRA DÉLANO ALONSO IS AN ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF GLOBAL STUDIES AT THE NEW SCHOOL FOR PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT. SHE WAS PREVIOUSLY CO-DIRECTOR OF THE ZOLBERG INSTITUTE ON MIGRATION AND MOBILITY, A SPACE FOR RESEARCH, SCHOLARSHIP, AND ACTIVISM AROUND GLOBAL MIGRATION. DURING THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE ZOLBERG INSTITUTE DEDICATED A SPACE ON ITS WEBSITE FOR ARTICLES, EVENTS, AND ACTIVISM AROUND THE IDEA OF SANCTUARY. DÉLANO ALONSO HELMED THIS INITIATIVE ALONG WITH HER COLLEAGUE JONATHAN BACH, WITH WHOM SHE AUTHORED AN OPEN LETTER TO NEW SCHOOL PRESIDENT VAN ZANDT THAT THE NEW SCHOOL TO BE DECLARED A SANCTUARY CAMPUS. TEAMING UP WITH BACH AGAIN, SHE AUTHORED THE GLOBAL STUDIES POST, “WHY THE NEW DEPORTATION RULES SHOULD CONCERN EVERYONE.” DÉLANO ALONSO ALSO WROTE A PIECE, ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN *THE AVERY REVIEW*, ON THE MEANING OF THE NOTION OF SANCTUARY CAMPUSES IN THE TR*MP ERA.

In the days and weeks after the election of Donald Trump, hundreds of thousands of students, faculty, and staff at over 190 schools, colleges, and universities around the country have mobilized to create and sign petitions calling for their respective administrations to declare their campuses sanctuaries. These campaigns aim to guarantee the university’s protection of undocumented members of the community by committing to withhold information from immigration enforcement authorities and by disallowing the presence of those authorities on campus without a court order or warrant. Beyond today’s mobilization at the university level—which had, in fact, begun years ago but gained momentum after the election—there are almost three hundred cities, counties, and states that have declared themselves sanctuaries in order to limit cooperation with federal immigration officials. It is at this level that the sanctuary movement has come under attack by Trump, who promises to cut federal funding to any local or state government that adopts this stance of defiance.¹ Like most of Trump’s proposals related to immigration, his rhetoric surrounding the very idea of “sanctuary” is distortive—he condemns sanctuary cities for harboring dangerous illegal immigrants that put the rest of Americans at risk and for allowing them to access public services at the taxpayers’ expense.

Yet, the idea of “sanctuary” has no clear or consistently understood and applied meaning. As Elliot Young, professor of history and director of Ethnic Studies at Lewis and Clark College, puts it in a recent article, “Sanctuary is an aspiration, a statement of values rather than a statement of fact.”² Cities, universities, and religious congregations have interpreted its definition, both legally and symbolically, with wide variations, according to their respective characteristics, values, and resources. These many forms of sanctuary are in many ways part of the concept’s strength, in that they offer adaptable forms of resistance to counter unjust exercises of power. By understanding sanctuary in its plurality, across history and across institutions, we are not only better prepared to imagine and develop responses to challenge the discourse and policies that criminalize migrants and their families but also to build a future where the rights of migrants are made real across borders.

LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARY MOVEMENT

The sanctuary movement has a long history going back to medieval England—one mostly associated with discrete physical spaces such as churches to protect those escaping punishment or persecution for various reasons. As Eric Foner explained at a recent forum at Barnard College, taking the history of the Underground Railroad as an example, sanctu-

ary is a subset of civil disobedience, which includes both legal and illegal methods of resistance.³ At the core of such actions is the question of what the obligation is of the moral person when confronted with an unjust law. The same question can be asked of the very institutions, like churches and universities, that stand for social justice and equality. How do we demand that their moral commitments are matched with action in the face of injustice?

In the Sanctuary Movement of the 1980s, four hundred religious congregations around the United States helped refugees from US-sponsored Central American wars enter the country, having been denied entry by the United States based on the argument that they were economic migrants. Beyond providing them with a safe haven through shelter and helping them cross the border, churches stepped in to offer medical care and legal representation. But the movement was not simply about protection. It asserted a political position—it drew attention to the consequences of US foreign policy in the region, exposed its human rights violations, and challenged the US immigration system (particularly its discriminatory asylum practices). This, eventually, led to the passage of legislation to grant Temporary Protected Status (TPS) to Central American refugees and to the creation of a strong network of civil society actors, which remains active to date.

The movement, which quieted down in the 1990s, resurfaced in 2007 as the New Sanctuary Movement, in response to mass deportations of undocumented immigrants and in large part inspired by the case of Elvira Arellano—a Mexican activist who refused deportation with her US-born child and found sanctuary in a church in Chicago for months. Instead of just transporting, housing, and hiding refugees, as

the 1980s Sanctuary Movement did, the New Sanctuary Movement emphasizes the importance of communication and visibility—from publicizing stories, raising public awareness about the individual lives at stake, and pressuring for legislative reform.

What is happening today must be seen as an outgrowth of the continued resistance over the past ten years, when immigration authorities under the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations conducted raids, deported almost three million individuals, and developed a massive immigrant detention system. The post-election revival of the concept of sanctuary, and the sanctuary campus movement specifically, is a powerful call to action, a symbol of resistance and civil disobedience that offers alternative pathways and hope in response to the current political context.

THE UNIVERSITY AS SANCTUARY

One of the arguments against the proclamation of sanctuary by universities is the confusion it creates among members of the undocumented community—it is unclear what it actually promises and may be interpreted as a certain kind of protection that is, in fact, not possible. Others have taken the argument further to claim that such a position may limit access to federal funding for public universities, especially following Trump's promise regarding sanctuary cities.⁴

Although it is clear that there are legal limitations to what a sanctuary space can do in the face of a court order—which would make it illegal to harbor an undocumented immigrant or prevent their

removal—the power of declaring a space sanctuary goes beyond physical protection. There is considerable complexity to be found in different degrees of sanctuary: from symbolic support, to safe space, to refusal to cooperate with immigration authorities, to short-term or long-term physical sanctuary. These various expressions of support for vulnerable communities recognize the need to create spaces where marginalized groups will not be mistreated and can express themselves freely. Most often, the creation of sanctuary in cities, universities, hospitals, restaurants, and organizations involves the declaration of systems, or practices, of noncompliance and refusal: that they will not request information about the immigration status from their staff, users, or members; that any such information will not be handed over to immigration authorities; and that they will not be allowed to search their premises without a warrant issued by a judge.⁵ Physical sanctuary is the highest level of commitment—whether offering a space to wait while raids are conducted in neighborhoods or workplaces or providing a space to stay for the long term until a deportation hearing is resolved and, in some cases, refused altogether. In these cases, the person seeking sanctuary cannot leave the premises.

Most universities, including my own institution, The New School, have issued a standard statement of noncompliance, proclaiming that they will not share information or cooperate with immigration authorities without a court order. Although they have shied away from using the term *sanctuary*, these statements are significant as a form of resistance to unjust policies and a message of solidarity to the larger university community. If immigration authorities were to enter a university to conduct a raid or take a student

under custody for an immigration violation, the declaration of sanctuary announces that the university will not stand idle—recognizing the 2011 US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Memo that established universities as “sensitive locations” in which enforcement activities should be avoided or handled with extreme caution.⁶ Just like sanctuary cities, universities have the discretion to protect sensitive information as well as to provide training for members of the community to ensure that the stance that they adopt regarding enforcement, the protection of records, or preventing biased-based policing is upheld. The university's position as a sanctuary means that police action following immigration regulations will be met with forceful resistance by the community, even if the ICE Memo were to be revoked by the new administration.

If anything, this position buys time that may be essential to those threatened by these policies. In a context in which mass deportation is expected to increase or continue at the same level as during the Obama administration, buying time is an invaluable tactic. The ability to delay legal decisions and avoid immediate detention allows individuals the chance to negotiate better alternatives under better circumstances; more time means the ability to prepare in the event of deportation and the ability to secure resources necessary for defense. Knowing that a university is a sanctuary campus sends a message to authorities: they must do things in a certain way, with a court order in hand, in opposition to an organized community. A key question here is, for example, whether universities are able to communicate to an individual or to the university community that ICE authorities have requested specific information in order to give them the time they need.

These are the sorts of questions that are raised in the context of the sanctuary debate, which force universities to rethink their practices about data collection, communication, and support systems available to vulnerable communities.

Beyond the interaction with federal authorities, a declaration of sanctuary campus sends a clear message of support to vulnerable individuals within the community (not just students but also staff and faculty), to know that this is a safe space where the whole community is aware, informed, and ready to act to protect rights, not just when facing immigration enforcement authorities but in any case in which there is an attack against them, within the classroom or in any space within campus. Much work remains to be done across private and public universities in terms of training staff and faculty and adjusting administrative systems and bureaucracies in order to reflect these principles in tangible ways.

THE SYMBOLIC AND PERFORMATIVE POWER OF SANCTUARY

Beyond the issue of compliance with immigration enforcement, students are increasingly demanding campuses where they do not have to confront racism, discrimination, or microaggressions. There are concrete actions that universities can take to demonstrate their commitment to the inclusion and respect of vulnerable communities—in this case undocumented migrants—in everyday practice. By broadening the notion of sanctuary beyond this legal boundary of noncooperation with immigration authorities, we can find pathways for extend-

ing protections and calling for our institutions to act coherently with their discourse around values of social justice, dignity, and equality.⁷

While universities have already begun to discuss new protections demanded of them by undocumented students and faculty groups, the urgency of adopting and extending them is now more clear than ever. For example, the California Faculty Association, a union of twenty-seven thousand professors, lecturers, librarians, counselors, and coaches who teach in the California State University system, has called on universities to extend the meaning of sanctuary to housing for students unable or fearful of traveling back home during the winter break due to potential raids or encounters with immigration authorities.⁸ Such support is crucial for those who will fear attending school, seeking medical attention, or participating in activities that may appear to put them at risk of deportation. Columbia University and other universities have also committed to working with DACA recipients to support them with scholarships in the event they lose their status and can no longer work.⁹

The California Faculty Association has also suggested providing health care stipends for students who do not have access to Medicaid due to lack of documentation and who cannot afford to pay for school insurance.¹⁰ Universities can also offer to have legal counseling available for members of the university and their families on an ongoing basis.¹¹ And, as has been discussed in some places in Europe and in the United States, universities can also offer free courses (online or in person) for undocumented students and refugee populations.¹²

While larger initiatives—like those proposed by the CFA and the statements from more than

six hundred college and university presidents on the need to protect DACA—are especially urgent, we should not underestimate the importance of “retooling” the functions, tone, and preparedness of the university to better address the issues faced by undocumented students.¹³ The necessary support systems that underpin sanctuary environments can be bolstered by mandated sensitivity training for administrators, faculty, and security personnel as well as by avoiding bureaucratic practices or attitudes that limit access and voice for undocumented students in campus spaces and lead to intentional or unintentional discrimination.¹⁴

In order to demonstrate the university’s commitment to support undocumented migrants and other vulnerable populations, information about existing resources should be widely available on campuses and on the web. In the past, the New York Dream Faculty Alliance, founded in 2011 by faculty from fourteen campuses in the New York metropolitan area, discussed the idea of creating a logo or visual system to help students identify the network of schools friendly to undocumented individuals. With a similar aim, The New School, alongside the New Sanctuary Coalition NYC, recently issued a call to design the graphic identity of sanctuary. What does sanctuary look like across various spaces in the city? And how might a graphic banner convey the principles and politics of the project, “as a radical welcome,” to be used by organizations, institutions, and individuals that want to demonstrate their support for or status as sanctuary?¹⁵ Visualization amplifies the message of resistance of the sanctuary movement and is also a powerful symbol for the community—a marker for those who need this supportive apparatus and for their allies who are neces-

sary to help expand the movement.

These are very tangible examples of what we can do at the university level to respond to the reality of undocumented migrant populations that are at risk, not just in the face of deportations but, also, as a result of discrimination, harassment, and limited access to funding to go to college. Declaring sanctuary is just the first step that allows us to make wider claims to ensure that this commitment is matched with actions and not just for undocumented migrants but for many other members of the community that face intimidation, violence, and discrimination: people of color, members of the LGBTQ community, women, and members of non-majoritarian religious communities.

A SANCTUARY CAMPUS MOVEMENT BEYOND BORDERS

Susan B. Coutin, one of the most prominent scholars of the sanctuary movement, has emphasized its power as a transnational campaign that spanned Central America, Mexico and the United States.¹⁶ Building transnational networks of solidarity, not just through churches, shelters, and civil society groups but also including universities in the United States and beyond is crucial in the context of mass deportations and forced return to origin countries. Among the challenges faced by those being deported are significant barriers to continue their education in their origin countries. Their need and right to protection and education does not end when they cross the border. Some US universities offer Dreamer scholarships that include funding from origin countries, sponsor DACA students’ visits to Mexico and other countries, and encourage Dreamers to build

transnational youth networks with returned Dreamers and other civil society groups. These exchanges reveal the importance of extending sanctuary across transnational spaces and the need for symbolic and tangible support across borders. The BUAP University in Puebla, Mexico, a self-proclaimed “university without borders,” should be used as a model. In its commitment to support Dreamers’ return to Mexico and to welcome them into the university, BUAP has established special Spanish-language courses, training programs to help students navigate the university system, and made a commitment to push for policies that facilitate the enrollment and validation of university credits from another country.¹⁷ These are not unprecedented actions. Countries, like Mexico, have historically made similar commitments to protect intellectuals and students in exile, especially in the context of the Spanish Civil War or the dirty war in Argentina. This commitment must be extended to their own citizens who are forced to return to the countries they left due to lack of opportunities and where they now face discrimination, bureaucratic obstacles, and limited opportunities to re-enter labor markets and continue their education.

To be effective and “real,” the promise of sanctuary cannot end when students leave campus or when they cross the border (voluntarily or not) back into the country where they were born. The emerging movement today cannot simply be a reaction to the rhetoric and anticipated action by the Trump administration; it has to be proactive to challenge the larger structures that have led to this moment and to speak about wider claims such as the right

not to migrate—a right that immigrant organizations that once campaigned for the rights of refugees in the 1980s now focus on. More than an immediate defense against the Trump administration and its expected policies, we must target the inequality and the different forms of violence exposed and codified within our immigration system. We should also be hopeful that just as in the 1980s, the sanctuary movement today can lead to more than just the proclamation of a safe haven; declaring solidarities across boundaries, within our cities and between states and countries, is the first step to changing legislation and establishing new alliances and networks of support. Universities and educators play a key role in expanding the sanctuary movement—they have the capacity to offer counter-discourse to dominant rhetoric, reaching further, within and beyond the academic community, at a moment when it is essential to be imaginative and rethink the terms, concepts, and frameworks through which we address this issue.

This article originally appeared in The Avery Review on January 20, 2017.

WHY THE NEW DEPORTATION RULES SHOULD CONCERN EVERYONE

JONATHAN BACH AND ALEXANDRA DÉLANO ALONSO,
GLOBAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT

THE NEW GOVERNMENT GUIDELINES ON DEPORTATIONS ARE CREATING AN INFRASTRUCTURE FOR AN INCIPIENT POLICE STATE THAT COULD CHANGE THE COUNTRY, AND THE WORLD, INDELIBLY. HERE ARE A FEW OF THE WAYS IN WHICH THIS POLICY IS WORTHY OF EVERYONE'S ATTENTION:

1. Papers please. Under the new guidelines, the burden is on the person stopped by federal officers (whether immigration or their deputized local police, if they cooperate) to prove they are not “undocumented” despite the lack of standardized, formal documentation of “authorization” to be in the country. Because this is not a country with a national identity card or a requirement to have a passport, a birth certificate is for many people the only evidence of citizenship. How many citizens do you know who carry a certified copy of their birth certificate with them at all times? Under these guidelines, citizens, legal residents, and visa holders will be subject to increased scrutiny in all interactions with the police, and by extension most public institutions, as they seek to determine who is “undocumented.” This will revive debates over the creation of a biometric national identification card system for the purpose of proving citizenship on demand, something long resisted on civil liberties grounds in the United States (see for example the debate from 2013).¹

2. Detention infrastructure. This problematic “papers please” logic behind the guidelines is exacerbated by the degree of discretion given to officers to detain or, if they decide the person “pose[s]

a risk to public safety or national security” to be deported without due process. In either case, the person must be kept somewhere, and detention centers must be created and staffed, either by repurposing existing spaces or building new ones. 65% of ICE detainees² are held in privately run prisons, and it is widely expected that private companies will be at the forefront of new detention centers, creating perverse financial incentives to detain ever larger numbers similar to the private prison industry, and with limited accountability regarding the protection of rights of detainees.³ The US already holds the world’s largest prison population, and increased detentions would be a new market for the private prison industry, which stood to lose business from prison reform and Obama-era regulations that have now been reversed.⁴

3. A climate of fear. The state of fear and uncertainty that millions of families live in⁵ every single day in the face of an expanded enforcement apparatus means that many of them stop attending school, or accessing preventive health services, using public transportation, driving, or trusting public institutions that can provide assistance (including their origin country consulates).⁶ This reality tears at the fabric of society, creating tensions between communities, between immigrants and the police, it compounds existing inequalities, as immigrants and their families (including U.S. citizens) lose access to services and opportunities. How do you plan for the next day, how do you imagine a future

in this country when you or a relative or friend can be detained and deported at any given moment, as Areli Zarate, a DACA recipient, expresses in the quote above?

4. Increased instability in the US and abroad. The expansion of the deportation machine will come at a significant cost for U.S. taxpayers without making the country safer.⁷ In the long run, it will contribute to the economic and political instability that produces migration flows because many origin countries are dependent on the remittances that migrants will not be able to send anymore, and because millions of deportations in a short period of time create pressures on labor markets, housing and services that many of these countries cannot respond to effectively. The consequences have been clear for the past decade with more than 3 million immigrants deported, mainly to Mexico and Central America. Many of these individuals return to countries that they left decades ago, without any support networks to rely on and even more vulnerable to the type of violence, discrimination and lack of opportunity that they pushed them to leave in the first place.

5. International tensions. One of the major issues in the current context of increased migration and refugee flows in Europe is the difficulty of determining the country of origin for people that EU countries want to deport. Sometimes the country of origin will deny that the person is a citizen of their country (whether they are or not) in order not to accept them. There will quickly be a similar issue if the US starts to deport large numbers of persons without full cooperation of the countries to which they are sent. This policy is already significantly raising tensions⁸ with Mexico.

6. Obsession with creating scapegoats. Underlying the entire discourse and policy shift against undocumented migrants, especially those

marked as Mexican, is an obsession with immigrants and refugees as “problems” that is wholly disproportionate to the facts and trends regarding migration to the US from Mexico.⁹ This obsession has come to dominate policy, budgets, and people’s lives. It creates fear, splits families, and damages our relations with Mexico and other countries. These guidelines must be seen as a piece within the larger propaganda campaign against Muslims (1% of the US population in 2015), and attacks on dissent (such as branding the free press the “enemy of the American people”), and the President’s ties to white nationalists. In other words, these guidelines are not, in the first instance, actually about undocumented migrants or immigration reform (stalled in Congress for years), but about gaining control over the determination of friend and enemy in a struggle for “unreviewable” executive authority.

These concerns, taken together, are what support the argument that these guidelines are among the first concrete bureaucratic steps towards creating an infrastructure of a police state, where the government exercises control of the population through fear enforced by the threat of punishment by the police, which could include US citizens accused of facilitation of a crime by supporting undocumented immigrants, or by protesting under new laws, such as this one in Arizona¹⁰ that seeks to treat protesters like terrorists.

The new guidelines may not be easy to implement for reasons of cost and opposition, but they are now official policy that has **already emboldened ICE agents**, and everyone should speak up against these moves towards authoritarianism before it is too late.

WHAT CAN WE DO? LISTEN.
STAND UP. SHOW UP. RESIST.

1. Listen to those most affected by these policies and follow their lead. Follow them on social media, show up at their events, meetings and protests, volunteer, and don’t be afraid to ask how you can help. Some organizations to follow on social media and to connect with locally: United We Dream, New York State Youth Leadership Council, local Dream Teams at New York universities (including The New School Dream Team), National Immigration Law Center, Make the Road New York, New York Immigration Coalition.

2. Get involved. There are many ways to do so. In addition to attending rallies and protests, you can call or write to ICE and legislators to pressure against these actions. There is also a great need for translators, and volunteers that can help disseminate information such as Know Your Rights¹¹ and Family Preparedness Plans.¹² You can also support visits to detainees, and attend court hearings. Being in the room makes a difference in outcomes for individuals. The Safe Passage project is one of the leading groups in these efforts in New York one of its members, Claire Thomas, is a Visiting Scholar at TNS this semester.

3. The role of the university. Relationships in school¹³ are essential for individuals affected directly or through a relative: as faculty, staff and students we should create support systems, mentoring programs and a welcoming environment. Educate yourself about these issues and share the knowledge widely. There are plenty of courses and events on campus (see the Zolberg Institute website¹⁴). At The New School you can also join student organizations focusing on these issues, such as The Dream Team, and support efforts to make the university a sanctuary campus.

4. Do not spread unconfirmed information. In this climate of fear and emergency responses, and the easy clicking on a button to share a post or

retweet, we may inadvertently contribute to creating more fear that affects people’s lives. Make sure you use reliable sources and double check before sharing or alerting others.

5. Words matter. How we frame the situation determines our responses to it. Avoid using terms such as *illegal immigrant*¹⁵ that criminalize individuals and conflate security and migration. Avoid framing migration as a problem and a crisis. And avoid narratives that frame some migrants as deserving of rights and protections given their skills or origin country versus others who are not.

6. Create coalitions with an intersectional approach. These issues affect not just Mexicans or Latinos, not just Muslim communities or countries affected by the travel ban. Against the administration’s tactics to divide and conquer, we must stand together. These are attacks against all immigrants and people of color, and they intersect with issues about over-policing, racial profiling, as well as further attacks on our environment and indigenous land through the expansion of the border wall.

There is a lot that can be done and it can be overwhelming. Choose one action that is available to you: whether it’s volunteering, donating, calling, or organizing in school or in your local community, and stick with it. We’re in it for the long haul, beyond the Trump administration. This is a continuing effort to change a narrative that criminalizes immigrants, and change how people perceive the “problem” and imagine just and decent responses to this reality.

This article originally appeared in the Global Studies at the New School Blog on March 1, 2017.

THE NEW SCHOOL

The DREAM Team presents...

HIGHER ED ACCESS FOR IMMIGRANTS:

DREAMERS, IMMIGRANT FAMILIES, AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS UNITE!

Join UnLocal, Inc. for a workshop on how immigrants of varying statuses can access college education, with an overview of immigrant rights.

RSVP is confidential:
<http://tinyurl.com/HigherEd-Immigrants>

**FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9
4:30 TO 7:00PM**

**UNIVERSITY CENTER
63 FIFTH AVENUE
ROOM 304**

Cosponsors:

Lang CESJ THE NEW SCHOOL STUDENT SENATE Global Studies @TNS THE NEW SCHOOL STUDENT DEVELOPMENT AND ACTIVITIES

For more information, email: dreamteam@newschool.edu
Follow us on Facebook: [facebook.com/TNSDreamTeam](https://www.facebook.com/TNSDreamTeam)

HIGHER ED ACCESS FOR IMMIGRANTS, DREAMERS, FAMILY, INTL STUDENTS

THE NEW SCHOOL DREAM TEAM

Cosponsored by: USS, Lang CESJ, Global Studies @ TNS, and UnLocal

On December 9, 2016, The New School DREAM Team – an on-campus group for undocumented students and allies – hosted an open workshop for anyone with legal concerns and questions regarding immigration status, and providing free, personal advice from immigration lawyers. During the workshop, UnLocal Inc., an organization that serves to meet the legal needs of New York City’s immigrant communities, gave an outline of the options for immigrants who want access to higher education, regardless of status.

CALL TO PARTICIPATE IN THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S STRIKE ON MARCH 8TH

CINZIA ARRUZZA (NSSR AND LANG)
 CHIARA BOTTICI (NSSR AND LANG)
 MARGOT BOUMAN (PARSONS, LANG AND GCGS)
 ALICE CRARY (NSSR, LANG AND GCGS)
 JULIA FOULKES (SPE)
 NANCY FRASER (NSSR AND LANG)
 LAURA Y. LIU (LANG)
 NATALIA MEHLMAN PETRZELA (LANG)
 JULIA OTT (NSSR AND LANG)
 CLAIRE POTTER (SPE AND THE DIGITAL HUMANITIES
 INITIATIVE)
 LISA RUBIN (NSSR AND SPE)
 RACHEL SHERMAN (NSSR AND LANG)
 ANN SNITOW (NSSR AND LANG)
 ANN STOLER (NSSR)
 MIRIAM TICKTIN (NSSR AND LANG)
 ANTINA VON SCHNITZLER (GPIA, MILANO)
 DEVA R. WOODLY (NSSR AND LANG)

Dear colleagues,

In its first weeks, the Trump administration has followed through on its promise to aggressively target vulnerable populations through a series of illegal and inhumane executive orders. Many of the policies of the Trump administration have harmed members within our own university community. As members of this community, we must help build a movement in defense of our most vulnerable colleagues, staff members, and students. The time for organized resistance is now.

A coalition of feminist and women's groups from over thirty countries has called for an international women's strike on March 8th. This will be an international day of action by and for working class women, queer, cis and trans women, sex workers, domestic care workers, immigrant women and women of color, against violence and for reproductive rights. As the Argentine coalition Ni Una Menos – one of the main organizers of this international day of protest — writes, violence against women has many facets: it is domestic violence, but also the violence of the market and of debt; the violence of discriminatory policies against lesbian, trans and queer women; the violence of state criminalization of migratory movements; the violence of

mass incarceration; the violence against the earth; the violence against native women and their struggles; and the institutional violence against women's bodies through abortion bans and lack of access to free healthcare and free abortion.

A national social coalition of grassroots groups and collectives, political, feminist and labor organizations, and individuals, has called for a women's strike in the United States on March 8th, in solidarity with the women on struggle around the world, against Trump's administration, but also against the neoliberal policies that have caused his election and that are causing a new wave of authoritarianism in Europe. In that day there will be marches, actions of civil disobedience, picket lines, workplace strikes, strikes from housework, care work, and gender roles, boycotts, teach-ins in several US cities, together and in solidarity with thousands of women mobilizing around the world.

We ask that you sign the New School petition in support of the Women's Strike and that you cancel your classes on March 8th. You can promote alternative forms of engagement with students to respect the cost burden, consider connecting course plans with movement themes or participate with your class in the activities that will take place in New York City and at the New School in support of this great international protest.

This article original appeared in Public Seminar on February 24, 2016.

CYBER INSECURITY: EVERYTHING YOU EVER WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT ENCRYPTION BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK

FEATURED SPEAKERS:

- Rosario Gennaro, Director of the Center for Algorithms and Interactive Scientific Software at City College of New York
- Trebor Scholz, Associate Professor of Culture & Media at Lang College, who introduced the concept of platform cooperativism

MODERATED BY:

- Claire Potter, Director of Digital Humanities and Initiative
- Jonathan Bach, Chair of Global Studies Program

Beginning with the arrest and prosecution of journalists covering the inauguration, the Tr*mp administration established an environment of hostility toward a free press. The administration's rhetoric and actions toward journalists and media outlets who cover the President's policies, from accusing outlets critical of him of being "fake news," to outright barring them from daily briefings by the White House Press Secretary, have heightened awareness of the increasing importance of cyber security for members of the press, activists, and the general public. In light of this, the New School Digital Humanities Initiative teamed up with the Global Studies Program to host Cyber-Insecurity | Seminar on Encryption on April 18, 2017. The purpose of the seminar was to improve understanding of what encryption is, what practices work best, and how encryption can be used to protect journalists, activists, scholars and the public from the increasingly hostile digital environment.

Event by Digital Humanities Initiative and Global Studies on April 18, 2017

CYBER- INSECURITY

EVERYTHING YOU WANTED
TO KNOW ABOUT ENCRYPTION
BUT WERE AFRAID TO ASK

MARCH 14TH 7:00 PM
OROZCO ROOM (712) 66 W 12TH ST

DIGITAL EQUITY AS PUBLIC POLICY IN THE TRUMP ERA

MAYA WILEY, VICE PRESIDENT OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AT THE NEW SCHOOL, MILANO

We live in such a technology-driven age that, for many of us, it is difficult to imagine a world where we are not able to go home, sit down on the couch and download an e-book, answer an email, or manage our bank accounts online. Yet this is the reality for the 17 percent of Americans who do not have broadband access at their place of residence. With so much of our work and lives now conducted online—homework, business, webinars, job applications, social media—the ability to access reliable high-speed internet is critical

Maya Wiley, Vice President of Social Justice at The New School for Social Research, describes this lack of access as a “digital divide...nothing short of a digital disaster.” Wiley spoke about expanding high-speed Internet access in the United States during her #SXSW panel, “Digital Equity as Public Policy in the Trump Era.” As Wiley noted during the panel, low-income communities—particularly communities of color—are disproportionately affected by the digital divide, a matter which is a direct result of policy decisions by service providers. Wiley pointed out that the effects of these policies can be mediated by city governments through policies of their own, specifically citing her work with New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio to launch the LinkNYC initiative, transforming the city’s old pay-phones into a citywide free Wi-Fi network. Wiley also spoke in support of net neutrality and allocating public funds to develop and support broadband infrastructure. She sees high-speed internet access as a necessity for economic inclusion for low-income communities in the United States, not the luxury it once was considered.

 **The New School**  @TheNewSchool Following

Policy in the Trump Era:

- Net neutrality
- Lifeline
- Infrastructure Bill
- Privacy + Surveillance
- Digital Sanctuary

[@mayawiley](#) [#SXSW](#)

RETWEETS 2 LIKES 5 

11:11 AM - 15 Mar 2017 from Austin, TX

  2  5

 **The New School**  @TheNewSchool Following

On breaking down divides: "Commonly our mistake is we want to start where WE are and not where others say they are." [@mayawiley](#) [#SXSW](#)

RETWEETS 4 LIKE 1 

11:27 AM - 15 Mar 2017 from Austin, TX

  4  1

 **The New School**  @TheNewSchool Following

"Talking to people who don't feel the same as we do doesn't mean that we're abandoning our values." [@mayawiley](#) [#SXSW](#)

RETWEET 1 LIKES 2 

11:30 AM - 15 Mar 2017 from Austin, TX

  1  2

FROM NOVEMBER 19, 2016 THROUGH JANUARY 4, 2017, PARSONS SCHOOL OF DESIGN AND THE FOOD STUDIES PROGRAM AT EUGENE LANG COLLEGE HELD A COLLABORATIVE EXHIBITION IN THE ARNOLD AND SHEILA ARONSON GALLERIES, FEATURING AND RESPONDING TO ROXY PAINE'S DINNER OF THE DICTATORS, AN ARTWORK IN THE NEW SCHOOL'S COLLECTION WHICH DEPICTS THE FAVORITE MEALS OF TWELVE NOTORIOUS DICTATORS.

AS PART OF THE INSTALLATION, EVENT ORGANIZERS ASKED MILANO SCHOOL PROFESSOR NINA KHRUSHCHEVA TO CREATE AN AUDIO PIECE SPECULATING WHAT A DINNER TABLE CONVERSATION BETWEEN HISTORY'S MOST INFAMOUS TOTALITARIANS MIGHT BE LIKE. PROFESSOR KHRUSHCHEVA WORKED WITH SGPIA STUDENTS EIRIK JØRGENSEN, KAITLYN LYNES, AND ALY MADY TO WRITE A SHORT SCRIPT OF THE CONVERSATION. THE SCRIPT WAS RECORDED BY PROFESSOR KHRUSHCHEVA AND THE STUDENTS, AND THE AUDIO FEATURED IN THE EXHIBITION.

THE SCENE ENDS WITH THE FICTIONALIZED DICTATORS TOASTING THE ELECTION OF DONALD TR*MP AND WELCOMING AMERICA'S "CATCHING UP" WITH THE WORLD'S TOTALITARIAN REGIMES.

FOOD, POWER AND POLITICS: A RESPONSE TO ROXY PAINE'S DINNER OF THE DICTATORS

ARTIST ROXY PAINE, THE NEW SCHOOL ART COLLECTION

PHOTO CREDIT: KAITLYN LYNES



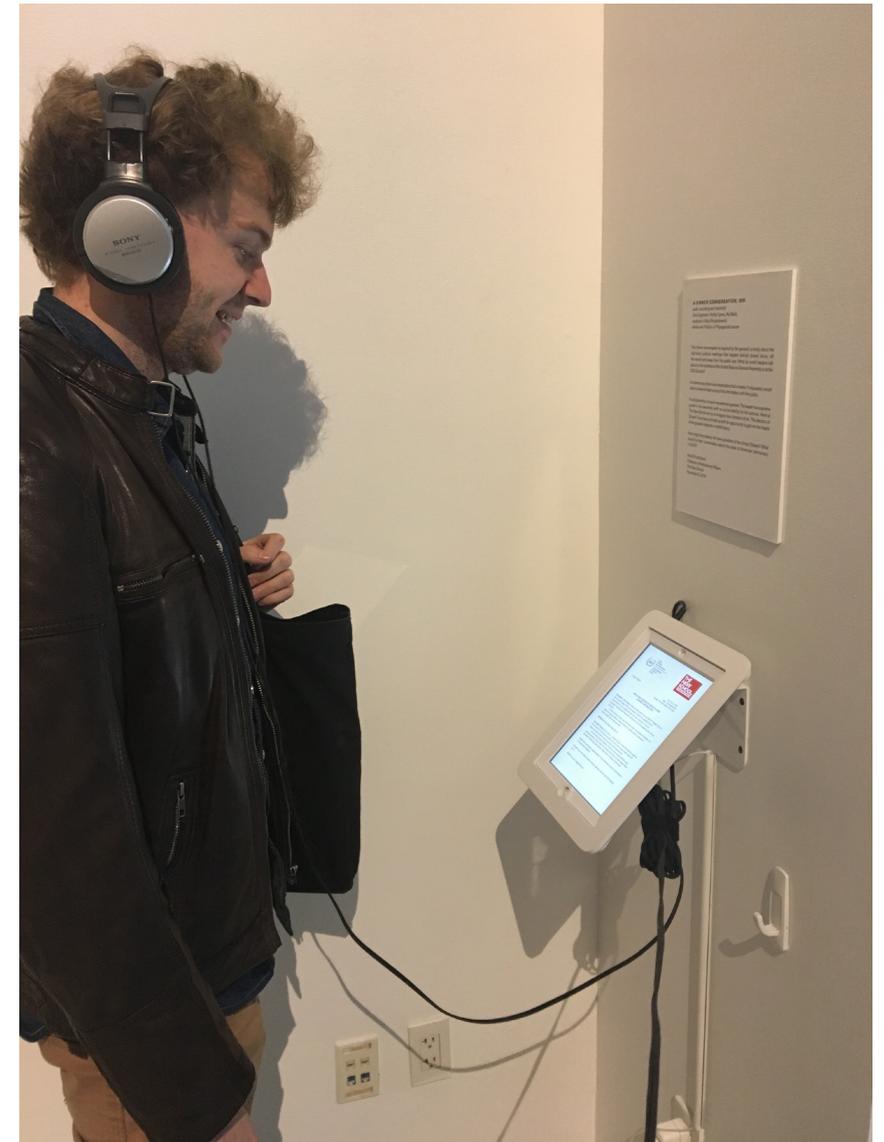
Roxy Paine's celebrated original art piece, Dinner of the Dictators, on display at the Food Power and Politics exhibition in the Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries.

PHOTO CREDIT: KAITLYN LYNES



Dinner of the Dictators on display at the Food Power and Politics exhibition in the Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries.

PHOTO CREDIT: KAITLYN LYNES



Eirik Jørgensen listens to the recording of the conversation among dictators in the Arnold and Sheila Aronson Galleries.

NOT GOING BACK

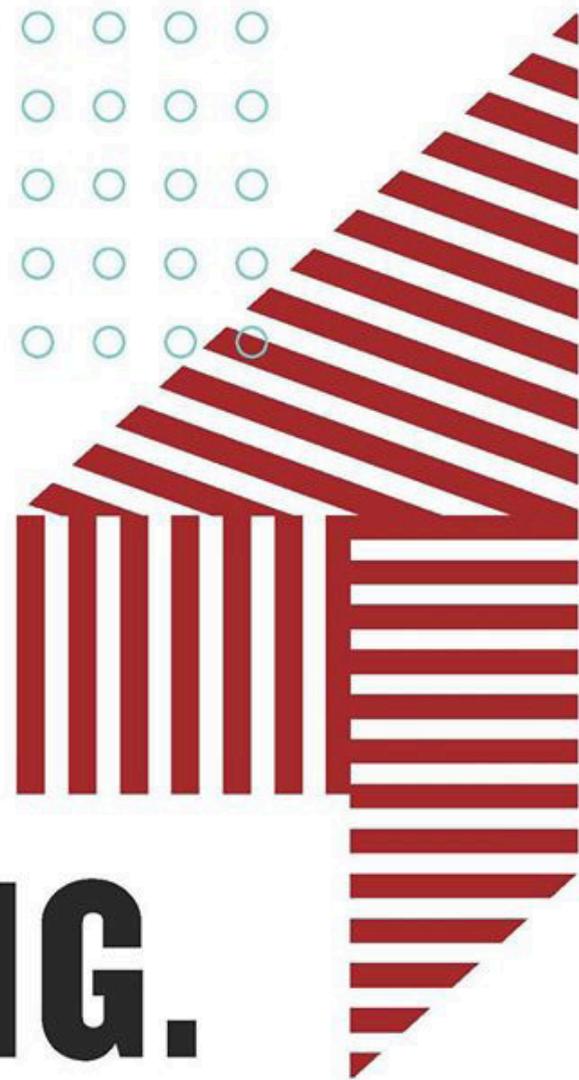
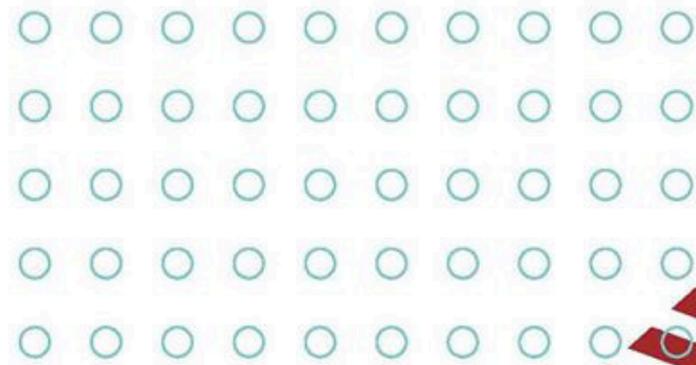
NEW SCHOOL SOCIAL JUSTICE INITIATIVE - EUGENE LANG
CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

ON INAUGURATION DAY 2017, THE NEW SCHOOL SOCIAL JUSTICE INITIATIVES HOSTED NOT GOING BACK: BUILDING COMMUNITY, RESILIENCE, AND POWER IN THE WAKE OF THE TRUMP PRESIDENCY.

THE EVENT WAS FREE AND OPEN TO THE PUBLIC, DESIGNED TO PREPARE THOSE IN ATTENDANCE TO RESIST THE POSSIBLE REVOCATION OF CIVIL AND HUMAN RIGHTS SPURRED ON BY THE NEW POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION. STRUCTURED AS A TEACH-IN, NOT GOING BACK WAS CONCEIVED AS A DECLARATION OF THE NEW SCHOOL'S OPPOSITION TO HATEFUL RHETORIC AND A COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.

RATHER THAN A REACTIONARY PROTEST, THE WORKSHOPS AND PRESENTATIONS WERE INTENDED TO BUILD A COMMUNITY OF ENGAGED ACTIVISTS AND TEACH STRATEGIES TO EMPOWER THE COMMUNITY TO PARTICIPATE IN EFFECTIVE AND SUSTAINABLE SOCIAL JUSTICE ORGANIZING IN THE CHANGING POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT.





NOT. GOING. BACK.

Building Community,
Resilience, and Power
in the Wake of the
Trump Presidency

AN INAUGURATION DAY EVENT AT THE NEW SCHOOL UNIVERSITY CENTER 63 FIFTH AVE NYC



NOT. GOING. BACK.

WORKSHOPS, TRAININGS AND MINI-LECTURES
WE HAVE PLANNED

Trumpism and White Nationalism in the Post-Civil Rights United States

Resistance Through Writing

Humane Education

Effective Animal Activism

What Makes a Village

White Man Teaching: Confronting Race in a Segregated School System

How to Organize 1-on-1

Visioning for Black Lives Under Trump

Tenant's Rights in the Age of Trump

Snapshots of Activism at the New School

Listening to the Tar Sands

Teaching Humanities to Underserved Populations

Art for Protest!

Where Do We Go From Here? Deepening Our Understanding of Race in a Collective Future

Spoken Word by Messiah Ramkissoon

Meditation

Digital Self-Defense in the Time of Trump

Active Listening

"Century's Container" by Naeem Mohalemen - Short film screening and talk

International Youth Movements

Know Your Rights: What to Do If You're Stopped By the Police

Theatre of the Oppressed: Organizing On-Stage and Off

Know Your Rights: Digital Privacy in the 21st Century

Lobbying 101: Everything You Need to Know About Lobbying for Social Justice

Structural Oppression

Beyond Beautifying: Using Design to Envision and Transform Our Futures

Hacking Capitalism: Divesting, Debt & (more) Ethical Money Management

Radical Relaxation: Assisted Savasana

Readings of Compassion and Resistance: A Community Reading and Open-Mic

Reversing the School to Prison Pipeline in the face of a Trump Presidency

Boycotts as Act of Engagement

The Confined Arts

Self Care and Radical Openness

Creating a Healing Space through Mindfulness and Meditation and the Greater Spiritual Purpose of Dark

Times

The Lyric in Crisis

Writing the Self: Our Stories, Healing and Magic for Change

Staying Engaged: Political Consumerism and Activism

From Slavery to the Prison Industrial Complex: A Historical Perspective on the First to Be Deported

READING ANNE FRANK IN SOUTH AFRICA: APARTHEID'S JEWISH LESSON FOR TRUMP'S AMERICA

TONY KARON, PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

“IF WE ALLOW THEIR TORMENT TO GO UNCHALLENGED
BECAUSE WE ARE NOT PRIMARY TARGETS, WE HAVE
LEARNED NOTHING FROM OUR OWN HISTORY AND ETHICS.”

The mainstreaming of anti-Semitism during the Donald Trump election campaign has shocked many American Jews, and it is obviously cause for concern. But it can't be separated from white nationalists' broader onslaught against Muslims, Latinos and people of color in general. In fact, if we Jews want to act on the basis of our shared ethics and history, we should proudly situate ourselves outside the boundaries of hateful nationalist “whiteness,” standing shoulder to shoulder with the persecuted. If neo-Nazis either embrace or ignore us, we're probably not being very good Jews.

This much I learned growing up in apartheid South Africa, a regime run by notorious anti-Semites who fought for Nazi Germany during World War II.

As my generation read “The Diary of Anne Frank” and learned about the Holocaust inside Jewish institutions in a society run by avowed Hitler acolytes, we could always see that their victims in South Africa were the black majority, whose daily violent subjugation enabled a system of white privilege of which we were beneficiaries.

But by the time I reached high school, the anti-Semites' loathing toward Jews was counterbalanced by a grudging need for our support in the defense of white minority rule, particularly in cultivating military ties with Israel.

So, the role in the Holocaust story that applied to us was that of the bystanders who — if they failed to resist — enabled the Nazis' crimes. I chose to resist, although there were no channels for it in a mid-1970s segregated high school, save for spirited playground debate in which I was told that I was “a waste of white skin” and that I should “go back to Israel.”

That's exactly what I planned to do before I found a pathway for meaningful involvement in fighting apartheid. The leftist Zionist movement Habonim taught me about structural racism and capitalism, and inculcated in me a short-lived vision of beaming utopian-socialist light unto the nations from a hilltop kibbutz in the Galilee.

But I was troubled by Israel's alliance with the apartheid regime, which reinforced the already self-preserving quietism of South Africa's Jewish leadership. When Israel's government feted the unrepentant Nazi and wartime German intelligence operative Prime Minister B.J. Vorster at Yad Vashem, it was too much for the young idealists of Habonim. But the local Jewish establishment quickly shushed our protests; Zionist priorities and Jewish access to the circle of white privilege demanded quiescence with apartheid.

At university, amid the burgeoning non-racial anti-apartheid student movement, another pathway opened for me: There, I learned that the movement led by Nelson Mandela had included thousands of white progressives since the 1950s. And despite the movement's check-your-tribalism-at-the-door philosophy, I felt immense pride in the fact that Jews

“IF NEO-NAZIS EITHER EMBRACE OR IGNORE US,
WE’RE PROBABLY NOT BEING VERY GOOD JEWS.”

were vastly overrepresented in its ranks.

I learned about Denis Goldberg, convicted with Mandela in 1964 but jailed separately in a whites-only prison to comply with the apartheid laws they had fought; of Ray Alexander, the Yiddish-speaking legend who began organizing black trade unions as a teenager; of Mandela’s comrades Joe Slovo, Rusty Bernstein, Harold Wolpe, and the brilliant writer Ruth First, murdered by the regime, and so many, many others.

But South Africa’s Jewish establishment did not share my admiration for these Jews who had risked everything to fight for justice under the leadership of their black compatriots. Those of us who became active in the anti-apartheid struggle represented a reputational risk to a Jewish establishment that prioritized its loyalty to the institutions of South African “whiteness” at the expense of its moral obligations.

There’s a lesson there for Jewish America in the Trump era.

As in South Africa, Jews coming to the United States from Eastern Europe were not initially welcomed into the country’s privileged circle of whiteness. When these Jews eventually were allowed into the corridors of American power, it didn’t change the reality of exclusion for most people of color —

an exclusion likely to become more vicious under a Trump administration. White nationalist anti-Semitism should be a wake-up call, alerting us to the pervasive injustice of racism in America, and to the moral obligations that it imposes on Jews. To seek a separate accommodation with bigotry, as South Africa’s Jewish establishment did, is to abandon Jewish ethics.

That’s why the Anti-Defamation League’s Jonathan Greenblatt provided such an inspiring example when he declared, “I pledge to you because I am committed to the fight against anti-Semitism that if one day Muslim Americans are forced to register their identities, that is the day that this proud Jew will register as Muslim.” Shkoyach — may your strength be directed forward! Greenblatt’s statement recognizes, as we did in South Africa, that even when we are not the primary target of the bigots, we are no less obliged to stand with those who are. Yes, that will earn us the hatred of the white nationalists — but their animus is actually a sign that we’re doing the right thing.

To borrow a conceit from the title of a Nathan Englander short story¹ that perfectly captures the mindset of many American Jewish baby boomers: What do we talk about when we talk about Anne Frank? Well, for the most part, in Trump’s America

“WHITE NATIONALIST ANTI-SEMITISM SHOULD BE A
WAKE-UP CALL, ALERTING US TO THE PERVASIVE
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— as in apartheid South Africa — Anne Frank is not Jewish. Here, she’s a Catholic Latina without papers; a Muslim woman in a hijab; a transgender evangelical kid in a rust-belt high school. And just as the characters in Englander’s story wonder which of their neighbors would protect them from the Nazis, so do the Anne Franks of the Trump era have every right to demand our active solidarity.

If we allow their torment to go unchallenged because we are not primary targets, we have learned nothing from our own history and ethics — or from the Torah prophets who warned that no amount of prayer and ritual will spare Jews from God’s wrath if they fail to pursue justice for all.

This article originally appeared in The Forward on December 8, 2016 and is reproduced with permission.

HOW TO GET ORGANIZED: A TEACH-IN

PUBLIC SEMINAR AND EUGENE LANG COLLEGE COALITION

On March 10, The New School hosted “How to Get Organized: A Teach-In”—a five-hour exploration of political organization in action, including panel discussions covering everything from the International Women’s Strike, to the Gezi resistance of Turkey, and the Movement for Black Lives. Panel members shared their first-hand accounts of political organization, exploring the strategies they implemented, as well as their own organizational blunders and triumphs—delving deep into the ins and outs of planning large-scale resistance. Not only did the teach-in aim to educate individuals on different styles of organization, but also to encourage audience members to embark on their own organizational missions.

TEACH-IN SPEAKERS:

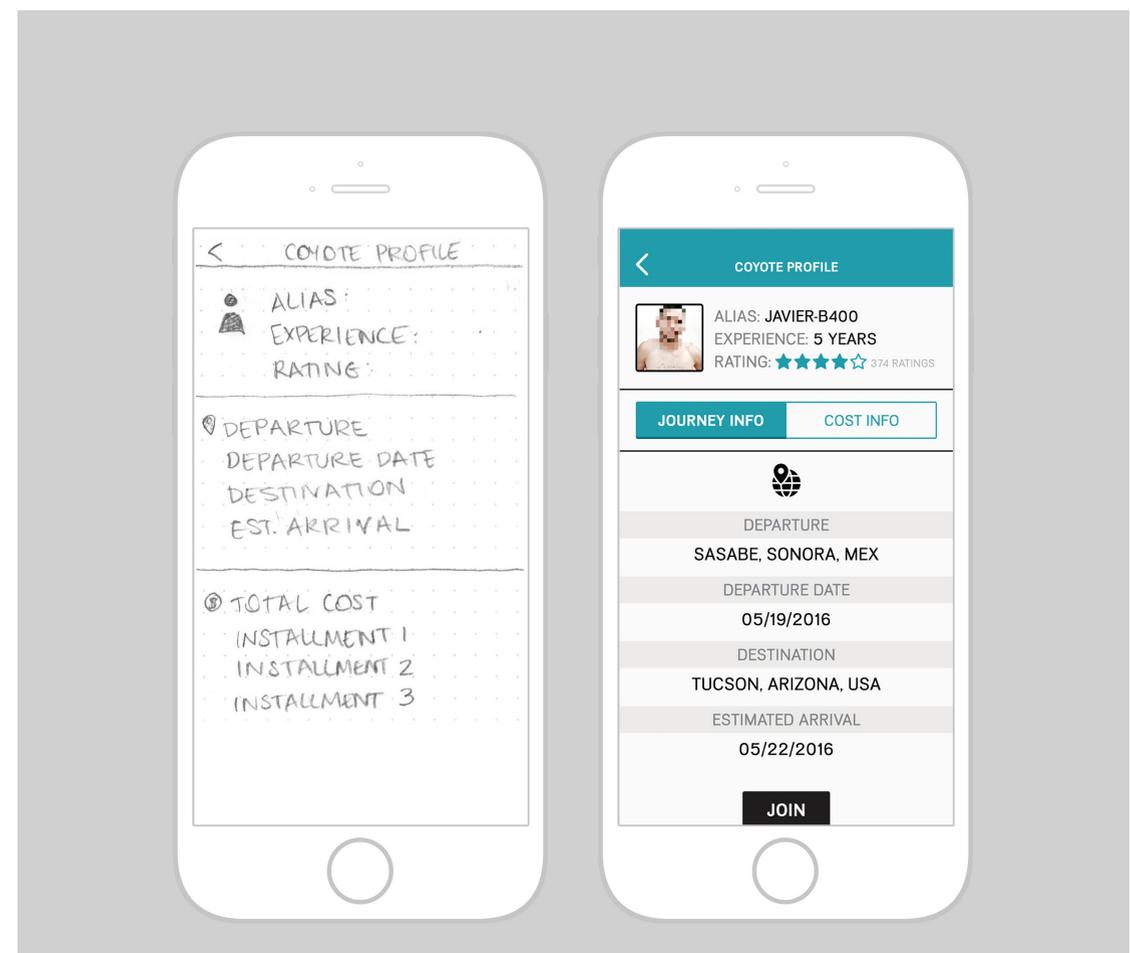
- **Ann Snitow** — Introduction
- **McKenzie Wark** — Popular Anti-Facism
- **Jahmila Joseph** — CUNY Contract Campaign Funding
- **Stephanie Wakefield** — Anthropocene Urban Experimentation
- **Cinzia Arruzza** — International Women's Strike
- **Jaskiran Dhillon** — Anti-Colonial Organizing; Pipeline Resistance; Indigenous Resurgence
- **Elizabeth Matynia** — Solidarity and Performative Democracy
- **Christopher Paul Harris** — The Movement for Black Lives
- **Deva Woodley** — The Movement for Black Lives



PAPERLESS MIGRANTS

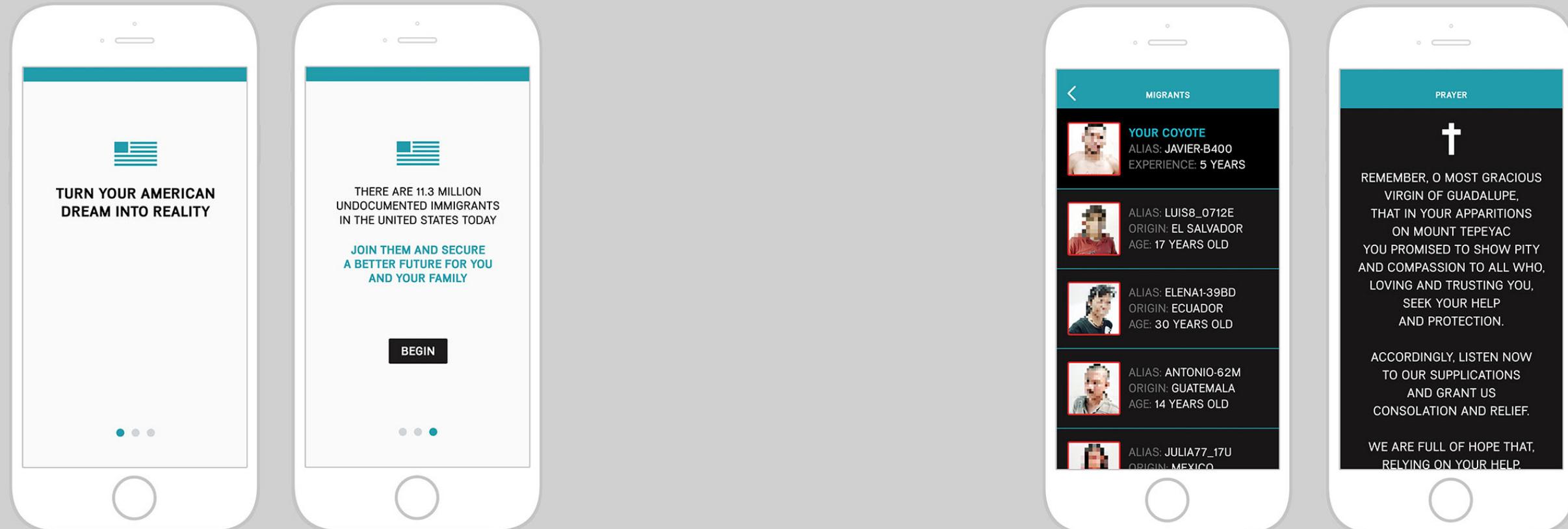
ISABELA MONTALVO, BFA COMMUNICATION DESIGN '16

BEFORE THE POSSIBILITY OF A TR*MP-RUN NATION EVER ENTERED OUR MINDS, COMMUNICATION DESIGN BFA STUDENT ISABELA MONTALVO WAS ALREADY EXPLORING SOME OF THE DARKER REALITIES OF THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE. SHE DESIGNED HER 2016 SENIOR THESIS, PAPERLESS MIGRANTS, AS A MOCK-UP FOR AN APP WHICH WOULD TAKE USERS ON A VISUAL JOURNEY THROUGH THE EYES OF A MEXICAN OR GUATEMALAN IMMIGRANT UNDERTAKING THE DANGEROUS PROCESS OF CROSSING THE U.S.-MEXICO BORDER. BY UTILIZING ANXIETY-PROVOKING SCENARIOS, LIKE RUNNING OUT OF WATER IN THE BLAZING HOT DESERT, MONTALVO AIMS TO EVOKE AN EMOTIONAL RESPONSE FROM USERS TO NOT ONLY GARNER UNDERSTANDING AND EMPATHY, BUT TO PUSH FOR AN EFFECTIVE IMMIGRATION SYSTEM. AS THREATS OF A TR*MP-ENDORSED BORDER WALL LOOM, MONTALVO'S WORK WILL ONLY BECOME MORE RELEVANT.



“IT IS MY GREATEST HOPE THAT WE BREAK THE CYCLE OF IGNORANCE AND HOSTILITY TOWARDS UNDOCUMENTED RESIDENTS WHO HAVE RISKED EVERYTHING TO GIVE THEIR FAMILIES A BETTER FUTURE, AND ARE CONTRIBUTING TO OUR SOCIETY AND ECONOMY IN POSITIVE WAYS.”

ISABELA MONTALVO



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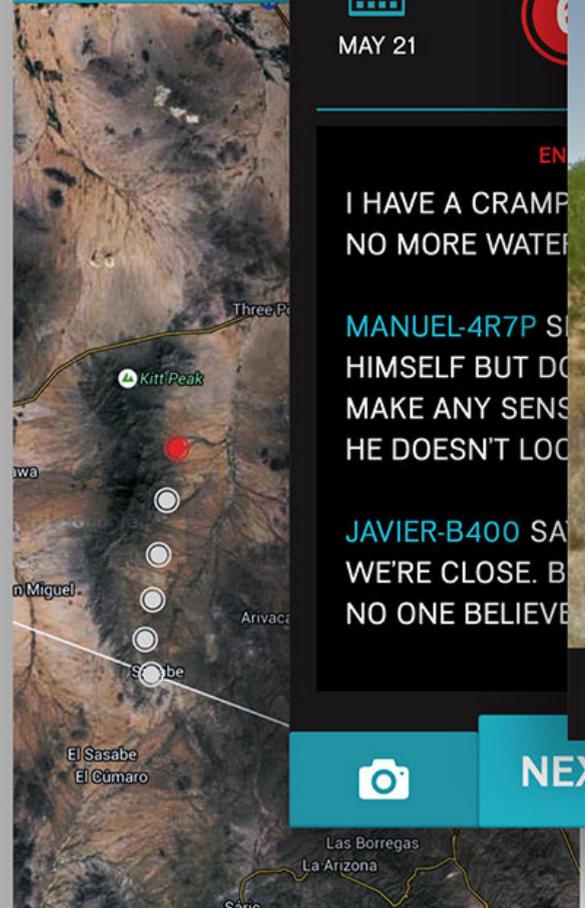


“ I WILL DO ANYTHING SHORT OF SHOOTING THEM. ”

— MO BROOKS, POLITICIAN
7/13/2011

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JOU



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I HAVE A CRAMP
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JAVIER-B400 SA
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VIEW



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DESIGN FOR DIFFERENCE: CROSSING THE BOUNDARY

ANGELA LUNA - BFA FASHION DESIGN '16

CROSSING THE BOUNDARY IS THE SENIOR THESIS COLLECTION OF PARSONS FASHION DESIGN BFA GRADUATE ANGELA LUNA. INSPIRED BY THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS, THE WEATHERPROOF, UNISEX, ONE-SIZE COLLECTION IS INTENDED TO ADDRESS THE CHALLENGES FACED BY REFUGEES, FINDING SOLUTIONS THROUGH DESIGN. HER COLLECTION INCLUDES PIECES WHICH CAN TRANSFORM INTO TENTS, BACKPACKS, AND FLOTATION DEVICES — EVEN PIECES THAT COULD TRANSPORT CHILDREN AND INCREASE NIGHTTIME VISIBILITY.

WHILE FINISHING HER THESIS, LUNA WAS SIMULTANEOUSLY LAUNCHING HER OWN APPAREL COMPANY: ADIFF. ADIFF IS A PHILANTHROPY-DRIVEN ORGANIZATION, CURRENTLY DONATING A PORTION OF THEIR PROCEEDS TOWARDS ACQUIRING ESSENTIAL ITEMS FOR REFUGEES. HOWEVER, ADIFF HOPES TO ONE DAY ESTABLISH ITSELF AS A NON-PROFIT, SERVING THE COMMUNITY IN AN INCREASINGLY CHARITABLE AND MEANINGFUL WAY. IN NOVEMBER 2016, LUNA ANNOUNCED DURING A TED TALK THAT HER DESIRE WAS TO CREATE A BRAND WHICH WOULD USE THE POWER OF THE FASHION INDUSTRY TO CREATE AWARENESS AND SUPPORT FOR REFUGEES.

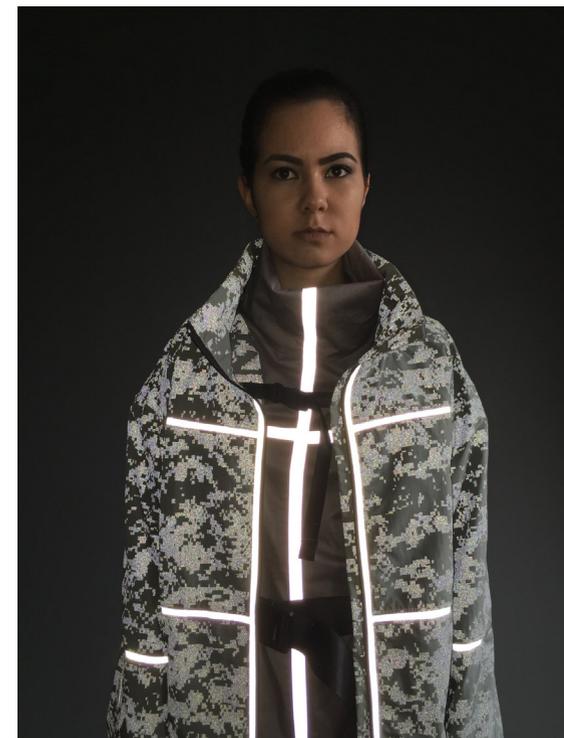


PHOTO CREDIT: ADIFF.COM





PHOTO CREDIT: ADIFF.COM



PHOTO CREDIT: ADIFF.COM

TRUMP'S EXECUTIVE ORDER: BANNING IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEE ADMISSIONS

T. ALEXANDER ALEINIKOFF, DIRECTOR OF THE ZOLBERG INSTITUTE ON MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

“FIVE MILLION SYRIANS HAVE FLED THEIR COUNTRY OVER THE PAST FIVE YEARS. TURKEY HAS TAKEN IN 2.5 MILLION; LEBANON, WITH A POPULATION OF 4 MILLION, HAS WELCOMED A MILLION SYRIANS REFUGEES. LAST YEAR THE U.S. ADMITTED 12,000 SYRIANS — WHILE CANADA TOOK IN MORE THAN TWICE THAT NUMBER. NOW MR. TRUMP DECLARES THAT NO MORE SYRIAN REFUGEES WILL BE BROUGHT TO THE UNITED STATES.”

Five million Syrians have fled their country over the past five years. Turkey has taken in 2.5 million; Lebanon, with a population of 4 million, has welcomed a million Syrians refugees. Last year the U.S. admitted 12,000 Syrians — while Canada took in more than twice that number.

Now Mr. Trump declares that no more Syrian refugees will be brought to the United States. And he has, by the stroke of a pen, cut President Obama's commitment of 110,000 refugee admissions this year to just 50,000 — the lowest number in a decade. All this at a time when the number of persons displaced by violence and conflict are at levels not seen since World War II.

Trump's Executive Order includes a statement that takes one's breath away: “I hereby proclaim that the entry of nationals of Syria as refugees is detrimental to the interests of the United States.”

As a technical legal matter, terrorists and anyone remotely linked to a terrorist group are not eligible for refugee status. So on what basis could be that admitting Syrians “as refugees” can be contrary to American interests? One can argue about numbers, absorptive capacity, the responsibility of other states that might set some kind of limit on the number of refugees that the U.S. should accept. But for a President to declare that the admission of refugees

can be “detrimental” to the interests of the U.S. is a statement so at odds with American traditions and values that one hardly knows where to begin in responding.

Many have quickly and powerfully taken up the cause, pressing arguments that ought, in a world that cared about sound policy, to bury the Trump position: the vetting of refugees is already more robust than for any other class of immigrants; the chances that a refugee will participate in or support terrorism in the U.S. are vanishingly small; the Trump policies assist ISIS recruitment efforts; our neighbor to the North shows how Syrian refugees can be admitted in large numbers without sacrificing security concerns; the Trump actions will serve as a model to other states and thereby undermine refugee protection around the world.

Similar arguments were vociferously asserted in the days following Trump's announcement during the presidential campaign that he would ban all Muslims (refugees and immigrants) from entering the United States. Those criticisms led Trump to shift to a policy of “extreme vetting” rather than an outright, permanent ban. But the result could well end up the same if the Administration determines that no set of procedures can adequately protect the U.S. from infiltration by “radical Islamic terrorists.”

The direct harms and implications of Mr. Trump's Executive Order are dramatic, both in the near and long term. As an immediate matter, tens of thousands of persons who have fled violence and conflict in Syria, who have given up homes and possessions

to save themselves and their families, who have seen their communities destroyed and have now spent up to five years in inadequate shelter and with no job prospects, whose children are now referred to as “the lost generation” because of the years of schooling they have missed — these are the people that Trump’s order will hurt.

It is true that refugees now residing in Turkey, Lebanon and Jordan may not be facing immediate return to the conflict in Syria; but they are experiencing a “second exile.” Their exclusion from economic opportunities and social programs renders them unable to rebuild their lives and their communities. This is the reason for refugee resettlement programs — to enable people whose lives have been on hold for years to begin to return to normalcy. (Mr. Trump’s policies not only stop refugee admissions from Muslim countries; he has cut overall admissions by more than half. So his actions will reverberate in refugee camps and settlements around the world.)

An additional, crucial reason for refugee resettlement is to help share the responsibility for refugee protection. States neighboring countries in conflict bear the burden of refugee flows. Peter Sutherland, the Secretary General’s Special Representative on International Migration has labeled this “responsibility by proximity.” The vast majority of the world’s refugees are located in the developing world, in countries that are often unable to provide adequately for the basic needs of their own citizens. The global system is obviously not working fairly if those most able to assist don’t do their part. Hosting states at some point will simply close their borders to refugees — as Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey have now largely done, after accepting more than 4 million Syrians. And they will be unable to provide ade-

quate care for those they admit.

The human and systemic costs of banning refugee admissions to the U.S. is thus clear. What, then, can account for the Trump policies? What American interests could “outweigh” the humanitarian ends to which the U.S. has been so long committed?

The Trump Executive Order is purportedly all about security — although this is somewhat undercut by the fact that its suspension of immigrant and non-immigrant (tourist, student, business visitor) visas applies to six Muslim nations but not to Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, France and other countries whose citizens have committed terrorist acts. The Order states that refugee admissions might resume again if additional procedures are put in place that “are adequate to ensure the security and welfare of the United States.” The standard that will be applied is not specified. It is possible that the Administration will say that given the risks, only 100% certainty will do. But a standard of certainty, or near certainty, that harm has been prevented is of course unattainable. Nor is it sensible. It is not one we apply to cars or guns — both of which impose dramatically greater risk to Americans than do refugee admissions. Indeed, if the standard were to be applied to all persons seeking entry to the United States — as tourists, students, business visitors, family members — it would effectively end immigration to the U.S.

Perhaps a (near) certainty standard will in fact be adopted as a means to putting the refugee program on indefinite hold. But if this occurs, it will not be based on sound or consistent policies on security. Rather, ending refugee admissions would be a cover for even more troubling ideological grounds.

One such ground would be Mr. Trump’s apparent

“WE HAVE GONE THROUGH THESE ANTI-FOREIGNER SPASMS BEFORE: THE INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS, THE CHINESE EXCLUSION LAWS, THE NATIONAL ORIGINS QUOTA SYSTEM, OPERATION “WETBACK.” ONE WOULD THINK THAT OUR NATIONAL SHAME OVER THESE LAWS AND EXECUTIVE ACTIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN A BULWARK AGAINST THIS DISGRACEFUL EXECUTIVE ORDER. BUT NOT, APPARENTLY, IN THE AGE OF TRUMP.”

view that we are fundamentally at war with Islam. His extreme statements in the past depict the religion as motivated by hatred toward the West and dedicated to inflicting the greatest harm possible on the United States. Indeed, he brushes off concerns that banning Muslims would drive new recruits to ISIS: they already hate us and nothing we do will change that except eliminating them.

That these new policies are primarily directed at Islam appears on the face of the Executive Order, which permits the entry of refugees even during the period of suspension, if “the person is a religious minority in his or her country of nationality facing religious persecution.” There can be no doubt that this provision is included to permit the entry of Christian refugees while maintaining the ban on Muslims.

This religious discrimination is flatly prohibited by the international Refugee Convention and subject to constitutional challenge. It is not clear how much that will matter to the Administration. The ill-fit

of the ban on security grounds — that it leaves out some Muslim states whose citizens are terrorists — can be used by Administration lawyers to defend the ban against a charge of unconstitutional religious discrimination. But this may have been strategic only. Recall that the Bush Administration, in establishing its post-9/11 registration program in the United States included a large number of Muslim countries and also North Korea.

A different ideological reading of the Executive Order would place it within Trump’s America First nationalism. From this perspective, the physical wall against Mexico is of a piece with the bureaucratic wall against refugees. Both are directed at “foreign enemies”: terrorists and “illegal aliens” (or in Trump’s inelegant terminology “criminals, drug dealers, rapists”) against whom a white Christian nation must not let down its guard. (According to Trump, “illegal aliens” have even invaded the U.S. political system, by casting millions of votes in the presidential election.)

There is an obvious counter-narrative here. Based in humanitarianism, it declares (to paraphrase a Catholic aphorism) that we help these vulnerable, needy people “not because they are Christian, but because we are Christian.” This is the narrative that has sustained refugee admissions for decades and in all likelihood is shared by more Americans than either Trump’s anti-Islam or race-based nationalism. And it is possible that with a powerful enough public outcry, the Administration will change course.

It has left itself an out to do so. It would happen this way: in a few months, the President would make a finding that new procedures put in place by his Administration adequately protect America and thus refugee admissions can resume (this of course could be done simply by affirming the current tough clearance procedures). This allows the President to be both strong and generous, protecting the American people and allowing refugees in once all is safe.

The President may, however, decide to stick to his guns. He can take the view that America cannot be safe until there is no ISIS fighter left who could sneak into the country through the refugee program. And he can find that no set of screening procedures can provide the level of certainty that the threat demands. That is, the admission of Syrian refugees

would remain “detrimental” to the interests of the United States. This would leave the U.S. in a state of continuing war against Islam, with refugees as the chief victims — a tragic irony for those who have already been victimized by the conflict in Syria. Indeed the inability to come up with fool-proof screening procedures might then “justify” broad measures against the domestic Muslim population, since we will never be able to be sure who is for us and who is against us. At that point, we will have lost, as a nation, far more than our refugee admission program.

We have gone through these anti-foreigner spasms before: the internment of Japanese Americans, the Chinese Exclusion laws, the National Origins Quota system, Operation “Wetback.” One would think that our national shame over these laws and executive actions would have been a bulwark against this disgraceful Executive Order. But not, apparently, in the age of Trump.

Mr. Trump’s Executive Order inflicts injury on tens of thousands of innocent people. And it harms all Americans by diminishing the moral standing of the nation in the eyes of the world.

This article was originally published on Public Seminar on January 29, 2017.

“THE TRUMP EXECUTIVE ORDER IS PURPORTEDLY ALL ABOUT SECURITY — ALTHOUGH THIS IS SOMEWHAT UNDERCUT BY THE FACT THAT ITS SUSPENSION OF IMMIGRANT AND NON-IMMIGRANT (TOURIST, STUDENT, BUSINESS VISITOR) VISAS APPLIES TO SIX MUSLIM NATIONS BUT NOT TO SAUDI ARABIA, PAKISTAN, FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES WHOSE CITIZENS HAVE COMMITTED TERRORIST ACTS.”

DONALD TRUMP AS HISTORY

Eugene Lang — History — **Oz Frankel** — Spring 2017

POST ELECTION AMERICA

University Wide — **William Millberg & Jessica Pissano** — Spring 2017

MEDIA, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICAL IDEAS

Milano — International Affairs — **Sean Jacobs** — Spring 2017

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Milano — **Robin Hayes** — Spring 2017

BLOGS, SOCIAL MEDIA & THE FUTURE OF NEWS

NSSR — **Claire Potter** — Spring 2017

FROM REAGAN TO OBAMA

NSSR — Historical Studies — **Eli Zaretsky** — Spring 2017

CITIZENSHIP

NSSR — Historical Studies — **Sebastian Conrad** — Spring 2017

MUSLIMS AND ISLAM IN THE U.S.

Eugene Lang — Politics — **Lara-Zuzan Golesorkhi** — Spring 2017

ORGANIZING FOR FREEDOM: COMMUNITY MOBILIZING THROUGH ART AND EDUCATION

Eugene Lang — Liberal Arts — **Robert Sember** — Spring 2017

NATIONALISM IN GLOBAL HISTORY

NSSR — Liberal Arts — **Sebastian Conrad** — Spring 2017

GENDER, RACE & CITIZENSHIP

Eugene Lang — Historical Studies — **Elaine Abelson** — Fall 2016

THE POLITICS OF THE INTERNET

Eugene Lang — Politics — **Zeynep Gokay Ustun** — Spring 2017

RAISING CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE CLASSROOM

In the spring semester following the election, The New School offered roughly a dozen courses that directly addressed the issues raised by the election, including activism, citizenship, Islam in America, arts and education, and politics and the future of media and news. One history course, entitled “Donald Trump as History,” offered by Lang and taught by Professor Oz Frankel, sought to unpack the relationship between Tr*mp’s presidential campaign and themes prevalent in U.S. history – populism, nostalgia, the political spectacle, and the efforts to “rejuvenate or remasculinize” America, or to “Make America Great Again” – throughout history.

We have included a list of these relevant courses because—although many of them would have been developed prior to the election and early in the campaign— the themes, issues, and histories they raise are paramount to understanding the political climate which fed into the Tr*mp campaign and the election’s outcome, and the tools that progressives can use to resist the Tr*mp administration’s policies, rhetoric, and actions.

ORGANIZING FOR FREEDOM: COMMUNITY MOBILIZING THROUGH ART AND EDUCATION

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Eugene Lang — Historical Studies — **Elaine Abelson** — Fall 2016

THE POLITICS OF THE INTERNET

Eugene Lang — Politics — **Zeynep Gokay Ustun** — Spring 2017

<p>POST-ELECTION AMERICA The New School Faculty offers a rigorous examination of the most pressing issues of our time.</p>	<p>U.S. Constitutional Law Andrew Arato February 10th</p>	<p>Globalization's Winners & Losers Will Milberg March 31st</p>	<p>Finance and Financialization Julia Ott May 12th</p>
	<p>Race, Class, & The Urban-Rural Divide Maya Wiley February 3rd</p>	<p>Climate Change & Environmental Politics Joel Towers March 17th</p>	<p>Illiberalism Jessica Pisano May 5th</p>
	<p>Introduction: Understanding Elections Will Milberg & Jessica Pisano January 27th</p>	<p>Gender Politics Natalia Mehlman-Petrzela March 10th</p>	<p>Populism, Left & Right Federico Finchelstein April 28th</p>
	<p>U.S. Immigration Law and Policy Alex Aleinikoff March 3rd</p>	<p>The U.S. and International Politics in the 2010's David Plotke February 24th</p>	<p>The Political Economy of the U.S. "Rust Belt" Teresa Ghilarducci April 21st</p>
<p>Political Polarization & Inequality in the U.S. Now David Plotke February 17th</p>	<p>The Past & Future of Health & Pension Policy Teresa Ghilarducci April 7th</p>	<p>Racial Inequality Darrick Hamilton April 14th</p>	

READING LIST FOR THE REVOLUTION

“By all means, read something. That is oppositional in and of itself.” These simple, semi-stunning words of advice from the tumblr account Reading List for the Revolution are a welcome mandate in our current political climate. While the pressure to mobilize is on—it is, most certainly, a critical pressure—sometimes the most productive activism comes from arming oneself with reading: historical, critical, sociological, and political texts to understand; works of art to contextualize and heal.

Here is a list from some faculty and staff at The New School to add to your bell hooks:

- *Makers and Takers: The Rise of Finance and the Fall of American Business* by Rana Foroohar
- *Liberty’s Prisoners: Carceral Culture in Early America* by Jen Manion
- *The Death and Life of the Great American School System: How Testing and Choice Are Undermining Education* by Diane Ravitch
- *Throwing Rocks at the Google Bus* by Douglas Rushkoff
- *How the Other Half Lives* by Jacob Riis
- *Beyond the Melting Pot* by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan
- *One Out of Three: Immigrant New York in the 21st Century* by Nancy Foner
- *97 Orchard: An Edible History of Five Immigrant Families in one New York Tenement* by Jane Ziegelman
- *Another Politics* by Chris Dixon
- *Life As Politics: How Ordinary People Change the Middle East* by Asef Bayat
- *The Long Haul: An Autobiography* by Myles Horton
- *Another Brooklyn* by Jacqueline Woodson
- *Home Going* by Yaa Gyasi
- *Swing Time* by Zadie Smith
- *The Mothers* by Brit Bennett
- Anything ever written by Frantz Omar Fanon

This article, along with the reading list, was originally published on The New School’s Medium website on January 9, 2017.



BODIES ON THE LINE

SAFETY PIN ACTIVISM: IT'S NOT SO EASY

SHONA KAMBARAMI, MA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS '17

"YOU CAN'T JUST WEAR THE PIN. YOU HAVE TO BE WILLING TO BE A HUMAN SHIELD."

There has been wide criticism¹ in America of importing the post-Brexit idea² of allies wearing a safety pin in solidarity with minorities, as a response to the heartbreaking election of Donald Trump. In general, the critique has been valid – it's too easy a form of activism for anyone to participate in, and also to hijack. There is a sense, at the moment, that nobody knows who, amongst their friends and family, secretly voted for Donald Trump and his policies (whatever they are). Every white person is under suspicion, and if they aren't, I suspect there is some sense of guilt by association.

Terrified minorities of various descriptions are rightfully angry. As usual, despite the pre-election suspicion and manipulation,³ they turned out for Hillary Clinton, a candidate that has a terrible record when it comes to minority concerns. Black people have a litany of policies⁴ that she supported that have been detrimental to their livelihoods, families and communities. Even her feminism⁵ has been non-intersectional. She has not been a friend to black people, but she at least tried to pass herself off as one.

Immigrants and Muslim Americans didn't even get that courtesy. Even during this campaign, she was still calling on community surveillance⁶ of Muslims, still engaging in the dangerous fallacy that the entire muslim community is responsible for the

actions of individual actors.

So you can imagine the frustration that, despite her being a terrible candidate for minorities, they came out⁷ and voted for her. And you know who didn't? The beneficiaries of all of her policies.⁸ Across socio-economic, education and class lines, they voted for him. This wasn't just about economics, about jobs – it was also about the majority feeling marginalized by progress for the actually marginalized.

So – it's too easy to just wear a safety pin, and absolve yourself of responsibility.

But that critique is also too easy to make. Because the greatest defense anyone has against white anger is whiteness. If you're a muslim woman wearing hijab and are justifiably terrified⁹ to leave the house, a white person walking with you might be the protection you need. If you're the woman¹⁰ on the bus who was told "Aren't you people supposed to be sitting at the back of the bus?" If those had been more than words, if someone had tried to physically move her – turning to a white person for help might be the difference between physical violence (and a health care bill) and safety.

Knowing, with a visual cue, who to turn to for help can be useful. But it requires people who wear the safety pins be willing to interrupt violence and hate with their bodies. You can't just wear the pin. You have to be willing to be a human shield.¹¹ That means standing in front of a flying fist, confronting an angry group of people harassing a minority, talking to your children, going to Thanksgiving and

making the case for sanity, walking minority kids to school, getting on the bus to protect other people. It means using your body and its privilege to protect darker skinned people from emotional and physical abuse. That is what the safety pin means. It means we can trust you.

In response to similar xenophobic attacks after the Lindt Bombing in Sydney last year, Australians on Twitter started #IllRideWithYou,¹² a campaign to pair white allies with terrified muslims for bus rides to and from work. In the post 11/8 America, the safety pin could be a way to take that activism offline, and into the real world. While we're fighting to dismantle the prejudices built into the system, we're likely going to need it every day.

This article originally appeared in The New Context on November 14, 2016.

"THE GREATEST DEFENSE ANYONE
HAS AGAINST WHITE ANGER IS
WHITENESS."

—SHONA KAMBARAMI

I WILL NOT...ACCEPT REFUSALS TO RECOGNIZE MY UNION

SIDRA KAMRAN, PHD SOCIOLOGY

AS PART OF *PUBLIC SEMINAR'S* "I WILL NOT..." SERIES HIGHLIGHTING WOMEN'S STORIES FROM THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY STRIKE, THE NEW SCHOOL GRADUATE STUDENT AND UNION ACTIVIST SIDRA KAMRAN WROTE IN DEFIANCE OF THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION'S REFUSALS TO RECOGNIZE ATTEMPTS MADE BY STUDENT EMPLOYEES AT THE NEW SCHOOL (SENS-UAW) TO FORM A STUDENT WORKER'S UNION.

I WILL NOT accept refusals to recognize my union.

Grassroots structures of representation like unions are key for this new feminist movement and for resistance to the Trump administration and the conditions that produced it.

At The New School, graduate student workers have been fighting for our union for over two years. More than two years ago, over 70 percent of graduate student workers democratically voted to form a student union, SENS-UAW. Great, right? Not really. The New School has spent an exorbitant amount of money fighting our petition in front of the National Labor Relations Board ever since. Even though the NLRB ruled in a recent case at Columbia that graduate students are workers and have a right to form a union, the New School, even last week, continues to file statements¹ with the NLRB that assert we are not workers.

Graduate students are part of an increasingly precarious group of workers. We are in debt. We rely on our jobs as teachers in this school for our primary income. The University does not provide health care or stipends to everyone. Our classes can be cancelled up to one week before we have to teach, so we lack any job security. Women student workers at the New School suffer from all this and more, includ-

ing a lack of critical benefits like family leave and childcare.

Our position was already vulnerable and under Trump, increasingly so! Healthcare is being rolled back, reproductive rights are under attack. Muslim students, immigrants, undocumented students, students of color — our status is increasingly precarious. However, just like the platform for this feminist movement, we recognize that much of this precedes Trump even if he has accelerated these threats tremendously.

We made this union because we want to exercise our right to bargain collectively, so that we can sit at the table and negotiate with the administration, as equals, for our rights. We can demand healthcare, a living wage, fair hiring practices and fair grievance procedures for issues like sexual harassment and much more.

The situation has worsened under the Trump administration. Two seats sit empty at the federal NLRB right now. Once Trump fills them in, there is a chance that we will need to withdraw our petition because a ruling against us might compromise the rulings already in place granting graduate student workers the right to form a union at other universities. The longer David Van Zandt stalls and blocks us, the greater the chances this will happen.

This idea of feminism for the 99 percent, the fact that we will participate in a strike as opposed to a march or a protest means that all of us are on the same page about a number of things:

- We recognize the importance of work, of expanding our conception of ‘work,’ and of organizing at our workplaces.
- We are not committed to single-issue struggles. We recognize the complex ways sexism, the attack on reproductive rights, and gender wage gaps are tied together and to other structures of oppression.
- We all intend to show up more than just once.

We already know that part of the reasons the more mainstream feminist movements failed us is because they were not democratic, not representative, not inclusive, not anti-capitalist, not anti-imperialist and not anti-racist. Becoming a part of structures like the graduate student workers union is one of the ways we can make this new feminist movement a grassroots movement. It is one of the ways we make sure we don’t make some of the same mistakes that were made before.

The union is both about *why we organize* — for our rights as workers — and about *the way we organize*. And I think that’s important: *how* do we choose to act in resisting Trump, misogyny, capitalism, patriarchy? Having a union means that we have an organized group at a grassroots level that can democratically represent ourselves in the university and in the wider community. And that means we have power. We are not a single-issue union just looking out for our own benefits. We seek formal recognition so we can build up our union as a platform to advance other causes that make up the ‘F99’ movement, too. Our goal is well-organized and long-term resistance.

A large number of us here at The New School are either already involved in other political causes or are beginning to be. WE should NOT have to expend so much of our energy fighting for this union, in a

university that calls itself progressive and invokes its progressive legacy. The New School administration can continue to wait to be bailed out by Trump’s anti-labor agenda. But **we will not wait**. Let’s win this fight for our union and use this platform and other democratic, grassroots structures like this one to resist.

While there are actions that we are planning around labor rights for March 8, we are organizing other actions as well that you can become a part of right now.

1. New School graduate students can sign this sign on statement² to support the union and the strike authorization vote that we are planning to have later in the semester.
2. Everyone can join our mailing list by mailing us at sensuaw@gmail.com. We need to be ready for a big mobilization in the next few weeks in case we have a strike authorization vote, so we need to be connected and we need organizers in every department.
3. We hold weekly meetings at the New School’s University Center from 5pm to 7pm every week on Friday in the Social Justice Hub. Show up to one of these meetings and like our Facebook page to stay in touch and to find out about our next actions.

March 8 is just the beginning. Participating in grassroots, democratic struggles like the graduate student workers union will help build the inclusive movements we desperately need.

This article originally appeared in Public Seminar on March 6, 2017.



OVER TWO YEARS AGO, THE MAJORITY OF GRADUATE STUDENT WORKERS VOTED TO FINALLY FORM A STUDENT UNION: SENS-UAW. THE UNION SHOULD HAVE BEEN A WAY TO GUARANTEE SECURITY AND BENEFITS TO GRADUATE STUDENT EMPLOYEES OF THE NEW SCHOOL, YET THE ADMINISTRATION WAS QUICK TO FIGHT THE STUDENT PETITION IN FRONT OF THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD (NLRB). STUDENTS MOBILIZED IN RESPONSE, CONDUCTING SIT-INS, WALK-OUTS, EVEN WRITING AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE NEW SCHOOL, DAVID E. VAN ZANDT.

DESPITE EFFORTS, THE PETITION REMAINED UNDER SCRUTINY UNTIL APRIL 7, 2017 WHEN THE NLRB RULED THAT NEW SCHOOL GRADUATE WORKERS HAD THE OFFICIAL RIGHT TO FORM A UNION. THE NEXT STAGE IN THE SENS MOVEMENT WILL BE A VOTE IN MAY, WHERE STUDENTS CAN AT LAST DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES IF THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE AN OFFICIAL UNION BE PUT INTO PLACE.

GRADUATE WORKERS ORGANIZE PROTEST AGAINST ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS TO BLOCK UNIONIZATION

DON EIM, NEW SCHOOL FREE PRESS

Graduate students are willing to strike if the administration continues to block their efforts to unionize and fight for higher pay, they said.

In late December, representatives from the SENS-UAW told President David Van Zandt that if he doesn't recognize the union, they would start preparing for a strike authorization vote this semester.

Administrators have said they were waiting for the National Labor Relations Board to weigh in on the issue. The federal agency is set to issue their opinion on March 9.

The protest was held all day Thursday, from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m., and was in response to a legal statement the administration issued on Feb. 21 that further impedes a union vote from being held this semester, according to the graduate student workers.

WHAT YOU NEED TO KNOW:

- Students founded the Student Employees at the New School in 2014, to begin unionizing. In collaboration with the United Automobile Workers, New School graduate students circulated a union card drive, which allows a group to have a vote to form a union, to see if a majority wanted to unionize.
- Despite having majority support amongst graduate students, the school refused to recognize the vote.

- SENS-UAW registered a petition to the National Labor Relations Board to declare that the union card drive was valid and that student workers had the right to unionize.
- The school's administration hired Clifton Budd & DeMaria, LLP to stall student employees from holding an election, student organizers said. In response, SENS-UAW have held petition drives against the administration for a little more than 2 years.
- On Aug. 23, the NLRB ruled that students who work as teaching and research assistants at private universities have a federally backed right to unionize¹ in a case involving Columbia University student workers. And on Dec. 9, graduate students at Columbia University voted to unionize².

SENS members are frustrated over the administration's handling of the case and its refusal to recognize student workers as legitimate employees, they said.

"All workers should have the right to collective bargain," said David Maddy, a masters student and research assistant in the Economics Department. "We don't get paid very much money, and we are essential to the functioning of the university. And we think that that's not right, especially in one of the most expensive cities in the world."

"It's a very sad position to be in, where an administration of a school that has historically fought for social justice is actually trying to prevent social justice from being at work — and actively so," Maddy said, taking a break from his work on the

University Center steps. “We think it’s wrong, and so we wanted to come back out and display that we have a lot of work to do, and all of this work is actually being paid for at under-market value by the university.”

Graduate workers at New York University and Columbia have already voted to form a union. And in the case of NYU, their administration was in a legal battle with the graduate union, but it dropped the legal fight in order to recognize the union, an example The New School could follow, according to Ibrahim Shikaki.

“[The administration] can voluntarily accept,” said Shikaki, a teacher’s assistant and a Ph.D student in Economics. “We don’t have to go through the courts. We don’t have to go through NLRB. They can voluntarily consent and say, ‘You do have the right to form a union for student workers, and let’s let you and all the graduate workers have an election, and then graduate workers can decide if they do want or don’t want a union.’”

“It’s not that we’re saying yes so that we immediately have a union, we’re just saying we want an election so graduate students can say they want or don’t want one. The first option is for them, as NYU did, to voluntarily accept a union that recognized student workers,” Shikaki said.

The New School administration still has not recognized its student workers’ right to hold a union vote despite the NLRB ruling in accordance to the Columbia case. According to the statement the administration released in February, the Columbia decision was not applicable to its own student body, because TNS students are considered to be “casual” workers. It stated that:

“As a preliminary matter, TNS maintains that the Columbia University decision is not dispositive of the situation at The New School, particularly with respect to whether any putative graduate assistant ‘employees’ are ‘temporary’ or ‘casual.’”

The argument is the Columbia University primar-

ily funds its graduate assistants with longer term commitments than the The New School, which can only partially fund a certain amount of graduate assistants without a recurring promise of future financial aid.

TNS administration responded to the protest by saying that they were waiting on NLRB guidance on important legal issues, “such as scopes and size of the unit, and who would be eligible to vote in the event on an election for a collective bargaining agent.”

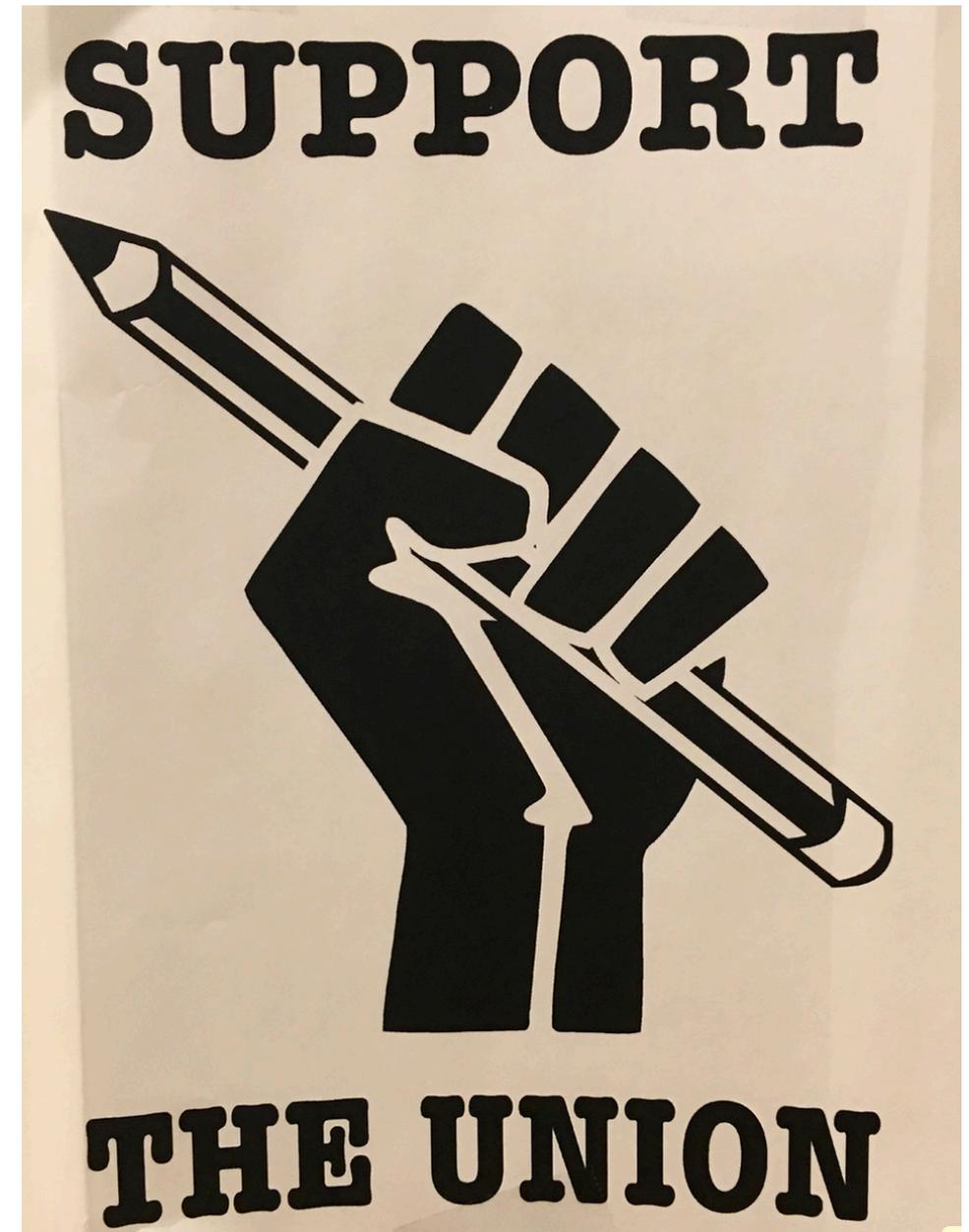
“We hope to have these issues clarified and resolved,” they added.

The protest on Thursday was just another message to the administration by the SENS-UAW to show that this is a serious issue, and that they are willing to take further action before the NLRB delivers its own ruling on the case.

“It’s also important to emphasize that we’re not doing this for fun. Nobody wants to go on strike,” said Mark Rafferty, an Economics MA student and volunteer organizer, who delivered the warning to strike to President Van Zandt. “It will be a massive hardship for students, but we understand that it’s for the greater good. We have to do this in order to get our rights for later on.”

“We’re not really hoping there’s going to be a strike, but we have to show the administration that we are serious, and if we have to, we will,” Rafferty said.

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HUNDREDS OF STUDENTS PARTICIPATE IN ANTI-TRUMP WALK-OUT AROUND CAMPUS

SYDNEY OBERFELD, BA JOURNALISM AND DESIGN '18

“I’M HERE FOR MY MOM WHO’S AN IMMIGRANT FROM SYRIA, I’M HERE FOR MY GAY SISTER, I’M HERE FOR MY REFUGEE FAMILY THAT WAS SUPPOSED TO BE HERE THIS WEEK. I’M HERE FOR SOLIDARITY,” SAID FRESHMAN TATIANA MARTINO AS SHE HELD UP A CARDBOARD SIGN THAT READS “MY BODY MY CHOICE.”



PHOTO CRED: ALEXI ROSENFELD

Hundreds of students gathered in front of the University Center Thursday afternoon in a walk-out to protest Donald Trump’s presidency.

Students began trickling in just before 12 p.m. when the “TNS: Call to Action”¹ event, organized by students within activist group Underground Matter, was set to start.

“I’m hoping to elicit more student action,” said Sage Bruce, the freshman who helped organize the protest. “I don’t think this is really a time to be idle. Healing spaces, discussions are all really nice and necessary, but I do want to encourage people to really think about situations where they can really put their body on the line.”

News crews and photographers weaved in between students as an NYPD vehicle pulled up in front of the protest on Fifth Avenue. When the students noticed the police car, they began chanting “No justice, no peace, no racist police!”

It’s unclear how many people were involved in the protest, but the Facebook event page that helped gain awareness for the event shows 218 users marked as ‘Going.’

At around 1 p.m., students appeared to be in high spirits with no plans of stopping anytime soon. “To the streets! To the streets!” students began chanting. Bruce then announced a change of plans. The walk-

out would be taking to the streets and heading to Washington Square Park.

As the crowd followed the organizer’s orders, dozens of onlookers whipped out their phones to capture the vibrant scene, drivers honked their horns in support, and tourists applauded from double decked buses.

At Washington Square Park, New School students congregated to the west side of the fountain, some mounting it to raise their flags even higher. “Don’t just watch us, come and join us!” protesters chanted at the dozens of onlookers at the end of the pack.

But this was just the beginning. After about 30 minutes of protest, the chant spread through the crowd once again. “To the streets!” protesters shouted. Back down Fifth avenue they went, taking a right on 14th street, and then crossing into Union Square.

Protesting students said they were saddened, infuriated, and distraught over Donald Trump’s win as the 45th president of the United States, over a man who has voiced sexism, racism, xenophobia, homophobia, and hate towards countless other minorities.

“I’m here for my mom who’s an immigrant from Syria, I’m here for my gay sister, I’m here for my refugee family that was supposed to be here this week. I’m here for solidarity,” said freshman Tatiana Martino as she held up a cardboard sign that reads “my body my choice.”

Despite the election results initially provoking outrage in these students, many are beginning to

feel hopeful.

“Last night I ended up going to the union square protest and that lifted up my spirits a whole lot. It made me feel hope that we can overcome this,” said freshman Rebecca Chamblee. “Donald Trump hasn’t won. He’s not the one the nation wants. We can still stand up against bigotry. The people are going to be the ones who speak.”

“I love this country, I love this world, and that’s why I’m making my voice heard,” said sophomore Elliot Wables.

No arrests were made during this protest, police said.

This gathering occurred just hours after thousands came together to march from Union Square to Trump Tower for a anti-Trump protest Thursday evening. 65 people² were arrested after traffic came to crawl as the massive group pushed uptown, DNAinfo reports.

The New School Free Press contacted the The New School for comment but the university was not immediately available.

This article originally appeared in The New School Free Press on November 10, 2016.



PHOTO CREDIT: ALEXI ROSENFELD



PHOTO CREDIT: ALEXI ROSENFELD

ON POLITICAL RESISTANCE

DEVA R. WOODLY, PROFESSOR OF POLITICS

With the election of Donald Trump and the delivery of the House, Senate, and eventually the Judiciary to a Republican Party that has shown itself to be actively hostile to the interests of the vulnerable, it is time to examine the lessons that social movements have to teach us about challenging power holders and resisting repression. To that end, there are both affective and strategic lessons that will enable us to weather the trying times that are to come and build a movement that has the strength to preserve our country and advance the causes of justice.

The most important thing that we must understand is that we are in for a long haul. The task we have before us will not end in the next two or four years, rather, it is essential to realize that while the political failures that led to the win of the President-elect can be debated, the root causes have been persistent and decades in the making. These are the decline of trust in and strength of our political institutions, combined with the rise in inequalities of all kinds, and the near dissolution of civic associations, with the knowledge-sharing and activism that arises from strong social ties turned to a purpose. In other words, we have been “bowling alone” for so long that we have nearly forgotten how to form leagues and other organizations, political or civic. Community associations are important for the purposes of political mobilization, but they are also essential for creating strong affective ties to an array of people who bolster our experience of living in the

world and whom we learn to work with to get things done. Community groups, civic and political, teach us how to be active citizens, and this moment calls for the cultivation of a habit of active citizenship rooted in a culture of resistance.

AFFECTIVE TIES

GET TOGETHER.

Building a collectivity that can act is a deliberate endeavor. We must do so by first, simply getting together. Assemblies have power. Many of us have never developed a habit of meeting, except in professional contexts. If there is a book group you’ve been meaning to start, or a gaming group you have been on the verge of putting together: do it. If you think it would be a good idea to gather with your neighbors in order to get a stop sign on the corner, or to put together a child care co-op in which families trade babysitting duties, then call that meeting. If you have thought that you’d like to do something to show your political resistance, but you don’t know what, then get yourself to the next local meeting of the cause of your choice. Or, do as friends of mine did, and commit to getting together once a week with people in your area for an “activist devotional” — a meeting in which people share the efforts that they are already apart of or discuss campaigns they would like to join or start.

EMBRACE YOUR OWN LIGHT.

If we are about building a movement for the long term, it cannot be ascetic. We must take joy in ourselves and the people we come to know and expect to work with. That means, if you knit, knit in groups or for causes and for your own simple pleasure. If you cook, teach others or cook for a meeting. If you take pictures or play music, keep doing those things and find ways to integrate those pleasures into the work we will all be doing in the days ahead. The stakes we face are high, but we should remember that joy is a resource, and one that would be a strategic mistake to deny ourselves. So, give yourself permission to keep exploring your private passions and geeky obsessions to whatever degree will sustain your optimism and energy at levels that allow the cup of your spirit to bubble over with enough to share.

LET'S BE DANGEROUS TOGETHER.

Building a broad movement is difficult, not only because of the challenge of standing up to power holders, but also because it is difficult to agree across multiple, intersectional differences in both lived experience and ideology. For this reason, it's important to take the lesson from contemporary social movements that we need not build one or even several large hierarchically structured organizations. Instead, we must allow ourselves to be communicatively tight, but organizationally diverse. That means we should conceive ourselves as a broad left — from Bleeding-heart Libertarians, to Pantsuit Nation liberals, to Contemporary Abolitionists and Communists. For such a coalition to be possible, we must be kind to each other. We are on the same side — against authoritarianism — though we are

fighting different battles. We must do this because we are facing a powerful and unpredictable coalition of forces both governmental and social that will reap power from our division. If we are to be dangerous to those amassing the power of authoritarian nationalism, then we must be together. If we are not dangerous together, then we won't be dangerous at all.

STRATEGIC ACTION BUILD.

As we get together, we must remember that we are not, as the Movement for Black Lives teaches, only in the process of making a moment, but of creating a movement. That means that as we are imagining and practicing new ways of being in community for action, we understand ourselves as developing knowledge, tactics, ways of communicating and organizing, that can be replicated elsewhere in the country and the world. We must talk, analyze, plan, discuss means & ends, experiment and strategize with the knowledge that history has its eyes on us, to take a phrase from Lin-Manuel Miranda. Individualized, charismatic leadership is not the goal in our endeavors. Instead, we have to develop a knowledge base and a fund of tactics and practices that allow each of us to bring the leadership, facilitation, and communication skills we have to the table and to work on and develop those we may not have yet.

LISTEN FOR UNDERSTANDING.

In his essay "On Not Giving Up,"¹ Patchen Markell wrote that as we go forward, it is essential to listen to both our fellows on the broad left, and to those who oppose us, with understanding. Understand-

ing, in the sense that he employs the term, borrowing from Arendt, is not merely "empathizing," or worse "acknowledging others' preferences as fixed points in the political universe which you must accommodate in order to win." Instead, understanding is listening with the intent of figuring out why people feel as they feel so that you are aware of and can speak to the problems that matter to them from your own perspective. Listening for understanding is not about accommodating or ignoring the views of others which you find repugnant, unjust, or based on fundamental misunderstandings of the world as it is, but instead of developing an "enlarged mentality" that allows you to make better political judgements and communicate your own beliefs as to the means and ends of the political project before us, more clearly.

HAVE A PRAGMATIC IMAGINATION.

In this moment of upheaval, we are absolutely called to "dream a world" as Langston Hughes put it, where more just ways of living, relating, and governing are possible. However, it is important that as we imagine the best world we also build the better one; making our decisions about tactics and goals with the intention of creating a practical and practicable path from the world as it is to the world as it might be. To be clear, having a pragmatic imagination does not mean having a limited imagination. The horizon of our striving and the radicalism of our politics is not proscribed by the need to be practical — a pragmatic imagination is not a call for moderation. Instead, it is a caution that critique of the "actually existing democracy," as Nancy Fraser puts it, is not enough to build whatever comes next. Instead, what our critiques must do is open up real avenues for practical experimentation with new ways to bolster community, arrange power, and govern ourselves.

ACT LOCALLY.

Do what you can where you are on the issues closest to your heart. Remember though, that you are fighting one battle. It's important to stay connected to the conversations going on in the larger movement. What a civic group, political assembly, art collective, or direct action is undertaking in another town or city or part of the world can inform and enrich your own activities in important ways. Such awareness also makes coalition politics for mass action both more likely, and more effective.

SPEAK UP, SPEAK OUT, SPEAK PLAIN.

If you have learned in the wake of this calamity of an election, that you have too long been silent, then you have learned the right lesson. Talk to your people — your friends, family, acquaintances, and comrades about what you've learned and are learning. About what more there is to discover. About what you believe and what you want to do. Write and speak to the wider world about your heartbreak, and resolve, and resilience, and determination. The freedom of speech is not just about Twitter tirades of narcissistic mad men, soapbox diatribes, or the rights of the organized press. The free speech that matters most now, is that of communicative association. We have to talk to each other, honestly and plainly, about what we fear, what we hope for, and how together, we will defend each other and build something new.

This article original appeared in Public Seminar on December 9, 2016.

NEW SCHOOLERS JOIN CITYWIDE STUDENT RALLY AGAINST TRUMP IMMIGRATION BAN

SYDNEY OBERFELD - BA JOURNALISM AND DESIGN '18



PHOTO CREDIT: ORLANDO MENDIOLA

"STUDENTS IN SOLIDARITY ORIGINATED AT THE NEW SCHOOL, EVENTUALLY BECOMING A NETWORK OF STUDENT ACTIVISTS FROM AROUND NEW YORK CITY WHO ORGANIZE TOGETHER IN HOPE OF BUILDING A STUDENT MOVEMENT AROUND THE VALUES OF SOLIDARITY, EQUALITY AND EQUITY FOR ALL."

voice their concerns in organized demonstrations.

Noura Kiridly, a first-generation Muslim American and the daughter of a Palestinian refugee and a Lebanese immigrant, stood in front of fellow protesters to condemn Trump's executive order.

"Right now my cousins, my grandmother and my uncles are afraid to try and come to this country for my sister's wedding because of this ban," Kiridly said.

One face in the crowd was James Taichi Collins, a 23-year-old political science student from the University of Delaware who found out about the rally through Occupy Wall Street, a website devoted to the Occupy Wall Street movement which is still regularly updated.

Fresh off a flight to John F. Kennedy International Airport, Collins will be in New York City for a couple of days going from protest to protest. "There's a lot of momentum here in New York City, I would like to see something like this on my own campus too," Collins said.

He's particularly interested in sanctuary campuses, stating that he likes to observe rallies and see what tactics students use, how they organize them and how they approach the faculty and board of trustees who make these decisions. He also stressed the importance of student activism.

"The Vietnam War protests started on campuses, the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa started on campuses, and this resistance against Donald Trump, against mass deportations, against the bigotry, against Muslims has to start with cam-

Nearly 100 New School students and others gathered in the University Center lobby to rally against Islamophobia on Monday evening.

Freshman Casey Bell, one of the rally's three New School organizers, stood in front of the crowd proudly holding a sign that read "Solidarity With Muslims and Refugees." Senior Indigo Oliver stood by her side, reading off the 14 hallmarks of a fascist regime that were scribbled on the back of her poster. The third organizer, who asked to remain anonymous due to legal issues, began chanting "no hate, no fear, refugees are welcome here."

The rally was organized by Students in Solidarity in response to President Donald J. Trump's executive order to suspend immigration¹, which blocks Syrian refugees and issues a 90-day ban on anyone entering the United States from six other predominantly Muslim countries linked to terrorism.

Students in Solidarity originated at The New School, eventually becoming a network of student activists from around New York City who organize together in hope of building a student movement around the values of solidarity, equality and equity for all.

They previously organized an anti-Trump walk-out in November, the day after the election and are continuing to provide a platform for students to

“THE VIETNAM WAR PROTESTS STARTED ON CAMPUSES, THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA STARTED ON CAMPUSES, AND THIS RESISTANCE AGAINST DONALD TRUMP, AGAINST MASS DEPORTATIONS, AGAINST THE BIGOTRY, AGAINST MUSLIMS HAS TO START WITH CAMPUSES AND STUDENT MOVEMENTS.”

pus and with student movements,” Collins said.

After organizers listed off protester rights and warned activists without a passport to be wary, they began the march to Union Square Park. Despite previously being arrested at a protest in front of Trump Towers, Collins was not afraid to join today’s protests. “I’m sure with this crazy administration, it won’t be the last time,” he said.

The rally moved down East 14th Street and stopped at Union Square Park to link up with other universities involved in Students in Solidarity including delegations from NYU, Pratt, Fordham, CUNY, Hunter College and Pace, where a group of approximately 30 had already gathered. The march was planned to continue uptown to meet Columbia and Barnard. NYU’s organizer, freshman Itay Barylka, weaved in and out of knots of marchers to keep the energy alive.

“I think regardless of identity, we understand our liberties are fundamentally intertwined and that unless we start organizing together there’s no way we’ll ever be liberated,” Barylka said.

Alison Gerson and her 3-year-old son Elliot attracted onlookers who snapped away on their phones when he held up his sign which read “Dump Trump My Future Depends On It.” Dozens of people nearby gathered below the south side steps, scanning signs and recording chants.

Although the rally was initially intended to protest Islamophobia, it quickly turned into a series of chants referencing Trump’s many policies, to the dismay of some who were there.

“I feel like this right here is much more, purely anti-Trump than it is just an anti-Muslim ban,” said Eugene Lang student Liam Donaldson. “I think that as protesters we need to realize that we need to be a little more organized in what we’re fighting for so that people actually listen to what’s happening.”

This article was originally published by the The New School Free Press on January 30, 2017.

PHOTO CREDIT: ORLANDO MENDIOLA

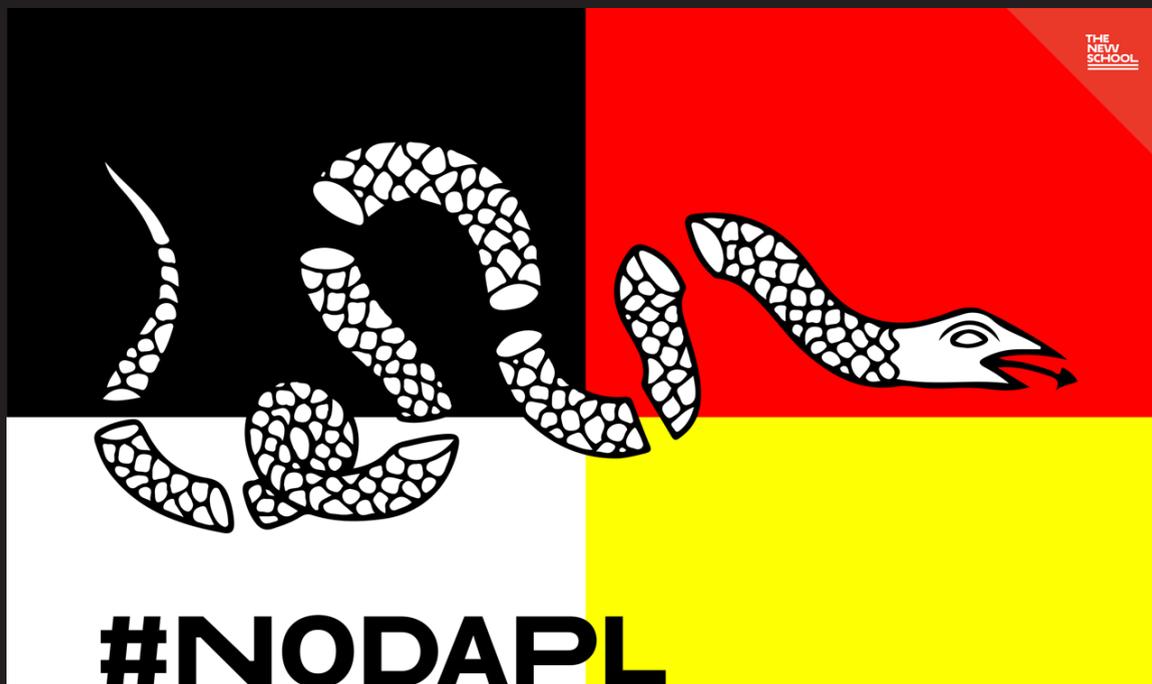


#NODAPL: A TEACH-IN FOR STANDING ROCK

On Friday, December 2, 2016, The New School hosted a teach-in as part of the New York City Stands with Standing Rock Collective to educate and stand in solidarity with The Great Sioux Nation and the water protectors resisting the Dakota Access Pipeline. Students and educators joined together in solidarity and protest, with presenters leading discussions on everything from Indigenous youth organizing to using music and media as forms of resistance. The event not only shed light on the brutal struggles faced by the water protectors at Standing Rock, but acknowledged the long-standing injustices surrounding the destruction of Native lands. As teach-in moderator Jaskiran Dhillon phrased it, “This is not just a fight about a pipeline, it is an ancient Colonial fight over occupation, and the seizure of territory, and the attempted elimination of Indigenous people for the pursuit of conquest and profit...”

TEACH-IN SPEAKERS:

- **Nick Estes** (Lower Brule Sioux), Red Nation/ University of New Mexico *History/Stories from the Frontlines*
- **Jaquie Fragua** (Jemez Pueblo), Artist *Native Resistance and The Arts*
- **Zaysha Grinnell** (Three Affiliated Tribes), ReZpect Our Water, *Indigenous Youth Organizing*
- **Kettie Jean** ReZpect Our Water, *Indigenous Youth Organizing*
- **Jarrett Martineau** (Cree and Dene), Creative Producer, *Revolutions Per Minute Music/Media/Resistance*
- **Teresa Montoya** (Diné), New York University *Toxicity/Environmental Colonial Violence*
- **Dean Saranillio** New York University *Settler Colonialism and Politicized Solidarity*



#NODAPL
A TEACH-IN FOR STANDING ROCK

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2, 2016
3:00–6:00 P.M.
THE AUDITORIUM
ALVIN JOHNSON/J.M. KAPLAN HALL
66 WEST 12TH STREET
NEW YORK, NY 10011

This event is organized as part of the New York City Stands with Standing Rock Collective with generous funding from the Dean's Office at Eugene Lang College, Schools of Public Engagement Executive Dean's Office, Bachelor's Program for Adults and Transfer Studies, Global Studies, Environmental Studies, Anthropology, Milano and the Vera List Center for Art and Politics at The New School.

Decolonize This Place



JASKIRAN DHILLON

MODERATOR - #NODAPL TEACH-IN

“If you are tapped into social media, there is no shortage of visual imagery when it comes to capturing what it is like being present in real time on the front lines of Standing Rock. These representations, however, are limited in their ability to capture the range, depth, inspiration, and immense beauty of the indigenous resurgence that exists between the high-profile media stories and Facebook updates, the incredible expanse of teepees set up against the Cannon Ball River, a big sky, and open plains is a sight in itself that stops you in your tracks and takes your breath away.”

“Even now in the face of escalating state repression seen through the militarization of policing units, armored vehicles, tear gas, canines, guns, snipers, media blackouts, felony arrests, and a range of intimidation tactics mainly employed in resistance campus during protests on active construction sites and ancestral territory. The indigenous people are holding the line, they are here as they have always been. Our assembly today is important for many reasons, but the most important is that it begins to redirect issues of environmental justice through the geopolitics and unveil how ongoing colonial dispossession makes these kinds of neoliberal projects possible in the first place. This is not just a fight about a pipeline, it is an ancient Colonial fight over occupation, and the seizure of territory, and the attempted elimination of indigenous people for the pursuit of conquest and profit...”

TERESA MONTOYA

SPEAKER - #NODAPL TEACH-IN

When I began to prepare my notes for this talk, based on environmental toxicity and racism, I felt none of what I wrote was sufficient to encompass the trauma facing indigenous water protectors. This was not only an analytical or conceptual shortcoming, but also an effective one. From intimate conversation to Facebook posts, I heard my friends and relations share fragments of their experiences around standing rock. I’m sure most of us have read the condemnations of excessive and brutal violence, the pleas from federal and international interventions, accounts of the tireless efforts on the ground, and the pervasive exhaustion and frustration accompanying it all. I’ve also heard of the haunting occurrence of nightmares, anxiety, and concern permeating our nightly attempts to rest and heal. When state agencies and the federal government [inaudible] removal and erasure, the only response is one that is felt. Rationalizations fails us because the trauma of genocide cannot be reconciled, but yet here we are gathered, hundreds of people in a sold-out venue to share, to feel, and to be accountable. And because of this heightened sense of collective vulnerability, I feel compelled to share my own recent nightmare—a sort of personal provocation by which Standing Rock entered this conversation.

It was two weeks ago, late on Sunday, November 20th. We heard the first reports of water cannons being deployed on water protectors in sub-freezing, winter conditions. My friend and I huddled under the blankets in our Minneapolis Airbnb, were busy making our travel plans for getting to standing rock the following morning. Between car rental reservations and supply check-lists, we watched Facebook live-streams and reacted with horror, though not

surprised by the escalated violence on the ground. Even firmer in our resolve to bring supplies and gear for the water protectors, we still wondered what chaos we were entering. Later, after offering prayers in those early morning hours, I tried to sleep and tossed and turned, I cried. And somewhere between my anxiety and anger and fear and worry, my consciousness drifted away. But restful slumber did not come easy, in my dream state I emerged into a desert landscape, sage and low brush surrounded my feet. I looked down at the sandy earth and surmised that I must be back home in [inaudible] or Northern Arizona according to the [inaudible] confederations. In this place, the sun was high and bright, I welcomed the warmth upon my skin. But such comforting nostalgia was soon displaced by a sudden shift in the ground below me. An earthquake? No. I looked closer. From beneath the sand surfaced a large, black creature. Its scales moved quickly and methodically, almost in a digitized fashion. It was a large snake of monumental proportions. Like an illustration of a dinosaur you’d see in a museum brought to life. I glanced around me to gain my bearings. I saw not just one, but several more emerging from the desert floor. In the distance I saw a platform extending from the shallow cliff. Suddenly, I’m walking on the platform with people all around me. They had cameras and phones ready as they glanced down at the creatures from their viewing point. But for me this wasn’t a spectacle, it was horror. ‘Why don’t they recognize the danger of the situation?’ None of us are safe, but everyone around me is blissfully oblivious. They see but cannot comprehend. They engage, but only from a distance.

WOMEN PROTEST TRUMP IN NEW YORK CITY

VERONICA LAWLOR, PROFESSOR OF ILLUSTRATION

Monday, December 12, was a march and boycott strike to protest the presidential election, organized by the Nationwide Women and Allies. In New York City, the (mostly) women marched from Columbus Circle to Trump Tower, and, despite my busy schedule, and the rainy day, I decided to march with them.

As I exited the subway at the Trump International hotel in Columbus Circle, I saw a smallish but energetic group gathered getting ready to move toward the Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue. They were an inspired group, despite the dreary day, marching through the Central Park holiday stands selling gifts to tourists, reminding everyone that business as usual can NOT continue! (As one of the signs said, "This is NOT Normal!") My favorite lady in the group was the spunky older woman rolling across Central Park South in her jazzy, waving a "Not My President" sign with gusto.

The group moved as a unit across Central Park South, chanting as they went, past the swanky hotels, horse and carriages rolling by, snaking along, turning the corner and making their way down Fifth Ave., past the holiday decorations, under the crystal snowflake on 59th Street, and right up to the police barricades surrounding the block where Trump's home sits.

As they marched, New Yorkers and tourists were



generally either neutral or positive in their responses. One guy slowed down in his pick-up truck long enough to yell, "Go Home!" out his window, and the ladies were happy to yell back in unison!

Prepare, as one sign said, for an army of ANGRY WOMEN!

People had signs of all kinds – "Dump Trump!" "Not My President" "Show Us Your Taxes" "Pay Your Taxes!" "Climate Change is Real!" "This is NOT Normal!" "New York City Welcomes Immigrants!" and many, many signs with pictures of little pussy cats. The ladies were angry, and shouted out slogans in unison. How could a man who said such disrespectful and degrading things about women in

VERONICA LAWLOR IS A REPORTAGE ILLUSTRATOR AND PROFESSOR AT THE NEW SCHOOL, WHERE SHE TEACHES ILLUSTRATION AND LOCATION DRAWING. LAWLOR DOES ALL OF HER REPORTAGE ON THE SCENE AND IN THE MOMENT, USING PENCIL AND WATERCOLOR RATHER THAN CAMERA TO CREATE ARTWORK WHICH CAPTURES THE SPIRIT AND EMOTION OF EVENTS AS THEY HAPPEN. IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS FOLLOWING THE ELECTION, AS WOMEN'S MARCHES AND ANTI-TR*MP RALLIES BEGAN ACROSS THE COUNTRY, LAWLOR JOINED THE PROTESTS, BRINGING HER PENS AND PAINTS TO REPORT DIRECTLY FROM THE STREETS. ON DECEMBER 12, SHE JOINED A NEW YORK CITY MARCH ORGANIZED BY THE NATION WIDE WOMEN AND ALLIES, FROM COLUMBUS CIRCLE TO TR*MP TOWER. THIS IS HER STORY, AND THESE ARE HER ILLUSTRATIONS.

general, and has had so many women come forward to confirm that what he says, he does, be elected as our president? I don't know, and I feel angry about it too. Not to mention the fact of the many, many other disrespectful things he's said about Americans of all kinds, and the just plain old scary (to me) positions on issues that this man has taken. (Climate change is not real? What???) Oh boy. Oh boy.

At one point a guy stepped on to the sidewalk with a bull horn, yelling out for the crowd to quiet down, which they did. He had come from the Chicago DNC, and wanted to thank everyone on behalf of the city of Chicago, for exercising their First Amendment right to protest. He then went into a long comparison between events in the US now and the book, 1984. About ten minutes into this, some woman yelled out, "Enough already - The DNC let us down! Shut up and go home!!" - To which everyone started cheering and going back to chanting their slogans. Ha ha, don't tell a bunch of angry women to be quiet - EVER! (Good advice for Mr. Trump, too.)

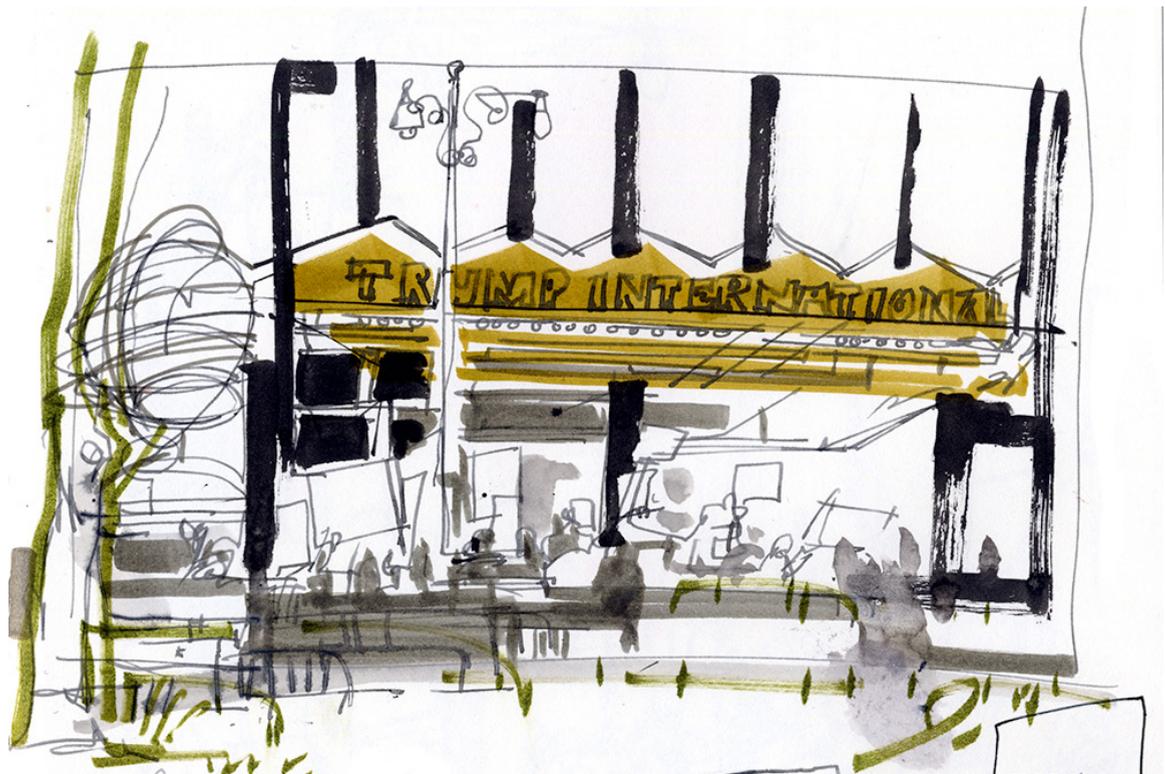
Through it all, I keep looking up at that tower and wondering, is anyone home? Is anyone at the wheel? And ultimately, what are we in for over the next four years? Only time will tell, but it's good to know, as my favorite sign said, that "You Cannot Oppress The People Who Are NOT Afraid!"

Because so many people in New York City ARE afraid right now, immigrants, muslims, and others, it's important to keep our voices heard and let those fearful fellow New Yorkers know: We've got this tower surrounded, and we've got your back.

This article was originally published on www.veronicalawlor.com on December 15, 2016.



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DON'T
COLLABORATE
WITH A
FASCIST STATE

DSW

PROMISES

THE NEW SCHOOL RESPONSE TO RECENT NATIONAL POLICY ACTIONS

DAVID E. VAN ZANDT, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW SCHOOL

Our country is experiencing a level of division and discord not seen in generations. It seems that almost every day, there is a new development that threatens the core values of inclusion and openness exemplified by The New School. As a consequence, we are witnessing the highest level of engagement and social activism by our community and across the country that we have seen in decades. Your commitment to open, truthful, and respectful dialogue and intense debate about the issues facing our country, and your actions in support of justice for all, not only align with the history of The New School but, perhaps more important, provide direction for our future.

The unconventional operating style, rhetoric, and actions of the new administration have fueled confusion and concern on a number of issues that directly affect our community, from the rights of transgender people to immigration policies. I want to assure you The New School is committed to our policies of inclusion and respect.

New, more restrictive immigration policies are an area of particular concern, given the large number of international students enrolled at The New School. I want to take this opportunity to update you on the actions we are taking to protect them as well as undocumented students and faculty.

- As stated in the recently passed resolution¹ from our Board of Trustees, we will not disclose any person's citizenship or immigration status, nor will we cooperate with immigration authorities unless forced to by a court order or warrant.
- International Student and Scholar Services has been staying abreast of changes, communicating with affected individuals, and offering free workshops and sessions with immigration lawyers.
- The university will make individual legal consultations available without charge to students from the seven countries named in the recent executive order and, when necessary, will make appropriate referrals.
- Our admission team is reaching out directly and individually to all prospective international students and their families to offer reassurance that we are undaunted and remain committed to global diversity and inclusiveness.
- In addition, students, faculty, and staff have taken the initiative to write me about additional ways the university can protect undocumented students, and I am meeting with a representative group next week to collaboratively prioritize and act on as many of their suggestions as we can.

We are also working hard to safeguard intellectual, academic, and personal freedom by ensuring that the university's voice is heard at the highest levels, including by policymakers and government officials.

- The New School is among 600 universities that have signed a letter to Homeland Security Secretary John F. Kelly² expressing concern over the executive actions on immigration taken by President Trump's administration.
- In solidarity with more than 630 other university presidents, The New School has signed this statement³ in support of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program.
- I recently wrote about these important issues in *The Huffington Post*⁴.

In addition, our faculty are addressing the changing political landscape from an academic standpoint. Each week, as part of our Post-Election America lecture series, faculty members are discussing the most pressing issues facing our nation. Scholars from The New School and all over the world have been submitting work at an extraordinary pace to *Public Seminar*, the curated online forum hosted by The New School for Social Research.

I WANT TO ASSURE YOU THE NEW SCHOOL IS COMMITTED TO OUR POLICIES OF INCLU- SION AND RESPECT.

Many members of our community have participated in rallies, marches, and other forms of public demonstration taking place outside of The New School. We understand that more public protests are being planned in the weeks to come and some may occur while the university is open and classes are in session. The administration continues to support participation in these events, given their personal and academic value, and asks that students and faculty respect our standard policies for class attendance and that staff do so in consultation with supervisors and in accordance with policies for absences and leave.

I am inspired by the commitment and compassion of the New School community. You should all feel empowered to express your opinions about political and social issues and to act on them. A variety of cultural, political, ethnic, racial, and religious perspectives — and diversity in all its forms — add immeasurably to the level of our scholarship, cre-

ativity, and ability to engage effectively with the most complex issues. Whether or not you choose to participate through writing, public events, rallies, or other activities, each of you should be guided by your own personal values and beliefs, with the reassurance that all are welcome and valued at this university.

Originally published on The New School Blog on February 24, 2017.

PRESIDENT TRUMP'S EXECUTIVE ORDER

DAVID E. VAN ZANDT, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW SCHOOL

ON JANUARY 27, 2017, PRESIDENT TR*MP SIGNED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER THAT EFFECTIVELY BANNED CITIZENS OF SEVEN PREDOMINANTLY MUSLIM NATIONS FROM ENTRANCE INTO THE UNITED STATES AND HALTED THE COUNTRY'S REFUGEE PROGRAM ENTIRELY. IN THE RESULTING CHAOS, FAMILIES WERE SEPARATED, LONG-TERM RESIDENTS WERE BARRED FROM COMING HOME, AND RESEARCHERS, SCHOLARS AND STUDENTS FROM THE SEVEN COUNTRIES WERE PREVENTED FROM BEGINNING OR RESUMING THEIR POSITIONS AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES. ON JANUARY 29, DAVID E. VAN ZANDT, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW SCHOOL, ISSUED A UNIVERSITY-WIDE EMAIL WITH THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT IN RESPONSE TO TR*MP'S SO-CALLED "MUSLIM BAN."

The New School's extensive international community is among our greatest strengths. A variety of cultural, political, ethnic, racial, and religious perspectives—and diversity in all its forms—add immeasurably to the level of our scholarship, creativity, and ability to engage effectively with complex global issues. Further, in 1933, The New School founded the University in Exile,¹ a safe haven for international scholars who were facing persecution in fascist Europe. That courageous and bold stance not only had a profound influence on U.S. scholarship, it also galvanized the core values that continue to define our university today.

The Executive Order issued by President Trump on Friday threatens this educational mission. The Order bars refugees from entering the United States and imposes restrictions on citizens from seven countries—Iran, Iraq, Libya, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, and Yemen—whose populations are majority Muslim.

The New School welcomes students, scholars and staff from around the world, including the countries the Executive Order singles out for restriction. They are a significant and critical part of our community. The open exchange of ideas—across disciplines, geographic borders and political boundaries—is vital to the continued growth of scholarship and

creativity worldwide. We will do everything within our power to support them.

We are working with attorneys who specialize in immigration and visa issues to clearly understand the full implications of the Executive Order and its legal challenges so we can provide appropriate guidance. We expect that the interpretation and landscape will be emerging over the upcoming period. The New School's International Student and Scholar Services is monitoring the issues closely, updating information on its website, and reaching out to students who are directly impacted. For now, students and faculty from countries included in the Order are advised to consult an immigration attorney if they are considering travel outside of the United States.

"THE NEW SCHOOL WELCOMES STUDENTS, SCHOLARS, AND STAFF FROM AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING THE COUNTRIES THE EXECUTIVE ORDER SINGLES OUT FOR RESTRICTION...WE WILL DO EVERYTHING WITHIN OUR POWER TO SUPPORT THEM."

As I shared in my message on November 29, The New School's Board of Trustees passed a resolution² underscoring The New School's commitment to creating a safe environment for our students to pursue their studies, and reaffirms our identity as an inclusive community that stands for social justice. We will continue to act consistently with that resolution. We are also working with other colleges and universities to share information and discuss strategies to demonstrate our collective strength.

The New School's administration does not take political positions. Positions on policy that impact our community, educational mission and our values are another matter entirely. We must advocate in the strongest ways we can for the preservation of the very qualities that have shaped our university and strengthened our nation.

We will keep you informed of any new information or significant changes, as well as campus events and programs addressing the Executive Order. Our values as a community are more important than ever and I encourage you to remain vigilant in your support of those ideals and your fellow New Schoolers.

This statement was originally distributed through a university-wide email on January 29th, 2017. It was also posted on the New School's blog.

"WE MUST ADVOCATE IN THE STRONGEST WAYS WE CAN FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE VERY QUALITIES THAT HAVE SHAPED OUR UNIVERSITY AND STRENGTHENED OUR NATION."

—DAVID E. VAN ZANDT, PRESIDENT
OF THE NEW SCHOOL

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR IN RESPONSE TO EXECUTIVE ORDERS

MICHELLE DEPASS, DIRECTOR OF THE TISHMAN CENTER

TR*MP'S EXECUTIVE ORDERS THREATEN TO NEGATIVELY AFFECT NUMEROUS POLICIES RELATED TO SOCIAL JUSTICE, ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION, AND IMMIGRATION REFORM. IN A LETTER TO THE NEW SCHOOL COMMUNITY, MICHELLE DEPASS— DIRECTOR OF THE TISHMAN ENVIRONMENT AND DESIGN CENTER AND DEAN OF THE MILANO SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, MANAGEMENT, AND URBAN POLICY —URGED READERS TO TAKE ACTION AND TO CONSIDER THE POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ALLOWING TR*MP'S INTENTIONS TO COME TO FRUITION.

Since January 20th, we have witnessed an unprecedented attack on our core values and on the constitutional norms underpinning American justice. As a university-wide center at a progressive learning institution, the Tishman Center has a unique opportunity to become a vehicle to amplify the progressive qualities and values that have shaped The New School and strengthened our nation.

As members of The New School community we need to understand what is happening at the national and international level with respect to public policy and how it impacts our students in a variety of ways. We are grateful that we have a space to talk about these impacts and to share ideas freely and openly.

During the presidential campaign, we witnessed vitriolic attacks on climate science, immigration, pluralism, civil rights, and countless other issues. Now these attacks are quickly becoming a reality through executive orders. These executive orders raise many questions and concerns for students, staff and faculty. The New School and the Tishman Center will provide a safe and encouraging environment for open dialogue that can help illuminate issues and lead to productive learning and sharing of information.

As a former Senate-confirmed appointee for the United States Environmental Protection Agency, I know that leadership on climate is essential to the global effort to curb the devastating effects of climate change. The executive actions issued this past week demonstrate the degree to which our investment in climate mitigation, human rights, and future generations are at stake. These orders include attempts to renew the process for construction on the Keystone XL and Dakota Access pipelines; building a wall to physically separate us from our Mexican neighbors; and issuing an immigration ban that restricts entry and resettlement of all refugees for 90 days, and bans all entry from seven Muslim-majority nations that have not actually been linked to terrorist attacks within the United States, except for permanent residents and Christians. I am a child of immigrants who became US citizens that embraced this country for its openness and fairness, and such actions represent a threat to our core values and the values of The New School community.

"DEMOCRACY IS OUR COMMON
VALUE AND EDUCATION IS
OUR POWER."

The Iroquois Nation once implored its leaders to consider the impact of all of their decisions upon their descendants seven generations into the future.

There is no doubt that the actions already taken by the new administration will reverberate well into future generations. Similarly the actions we take in response to these assaults on our core values will also affect subsequent generations for whom we must now tirelessly work to protect.

Democracy is our common value and education is our power. Detracting from education and transparency and free and open ideas sharing is a disturbing turn in the way our democracy operates.

Over the course of the semester, we hope to use This Week in Sustainability as a platform for idea sharing, creative solutions, and building action agendas to uphold our common values and continue to make progress for positive change. I encourage you to share your ideas, reflections, and actions as we continue to move forward with vigilance and resolve.

"THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE ACTIONS ALREADY TAKEN BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WILL REVERBERATE WELL INTO FUTURE GENERATIONS. SIMILARLY THE ACTIONS WE TAKE IN RESPONSE TO THESE ASSAULTS ON OUR CORE VALUES WILL ALSO AFFECT SUBSEQUENT GENERATIONS FOR WHOM WE MUST NOW TIRELESSLY WORK TO PROTECT."

—MICHELLE DEPASS

This statement originally appeared on the Tishman Environment and Design Center Blog on January 31, 2017.

THE NEW SCHOOL BOARD OF TRUSTEES PASSES A RESOLUTION REGARDING PROTECTION OF UNDOCUMENTED STUDENTS

DAVID E. VAN ZANDT, PRESIDENT OF THE NEW SCHOOL

"THE BOARD'S RESOLUTION UNDERSCORES THE NEW SCHOOL'S COMMITMENT TO CREATING A SAFE ENVIRONMENT FOR OUR STUDENTS TO PURSUE THEIR STUDIES, AND REAFFIRMS OUR IDENTITY AS AN INCLUSIVE COMMUNITY THAT STANDS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE."

I write to follow up on my November 17 message about concerns related to potential implications President-elect Trump's immigration policies might have for international students. Today, I would like to address concerns related to undocumented students specifically.

The President-elect has made various statements concerning individuals who are in the United States without appropriate documentation, including those born outside of the U.S. but who have grown up here. There has been no action taken on this matter; nor has there been any definitive plan or policy change announced. Still, we understand the apprehension students may be feeling regarding these statements. That is why The New School has taken a significant step to protect undocumented students studying here:

Recently, The New School's Board of Trustees passed a resolution affirming that the university will "welcome, admit and support students without regard to their citizenship status." This resolution includes a commitment to protect undocumented students by withholding records that may disclose citizenship status to any law enforcement authority without a court order or a legally enforceable subpoena.

The Board resolution also endorsed the university's position to not permit law enforcement authorities without legal mandates "to enter onto any premises the university owns or controls for the purpose

of detaining any student, staff or faculty solely based on immigration status for the purpose of possible deportation." The full text of the Board's resolution is here¹.

The Board's resolution underscores The New School's commitment to creating a safe environment for our students to pursue their studies, and reaffirms our identity as an inclusive community that stands for social justice. It also echoes the strong positions that New York City Mayor Bill de Blasio and New York State Governor Andrew Cuomo have already taken in support of undocumented immigrants residing in New York City.

In addition to the Board's resolution, I am preparing letters to our United States Senators and Representatives to make them aware of our position.

To reiterate my message from last week: there have been no changes to the current student visa program and we know of no planned changes.

Nevertheless, our International Student and Scholar Services (ISSS) staff will continue to monitor visa regulations closely. We have prepared this FAQ² to provide up-to-date facts. The ISSS team will host discussions for international students in the coming weeks, and individual students can email ISSS with specific questions.

The New School is a better place because of its international diversity. We will work to ensure that this important aspect of our intellectual and creative mission remains vibrant.

Originally published on the New School Blog on November 27, 2016.

A MESSAGE IN RESPONSE TO FRIDAY'S EXECUTIVE ORDERS

EUGENE LANG CIVIC ENGAGEMENT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

Dear CESJ Community:

The Executive Order issued on Friday goes against our commitment to social justice and values of equity, diversity and inclusion. I believe it is important to condemn not only the ban on refugees and immigration from Muslim majority countries, but also the rationale that profiling and discrimination will make America safe.

The executive order supports Islamophobia, fear and hatred of people based on the religion they practice. It framed Muslims as a people that should be feared and supported the false assumption that terrorist attacks in the United States were perpetrated by asylees. We know this thinking is wrong. More Muslims have lost their lives in terrorist attacks than any other religious group. Many religions that teach love and peace have also been misused to carry out atrocities throughout history. We will not allow the actions of a few to prejudice us against a world religion that has brought hope and harmony to so many people.

The battle we find ourselves in is not a conventional war among territories. It is a battle for hearts and minds. We cannot fight terror by spreading more terror. Isolationism, scapegoating, and bigotry will not make America safer. We engender animosity against America when we ignore our values and shirk our responsibilities to the global community. We make more progress when churches and synagogues sponsor incoming Syrian refugee families,

regardless of their religion; when lawyers volunteer their services at airports to help immigrants exercise their rights; and when we act in solidarity with persecuted peoples, supporting diversity and inclusion, knowing it makes our communities stronger.

This message is in support of our mission to hold each other accountable to our expressed values of equity, diversity and inclusion and to encourage the Lang community to live justice-centered lives through promoting civic engagement and advancing social justice. This message need not be read as a message in support or against any political party. Our office is nonpartisan but is not apolitical. We do take stances against policies that threaten our mission and encourage the Lang community to do the same.

The executive orders signed last week threaten more than the Muslim community, immigrants and refugees. They vilified people of Mexican descent, threatened the rights of indigenous communities by renewing the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline, threatened our environment by walking back environmental protections, and put countless lives at risk by removing aid to organizations that provide information on women's healthcare and reproductive rights. CESJ will continue to share ways to build power, resistance and community in our weekly newsletter in the coming weeks.

"Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that." —Martin Luther King, Jr.

RESOLUTION OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES OF THE NEW SCHOOL

IN RESPONSE TO FEARS AND CONCERNS REGARDING IMMIGRATION STATUS FROM THE NEW SCHOOL COMMUNITY IN THE WAKE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, THE NEW SCHOOL BOARD OF TRUSTEES ADOPTED A RESOLUTION OF SANCTUARY ON NOVEMBER 22, 2016. WITH IMMEDIATE EFFECT, THE RESOLUTION DECLARED THAT THE INSTITUTION WOULD CONTINUE TO WELCOME AND ADMIT STUDENTS REGARDLESS OF CITIZENSHIP, AND FURTHER WOULD PROTECT THE PRIVACY OF THE COMMUNITY IN REGARD TO CITIZENSHIP OR IMMIGRATION STATUS BY REFUSING COOPERATION WITH LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES WITHOUT A COURT ORDER. ALTHOUGH NOT EXPLICIT, THIS RESOLUTION ESSENTIALLY DECLARED THE NEW SCHOOL TO BE A "SANCTUARY CAMPUS."

Whereas, the ideas and creativity of our academic community at The New School have traditionally been and are currently enhanced by the contributions of students from a broad range of cultures; and

Whereas, in participation of the transition to a new presidential administration, New School students, faculty, and staff have expressed concerns about the potential implications of changes that immigration policies might have for international students and undocumented students; and

Whereas, while there have been no changes announced for the student visa, and the university is not aware of any planned changes; and

Whereas, the university's administration will continue to monitor the impact that changes in immigration policy may have on our community and will take appropriate actions as soon as possible should any changes that might affect our students come to our attention.

Now therefore be it resolved that:

1. The New School will continue to welcome, admit, and support students without regard to their citizenship status;
2. The New School will protect the privacy rights

of all of our students, staff and faculty and not release records in our possession that may disclose citizenship status to any law enforcement authority, absent a court order or a legally enforceable subpoena;

3. The New School has not, and will not in the future permit law enforcement authorities, absent a court order, legally issued warrant or other legal mandate to enter onto any premises the University owns or controls for the purpose of detaining any student, staff or faculty solely based on immigration status for the purpose of possible deportation.

This Resolution shall take effect immediately upon its adoption.

Dated: November 22, 2016

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