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Redefining Security at the U.S.-Mexican Border: A Feminist-Pragmatist Approach

Kimberly Collins*

Abstract

The twenty-first century humanitarian crisis at the U.S.-Mexican border is fueled by U.S. international and domestic policies. As the human race evolves and crises emerge, we can look to the past for answers. Jane Addams, a great feminist thinker and American Pragmatist, faced many of the same basic issues and found ways to improve the human condition. This manuscript conducts a content analysis of the performance and accountability reports of the U.S. Customs and Border Protection to view the language used by the agency in the management and security of the border. It provides an alternative perspective regarding security management and argues that in order to advance socially, policy makers, business leaders, and civil society need to reinsert the praxis of American pragmatism back into their processes.

Introduction

> We know at last, that we can only discover truth by a rational and democratic interest in life, and to give truth complete social expression is the endeavor upon which we are entering. Thus the identification with the common lot that is the essential idea of Democracy becomes the source and expression of social ethics. It is though we thirsted at the great wells of human experience, because we know that a daintier or less potent draught would not carry us to the end of the journey, going forward as we must in the heat and jostle of the crowd.[1]

In the early twenty-first century, the world experienced a crisis in human rights, ethics, morality, and conscience. This crisis came with the movement of people for economic and security reasons alike. This is not the first time in history a crisis of this sort has occurred, nor unfortunately, will it be the last, but as we evolve, we must learn from our past and find new ways to confront our future.

The current crisis is a bit different from the past due to advance in communication and transportation technology, stronger economic connections, and interaction among people on all levels. Today, many U.S. children are more likely to be playing in a virtual room with another child on the other side of the world as opposed to those living in the neighborhood. As the world's economy

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[1] Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1902, 2002), 140.

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continues to expand under the auspices of globalization and technological advances, the movement of goods and currencies across borders has brought wealth and multiculturalism, and increasing inequality. In the United States and across the globe, this was clearly noted with the rise of the Occupy Wall Street protest movement in 2011, which began three years after the 2008 U.S. housing and financial crisis and start of the great recession. Since this crisis, we have seen an increasing backlash against others in society, allowing for a rise in nationalism and far right movements. This is being played out in the strongest fashion at the nation's borders. In 2017, in observing the turmoil in the world, it is clear that further discussion and action to respond ethically and humanely to this global crisis is needed.

The humanitarian crisis being experienced today at borders across the world is related to administrative practices in security management.[2] It is from the administrative decisions of government and business leaders that the impacts of war, economic inequality, and famine affect women, men and children – driving them to migrate in order to survive. For example, in the Americas, the two largest gangs terrorizing Central American families (the *Mara Salvatrucha* or MS-13 and the *Calle* 18) were born on the streets of Los Angeles by the children of immigrants escaping the U.S. backed war in Central America in the 1980s.[3] As many of the gang members were not citizens of the United States, but from three Central America countries (Honduras, El Salvador, and Guatemala), they were then deported back to their country of origin after being released from prison. This is a result of the Immigration Authority Section 287 (g) as part of the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, which mandates the deportation of criminal aliens to their country of origin. These small countries weakened by war and a lack of strong institutions were not able to handle the hardened criminals from the United States. Crisis has ensued with rising crime, including murders, extortion, rape, forced entry into the gangs, and increasing fear. Once again, terrorized immigrants from Central America are turning to the United States for help, but this time they are being turned away or detained in U.S. facilities, even though the problem is part of U.S. domestic policymaking.[4]

This humanitarian crisis combined with economic immigration to the United States is not a new phenomenon, but the movement of people to wealthier nations for safety and economic reasons and the movement of jobs to other places around the world under economic globalization has the working class in the wealthier nations feeling that their own economic survival is under threat. There is now a push for leadership and action to protect U.S. citizens, creating a rise in nationalism and

[2] Douglas S. Massey, Jorge Durand and Karen A. Pren, "Why Border Enforcement Backfired," *American Journal of Sociology* 121:5 (2016).

[3] "MS-13: The story behind one of the world's most brutal street gangs," *BBC News*, April 19, 2017. Accessed December 27, 2017: www.bbc.comnews/world-us-canada-39645640

[4] Mica Rosenberg and Yeganeh Torbati, "U.S. will Phase out Program for Central American Child Refugees," *Reuters*, September 27, 2017. Accessed December 27, 2017: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-ua-immigration-minors/u-s-will-phase-out-program-for-central-american-child-refugees-idUSKCN1C234G; Bryan Schatz, "This Is The Horrific Violence Trump is Forcing Central American Refugees to Return to," *Mother Jones,* May 5, 2017. Accessed December 27, 2017: www.motherjones.com/politics/2017/05/central-america-refugees-gang-violence-asylum/

fascism. The border is the easiest target as it is the place where the traffic in goods being manufactured in other countries and new migrants trying to cross are most visible. It is also a region that is disenfranchised from the democratic process, with less power comparatively, again making it an easier target.[5] The rhetoric of blaming others is much easier than figuring out solutions to problems through a more ethical and humane administrative approach.

This type of situation is not new in the history of the United States and a similar situation occurred with the age of industrialization at the turn of the twentieth century. People were moving from rural areas of the United States to the cities in search of work, competing for jobs with new migrants from parts of southern and eastern Europe. The systems of administration were not ready for the influx of people and tensions began to rise in society. This tension was on top of already historical divisions and violence in the United States based on race and gender. The response and solutions developed at this time can be found in the theory and practice of the American Pragmatist movement of Jane Addams, John Dewey, and others. American pragmatism is based in the founding principles of the United States – freedom for the individual and scientific responses to societal concerns.

This work will explore the theories of Jane Addams, specifically defining the concept of human security, to find answers to our present-day crisis. It begins with a review of the current administrative crisis at the U.S.-Mexican border and a review of the response by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security. This review includes a content analysis of recent performance reports and analysis of media, human rights groups, and experts on the subject. From here, we review the writings of Jane Addams and work within the theories of the American feminist progressive for solutions. The final section will provide discussion and recommendations. The new era of globalization is providing real challenges for leaders in government, business, and civil society. There needs to be new answers, but these answers can be based on tried-and-true responses. Responses that were developed 100 years ago under similar circumstances.

Crisis in Globalization and Border Security

A cliché but important concept to start with is that place matters. This is particularly true for the U.S.-Mexican borderlands.[6] As its location is far from the areas of decision-making, the people living and working there are marginalized from mainstream political culture and public conversation. There is a lack of democracy because of the place and public space.[7] With the rise in inequality within the global marketplace and little intervention to neoliberal economic policies in the public sector, the border and what is stands for has become an area to blame. It has become the whipping boy for many in the United States – taking the brunt of the backlash against globalization. This is furthering an already tense situation based on a policy of securitization since the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001. At the same time, the refugee crisis from Central America

[5] Kimberly Collins, "Globalization, Democracy, and Public Space: The Case of the U.S.- Mexican Border Region," *Journal of Public Management and Social Policy* 24:1 (2017).
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

continues, and drug cartels battle for territory to move more illicit products using the same distribution methods as the legal global supply chain of goods. Within this mix, are people working to live their everyday lives along the border – trading goods; manufacturing consumer goods and products for multinational corporations; working in a shared economy; raising their children; enjoying the cross national flavor of the communities; and experiencing the best of both nations.

The crisis is only a crisis because it has been allowed to be one. Administrative and policy decisions have been made, particularly in regards to national security, that create the system in which people live and work.[8] These decisions weigh on the realities and impacts of U.S. policy in other countries. It also rests with the leadership of other countries, whose people need better living conditions, economic opportunities, and security. The ground truth of all this is that real people are suffering. Their lives are at risk and there is a moral and ethical obligation in the spirit of John Rawls[9] for those with the means to help those in need. As a country, the United States, in the past as the largest economy in the world, has done much to help others, particularly since it supports the building of soft power to maintain its position in the world. This position is being impacted by politics, which do not always match the sentiments of the majority living in the nation.[10] This shows a crisis in the democratic system, thereby, a crisis in ethics as postulated by Jane Addams.

There is a backlash against the system of globalization in the United States. This has contributed to the political current criticism of the border. In reality, there has never really been a time when the border was fully embraced by the political center as it has always been a frontier region, working on its own accord to develop. A number of authors have documented this experience, showing the growth of the pairs of cities that dot the borderline.[11] The local areas grew dependent on each other with shared economies and production methods, culture and family, and resources and development. The capital centers have always been seen as far away and detached from the mainstream issues along the region. Now, the anti-immigrant rhetoric is reaching an extreme.

This marginalization is based in the history of the relations between Mexico and the United States. As a reminder from the Mexican strongman Porfirio Diaz from the late 1800s, “poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States.” The relationship between the two countries has been tenuous from the beginning of both nations. The border region during this history has been easy to marginalize as it continues to be a frontier in many ways. It lacks power and voice in the political process, because of its location, the economic strength of those living in the region, and its lack of connection to national centers.[12] This has come about because of many reasons, but one being, that it

[8] Massey et al., “Why Border Enforcement Backfired.”

[9] John Rawls, *Collected Papers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[10] Karlyn Bowman, “Reading the Polls: Welcome to America? What Americans Say About Immigration,” *Forbes*, February 14, 2017. Accessed January 1, 2018: https://www.forbes.com/sites/bowmanmarsico/2017/02/14/reading-the-polls-welcome-to-america-what-americans-say-about-immigration/#66c4bc4724e6

[11] Daniel D. Arreola and James R. Curtis, *The Mexican Border Cities: Landscape Anatomy and Place Personality* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993); Milo Kearny and Anthony Knopp, *Border Cuates* (Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1995); David Piñera Ramírez and Gabriel Rivera, *Tijuana in History: Just Crossing the Border* (Tijuana: CONACULTA, 2014).

[12] Collins, “Globalization, Democracy.”

has never been empowered with the institutions that would help it have a stronger voice in the national political discussion.[13] The political discussion around the border is generally based in rhetoric, short on facts. It is portrayed as a region full of terrorists, drug traffickers, and people crossing without documentation.

The facts are:

- There are no terror attacks on the U.S. linked to the border[14]
- The majority of crossings are legal[15]
- Trade across the border is more than $1 billion per day, which crosses primarily by land[16]
- Crime in the cities and counties on the U.S. side of the border has decreased since the 1980s[17]

These facts do not fit with the rhetoric that the border region is a dangerous land filled with hardened criminals. Now, are drugs and people crossing the border through illicit means? Yes, this trafficking has always existed from one side to the other and there are harrowing tales of people traveling outside of the protections normally given to travelers by the state.[18] These people are abused, robbed, and disappeared along the route.[19] However, they come anyway – showing a true desperation to take their chances for a better life. They have to do this because of policies and decisions taken by the state. If the immigration agencies functioned differently, if the perspective was how can we help the situation (using the carrot) as opposed to how can we beat them back and down (the stick), people wouldn't need to make the desperate decisions and the criminals would have less "product" to move and abuse.

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[13] Paul Ganster and Kimberly Collins, "Binational Cooperation and Twinning: A View from the U.S.-Mexican Border, San Diego, California, and Tijuana, Baja California," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 32:4 (2017).

[14] Warren Richey, "Are Terrorists Crossing the U.S.-Mexico Border? Excerpts from the Case File," *The Christian Science Monitor,* January 15, 2017. Accessed September 2, 2017: www.csmonitor.com/USA/Justic/2017/0115/Are-terroists-crossing-the-US=Mexico=border-Excerpts–from-the-case-file

[15] "Border Crossing/Entry Data," *U.S. Department of Transportation, Bureau of Transportation Statistics*, 2016 (USDOT/BTS). Accessed September 2, 2017: https://transborder.bts.gov/programs/international/transborder/TBDR_BC_Index.html; Reggie Thompson, "Who's Really Crossing the U.S.-Mexico Border," *Forbes*, May 2, 2017. Accessed September 2, 2017: www.forbes.com/sites/stratfor/2017/05/02/whos-really-crossing-the-u-s-mexico-border/#4b9a65e130c2

[16] Jason Marczak, "Get the Facts: Five Reasons Why the U.S.-Mexico Border is Critical to the Economy," *Americans Society/Council of the Americas*, 2013. Accessed September 2, 2017: www.as-coa.org/articles/get-facts-five-reasons-why-us-mexico-border-critical-economy

[17] Vanessa Vidal Castellanos, "Crime Change along the U.S.-Mexico Border: County and Municipality Levels," Tufts University, May 2011. Accessed September 2, 2017: https://sites.tufts.edu/gis/files/2013/02/Vidal_Vanessa.pdf

[18] Alicia Alarcón, *The Border Patrol Ate My Dust* (Houston, TX: University of Houston, Arte Público Press, 2004); Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera and Jennifer Bryson Clark, "Re-victimizing Trafficked Migrant Women: The Southern Border Plan and Mexico's Anti-trafficking Legislation," *Eurasia Border Review* 8:1 (2017).

[19] Guadalupe Correa-Cabrera and Jennifer Bryson Clark, "Re-victimizing Trafficked Migrant Women."

Those who feel threatened that their quality of life is declining because the immigrant is taking their jobs support the anti-border rhetoric. It is further supported by anti-government militias that believe the border offers them evidence they need to further discredit the job the government is doing. Anti-border rhetoric is good for the nationalists/fascists/anti-globalists and those who support notions of sovereignty and national protection as the leading issues. Another key actor fueling the fire is the bureaucracy that works to secure the border. The union for the U.S. Border Patrol and Customs and Border Protection supported Donald Trump in the 2016 presidential election.[20] Bureaucrats are known to self-maximize[21] even if it is against the public good, which should be their number one priority. This self-maximization comes with the budgeting process and competition, a survival technique.

The anti-border rhetoric is also supported by the person whose job has disappeared in the United States, because of the growth in the global supply chain.[22] This is the other side of the human crisis, those who have not been able to keep up with the changes and advancements in the global economy. A democratic response needs to be developed with them in mind. "As the acceptance of democracy brings a certain life-giving power, so it has its own sanctions and comforts. Perhaps the most obvious one is the curious sense which comes to us from time to time, that we belong to the whole, that a certain basic well-being can never be taken away from us whatever the turn of fortune."[23]

The backlash from the nationalist movements have created calls for border closures, building walls, and the solidifying of the sovereignty of the nation.[24] It is a common discussion of us versus them – anti-globalization, alt-right, new fascism movements versus the pro-globalization, alt-left movements. This is being played out on an everyday basis in communities across the United States in 2017 with protests and violence. In some ways this conflict in the overall American society is something not new to the U.S.-Mexican border, with militias, many part of the alt-right, staking out the borderline for years.[25] The surprise for many is the movement of these groups to the mainstream. This came with the communication and language used by President Donald Trump.[26] The giving of voice by the President to groups that at one time were only considered a threat to a disenfranchised people living in a disenfranchised region – the U.S.-Mexican border.

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[20] "National Border Patrol Council Endorses Donald Trump for President," *National Border Patrol Council* (NBPC), No Date. Accessed September 2, 2017: www.bpunion.org

[21] William A. Niskanen, *Bureaucracy and Representative Government* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1971).

[22] Kate Linthicum, "One Job's Journey," *Los Angeles Times,* February 17, 2017.

[23] Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 1913.

[24] Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly, "Security and Border Security Policies: Perimeter or Smart Border? A Comparison of the European Union and Canadian‐American Border Security Regimes," *Journal of Borderlands Studies* 21:1 (2006).

[25] David Neiwert, "The Fence to Nowhere," *American Prospect*, October 1, 2008; Damon Tabor, "Border of Madness: Crossing the Line with Arizona's Anti-Immigration Vigilantes," *Rolling Stone* 1171/117 (2012): 94–101.

[26] "Pepe and the Stormtroopers; Trump and the Alt-Right," *The Economist*, September 17, 2016: 23–24.

As noted, this situation is not new and as we read from Jane Addams over 100 years ago, "at times of social disturbance the law-abiding citizen is naturally so anxious for peace and order, his sympathies are so justly and inevitably on the side making for the restoration of law, that it is difficult for him to see the situation fairly."[27] Those who support deportations of undocumented people living in the United States and the closing of the border see a lawlessness in society, a threat to their way of life and want an administrative response based in the law. But with this, the vision of the reality of the situation is only based in an administrative response – not one that has sympathies for the human condition. As is argued in this paper, working on an administrative only approach to security at the border is inadequate and unethical. For this reason, we turn to a feminist approach for border security – to bring in ideas that focus more on the people that live, work, and enjoy the region. This response is found easily in the writings and works of Jane Addams.

Agency Response

The policy crisis for the U.S.-Mexican border is played out in the main agencies working to secure the border. Agents working for the U.S. Customs and Border Protection and its sister agency, the U.S. Border Patrol, have the job of securing the border. They are part of a larger, national agency, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) that was formed after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. For a number of years, the DHS has struggled with the reorganization and issues in modernization of systems, cases of abuse against migrants, the misuse of authority, and corruption of agents.[28]

There have been a number of commissions and congressional inquiries into the administration challenges faced by CBP, the Border Patrol, and DHS and a slow movement toward any resolutions.[29] Part of the problem is found with the focus of the agency or the lack of focus in treating individuals with the highest form of respect, regardless of who they are or where they come from. This is not to take away from individuals working in the bureaucracy who respect those they come into contact with, and maintain the highest standards in public service values. As those who frequently cross the border can relate there are many fine, upstanding agents in the field. Therefore, it is not the purpose of this paper to stereotype agents as a whole as being bad people – creating an us

[27] Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics*, 1233.

[28] U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office of Inspector General (DHS/OIG), "CBP Use of Force Training and Actions to Address Use of Force Incidents" (Redacted). OIG-13–114 (Revised) September 2013. Accessed July 8, 2016: www.documentcloud.org/documents/798751-oig-use-of-force-report.html; "Hold CBP Accountable." Accessed October 25, 2016: www.holdcbpaccountable.org; U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), "Border Security: Progress and Challenges in DHS's Efforts to Implement and Assess Infrastructure and Technology," 2015. Accessed September 2, 2017: www.gao.gov/assets/680/670176.pdf; Homeland Security Advisory Council, "Homeland Security Advisory Council Task Force on Secure Communities Findings and Recommendations," March 15, 2016. Accessed October 26, 2016: www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/HSAC%20CBP%20IAP_Final%20Report_FINAL%20(accessible)_0.pdf

[29] U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO), "DHS Management – High Risk Issue," 2017. Accessed September 2, 2017: www.gao.gov/key_issues/dhs_implementation_and _transformation/issue_summary#t=0

versus them situation, but to address challenges in the administration that are inhibiting better service while working in a high stress job.

This review of CBP is done through a content analysis of the annual performance reports. Performance reports are central to the planning and measurement of good governance. By law since 1993 with the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) (103 P.S. 62; 107 Stat. 285), U.S. government agencies must develop strategic plans and performance measures to ensure a more effective governance system.[30] This was reinforced with the GPRA Modernization Act (GPRAMA) of 2010. Review of the GPRAMA through testimony by the U.S. Comptroller in 2011 highlighted the importance of the performance measurements to address:

- Weaknesses in major management functions in agencies
- Ensuring performance information is both useful and used in decision making
- Instilling sustained leadership commitment and accountability for achieving results
- Performance improvement officers

Throughout the world, it is recognized that countries that plan for their success have a better chance of making improvements in the system, maintaining trust with their constituents, and keeping the highest of standards.[31] The main tool for the government to maintain these goals are performance reports and indicators. The words and numbers used in these reports matter, as they set the tone of what the government hopes to accomplish.

Reading CPB's performance reports does not provide much insight into the agency. There are very broad goals and objectives that are not tied to expenditures or location. It makes it very difficult to understand what have been the outcomes of the goals set. In order to analyze the reports, a content analysis was conducted on the agency's annual performance and accountability reports for over a nine-year period. The years are not tied to any specific events occurring in society at the time, but a time in space depicting the priorities of the agency. Using Atlas.ti, the words used were counted and displayed through a visual depiction with word clouds. Content analysis was used as it provides for the systematic review of the texts to provide a view of the message of the agency.[32] The content is displayed in word clouds providing a look at the importance of the words used to communicate the goals of the agency as depicted in the annual performance reviews. "Communication content is transformed through objective and systematic application of categorization rules into data that can be summarized and compared."[33]

As seen in Graph 1, the main goal of the agency is security. This is an obvious and primary goal that will stay with the agency. The mission of the Customs and Border Protection is "to

[30] Robert J. Shea, "Performance Budget in the United States," *OECD Journal on Budgeting* 8:1 (2008).
[31] Hugh Ward and Han Dorussen, "Public Information and Performance: The Role of Spatial Dependence in the Worldwide Governance Indicators among African Counties," *World Development* 74 (2015).
[32] Earl R. Babbie, *The Basics of Social Research* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1999).
[33] Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969), 3.

safeguard America's borders thereby protecting the public from dangerous people and materials while enhancing the Nation's global economic competitiveness by enabling legitimate trade and travel."[34] The agency's definition of border security is:

> CBP's top priority is to keep terrorists and their weapons from entering the U.S. while welcoming all legitimate travelers and commerce. CBP officers and agents enforce all applicable U.S. laws, including against illegal immigration, narcotics smuggling and illegal importation. CBO deploys highly trained law enforcement personnel who apprehend more than 1,000 individuals each day for suspected violations of U.S. laws.
>
> CBP's border security mission is led at ports of entry by CBP officers from the Office of Field Operations, along U.S. borders by agents from the Office of Border Patrol and from the air and sea by agents from the Office of Air and Marine Operations. Also at ports of entry, agriculture specialists are deployed to protect U.S. agriculture from the introduction of pests or disease from overseas sources.[35]

As will be noted, this is primarily an administrative definition of security. It explains what the agency does, with little thought of the consequences in reality. For example, there are obvious conflicts within the administration of enforcing all applicable laws as conflicts in federalism arise with states legalizing the former Schedule I drug marijuana in Washington, Colorado, and California. The enforcement response by federal agents in the states with conflicting laws depends on leadership in the federal administrative branch. Though this topic will not be resolved here, it is brought up to illustrate the complexity of what is missing from a purely administrative definition of something as difficult to define as security.

Other highlighted terms include compliance, trade, and enforcement. Again, all of these are part of the agency's mission. What is noteworthy are the words that are missing. Nothing from the content analysis communicates respect, public service, or ethical responsibility. Again, words are important. The GPRA set out to improve the accountability and management of government agencies. With this goal, performance reports are a way for the agency to communicate with the public and consider the performance of the agency in similar terms.[36] "Informational matters for governance; countries are better governed if they have more political accountability[37] and transparency, providing more economic data."[38] Performance reports are important to benchmark and track the actions of the

[34] U.S. Customs and Border Protection (U.S. CBP). 2016. About CBP. Accessed September 2, 2017, www.cbp.gov/about

[35] "Border Security," U.S. Customs and Border Protection, October 26, 2017. Accessed December 27, 2017: https://www.cbp.gov/border-security

[36] Joshua Gotbaum, "A Performance Report on Performance Reports," *The Public Manager* 28:4 (1999).

[37] Alicia Adsera, Carles Boix, and Mark Payne, "Are You Being Served? Political Accountability and the Quality of Government," *Journal of Law, Economics, and Organization* 19:2 (2003).

[38] James R. Hollyer, B. Peter Rosendorff and James Raymond Vreeland, "Measuring Transparency," *Political Analysis* 22:4 (2014); Roumeen Islam, "Does More Transparency Go Along with Better Governance?"

agencies. Though CBP has statements supporting civil rights, liberties, and ethics, these ideas are still missing from the main mechanisms that set the standards for the agency, the performance and accountability reports.



Figure 1: CBP Performance and Accountability Reports in Word Clouds, 2005–2013[39]

Feminist questions or questions of humanity?

As humans, we understand the world around us through our everyday interactions with the people, culture and language, public spaces and goods, and administrative institutions both formal and informal. Within these spaces there are questions of who belongs and who does not – an age old mechanism for survival – making sure that threats to the community are not allowed to overcome and destroy it. In an age of globalization, what do these threats really account for? How can we better understand them? What does it mean to live in a global community? How we treat the people at our borders – does this change? What does dignity mean in society in the twenty-first century?

Economics and Politics 18:2 (2006); Hugh Ward and Han Dorussen, "Public Information and Performance: The Role of Spatial Dependence in the Worldwide Governance Indicators among African Counties," *World Development* 74 (2015): 253.

[39] U.S. Customs and Border Protection (U.S. CBP) FY Performance and Accountability Report, 2005–2014. Accessed June 24, 2017: www.cbp.gov/newsroom/publications/performance-accountability-financial

For the answers to this multitude of questions we can turn to the writings of historical figures such as Jane Addams. Addams lived and worked in Chicago, Illinois during the late 1800s and early 1900s. She is one of the most famous women from this period of time as she built, worked, and lived in the Hull House in Chicago. Her personal story has been chronicled by many[40] and it is one of correcting injustice in society by working and living in the communities most impacted. Addams came from a wealthy family, was an educated woman, and believed in the cause of bettering the human condition.

The short version of her life as outlined by Oakley (1955) tells of the connection to her father, John Huy Addams. Her mother died when she was very young. John Huy Addams was a Quaker, who was not an overly religious man, and he embraced and supported many religions. He was also an entrepreneur, and community leader and politician, who served in the Illinois State Senate from 1854 to 1870. Addams wanted to study at Smith College but went to Rockford Seminary, which was closer to her home and where her father wanted her to study. The educational choices for women during this time were limited and religious based. As Addams grew as a person, she moved further away from religion, but it was always a part of who she was. She was a woman strong in spirit, but her body was not as strong as she would have liked. Her back gave her many problems in her youth and inhibited her from finishing her studies in medicine.

After college and with a few personal tragedies along the way, such as the death of her father and dropping out of medical school because of health reasons, she went in search of her life purpose and traveled extensively throughout Europe a few times. In London, she witnessed extreme poverty, but also solutions found in Toynbee Hall, a settlement hall established to help impoverished people improve their life conditions. In 1889, Addams along with her friend and companion Ellen Gates Starr, started the Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago. Through fundraising and marketing, Addams was able to obtain a number of buildings within a block that provided childcare, the arts, educational experiences, and support to the immigrant families living in the community.

In addition to the Hull House, Addams worked to create legislation to protect children workers and investigate sweatshops. As part of her intellectual life, the work she did in the Hull House became part of the study of social work. She was a great supporter of peace and was the founder of the Women's Peace Party in the United States. This was a group developed during the 1915 International Congress of Women held at The Hague in order to work for peace and an end to the First World War. This work led to an FBI file in 1924.[41]

Addams work as a social activist was supported by her writings. She wrote more than a dozen books and hundreds of articles, engaging in conversation and debate with many other

[40] Sandra Opdycke, *Jane Addams and Her Vision for America* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2012); Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973); Daniel Levine, *Jane Addams and the Liberal Tradition* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1971); Violet Oakley, *Cathedral of Compassion: Dramatic Outline of the Life of Jane Addams, 1860–1935* (Philadelphia: Press of Lyon and Armor, Inc., 1955).

[41] Alaska P. Davidson, "Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, File 287" (1924). Accessed September 2, 2017: www.webharvest.gov/peth04/20041016085729/http://foia.fbi.gov/addams/addams_jane1a.pdf

pragmatists, such as John Dewey. Her papers have been archived and studied with multiple books and articles written on her life and her work. She is currently regarded as a major contributor and theorist to American Pragmatism, and a leading feminist thinker from that era. In her day though, Addams was not recognized as a philosopher primarily because she was a woman. Also, her writing style is based on conveying stories of real people and situations in society, and then analyzing the implications for the greater good. This style does not include a theoretical approach to the topics, but a humanistic approach – one sympathetic to the human condition.

Two important works by Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (1909) and *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907), provide the arguments for the need in society to be secure from more than just a militaristic, national security view, but security based in democracy and peace – real human security. This begins with governments and individuals with the means to do so to help others who are struggling and marginalized (e.g., immigrants). She writes of the need for more democracy and inclusion in society as an ethical response to challenges encountered by women, children, and workers. In this sense, democracy is ethics. As society addresses the problems and challenges, human security will form, a stronger democracy will exist, and the system will operate at a more ethical level. This perspective can be described as a feminist look toward security – one that supports the people and not just the administration of the system.

History shows that what we are experiencing today is not that different from what happened during the last period of globalization – the turn of the twentyth century where industrialization, migration from Europe overwhelmed communities in the United States with different cultures and new competition for jobs created a backlash in society. A tension that allowed for new growth but also a rise of inhumanity of extreme violence against others both domestically and on the international realm – millions of people died and were marginalized during the first half of the twentyth century. As we move further into the twenty-first century, many of these threats seem to be reemerging – a rise in nationalism and support for a new right wing, violence against those who are deemed a threat to a way of life. It equates to the "us versus them" sentiment and a lack of compassion for the plight of individuals. This is not to say that there are not spots of good people helping others, but there is an alarming amount of hate being communicated in the public realm.

Jane Addams worked with progressive thinkers of the time to develop a praxis of writings and programs to respond to the fundamental changes in society that were occurring in the late nineteenth and early twentyth century. American Pragmatism is an important part of U.S. thought and the overall society. The ideas of American Pragmatism are part of the cultural fabric of the United States, tied to the founding of the nation and the writings of the founding fathers.[42] Jane Addams worked in this framework of pragmatism and brought a level of humanism through her work in the social sphere. The power of the individual and make-it-happen attitude support the overcoming of difficult problems.

With pragmatism comes embracing the truth. The truths for those who work in the border and for those who are using the border for their livelihoods is different. But for the pragmatist,

[42] Martin A. Bertman, *Classical American Pragmatism* (Philosophy Insights. Tirril: Humanities-Ebooks, 2007).

science is overwhelming, and the scientific method will provide the truth of the border to those who work and implement policies. If we look toward these truths, we are acting in an ethical fashion as we embrace the human factor of these realities. Under these concepts it is truer to state "I think therefore I feel" than "I think therefore I am."[43] If we think about the border, we must feel the loss and desperation of the lives that are severely impacted by it and the policies that surround it.

In viewing the realities at the border, the importance of American Pragmatism becomes greater. At the center of pragmatism is the individual (who was also at the center of the discussion by the founding fathers of the United States).[44] Jane Addams and other pragmatists worked to improve the lives of people, that is, individuals in an idealistic notion of making places in this world better. Think of the possibilities if the goal of the agency was to improve the lives of individuals, all those engaged in the process of the border. Those who use it for access or as a public good, and those who work in the region to provide the service.

The individual is also important in the delivery of the service. Pragmatists move away from expecting government to work towards the ethical and political truths and put their faith more in the individual to do the right thing (another key part of the founding fathers principals for the United States).[45] The corruption of the system by wealthy and powerful interests (something strongly experienced in the United States today, sadly) necessitates for individuals to stand up for the rights of those less powerful than themselves.

Pragmatists also promoted the individual works to create a social good. Dewey does provide a general framework for a good social order (1922):

> A just and good state would be one brought into existence by voluntary convention: by promises exchanged and obligations mutually undertaken. A good state exists not by nature [though conventions are certainly grounded in man's nature, for Dewey like Hobbes, viz.] but by the contriving activities of individual selves in behalf of the satisfaction of their needs.[46]

Discussing Jane Addams in this context is a natural. She supported the pragmatist model through action. Much has been written on the spirit and actions of this woman.[47] She was part of the feminist movement that primarily sought to allow women access to the system. Providing the ability to vote, working in positions seen as primarily male fields – such as academia and government – working for a more peaceful and just world were all drivers for the movement, yet this was much more than feminism. It was seeking a more humanitarian response to the plights and suffering in the world. This perspective is needed more today than ever before, when a noticeable loss of compassion,

[43] Ibid., 34.
[44] Ibid; Robert J. Lacey, *American Pragmatism and Democratic Faith,* (Illinois, Northern Illinois University Press, 2008); Opdycke, *Jane Addams*.
[45] Lacey, *American Pragmatism*.
[46] Bertman, *Classical American Pragmatism*.
[47] See note 40.

ethics, and empathy for others is seen in the news and in the conversations of everyday people. The us versus them paradigm is increasing at an alarming rate and three possible futures are on the horizon:

- The status quo, which seems to be most unlikely of the three
- Ramped up war, loss of civil rights, and increasing authoritarism, which has already arrived to varying degrees in society
- A more pragmatic, democratic, and hopeful future that brings solutions that focus on helping people and improving society, which may seem idealistic, but should be given more consideration in order to move the human race forward to a productive future

Translating pragmatism into the twenty-first century context again is not a stretch but we should also include more modern ideas on ethics, public service values, and dignity. Society has advanced and with it a furthering of ideas related to multiculturalism, diversity, and inclusiveness. Many of the ideas and programs that Jane Addams and her colleagues worked toward are now in place and an integral part of modern liberalism in the United States. Unfortunately, the current state of global politics shows that these concepts and work need to become once more an important part of the conversation. As a people we need to continue to advance and the only way to do so is with a look toward humanist pragmatism.

Concluding Thoughts

With the founding of the United States political system, American Pragmatism has been a large part of the development in the systems of politics, culture, and economics. It is how Americans see themselves, even if they do not name it directly. As in the time of great American pragmatists such as Jane Addams, the United States has had to confront the difficulties of the system of American capitalism. The competition that provides so much growth and wealth also creates great disparities unless properly managed by government, businesses, and civil society working together. The writings and works of Jane Addams provides us with a model to build a new system of security. One that is not based in militaristic values, but in humanistic values. As the world confronts the current crises found at national borders, it is important to remind ourselves of the greatness of pragmatism – the need to measure items scientifically, embrace the truth, and maintain the importance of individuals in society. Losing ourselves in the thoughts of us versus them does not allow for a movement forward. It is a lot of energy and resources with few positive results. As many have noted before, humanity needs to continue to transform itself and improve upon the human condition. Jane Addams, the great American feminist-pragmatist, promoted this idea through her work as a humanitarian and scholar. Surely, this is an idea we can follow.