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New Visions for Public Affairs (NVPA) is an interdisciplinary, student-produced, peer-reviewed journal that publishes scholarly material offering new perspectives on public affairs. We operate as a student organization within the School of Public Policy and Administration at the University of Delaware.

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EDITOR'S REMARKS

From the debt ceiling to gun control, issues involving public policy and administration permeate our national discourse, as well as our individual discussions and debates. And it is precisely this prevalence that makes the study of policy and public administration so vital in today's governmental and political climates.

I am pleased to present the sixth volume of *New Visions for Public Affairs*, a small sampling of the wealth of student scholarship on matters related to public policy and administration from the University of Delaware and beyond. The wide array of topics encompassed by the articles in this volume is indicative of the versatility of the field, and the interdisciplinary nature of policy studies. From technology to climate change, human services to disaster preparedness studies, each of the diverse subjects of this year's selection involves significant implications for policymakers, and by extension, the American public.

This year's volume includes a special interview with Ashley Biden, the daughter of sitting Vice President Joe Biden and the associate executive director of the Delaware Center for Justice – an untiring advocate for the needs of the First State's residents, and at-risk youth in particular. This volume also features a profile on the University of Delaware's Disaster Research Center, which is celebrating its 50th anniversary this year.

I would like to acknowledge the members of the NVPA Editorial Board, who have dedicated countless hours over the course of the past academic year planning for the journal, reviewing articles and helping to prepare this edition for publication. I would also like to extend the board's sincere gratitude to NVPA's faculty advisory board - Drs. Maria Aristigueta, Jonathan Justice, John McNutt and Leland Ware. Thank you for supporting our journal and our board.

On behalf of the Editorial Board, I thank you for reading and hope you enjoy the articles that follow. It is our hope that this volume contributes to the growing body of research in the broad realm of public policy and administration.

Kind regards,

David P. Karas
Editor-in-Chief

Advocating for Justice and Equality:
An Interview with Ashley Biden

M. Kristen Hefner
University of Delaware

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With her father the sitting Vice President and her brother Delaware's Attorney General, Ashley Biden grew up in a political family. Instead of entering politics, however, she has chosen to dedicate her career to improving the lives of others. Biden earned a master's degree in social work from the University of Pennsylvania in 2010 and previously worked for the West End Neighborhood House in Wilmington, Delaware and the Delaware Department of Services for Children, Youth, and their Families.

Biden is Associate Executive Director of The Delaware Center for Justice (DCJ), a non-profit agency whose work aims to improve justice and safety for Delawareans. The activities of the DCJ include implementing programs and services, educating the public, conducting research and engaging in advocacy. Initiatives of the non-profit organization include a Truancy Reduction Program, an Adult Victim Services Program, a School Diversion Program, a Community Re-entry Services Program, a Gun Violence Intervention Program, and Project Reach - which works with incarcerated women and their children. The DCJ collaborates and establishes partnerships with other agencies and organizations to address policy issues facing Delawareans. Partners include the Delaware Department of Justice, the Delaware Department of Correction, faith-based organizations, and community-based agencies.

In the following interview[1], Ashley Biden discusses factors that have influenced her interest in improving the lives of others and how that interest manifests itself in the current work of the Delaware Center for Justice.

The editorial board of New Visions for Public Affairs would like to thank Ashley Biden for taking the time to participate in this discussion, and for providing an example of successfully combining personal passions with creating a more equitable world in which to improve the lives of others.

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Background and Current Position

Hefner[2]: Given your education and work background, it is evident that you have an interest in and have dedicated your life to improving the lives of people in your communities. What factors, throughout your life, have influenced this interest?

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[1] *Editor's Note*: The full transcript of this interview appears here in abridged form, cut for space restrictions in the journal. Text that appears in [brackets] includes language or words added by the editorial board to ensure clarity, add context and improve flow.
[2] M. Kristen Hefner is an Associate Editor for New Visions for Public Affairs. She interviewed Ashley Biden on March 5, 2014.

Biden: Wow…where do I begin? I grew up watching my father. I had a father who was a public servant and a policymaker and who worked on issues that he was really passionate about. And [I spent] a majority of my childhood campaigning [chuckles] around Delaware, knocking on doors and talking to people and hearing my father talk to people about issues that were important to them. I think, you know, from a young age I learned that I could be a change agent. It started with my passion for animals. [Laughs] It was a time [when] dolphins were getting caught in nets while fishermen were catching tuna. And so every night when my father would come home, I would …talk about how we needed to save the dolphins. So, in 1989 he introduced me to then -Congresswoman Barbara Boxer, who was behind the Dolphin Protection Consumer Information Act. And I actually got a chance to go on to the House floor with posters and tried to get primarily Republican Congressman to vote for the Act. And so that was kind of my first introduction into the fact that you could be a change agent.

I also was really interested in animal testing. I had the privilege of going to a Quaker School: I went to Wilmington Friends School. I had all my classmates write letters to then – I don't know if this company is still in existence, I'm embarrassed to say – but Bonne Bell [Cosmetics] – who [made] Bonne Bell lip-gloss. I had all my classmates write letters to the company [advocating] against animal testing. I went to a grade school that taught us about civil rights at a young age and encouraged students to be advocates and to be activists, and to follow their passion. And so that was something that I got on both sides: at home I was encouraged to follow my passion and to work on issues that were important to me and that I was passionate about. And I got that also from school.

Hefner: Has your thinking about social issues changed over time at all? And, if so, in what ways?

Biden: Well, I think it started originally when I [was] really young – it started with animals. But, then I started to do some work at my first job when I was in college, my freshman year, at Girls Incorporated, which is now Kingswood Academy. I was a camp counselor there, and that had a real lasting impact on me because I bonded with one student, in particular – his nickname was 'Pinky.' His mother lived in Riverside, [and] worked multiple jobs to feed the family. He needed a lot of attention and support. After camp, I would hang out after hours and hang out with him. So, it started with animals and then my passion became children.

I also worked at a summer program at Georgetown University, [through] which we worked with youth from Anacostia. After college, I worked at Northwestern Human Services Children's Reach Clinic and I was clinical support staff there. So I assisted youth and their families with accessing various resources in the community and worked directly with psychiatrists and therapists. And that's when I started to have a real interest in learning more about mental health. I took a class at the University of Pennsylvania through their School of Social Policy & Practice and the class was on the DSM-IV, which is now the DSM-V[3]. It kind of took off from there. When I took the class on the DSM-IV, I realized that I wanted to become a social worker. After I completed about four years at Northwestern Human Services in Philly, I worked at West End Neighborhood House through the Life Link Program as an Education and Employment Specialist for youth aging out of foster care for about a year. And then [I] got a job at the state where I worked for five years as an Employment and Education Liaison for adjudicated youth developing various employment [and] job skills training programs. And that's what's kind of led me to where I am now as the Associate Executive Director of the Delaware Center for Justice.

Hefner: Can you talk a little bit about the Delaware Center for Justice[4] and your role there?

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[3] *Editor's Note*: The DSM-V is the fifth edition of the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, which was updated in 2013. The reference book is used by mental health professionals as a mental health classification and diagnostic tool.

[4] *Editor's Note*: For more information, visit the Delaware Center for Justice at http://www.dcjustice.org/.

Biden: I oversee all direct service programming. We are a non-profit agency and we provide direct service programming, education, and advocacy for youth and adults whose lives have been impacted by the criminal justice system. So we work with victims of crime, Court of Common Pleas clients who are eligible for mediation, adjudicated youth, truant youth, youth eligible for diversion programs, older prisoners, and adults on probation and parole - many of whom were victims at one point in time.

Juvenile Justice

Hefner: You've dedicated your life's work to improving the lives of people, specifically at-risk youth and their families, in our communities. And you have talked some about your interest in mental health and how that grew. What led to your interest in youth specifically?

Biden: Youth are our future. I believe there is so much potential and so much untapped potential. When I went to get my master's in Social Work my real interest was looking [at] inequality, and specifically, structural inequality - the long-standing differential treatment of those with characteristics that are highly correlated with race, such as poverty. So I really wanted to look at leveling the playing field and giving youth equal opportunities in terms of education and employment.

Hefner: One of the focus areas of the Delaware Center for Justice is improving juvenile justice within the state. Why is focusing on improving juvenile justice in Delaware important?

Biden: There are a lot of long-term consequences [of] being involved with the justice system that really impact…educational opportunities and future jobs, and just overall quality of life.

We are an organization that believes in second chances and that everybody makes mistakes. Often, youth and people in general can be products of their environment. And we really believe in progress, not perfection. Kids who end up in the juvenile justice system tend to come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, have lower access to educational opportunities, access to education and mental health treatment and substance abuse treatment. And so that's why it's so important to focus on providing those resources so that youth can fulfill their dreams. They have dreams and passions and they made mistakes. And we're an organization that really does believe in rehabilitation and providing the resources to assist the youth in fulfilling what those dreams are instead of being deemed at a young age as a criminal, which really has serious implications for their future.

Hefner: Can you talk a little about the Delaware Youth Opportunities Initiative through the Delaware Center for Justice?

Biden: "Ready by 21" was recently passed, and that allows courts to extend jurisdiction up to age 21 for youth who are involved in the foster care system. So, as you and I know, 18 to 21 is a critical coming-of-age. This allows the youth to be assisted with rent and stipends and to be provided with that extra support that is often needed between the ages of 18 and 21. A large portion of youth in the foster care system are also involved in the juvenile justice system. So there's a large percentage of cross-over youth; I believe it is about half of the Division of Family Services youth that are also involved in the Division of Youth Rehabilitative Services.

Hefner: And, as I understand it, one of the goals of the initiative is to use research to drive policy decisions that will produce improved outcomes for young people transitioning from foster care to adulthood. How has research been used to create new policies or modify existing policies to improve the lives of these young people?

Biden: I think we really need to look at what's working and to really research what works. To increase evidence-based practices is essential in terms of meeting outcomes and producing positive outcomes for the

youth and for the programs. That's why there has been such a push to really implement evidence-based practices in all of DCJ's programs.

Hefner: In keeping with the theme of juvenile justice, can you talk some about your program, Young@Art, and how that is used to support youth?

Biden: Young@Art came about because I would go into the [juvenile detention] facilities when I worked for the state and the students [were] so creative and were creating these beautiful pieces of artwork. It was definitely a talent within the facility and a passion of a lot of the youth. Young@Art kind of came from that. The students create artwork while they're in the facilities, and then that artwork is taken out into the community and sold. Half of the proceeds from the sale go directly to the youth, and half go back into the program. The proceeds that go back into the program are used for buying art supplies for the facilities, as well as paying the youth minimum wage to work the community art shows.

We are still trying to implement [the program so] that it would be a student-run business – basically a social enterprise where the students themselves would be running the business and learning financial literacy skills that are needed. The program was off the ground when I was working with the state. We are now kind of in limbo. We're looking for a home. And the Delaware Center for Justice actually may take over the program. We're discussing that right now.

Hefner: Is there anything else about juvenile justice in the state of Delaware that you would like to mention before we move on?

Biden: The one big thing we're also working on is civil citations, which kind of resembles our existing School Offense Diversion Program. It basically diverts first-time youth offenders from formal arrest, those who have committed non-violent and low-level offenses. The idea here is that sanctions are used in place of arrest. So they would include youth and family counseling, drug screening, substance abuse treatment, a letter of apology and restitution. Right now DCJ is working with other advocates to identify providers, specifically non-profits, who are in the community to provide these diversion programs.

Hefner: What are the benefits to youth of diverting them from the traditional criminal justice system?

Biden: Well, they don't have a record, which, again, has implications for future jobs and educational opportunities. [This] provides them with services that are needed to address some of the behavioral issues that are going on, whether it be trauma, substance abuse, mental health issues, [or] issues within the family. So it helps the students and the families access the needed resources so that they can make positive changes.

Death Penalty Reform

Hefner: Another issue that has been in the media recently is the effort to abolish the death penalty, both in Delaware and nationwide. Why is the death penalty an important issue to focus on and to potentially reform in Delaware?

Biden: I think we know that the death penalty is not cost effective. Taxpayer dollars are not being spent well due to the number of appeals. Research has shown time and time again that the death penalty is not a deterrent. And in states where the death penalty exists, there are often the highest rates of capital cases. I think that it wastes resources that could go towards victim services and preventing future victims. The research shows us that offenders rarely are considering the consequences when committing crimes. And Delaware ranks fifth in death sentences.

Hefner: In 2013, the Delaware State Senate voted to repeal the death penalty, excluding current inmates who are on death row. But, this still has to go through the House [of Representatives]. What do you think the future of the death penalty system is in Delaware?

Biden: I hope that it changes. I hope that it's repealed. Delaware Center for Justice is a founding member of the Delaware Repeal Coalition, which consists of numerous community and faith-based organizations. I think the focus is on trying to put pressure now on democratic leadership to suspend the committee rules to bring it to the floor for a vote. It passed the Senate so I believe that it deserves a vote in the House. And, I think Delawareans would agree. There have been thousands of Delawareans who have signed a petition. So, I'm hopeful that the death penalty will be repealed in the coming years.

Future Directions

Hefner: What emerging social or political issues do you see coming out of the work of the Delaware Center for Justice?

Biden: Well right now we've been working on – and hope to continue working on providing community based, pre-trial supervision to low- to medium-risk offenders. Delaware [is a] Justice Reinvestment Initiative state [a task force comprehensively evaluates the state's criminal justice system]. And we have a high pre-trial detention population. And so there has been a lot of work done to provide community based pre-trial supervision of defendants. And so, that's an issue that we are working on. We hope in the near future to be one of those community providers. We are also planning to provide intensive case management at the Achievement Center.

The Achievement Center is basically a one-stop for moderate- to high-risk offenders. We're taking a collaborative, multidisciplinary approach [to] providing a continuum of evidence-based services. There will be highly qualified co-located partners - substance abuse providers, mental health providers. And then Delaware Center for Justice plans on providing intensive case management. So it's basically where you can get a variety of services under one roof. There will also be employment services, job training, and a multitude of other services. Because re-entry is really our niche…we are really dedicated to focusing on helping those who are coming out of prison to reintegrate successfully into society.

Hefner: Can you talk a little bit more about the issues with re-entry and the challenges that people do face when they are trying to reintegrate into society, from prison or other correctional facility?

Biden: People who are coming out of prison have a record and, so, finding gainful employment [is difficult]. There's a need for accessing educational opportunities…housing, transportation, mental health and substance abuse [services]. We need take a holistic approach of helping those who have been incarcerated reintegrate back into society. We're supposed to be a society that believes in second chances. You commit a crime and you pay your time, but then are not given the opportunities to really rebuild your life. And so if you can't find a job, you can't find housing, you don't have the education that is needed for these jobs…it's often difficult to be successful.

Hefner: Are there any policies in Delaware relating specifically to re-entry issues?

Biden: We're actually working on [a bill] called - which has just passed in Wilmington – "Ban the Box." It was introduced in June 2013. And it's currently before the Economic Development/Banking Insurance and Commerce Committee in the House. Basically, it would prohibit a public employer from inquiring into or considering the criminal record history or credit history of the applicant before…a conditional offer [for employment] is made. The bill specifies that background checks can only consider felonies from within the past 10 years and misdemeanors from within the past five years. And, so, the reason why DCJ is supporting this policy is that this will remove barriers for individuals who are re-entering communities. You know, the

ability to secure a job is crucial. And, so, when you go in to fill out an application and it asks for your criminal history upfront an employer can automatically look at that and disqualify you. And we're hoping that that no longer happens, that the applicant can get an interview and be able to explain their situation and explain…that they made a mistake, but this is what they've done to turn their life around. And so it [previous criminal record] doesn't automatically disqualify them for being a potential candidate.

Hefner: So are there any other issues you would like to discuss that you see as increasingly important to the state of Delaware that we haven't already talked about?

Biden: One of the things that we are doing is addressing gun violence, specifically [in] New Castle County and the city of Wilmington. We are going to be implementing a program called "SWAGG" – Student Warriors Against Guns and Gangs. There are three main components. There is an educational component, which is intensive. We are using an evidence-based curriculum that is endorsed by OJJDP [Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention]. We will be hiring an educational instructor to go into the facility and to teach that curriculum. And then the second component [consists of] community-based support groups. We are hoping, eventually, that these support groups could be peer-run. This is involving the community; this is where members of the community come in to speak with the students. The third component is linking those students to intensive case management – helping the students find employment, find training programs, enroll in education [programs].

To reduce the gun violence in the city of Wilmington, it's going to require all hands on deck. It is going to require effort from within the community, from non-profit agencies, [and] from state agencies to really provide those intensive wrap-around services. That is something that I'm really excited about. We just received funding from a private foundation for three years and the state also provided us with some funding.

Hefner: Can you talk specifically about the problem of gun violence in Wilmington, specifically?

Biden: We just had, I believe, six youth who were at the Department of Services for Children, Youth, and Their Families killed within the last year [from gun violence]. The majority of perpetrators are between the ages of 18 and I believe it's, 30, and the majority of the victims [as well]. This is kind of a real crisis. And we have to, as a community, look at why this is happening. I think a lot of it has to do with structural racism and inequality and living in poverty.

We don't talk about having a gang problem. But we do [have one], because as you know…the definition of gangs are four or more individuals organized around crime. And, so, you have geographic gangs like block gangs. We really need to provide that support and education of how gun violence not only affects victims and the individual, but the community at-large. And to be able to provide, you know, those, those resources that are needed, whether that be, again, mental health, substance abuse, education, employment, and increasing the self-worth of these youth, helping them to see that this doesn't have to be their life.

Hefner: I have one more question for you. You have grown up in a family of political influence and you've talked about your father and the influence his work has had on some of your personal and professional interests. Do you have any interest in running for political office in the future?

Biden: No, absolutely not. I have seen the value of public service. And I choose to be an advocate for youth and this is kind of my [passion]. I don't ever see myself running for political office. I have a lot of respect for a lot of politicians out there. And I've seen with my own eyes what good can be [done by] people who go into public service, the changes they can make. In my eyes, it's a noble profession. I know that politicians always get a bad rap. But I really see it as a noble profession. And I think it can be done with honesty and integrity, and passion. But myself? No. I mean, I think when you grow up in a political family, you have very little privacy. I'm sensitive. I am a sensitive woman. Not that I'm not tough, because I am. [Chuckles] But, you know, I think that politics is not for me. I'll stick to the non-profit, social work arena.

Final Remarks

In closing the interview, Biden shared two thoughts that have guided her professional interest and passion for helping others:

Biden: My two favorite quotes are: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has," by Margaret Mead. And another one that I love is by Maggie Kuhn who said, "Speak your mind even if your voice shakes."

A Half-Century of Service and Scholarship: The Disaster Research Center at UD

Adria Buchanan
University of Delaware

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T he political and cultural landscape took on dramatic color during the 1960s, and academia responded. Nationally, universities and academics developed, enhanced and sharpened their tools for investigating new phenomena. Two sociologists in particular, E.L. Quarantelli and Russell Dynes at Ohio State University, found their way into natural disasters, eventually leading to the establishment of the Disaster Research Center (DRC). The Center's subsequent research would break existing molds for understanding human behavior and provide the basis for worldwide disaster inquiry. The Center began with a number of funded projects from the Office of Civil Defense and Air Force Office of Scientific Research to investigate human behavior during a disaster as a possible threat to national security and preparation. Despite its niche in human behavior, the DRC's permanence at the University of Ohio was uncertain. Fortunately for the University of Delaware, the stars aligned to bring the DRC stability midway through its 50-year history. In the context of new inventions, political and social revolutions, pop culture sensations, and unfortunate tragedy, the DRC has evolved. Other centers have since emerged, yet this article depicts those characteristics that have contributed to the DRC's longevity by chronicling its history in a global and domestic context, discussing what makes it unique in the ongoing body of disaster science, and presenting current projects with perspectives from staff and students to celebrate its 50 year anniversary.

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The Beginning

1963 was a remarkable year. Kenya gained independence from Britain, "Beatlemania" emerged with the release of "I want to hold your hand," and gasoline was about 30 cents a gallon. During 1963 the Berlin wall also opens for one-day passes, however by 1964 you wouldn't have seen civil rights activist Medgar Evars, President John F. Kennedy or Lee Harvey Oswald in line for a ticket. Martin Luther King, Jr. goes off-script and delivers perhaps the most famous speech in recent history, and *Gideon v. Wainwright* asserts a fair trial "cannot be realized if a poor man charged with a crime" must face his accuser without a lawyer to assist him. Yugoslavia and Libya also suffer massive earthquakes that sever the earth beneath, societies of, and relationships between those who experienced them.

In part to study the social complexities of such devastating natural phenomena, a new field of research also emerged in 1963. This research, carried out through the first-ever Disaster Research Center, would break existing molds for understanding human behavior and provide

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[5] Adria Buchanan in an Associate Editor *for New Visions for Public Affairs*. She compiled this profile article through a series of interviews and communications with Disaster Research Center personnel throughout the spring 2014 semester.

the basis for worldwide disaster inquiry.

The 60s

The political and cultural landscape took on dramatic color during the 1960s, and academia responded. Nationally, universities and academics developed, enhanced and sharpened their tools for investigating new phenomena. Two Sociologists in particular, E.L. Quarantelli and Russell Dynes at Ohio State University, found their way into studying natural disasters. Along with Charles Fritz and Eugene Haas, the pair collectively worked on a proposal to investigate crisis-time behavior during both natural and human induced disasters. As E.L. Quarantelli states of the ongoing Cold War:

> "[It] led to several major confrontations between the two countries, one being the Soviet blockade of Berlin, and the other being the Cuban crisis where Soviet missiles were going to be installed on the island not too far from Florida. From oral histories obtained later from key officials involved, it is obvious that there was a strong belief in both political and military top level circles, that both crises sharply accelerated a concern over how American society would react to an atomic attack on the United States. There was a pervasive belief among elite circles [t]hat the reaction would not be a good one, that there would be widespread "panic" and a breakdown of the social order."

This paralleled the team's interest, and their proposal eventually made its way from the National Science Foundation, which turned it down, to the Office of Civil Defense (OCD) and the Air Force Office of Scientific Research (AFOSR). To address concerns that civilian behavior might disrupt wartime efforts, the "OCD and AFSOR officials saw the proposal as something that would meet their needs to show they were doing something to meet the new threat to American society."

The goals of the proposal sought namely to:

1. Collate and synthesize findings obtained in prior studies of organizational behavior under stress.
2. Examine, through fieldwork and other means, pre-crisis organizational structures and procedures for meeting stress.
3. Establish a field research team to engage in immediate and follow-up studies of the operation of organizations in community disaster settings, both domestic and foreign.
4. Develop, in coordination with a concurrent project, a program for field experiments and laboratory simulation studies of organizational behavior under stress.
5. Produce a series of publications on the basis of these four objectives with special emphasis on recommendations concerning the effective emergency operations of organizations and other matters pertinent to civil defense planners.

The accepted proposal provided a few guaranteed years of funded work for the team and prompted them to formally centralize their activities. In 1963 the name Disaster Research Center was chosen because "Center" was, according to Quarantelli, "an informal designation, and did not constitute the setting up of a new formal administrative unit on campus as would be required if something called an Institute was created...[a]lso, no funding of any kind was ever provided to DRC by OSU. DRC solely existed for nearly two decades on getting its own grants and contracts." As E.L. Quarantelli continues, as such, "we were a phantom organization and answerable only to ourselves."

However, as the years went on, the future of the DRC became uncertain.

The 70/80s

The 70s were good years for Roe, Bill Gates, the guy who created Star Wars, LeVar Burton and Mother Teresa. They were less prosperous for Wade, Olympic athletes in Munich, and anyone near Three Mile Island.

In the 80s President Regan and the Pope both escaped assassination attempts. Michael Jackson's "Thriller" album was released, and the Vietnam War Memorial opened in Washington, D.C. Unfortunately, in this decade we also experienced famine in Ethiopia, The Chernobyl disaster, and the identification of Auto Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS).

In a different vein, the 70s and 80s also brought professional change for both Dynes and Quarantelli. The DRC continued to grow, though the support from Ohio State remained flat; Quarantelli and Dynes were guaranteed neither the administrative resources nor the space to expand. In 1977, Dynes moved on to head the American Sociological Association (ASA) and Quarantelli continued to oversee the DRC, however, with his retirement on the horizon and no replacement in sight to head the center, the risk of the DRC dismantling became even greater.

While at the ASA, Dynes was recruited by the University of Delaware to head its Sociology department. At the same time, Quarantelli was preparing to retire from Ohio State and looking for a place to house the Disaster Research Center. In 1985, through a series of serendipitous moves, the Disaster Research Center found a new home. As chair of the Sociology Department, Dynes worked with Quarantelli to transfer the Disaster Research Center from Ohio State University 500 miles southeast to the University of Delaware campus, where it would continue to be housed in the Sociology department. The E.L. Quarantelli Resource Collection, as it is now known, contains more than 6,100 items, including unique, one of a kind, and rare material. The collection continues to grow, meeting the needs of the disaster research community, including entities like FEMA, and archiving nearly 50 years of articles, field studies, interviews and other policy-influencing research.

The 1990s, the 2000s, and Beyond

The 90s saw the collapse of the Soviet Union, the election of Nelson Mandela and images of Mars via the Pathfinder. We mourned the untimely deaths of cultural icons Princess Diana and Bob Ross, the victims of Columbine, and the millions suffering under the rage of Rwandan genocide. Mother Theresa wins the Nobel Peace Prize and the United States prepared to enter a new millennium with a population of just over 6 billion.

Human Genome. America Online. Facebook. Hillary. Bush. Obama. The 2000s were a decade of unbridled innovation, controversy and political strife. The attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, Hurricane Katrina, and the election of President Barack Obama forced us into new conversations that have forever changed the American cultural and political narrative.

The conversation around disaster research also took on a new flavor. The DRC became more diverse, hiring faculty with backgrounds in marine biology, engineering, anthropology, English and other disciplines. This interdisciplinary shift reflected the complexity of research generally, and the call of the National Science Foundation specifically, to undertake a multi-disciplined approach to disaster science. During this time, current Professor Joanne Nigg joined the faculty whose background includes evaluation of hazards and risk mitigation. Her more than 20 projects, totaling 3.2 million have covered areas including hazard and threat awareness, communal attitudes towards nuclear waste repositories, and disaster recovery.

Celebrating Today

The computer mouse. The zipcode. The nanosecond. They all turn 50 this year. What these discoveries have done for computers, geo-location, and time, respectively has made life easier or more complicated, depending upon your perspective. So too, has the Disaster Research Center. Samantha Penta, a graduate student studying sociology, asserts, "The faculty and students at the Disaster Research Center are an incredible resource, and have fostered a learning and collaborative environment that has both supported me and pushed me to grow as a disaster researcher." Professor Tricia Wachtendorf, assistant director of the Center, goes on to say that, "DRC faculty, students, and alumni - both from UD and when DRC was at Ohio State - have done so much to shape the social science of disasters over the past half century. From the seminal work of

the founding directors, to the theories developed on disaster behavior, to the applied recommendations made for practice, the findings have had a reach around the world."

After 50 years, the DRC continues as 1) a source of information and original archives for researchers around the world, 2) a benchmark of research excellence in disaster science and 3) the basis of the University of Delaware's Masters and Doctoral programs in Disaster Science.

The following section details what continues to make the DRC unique, including some of the current studies, with faculty and student perspectives, and provides an exciting look at the upcoming 50th Anniversary conference.

Understanding the Relationships between Household Decisions and Infrastructure Investment in Disaster Recovery: Cases from Superstorm Sandy
Team: Professor Sue McNeil (PI), Professor Joe Trainor (Co-PI), Alex Greer (Graduate student researcher).

Professor Sue McNeil explains:

> "The project addresses issues related to resettlement during disaster recovery. One piece of this focuses on the role of transportation infrastructure. This exploratory interdisciplinary project aims to better understand the role transportation infrastructure plays in the disaster recovery process. By documenting transportation infrastructure damage and repair, conducting interviews to understand community and household attitudes, and researching incentives and resources related to household decisions regarding relocation and rebuilding in two communities impacted by Hurricane Sandy, we will better understand how to provide transportation infrastructure recovery activity that meets the needs of communities impacted by disaster." Alex Greer will conduct follow-up interviews with a select number of communities, and explains, "[t]his exploratory research is an opportunity to contribute to our understanding of household resettlement in the context of community recovery… [and] will also offer policymakers unique insights on what households consider most important in this decision-making process."

The project is funded through the University Transportation Centers program from U.S. Department of Transportation. University of Delaware is a member of a consortium led by the Center for Advanced Infrastructure and Transportation (CAIT) at Rutgers.

Collaborative Adaptive Sensing of the Atmosphere (CASA)-Technology, Weather Forecasts, and Warnings: Integrating the End User Community.
Team: Professor Joe Trainor and Professor Havidan Rodriguez. Graduate research assistants Danielle Nagele, Brittany Scott.

The Collaborative Adaptive Sensing of the Atmosphere (CASA) project is one of a small number of multi-disciplinary, multi-institution engineering research centers in the United States funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF). Danielle Nagele describes,

> "As an incoming doctoral student with little experience in social science research, I found the CASA project to be extremely helpful. Throughout my time as a graduate assistant on this project I gained extensive experience in SPSS, survey design, interviewing, and project management. Most importantly, I was able to conduct research on a topic I am particularly passionate about: societal impacts of weather. Publications and presentations resulting from the CASA project have and will have an enormously positive impact on our understanding of behavioral response to warnings and hazards."

Defending her dissertation later this year, Danielle currently works at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration where she integrates and coordinates social science within NOAA. She reveals, "NOAA mostly deals with physical sciences, but it's beginning to incorporate social sciences like risk communication, sociology, and economics. Since my background is in meteorology, I spend a lot of time working with societal aspects of weather in particular."

Danielle and Professor Joseph Trainor continue to work on analysis from the CASA project, and look forward to publishing additional findings later this year.

THE CoPEWell Project
Professor James Kendra, Director for the Disaster Research Center, serves as the Principle Investigator (PI) working alongside New York's Department of Health and Human Services and the Center for Disease Control (CDC). Others on this team include Professors Benigno Aguirre, Joanne Nigg, and Joe Trainor with student involvement from Hans Louis-Charles, Sarah Gregory and Nuno Martins, Lauren Clay and Victor Wang.

The project seeks to understand existing and large data in combination with surveys to predict which communities at the county level will function better after a disaster, to determine how different interventions will improve functioning, and as Sarah explains, "reduce losses." Nuno Martins, an international student, expressed:

> "This opportunity is particularly meaningful for me because it is my first case study in the US, introducing me to an entirely new context in which to work. Furthermore, it gives me the opportunity to work with researchers from different fields and with different backgrounds."

Hazard SEES - Science, Engineering, and Education for Sustainability
According to the National Science Foundation, "The overarching goal of Hazards SEES is to catalyze well-integrated interdisciplinary research efforts in hazards-related science and engineering in order to improve the understanding of natural hazards and technological hazards linked to natural phenomena, mitigate their effects, and to better prepare for, respond to, and recover from disasters."

As a subset of the larger project, the University of Delaware DRC team is responsible for collecting data and understanding public response in the integrated warning system framework. The team on this project, known as Next Generation Resilient Warning Systems for Tornadoes and Flash Floods, is a collaborative effort between the University of Massachusetts, University of Oklahoma, Colorado State University, North Central Texas Council of Governments, and LTHE Grenoble, France. The University of Delaware team consists of Dr. Joe Trainor as Co-PI, DISA MS Candidate Daryl Yoder-Bontrager, DISA MS Candidate Anthony Cario, and two undergraduate students (Cortney Flynn and Lindsay Arndt). This three year interdisciplinary initiative seeks to develop a system that provides real time user-specific warnings to individuals over their smartphones utilizing high resolution nowcast technology.

Anthony Cario, a graduate student researcher on the project describes looking at how time and space affect public response and says,

> "Some tasks include an extensive literature review, collecting data through focus groups in the Dallas Fort Worth Metroplex, developing survey instruments to be delivered over smartphones immediately following a hazard event, opt-in cell phone tracking during an event, and individual follow-up interviews."

Regarding his personal experience on the project, he notes,

"Working on grant funded projects is an eye opening and rewarding experience. It gives students, like myself, a real world look into how to perform academic research along the lifespan of a project…[i]t is incredibly rewarding to see my own growth working with undergraduate researchers and hitting different benchmarks. In addition, working on projects at the DRC allows students opportunities to publish or present their own work and findings."

Anthony, on behalf of the team, will present the preliminary work on the project at this year's 50th Anniversary Celebration

"Taking Stock and Taking Action: Disaster Research and the Challenges Ahead"

The DRC's 50th Anniversary Conference will take place Wednesday April 30th – Saturday May 3rd, 2014 in the University of Delaware's Clayton Hall, and will feature a range of highly experienced, ambitious, and engaging individuals with backgrounds in history, public administration, behavioral health, anthropology, law and many other disciplines. With nearly 30 featured speakers, breakout sessions, an interactive forum and a poster presentation, this year's celebration is intended to display the rich history and exceptional research of disaster science. According to the conference website,

"Rapid urbanization, growing populations, global economic adjustments, environmental degradation, decaying infrastructure, climate change, and technological failures of every description create a universal risk milieu whose origins and outcomes are hard to identify and for which ameliorative steps are elusive. This crisis demands new research directives that build new theory, explore new methods, and that foster synthesis and integration of ideas that can be useful in creating more adaptive risk management institutions."

Given the DRC's commitment to continually push the boundaries of disaster exploration, its constant willingness to adopt new technologies, and ongoing practice of incorporating a wide array of research professionals, it is no wonder, as Professor Joe Trainor, whose upcoming book combines disaster research with practice knowledge, explains, "the University of Delaware's Disaster Research Center continues to be a formidable player and one of the premier institutions that does this research." Presently, it is hard to imagine the DRC's future was once uncertain. As Bob Dylan's 1964 song of the same title explains, "Times They Are A-Changin," and to its credit, 50 years later, the University of Delaware's Disaster Research Center has not missed a beat.

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Special Feature: NECoPA 2013 Conference

In November 2013, the School of Public Policy and Administration at University of Delaware hosted the Northeast Conference on Public Administration (NECoPA), "Public Administration in an Information Society: Opportunities, Threats, and Intriguing Possibilities."

The NVPA editorial board invited student presenters to submit articles for a special NECoPA feature in New Visions for Public Affairs. NVPA is pleased to present "Civic Hacking: A Motivation Framework," by Tanya Stepasiuk, University of Massachusetts Boston.

Civic Hacking:
A Motivation Framework

Tanya Stepasiuk
University of Massachusetts Boston

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Civic hackers are a newly emerging community, working to bridge the gap between technology and government. They gather together to work on projects using publicly available data and technological expertise to devise apps, programs, and data presentations for the benefit of the community. I use primary data collected from ten semi-structured interviews with current participants as well as observations of civic hacking events and grounded theory to answer the question, "what are the motivations of people who participate in civic hacking?" I then suggest a framework. The framework includes unique identities and motivations of this particular community. Motivations are divided into three typologies: "hackers," volunteers, and activists. The typologies correspond to motivations that are intrinsic and extrinsic in nature. While exploratory in nature, this study takes a preliminary look at this new form of social engagement and the reasons that people participate. This newly emerging phenomenon is of interest to public administrators and scholars as it suggests ways to partner with this community to achieve the benefit of a technologically savvy community that would like to contribute to civic causes.

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Introduction

As individuals and communities with technological expertise and savvy have emerged, a movement designed to use these skills for the good of the community has followed. This movement is often called "civic hacking" or "civic technology." While there are many possible avenues available for research into this community, a fundamental question involves the reasons why people choose to devote time and talent to these endeavors. This paper begins to explore this question through interviews with participants and observations of meetings.

This paper presents a background regarding the phenomenon of civic hacking; a literature review of the relevant concepts of motivation, volunteering, activism, and hacking; a presentation of the study methodology and findings including the framework; and implications and future research suggestions. As this is a newly emerging phenomenon, it is important to explore the potential implications of civic engagement with motivated technologists due to the possibility of future partnerships with public administrators and government officials.

Background

Civic hacking is a relatively new phenomenon,

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with much of the early momentum tied to Code for America, founded in 2009. Code for America, a non-profit organization, cites one of its central impacts as using technology to create interfaces with government that are functional and effortless (Code for America: About, 2013). It was called "the technology world's equivalent of the Peace Corps or Teach for America" (Wadhwa, 2011) and consists of full-time fellows working directly with cities, local brigades consisting of individuals who come together to build civic technologies approximately once a week, and financial and technological assistance to civic start-ups. Code for America was also a sponsor, along the White House and corporations such as Facebook and Intel, of the first National Day of Civic Hacking, an event that attracted over 11,000 individuals in 83 cities in the US (National Day of Civic Hacking Report, 2013). There is no current data regarding the demographics of participants, however a 2013 audit of CivicIdeas – a blogging site for connecting government and community – users showed that almost 60% of users were under age 44, approximately 60% of the users were male, and 84% of users had at least some college education (Horgan, 2013).

As this paper uses the term, civic hacking occurs when people come together to "collaboratively create, build, and invent new solutions using publicly-released data, code and technology to solve challenges relevant to [their] neighborhoods, cities, states and country" (National Day of Civic Hacking: About, 2013). While there is some question as to the best terminology for these events and groups due to the potentially exclusive or negative connotation of the term civic hacking, this paper uses it in the above manner.

One-time events such as the National Day of Civic Hacking and ongoing group meetings such as those of the brigades of Code for America attract individuals who spend several hours, months, or longer working on a technological product of some kind. Past and ongoing projects include a website that enables people to find their local food pantry and an annotated listing of state laws. One of the first successes for Code for America was the adopt-a-hydrant app and website (adoptahydrant.org). The site is available for the residents of Boston to volunteer to shovel out fire hydrants during snow storms, a task that is relatively easy to do as people are shoveling their sidewalks, but onerous for the fire department to do citywide during storms. Using data regarding the locations of hydrants from the city of Boston and coding skills, volunteers were able to build and maintain a site that benefits the community because fire department resources do not need to be diverted to a task that is more efficiently delivered by citizen volunteers. As the coding is open source and available to other Code for America brigades, the model was adopted for other purposes in other cities, such as tree and storm drain adoption.

A hackathon typically occurs over the course of a weekend with groups of individuals often coalescing around a project that could be suggested from a team member or another interested party, such as a public administrator. The organizers often provide resources such as food and equipment, but unlike most other hackathons that are organized for individuals to work on different types of technological projects, financial incentives or other prizes are not typically awarded at civic hackathons (Tao, 2013; National Day of Civic Hacking: About, 2013). In this sense, direct financial incentives are not available to participants and projects are typically not judged against one another, leading to a more cooperative atmosphere than hacking events sponsored by companies that offer venture capital or other large prizes to winners. Hack nights are often held weekly and function as a communal gathering of interested individuals to work on ongoing projects together or start new ones. Occasionally there is a connection with local government either from a public employee coming to a meeting or a meeting set up with a public official to discuss data, however this is not the norm. Based upon my observations and interviews, at hack nights individuals typically decide upon projects and utilize available public data without input from government officials.

While these events occur in a communal space, such as a library or donated office space, some of the work associated with civic hacking occurs remotely and collectively in cyberspace. Weekly hack nights present the opportunity for coding and collaborating in the same space for several hours at a time. For some individuals this is the totality of the resources they are able to dedicate to civic hacking, however some civic hackers spend a great deal of time working on a project outside of this dedicated time. While not a

requirement to participate, often civic hackers have a high degree of technological expertise in the form of computer coding or design knowledge.

Literature Review

My analysis rests on the theory that individuals who lend their time and talent to "civic hacking" fit into one or more motivational classifications; activists, volunteers, and "hackers." Each of these identities has corresponding motivations. Available literature addresses the areas of motivation generally, activism and volunteerism, but scant literature exists on hacking. However, the open source movement provides insight into the motivation of a community with many similar features.

Motivation Generally motivation can be thought of as intrinsically or extrinsically based. Intrinsic motivation can be further broken down into enjoyment-based or obligation/community based motivation. Enjoyment-based intrinsic motivation is associated with flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 2009) and task accomplishment (Lakhani & Wolf, 2003). Obligation-based intrinsic motivation is associated with individuals acting on matters of principle (Lindenberg, 2001). Extrinsic motivation is linked to external reward; for example revenue from related products or positions, human capital, and peer recognition (Hars & Ou, 2002).

Activism My use of the term activism or activist is taken from the work of Klar and Kasser (2009). It includes the advocacy for a political cause or issue such as protecting the environment, opposing war, or championing the rights of children. This may be expressed in any form of action ranging from signing a petition to participating in strikes or sit-ins (p. 3).

Participation for activists is linked to political opportunity. Platt (2008) expects rational activists to participate in events when economic, social, and political conditions are more favorable to their objectives. Duncan (1999) presented a model of activist motivation that includes intrapersonal variables, such as personality and life experiences, as contributing to group consciousness. The collective consciousness helps individuals identify with a group and then leads to cooperative solutions to group problems and collective action. In other words, while not explicit in prior research, we might characterize activist motivation into the intrinsic category, both with enjoyment-based and obligation-based elements. Extrinsic motivation is not strong even when examining economic conditions because activists are looking for the specific condition that will further their cause as opposed to their financial outcome.

Volunteering The definition of volunteering used in this work comes from the President's Task Force on Private Sector Initiatives in 1982 via Thoits and Hewitt (2001):

> Volunteering is the voluntary giving of time and talents to deliver services or perform tasks with no direct financial compensation expected. Volunteering includes the participation of citizens in the direct delivery of service to others; citizen action groups; advocacy for causes, groups, or individuals; participation in the governance of both private and public agencies; self-help and mutual aid endeavors; and a broad range of informal helping activities. (p. 116)

Clary & Snyder (1999) find that the motivation to volunteer can be described as fitting into six categories: values, understanding, enhancement, career, social, and protective functions. These functions can be aligned with the intrinsic and extrinsic typologies of motivation generally, with the primary factors being intrinsic.

Activism is sometimes subsumed by volunteering, but can also be thought of as a separate endeavor or identity. Unlike volunteers, activists may be paid. For the purposes of this paper, I view them as potentially overlapping with the possibility of distinction outside of the overlap.

Hacking The definition of hackers and hacking is the most interesting of the terms for the purposes of this paper because the terms are used within the community differently than by the public. I will be using a

definition of hacking that is common to the population I interviewed: "repurposing something, usually of a technological nature." Additional discussion of this term can be found in the findings section.

As there is not currently any literature dealing directly with hacking motivation, there are several studies (Hars & Ou, 2002; Hertel, Niedner, & Herrmann, 2003; Lakhani & Wolf, 2003) that discuss the motivation for participating in open source software, a community that shares many individuals and traits with hackers (interest in solving problems and puzzles, using computers and technology to perform tasks, interacting with and perfecting code) that is useful for this study. The civic hacking community is sometimes subsumed by the open source community as civic hacking typically has an open source philosophy and protocol (Levitas, 2013). Researchers have found that internal factors such as intrinsic motivation, altruism, and community identification are important motivators as well as external factors such as aiding in a job search, compensation and anticipated return (Hars & Ou, 2002; Lakhani & Wolf, 2003). Additionally, building personal human capital and self-marketing were also important motivational factors for individuals' decisions to contribute to open source software (Hars & Ou, 2002; Hertel, Niedner, & Herrmann, 2003; Lakhani & Wolf, 2003).

The Study

As a newly emerging community and area of study, there are many interesting elements of civic hacking. However, when approaching this topic one basic area of inquiry involves determining why people are in this community. The research question that developed from this line of reasoning was:

What are the motivations of people who participate in civic hacking?

Due to the developing nature and the lack of literature on the subject, this study was designed to be exploratory in nature, using qualitative interviews and observations to gather primary data.

Methodology

The study included ten in-depth interviews with adults who participate in civic hacking activities in the greater Boston area as well as observations at six weekly meetings of a Code for America brigade and the National Day of Civic Hacking. Interviews were semi-structured, during which individuals were asked about their personal history and involvement in the tech community, projects they engaged in, their introduction to civic hacking, volunteer activities, political leanings, and other open-ended questions. Interviews lasted between 45 minutes and two hours. I chose semi-structured interviews due to the exploratory nature of this research, specifically including the possibility that additional lines of inquiry could present themselves throughout the interview. While survey data would be an excellent research method for the research question, I believed building a theory through in-depth interviews would allow for a deeper understanding of the community.

I recruited interview participants in person at various civic hacking events. During these events I asked for volunteers who would be willing to speak with me and received offers from more than ten individuals. I scheduled interviews based upon subject and interviewer availability, and interviews primarily took place at coffee shops or other mutually convenient locations. Interviews were recorded and partially transcribed due to time and cost considerations. Additionally, I observed the interactions of individuals during meetings, asked occasional questions, and took notes during the six meeting I attended.

Intragroup Diversity The sample had one woman and nine men; one Asian, one Hispanic, and eight white individuals; one unemployed and nine fully employed individuals; and all were aged between twenty-two and thirty-eight. I do not claim that this is a representative sample for all civic hackers. However, it was a fairly representative sample of the individuals attending regular meetings of Code for Boston, based upon my observations of the group being predominantly male and white. Nationwide, men hold approximately 75 percent of STEM field (science, technology, engineering, and math) positions (Beede, 2011a) and non-Hispanic Whites make up approximately 72 percent of the field (Beede, 2011b).

Data Analysis

I recorded the interviews on a digital recording device except one in which I used extensive note taking after the interview to overcome a taping failure. During most interviews I did not take many notes to allow for a conversational style. I listened back to the interviews and took notes on them once I finished the series of interviews. I also transcribed key portions of the interviews for use in data analysis. Partial transcription where the researcher retains detailed interview notes and has key passages of the tape transcribed is a valid method of qualitative interviewing particular when the researcher has time and/or financial constraints (King & Horrocks, 2010, p. 143).

Through the use of grounded theory (Barney & Anselm, 1967), I developed a coding scheme based on motivations and identity, and eventually a framework. Previous motivational literature regarding intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (for example see Hars & Ou, 2002; Lakhani & Wolf, 2003) provided a useful structure for examining the typologies of hackers, activists and volunteers, which emerged from the interviews and observations. Additionally, the motivational characteristics of hackers (represented by the open source literature), volunteers, and activists emerged from the individuals I spoke with in this population. During the interviews, individuals sometimes self-identified as one or more of the categories. Additionally, based upon responses to particular questions, I characterized individuals as having traits indicative of one or more identities. From these identities, I created a Venn diagram (see Figure 1) with proportions and overlaps in rough representation of the identities of those I interviewed.

Findings

The conceptual framework represents the anticipated and major finding of this study, however additional issues grew out of the initial research agenda and I present them here as well.

The Framework The primary finding of this study was a new conceptual framework for examining the motivations of individuals who participate in civic hacking. As illustrated in Figure 1, people in this community are conceptualized as falling into one or more of the following identities: hackers, volunteers and/or activists, and are expected to identify motivations that fit within these identities. Often motivations and identities are overlapping.

All individuals with coding skills self-identified as hackers. The individuals who did not identify with the moniker did identify with the activity of civic hacking. As there appears to be a strong overlap of the hacker and volunteer identities, many people also identified with volunteer traits; however some were reticent to embrace the label. When asked if they considered civic hacking volunteer work, people had a variety of responses. For example:

> Yeah, I guess so . . . I hadn't really thought about it in that context. I guess I think of it in a similar way to my participation in Fedora [open source group], being part of a community. It's definitely volunteer, I'm not getting paid!

> I didn't think of it that way, no. That was not the motivation. It was not – I was doing this or I was volunteering in a soup kitchen. Having said that, now I'm going to tell my girlfriend I volunteer.

As approximated by the size of the circles, there appears to be only a small contingent of activists represented within the community. Occasionally an individual would show up for a meeting and pitch an idea for a project that he appeared passionate about. However, if no other group members also shared an interest in the project, the individual would not return to a subsequent meeting. The few activists who had longevity with the group had overlapping hacker and/or volunteer motivations.

Motivations Using (Lakhani & Wolf, 2003)'s motivational typologies, I put each identified motivation into a category, either intrinsic – enjoyment based, intrinsic – obligation based, or extrinsic based motivation. These motivations were then grouped into corresponding identities. As somewhat anticipated, volunteers had a

majority of intrinsic – obligation based motivations. Hackers have varied motivations, comprised of intrinsic – motivation, intrinsic – obligation based, and extrinsic motivations. The primary intrinsic – obligation based motivation is distinct from those found in volunteers, however. Hackers see a great deal of value in increasing efficiency for its own sake as opposed to using it to help the community. While there is the possibility that some of the projects could be monetized, no one expressed any interest in using any of the knowledge or data they accessed during a civic hacking session for financial gain. As activists were not as prevalent as the other identities in this community, identified motivations are fewer and no extrinsic motivations were identified. However, one can imagine with a wider sample that extrinsic motivations such as finding funding might be present in this group.

Figure 1
Civic Hacking Motivation and Identity Framework
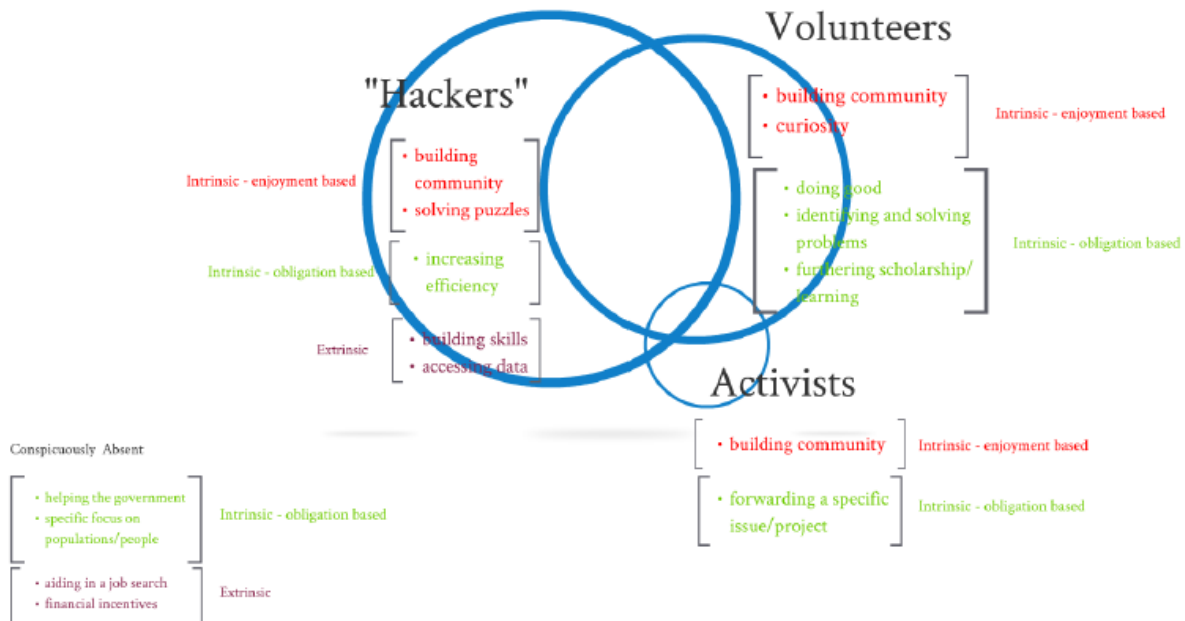
Conspicuously Absent I observed that the civic hackers did not identify with several motivations present in the literature. These absent motivations could be considered either intrinsic-obligation based or extrinsic factors. Under the intrinsic-obligation based category, we see that helping either the government or a specific population was not present. Most people discussed community generally, but there was no talk of helping a specific class or section of people, for example the disabled or a particular neighborhood. Additionally, during the times when I questioned individuals regarding the government, there was usually a mild negative reaction:

> I'm not doing this to help the government.
> . . .staunchy, government bureaucrats . . .

There were also several extrinsic motivation factors that were conspicuously absent; there was very little discussion of aiding in a job search or financial incentives, motivations sometimes present in the open source community. While this might have been due to the high employment rate of the individuals I spoke with (no

one was actively seeking a new job), I found that very few people articulated a desire to use the activity or group to help find new employment. These absences could be indicative of the motivations within the community or a result of my small sample size.

Conceptual difference between charity work and volunteering In a substantial number of interviews I experienced people distinguishing from the type of work they were doing as civic hackers and the type of work one might do as "charity" work. While a substantial number of people did not self-identify as volunteers, when probed they showed characteristics of volunteers. I asked one civic hacker whether he thought of his time as volunteer work and he responded:

> I don't know . . . I don't see it as charity though. I don't want to be judgmental, but I think when people think of charity, there's less of an investment somehow. You can just give money to a solution or do a walk for 20 miles and then go home and eat whatever you want.

Based upon this and similar responses, this conceptual distinction between volunteer work and charity work is likely connected to the overlapping identities of volunteers and hackers. People who identify with both of these monikers believe the activities they are engaging in are more specialized than doing charity work, activities anyone without any particular skill can engage in. Instead the volunteer work done by hackers in this environment is more technically skilled and thus deserving of a different conceptual role in their head, one that some people labeled as "charity work."

"Hacker" definition As I was aware that a common definition of the words "hacking" or "hacker" has a negative connotation, an important part of my research question was inquiring into the community's collective definition of these terms. This was especially important for an activity that usually uses the term to define itself (i.e. "National Day of Civic Hacking," "Hacking Night").

There was a general consensus with some nuance among the individuals I interviewed regarding the term. Generally, the closest approximation for "hacking" is "repurposing something, usually of a technological nature." It implies trying to solve a problem using the tools currently available to you. Often this means that tools and items are not used in the way they were intended. Some individuals stated that there are usually elements of puzzling and fun involved:

> Hacking is solving problems as quickly and efficiently as you can. You're not necessarily evaluating what the best method is; you're finding the best method by trying things out.

> The context I hear it used in is 'making something work in a way that it wasn't necessarily intended to or designed to work' . . . it used to just be called 'bootstrapping.'

> There has to be an element of fun to it, almost that feeling of 'what happens if I push this button?'

A "hacker" is someone who employs these methods. While one person called himself a "social hacker," implying he attempts to introduce and network with people in unexpected fashions, the individuals I spoke with who were not coders were hesitant to identify themselves as hackers.

This has potential implications as most civic hacking events are so labeled. Some interviewees expressed some concern that this might exclude interested individuals who do not code and do not consider themselves hackers in this narrower definition. A couple individuals suggested that using "civic technologists" or another such term might be more appropriate and inclusive. Additional impacts relate to the public and government's perception of the term, which often differs from those within the tech community. If we do not currently have the same vocabulary, it is difficult to distinguish between "good" hacking and "bad" hacking, also called "cracking."

Few activists and some dearth of project ideas Only one individual I spoke with could accurately be classified as an activist. He also had overlap with the volunteer and hacker identities and was content in the group learning new coding skills and helping out on projects that appealed to his altruistic nature. He was waiting until he was further entrenched in the group to bring his own personal ideas concerning ecology to the group for them to potentially work on. Therefore, he was functioning as a hacker/volunteer in the meantime.

I was able to observe several people I would classify as activists at the meetings and hack-a-thon I attended. Unfortunately, I was not able to interview any of these individuals. Partially, this was because none of them returned to any subsequent meetings. Generally, activists would pitch their ideas (regarding clean air monitoring, open data policy, etc.) to the group toward the beginning of the meeting or hack-a-thon. If there was no substantial support or buy-in from the group, they tended to move on, perhaps to other spaces where they would receive more support.

The consequence of a dearth of activists – as well as a dearth of administrators and policy scholars – is a lack of ideas that people are passionate about or that are demonstrably useful to the greater community. The projects that are acted upon are generally those that are the most interesting to the hackers and/or volunteers. Occasionally individuals encounter data that is interesting to them and try to figure out a way that it might potentially be useful to the community. However, a system of feedback regarding the actual value of an app or website is lacking.

Limitations and Future Areas for Study

As this study was exploratory in nature and had a relatively small number of interviews, the results cannot be considered generalizable. This study was also not able to address issues of representativeness across a variety of measures. The sample was overwhelmingly white, male, employed, and aged twenty to forty. While I suggest that this likely mirrors the tech community generally, it cannot be considered representative.

Additional interviews and/or surveys of participants would be appropriate next steps to confirm or further explore these preliminary findings. Additional research into the correlations of individual backgrounds and motivations could also be illuminating for public administrators. The conceptual difference between volunteer work and charity work, as well as the consequences of the lack of activists in the community, present potential additional research areas.

Discussion

As this is a new phenomenon and relatively unknown to public administrators, insight into the typologies of individuals who are interested in contributing to their community and government presents new possibilities. Merely identifying this community helps public administrators find a portion of the community with specific skills and motivation. A community of civic hackers presents recruiting possibilities for public administrators, scholars, non-profit administrators and other civic-minded groups. In order to recruit individuals for a hackathon or similar events in individual communities, knowledge of the motivations of potential participants is valuable. For instance, many individuals who can be classified as volunteers want to participate in "doing good" for their community, as illustrated by the identified intrinsic-obligation based motivation. A strong emphasis on the community benefit of each project would likely be well received. Monetary factors are not particularly important to people with any of the individuals attending such events. Additionally, a project that is too structured and does not allow for flexibility and creativity will not attract hackers who are interested in problem solving, one of their intrinsic – enjoyment based motivations. Some space could also be made for activists who bring their own ideas of what might best serve the community. As we see that many individuals share the traits of hackers and volunteers simultaneously, enticements such as the opportunity to build community, an intrinsic-enjoyment based motivation shared by the two groups, would likely be effective.

There appears to be a great deal of space available for collaborations of civic hackers, community members, administrators, and scholars. The perceived dearth of active collaborations means that future

collaborations might bring about projects that are more in-tune with governmental and community needs while still engaging the important motivations of individuals with the necessary skills to build technological innovations. With a relatively new phenomenon, public administrators should be involved in shaping the movement, since this affects the population that public administrators serve and utilizes the data that public administrators collect. Working to identify new projects that could benefit residents as well as engage the hacking community, and harnessing some of the energy toward initiatives that have languished due to a lack of funding or expertise, could help achieve more than administrators or civic hackers could do separately.

Civic hacking projects emerging from this community may not represent the actual needs and desires of the community or governments. Volunteers appear to genuinely want to help increase efficiency of government and to help their neighbors. If they do not know what their government is doing or needs in these regards, they cannot help in an efficient manner. They might be creating programs that are redundant or could easily come to fruition with more collaboration. Additionally, government might have appealing and needed projects that civic hackers could be working on, but do not know about. This presents possibilities for the future.

Conclusions

These motivations of civic hackers include building community, increasing efficiency, doing good, and solving puzzles, among other related motivations. The framework as presented in Figure 1 includes these motivations classified into intrinsic (both enjoyment based and obligation based) and extrinsic motivations mapped onto three typologies of individuals found at civic hacking events: activists, volunteers, and hackers. This framework emerged from the use of a grounded theory analysis of interviews with ten civic hackers as well as observations of civic hacking events. It attempts to answer the initial research question of "what are the motivations of people who participate in civic hacking?" Along with this framework, I found additional insights regarding a conceptual difference between charity work and volunteering held by members of this group, a definition of the terms "hacker" and "hacking" specific to the technology community, and the absence of project ideas which corresponded with the presence of few activists. This exploratory research provides a foundation for future research into this community and presents public administrators with insight into potential partnerships with people in their own community who would like to contribute their technological knowledge toward a civic cause.

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Technopolitical Regimes and Climate Change
A Transcript of an Interview with the Carbon Cycle

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D espite the urgent response that climate change demands, debate over climate change policy goes round and round without showing signs that it can rest long enough for action to be taken. Meanwhile, the situation with the atmospheric commons continues to deteriorate. In a desperate attempt to constructively contribute to the climate change debate and break through the morass, this paper engages with Actor Network Theory which affords practitioners the freedom to dialogue with the non-human. The result is a transcription of an interview with The Carbon Cycle. Using the concept of the technopolitical regime, The Carbon Cycle identifies two broadly defined philosophies that humans use to frame climate change policy. The two technopolitical regimes, what The Carbon Cycle calls the Interventionists and the Egalitarians, are informed by conflicting values. According to The Carbon Cycle, humans will need to face the difficult challenge of negotiating a policy response to climate change that lies somewhere between the interventionist and the egalitarian strategies. Depending on the policy approach taken, the implications for society-nature relationships and democratic governance are radically different and are teased out in this conversation.

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Transcript of *Conversations* - Series 2, Episode 8

FM: Hello, and welcome to this edition of Conversations where I, your host Fergal McFergalson, interview the world's most prominent and influential commentators. This week I am speaking with The Carbon Cycle. Ever since it was discovered roughly 150 years ago, The Carbon Cycle has remained relatively hidden from the public's consciousness (Weart, 2003). But recent concerns related to climate change have thrust The Carbon Cycle into the international, intellectual, and policy spotlight. Tonight on Conversations, we will explore this extremely political issue and hear from a true insider. Please join me in welcoming to the stage, [dramatic pause] The Carbon Cycle!

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[6] *Editor's Note:* While Philip Barnes is an Associate Editor for New Visions for Public Affairs, his identity was not disclosed to other members of the board as they considered whether to accept this piece for the peer-reviewed portion of this volume. Barnes recused himself from voting on this piece. The only board member aware of the author's identity as an Associate Editor prior to publication was the Editor-In-Chief.

[Tepid audience applause]

[The Carbon Cycle enters stage left and waves to the audience]

[A series of faint boos reign down from the upper balcony level]

[The Carbon Cycle shakes hands with Fergal and sits in the guest's chair]

FM: Carbon Cycle, thank you for joining us tonight.

CC: Thanks for having me. It's a pleasure to be here.

FM: First let me explain to our viewers why we invited The Carbon Cycle to Conversations. We all know about climate change. Well, the climate change issue is being called a 'wicked problem' (Rittel & Webber, 1973). What that means is that climate change is so deeply embedded within a complex web of social, economic, and political interactions that untangling that web and offering solutions which are acceptable, democratic, and realistic is an extremely difficult task (Hulme, 2009). In the worst-case scenario, the climate change issue is insoluble. The frustration experienced by policy makers, academics, and concerned citizens leads some to throw their hands in the air and declare the whole debate a waste of time. They argue the planet is going down regardless of the actions we take and that rather than debating the ways to rearrange the proverbial deck chairs on the Titanic, maybe we should begin to reach for the lifeboats (Heinberg, 2004). Not ready to give up hope just yet, some others are searching for alternative approaches to resolving the issue, Plans X, Y, and Z if you will. Belonging to the latter group, anti-essentialist sociologists and philosophers of science have suggested, in their desperation to catalyze action on climate change, that we humans engage in dialogue with the non-human world (Latour, 2005; Sayes, 2014). Proponents of Actor Network Theory, as it's called, argue that maybe those non-human voices – which after all are part of that complex web of interactions – can send signals that will better inform our decision making processes and outcomes. It might be a long shot, but if we're likely doomed anyway, what have we got to lose? It is for this reason that we have invited The Carbon Cycle to Conversations. We hope to initiate a meaningful discussion and uncover new knowledge and perspectives on the climate change issue. So with that being said, Carbon Cycle, why don't you tell us a little about yourself. Let's start with your age. Just how old are you?

CC: Well, I guess I've been around for about the last three and half billion years, at least since the first photosynthesizing life forms emerged (Olson, 2006). So I've been around for a while. I really have seen it all.

[Muted and ironic chuckles from a few members of the audience]

FM: And what have you been up to during those 3.5 billion years?

CC: As you and your well-informed audience probably know, because I'm The Carbon Cycle, I'm involved in the global circulation of carbon-based compounds such as carbon dioxide and methane. Basically what I do is take those carbon compounds, move them around, and put them in the right place at the right time. I should mention that my options for where I can conceivably put the carbon compounds are somewhat limited. The atmosphere is certainly one location, as are the oceans, the soil, and photosynthesizers, such as plants and algae. My job is to shuffle carbon from one of those places to another. For example, if there is a lot of carbon in atmosphere I can store some of the excess in the oceans. Also, and this is important, I can take those photosynthsizers and with the help of heat, pressure, and millions of years, turn them into fossil fuels such as oil, gas, and coal. Throughout my lifetime, the movement of carbon has been fairly slow and steady. Pretty blasé. True, there are events such as massive volcanic eruptions that have increased the quantity of carbon that I have to deal with, but I am always able to handle it. I always have, I always will. (Riebeek, 2011).

FM: So you are in charge of mediating and regulating carbon exchanges between earth, air, oceans, and living organisms. Is that a fair assessment?

CC: Yeah, that's a good summary of what I do.

FM: And you mentioned that for most of your life you have been able to manage these carbon exchanges. Part of the reason you've been invited here is because that no longer seems to be the case. Please tell us about that.

CC: Well, let me make one thing clear before continuing. I am still functioning properly. You seem to be implying that there is something wrong with me, that I am malfunctioning in some way. That's simply not the case. I am behaving and cycling carbon exactly as I should be. So before we continue this discussion, I just want to make that point abundantly clear. There is nothing wrong with me or with the decisions I make on where to store carbon.

FM: Thank you. I didn't mean to imply that you were dysfunctional in any way. Please, continue.

CC: Sorry to be so abrupt but I've been feeling a bit sensitive as of late. So recently, in the last half million years or so, average concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere have fluctuated between about 180 parts per million and 300 parts per million (Sundquist & Visser, 2004). Don't be afraid of these technical terms like 'parts per million.' It's only a concentration, kind of like the amount of tequila in your margarita. The more tequila in your glass, the more potent your margarita will be. The same principle applies with me, except that carbon replaces the tequila and the atmosphere replaces the pitcher your margarita came in. Anyway, so the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has fluctuated over time but it has fluctuated within the lower and upper bounds of 180 and 300 parts per million. For thousands of years, up until about two hundred years ago, the concentration was stable but a little on the high end, about 280 parts per million (IPCC, 2007). But in 2013, atmospheric carbon dioxide levels surpassed 400 parts per million, the highest concentration in millions of years (Gillis, 2013).

FM: So what does that mean?

CC: It means that there has been, in the last two hundred years, a new source of carbon and I am storing it in the only place it can be stored: the atmosphere. The current concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is about 30% higher now than it was two hundred years ago. That is a big increase in a short amount of time. Because the oceans, soils, and plants are saturated with carbon compounds, and because it takes many millions of years to create those carbon-based fuels, the only conceivable place that I can put the surplus carbon is in the atmosphere, hence the increase.

FM: What is causing that increase? What is the new source?

CC: The new source is something that I have never seen before. You remember that I said that one of my storage areas is fossilized carbon, right? Normally that carbon stays fossilized. It's buried, stored underground in either solid, liquid, or gas form. Well, you humans have discovered this store of carbon – coal, crude oil, natural gas, tar sands – and have developed a healthy appetite for it.

FM: What do you mean by healthy appetite? We can't eat coal, at least not yet.

[Audience laughter]

CC: That's right, but you still choose to consume it. You combust coal, oil, and gas and use the energy it releases to power your civilization. There is a good degree of truth, at least in my humble opinion, of that whole 'the Industrial Revolution was the beginning of it all' narrative. Carbon-based fuel sources were

certainly known about and used before the Industrial Revolution, but they were never consumed in such massive quantities. From 1850 to 2000, global fossil fuel consumption increased by more than 13,000 percent (Smil, 2008). Once you humans consume those fuels and use the power to create and sustain your complex global society, the carbon that was previously stored is released into the atmosphere. That is the new source. In two hundred years, you humans have liberated the carbon that it took me many millions of years to lock away.

FM: Okay, but what difference does it make? Shouldn't we be proud of that achievement?

CC: It makes a difference because the carbon that I intended to be stored underground is now being stored in the atmosphere. Remember that I have no option except to store it in the atmosphere. Well, that increased concentration of carbon in the atmosphere is transforming the global climate. The planet's climate is changing, hence the term 'climate change.' What you've effectively done is spike your margarita with extra tequila. The fossil fuel binge you are experiencing is equivalent to a drinking binge, and as the historian Alfred Crosby (2006, p. xiv) said, "binges often end in hangovers." If you want to be proud of binging then be my guest. Just don't start blaming me if you wake up one morning with a ripping headache.

FM: What about those people that say there is nothing wrong with the climate, that it is just a completely natural rise in atmospheric carbon levels and that we have nothing to worry about?

CC: Those people can say whatever they want. No amount of evidence, scientific or otherwise, will convince those people one way or the other because there will always be some level of uncertainty. My functioning and the climate's functioning are very complex phenomena to understand. But about 97% of the scientific community who studies me is in agreement that you humans are so active that I have no option but to store the carbon in the atmosphere (Anderegg et al., 2010; Cook et al., 2013). Maybe another 15% on top of the 97% might be enough to convince the skeptics. So because of the unavoidable uncertainty, people will ultimately have to pass a judgment on this issue. Let me say this however, instead of debating among yourselves whether climate change is actually occurring or not, what you should really be discussing are the responses that people have proposed. The true/false debate on climate change is diverting attention away from the important debate surrounding climate policy.

FM: What do you mean?

CC: Let me try to explain it to you using the concept of the technopolitical regime (Hecht, 1998). Technopolitical regimes are basically groups within society that design and use technologies to achieve their political goals. When it comes to addressing the changing climate, there are two main technopolitical regimes: the Interventionists and the Egalitarians. The Interventionists are those that think that I am malfunctioning in some way. They see me as being disorderly, primitive, and imperfect. Interventionists seek to know me scientifically, how I function, and what my relationships with other planetary cycles and phenomena are like. They make my complex functioning legible by breaking me down into component parts, each part being a simplification of the larger whole (Scott, 1998). For example, it is because of the Interventionists that I am able to tell you that the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is 400 parts per million. Interventionists have me figured out, or at least they think they do. They argue that if you humans are going to seriously address the changing climate, it is imperative to understand my functioning and processes in scientific terms. But the Interventionists often forget that there are other knowledge systems people use to understand that the climate is rapidly changing.

FM: What do you mean? How can we possibly know that climate change is occurring outside of scientific knowledge? What other knowledge systems are there?

CC: Some people are able to acquire visceral knowledge of the climate because they experience it intimately day in and day out (Borg, 2007). While these people cannot know atmospheric concentrations of

carbon dioxide in parts per million, they can nevertheless perceive that something out of the ordinary is occurring. Many people with visceral knowledge of the climate directly experience my functioning on a daily basis. Maybe they work outside. Maybe they hunt or fish or are in some way intimately connected to natural cycles. They have not erected technological or psychological barriers between themselves and their environment. Their cultures, lifestyles, and agricultural systems evolved with my pre-Industrial Revolution functioning and they now know that something is amiss. For example when crops fail to grow as normal or when heat and rain intensity change quickly over short time frames, people with visceral knowledge are able to perceive the presence of changing climactic forces. Contrast this with people who work in air-conditioned buildings and who ride around in air-conditioned vehicles. Speaking of those vehicles, the Jeep Grand Cherokee has something called "climate control" (Jeep). I couldn't make this stuff up. The advertisement says something like, "With the push of a button the Jeep memory system kicks in for custom comfort. Select AUTO mode in the dual-zone climate control and experience tailor-made temperature. An advanced infrared sensing device automatically checks the temperature of the driver and front passenger, as well as the air temperature inside the cabin to create a customized, comfortable environment." What kind of visceral knowledge of climate change is possible when you can "experience tailor-made temperature" in a "customized, comfortable environment"?

FM: Let's get back on track here. What does this all have to do with technopolitics?

CC: Sorry. I get sidetracked sometimes. So the Interventionists make me legible so they can understand why I am storing the surplus carbon in the atmosphere. In their minds I am disorderly, primitive, and imperfect, and they believe that technological interventions, hence the name Interventionists, will make me orderly, modern, and perfect. Some interventions that have already been implemented or are being proposed are technologies and techniques such as market-based carbon emissions trading schemes, technology transfers from developed to developing countries, bioengineered trees that photosynthesize more rapidly, carbon capture and sequestration, and massive space sunshades (Coninck et al., 2008; Early, 1989; Jansson et al., 2010). The majority of Interventionists reside in technologically advanced countries where the rhetoric of progress and the technological sublime goes largely unchallenged (Marx, 1964). Most of those countries are also fiercely capitalist which contains a number of core beliefs about market dynamics, limitations to political interference, and the unassailable march of technological progress. From what I can tell, this is why the policy approaches of the Interventionists are primarily mediated through free market mechanisms, as in the case of carbon emissions trading schemes and technology transfers, or through high-technology solutions such as bioengineered trees, carbon capture and sequestration, and space sunshades. Taken together, these schemes, from market mechanisms to technological projects, are designed to reengineer my normal functioning and when they combine they create a much larger complex technological system (Hughes, 1987). Through this system, Interventionists are looking to achieve the maximum climactic and economic benefit at the lowest cost (Steinberger & Roberts, 2010; World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). By conflating technology, politics, and economics, this technopolitical regime is future-oriented. The history of carbon compound releases and the nations responsible for them has no place in Interventionist technopolitics. Finally, rather than addressing the root cause of why I am storing carbon in the atmosphere – namely the overconsumption of fossilized energy – this regime is looking to maintain its status as the dominant technopolitical ideology. By intervening technologically into my normal functioning, the Interventionists are seeking to sustain their technopolitical regime, which is built upon a foundation of massive fossil fuel consumption, economic growth, and the commodification and manipulation of nature (Beckerman, 1996; Easterbrook, 1995; Hawken, Lovins, & Lovins, 2010). They want to take what they've learned about climate control in their Jeeps and apply it to me so that Western nations can continue to ride along in gas guzzling "custom comfort." Climate control really is the ultimate goal of the Interventionist regime.

FM: You've described the Interventionists, but what about the other technopolitical regime? What did you call them? The Egalitarians?

CC: That's right, the Egalitarians. I would describe them as people who value technological restraint, conservation, and, whenever possible, non-intervention. Egalitarians refuse to invest time and energy in high-tech projects such as space sunshades and genetically modified trees. For them, a tree that is genetically modified to accelerate the photosynthesizing process is no longer a tree – it is simply a machine for capturing and storing carbon (Russell, 2010; White, 1995). All of the intrinsic aesthetic, cultural, and ecological value associated with the original tree is lost once it is bioengineered and reconceptualized as a machine. Egalitarians are not technophobes or Luddites, however. They believe technological improvements can and should be made in the name of energy efficiency and conservation but they argue that the outcomes of these innovations must be democratically governable and benefit all member of society equally, not just those who can afford it (Illich, 1974; Ninan, 2008). Technologies that are human-scaled, socially and politically inclusive, decentralized, locally controlled, and often self-powered are the sorts of technologies that appeal to Egalitarians (Huesemann & Huesemann, 2011; Illich, 1973; Schumacher, 1973). On the economic side, Egalitarians reject market-oriented projects such as carbon emissions trading and technology transfer agreements which they see as advancing neocolonial tendencies and they also reject so-called objective rationales such as cost-benefit analyses of technologies to resolving climate change (Agarwal & Narain, 1995; O'Connor, 1989; Schreuder, 2009). Politically, this group is quick to point to the historical record of carbon emissions in order to demonstrate that governments and citizens of Western nations are responsible for the vast majority of the surplus carbon in the atmosphere. Egalitarians argue that because the developed world is responsible for causing climate change, they must be the one to bear the burden of addressing it. However, they must do so in an equitable and socially just manner such as reducing energy consumption and overall carbon emissions among themselves rather than shifting their responsibilities onto others (Hoerner & Robinson, 2008). The Egalitarians problematize the technopolitics of the Interventionists by arguing for climate justice, a concept that is designed to highlight the current and historical disparities in carbon emissions between industrialized and industrializing peoples (Hayward, 2007). Finally, the Egalitarian technopolitical regime directly challenges the dominant position of the Interventionist regime. The Egalitarians are looking to characterize the Interventionists as those who pursue an unequal, unjust, and socially and environmentally destructive policy agenda. Make no mistake, the two technopolitics are in conflict with each other (Newell, 2008; Sachs, 1993).

FM: What do you mean?

CC: Public problems and the policies proposed to deal with them are socially constructed with values and while Interventionists prioritize freedom as a value, Egalitarians prioritize justice (Stone, 2012). On this issue, it is going to be difficult to find the right balance between the two.

FM: Can they coexist, the Interventionists and the Egalitarians, or do we have to have all of one and none of the other?

CC: That's a great question and one I can't really answer. It's really up to you. I mean, the Interventionists want to use techniques and technologies to engineer me so the status quo can be maintained while the Egalitarians want to transition away from current conditions and see low-carbon and low-consumption living diffuse throughout the developed world (Hopkins, 2008). The two regimes are very different politically and technologically. Mutual coexistence will likely prove challenging over the long term. Ultimately, you humans need to have a broad-based discussion about how much balance you want to find between the two and about the potential consequences, positive and negative, of pursuing a particular technopolitical program. In that respect, I recommend that you emulate the Amish approach to managing change by forecasting and debating the possible social and environmental consequences of creating, adopting, and employing certain types of technologies (Kraybill, 2001). One problem that I see with your increasingly complex society is that you tend to have that discussion after the fact or when it's too late.

FM: Who should be part of that discussion? I mean, you're talking about an issue that has consequences for every person on the planet. Not only that, the policy decisions we make today will have a dramatic impact

on future generations. So it's not like the whole of humanity, including future humans, can sit around a table and talk this through.

CC: You're absolutely right. The inability of some communities to meaningfully engage in and participate in the debate is part of what makes climate change such a "wicked problem." Regarding those individuals not yet born, the one way to bring their voices into the discussion is for the presently living to speak on their behalf. And that necessarily involves passing a judgment on what future generations will want and need (Weiss, 1992). It's certainly a major issue for at least two reasons. First, it's almost stating the obvious to say that you are never going to make a 100% accurate judgment on the wants and needs of future generations. You'll have to accept that whatever decision you make will not be optimal. So rather than thinking about the impact of present decisions on future generations in absolute terms such as "100% accurate" or "optimal," maybe a more appropriate and realistic yardstick would be "satisfactory." Second, passing a judgment and making a monumental policy decision on behalf of future generations has ethical implications because you will unavoidably infringe on the liberty of future generations. No matter the technopolitical regime you chose, whether Interventionist or Egalitarian, you are going to structure the world for future generations in some way, which will limit their ability to fully express their as-yet-unknown values. There's no avoiding this, so the least you can do is acknowledge up front that you accept the ethical responsibility to speak on behalf of those not yet born.

FM: Leaving future generations aside, whose voices can realistically influence the "monumental policy decision," as you've termed it?

CC: Well, as you've said, the Actor Network for climate change is unfathomably complex so it's not like the whole world can sit around a table and debate the course of action. But even though you can't have a conversation at the global level, individuals can still engage at some scale. What might that look like in practice? It might look like a dinner-time conversation with your family. It might look like a climate change book club. It might look like letters to your members of government. Speaking of which, if you are currently a member of government, you will need to do a lot of listening, absorbing, and reflecting. It will require you to be extremely proactive and invite a plurality of voices to engage in the debate, especially those voices that lack the financial means to bend your ear. It will require you to critically investigate the possible social, political, environmental, and economic consequences of choosing a climate change policy approach, whether it is interventionist or egalitarian in nature. And perhaps most importantly, it will require a bit of humility on your part (Sardar, 2010). First, you need humility to admit that the choice is never going to be a perfect one. There is no silver bullet, so there is no room for a dogmatic position on this issue. Second, you should be humble when you think about the enormity of challenge, the unprecedented nature of the choice, and the implications for humanity. That should be enough to give you pause and compel you to take your responsibility seriously.

FM: We've got a minute or two left so is there anything else you'd like to say before we finish up? Any final words?

CC: I'll end with a quote from Lewis Mumford. He wrote that, "from late Neolithic times in the Near East, right down to our own day, two technologies have recurrently existed side by side: one authoritarian, the other democratic, the first system-centered, immensely powerful, but inherently unstable, the other man-centered, relatively weak, but resourceful and durable" (Mumford, 1964, p. 2). I believe that the policy response to climate change will involve a negotiation between the Interventionists and their authoritarian techniques on the one hand and the Egalitarians and their democratic techniques on the other (Szerszynski et al., 2013). This is the debate that you humans are going to have to have. The Interventionists are marketing their technopolitical regime as a planetary savior. They want to violate me by manipulating and controlling my functions. They want to replace my organic qualities with artificial ones by unleashing their technocratic system of economic markets and hypermodern technologies, eventually incorporating me into the system by transforming me into a productive machine (White, 1995). For them, climate control is really the ultimate

goal. On the other side are the Egalitarians. They support the development and use of democratic and human-scale technologies, those which are simple, governable, and equitable (Illich, 1973; Winner, 1986). Controlling my functioning through authoritarian technologies and large technological systems is completely unacceptable to them. Mumford's insights resound with the Egalitarian technopolitical regime when he argues that the developed peoples of the world must "sacrifice mere quantity to restore qualitative choice" (Mumford, 1964, p. 8). In other words, policies designed to reverse the practice of overconsumption is the democratic way to address climate change according to the Egalitarians. But it is really is up to you to balance these two technopolitical regimes. Hopefully you can come together in a constructive way and make an informed decision.

FM: Thank you Carbon Cycle for taking time out of your busy schedule to speak with us. We certainly appreciate it, and we look forward to having you back on the show. This certainly has been an enlightening discussion. Let's hope that it stimulates the larger debate you're looking for. Well, that's all the time we have for this edition of Conversations. Please join us next week when I will interview Ben Bernanke's cat. Good night.

[Audience applause]

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Neoliberal Urbanism:
Socio-Spatial Fragmentation & Exclusion

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This paper takes a critical approach to urbanism in the United States with a focus on how the socio-political ideology of neoliberalism influences our urban spaces. I review literature that addresses the role of neoliberalism in urban development and describe the ways that neoliberal urban development, as a governance and growth project, has negative consequences on our urban communities by fragmenting space and reinforcing and normalizing socio-economic disparity through exclusionary policies and projects. I advocate for greater attention to "actually existing neoliberalism" and its implications by contemporary policy-making professionals as they work to improve our urban spaces and the lives of the people who inhabit them.

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"The creation of a new urban commons…requires that we roll back that huge wave of privatization that has been the mantra of a destructive neoliberalism. We must imagine a more inclusive city…based upon different political-economic practices" (Harvey, 2003, p. 432).

Introduction

Public policy influences the shape of our economic and social systems, public and private institutions and the spaces that make up our communities. They are designed, developed, and implemented for the purpose of achieving particular outcomes. Rightfully so, many policy-making professionals focus their research and analysis on one or more of the policy processes listed above. They seek to answer questions such as: What are the outcomes we intend to achieve? What policies should we implement in order to achieve them? How will we know if the policy is or is not working?

Equally important is intentional analysis of the assumptions and ideologies that inform our policy-making processes and outcomes, an analysis that is too often overlooked in the professional practice of policy making. By definition, the ideologies that structure thinking form the basis from which systems, institutions, and policies are created. Ideological paradigms also play an essential role in the production of unintended policy outcomes. In the development, analysis, and evaluation of public policy interventions we must take a careful look at how

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our economic, social, and political ideological paradigms help or hinder us in achieving our goals.

Katherine Hankins (2013) brings our attention to a 1997 French Film, Vive la Republique! in which a homeless man tells an instructive story to a political activist. This story illustrates why policy makers must pay attention to the ideological frameworks and governance systems within which they operate. In the film a homeless man tells an activist to imagine a world in which some people are born in prison and others are not. This is just the way things are. In the prison a food shortage occurs. The prisoners organize themselves into political parties, elect representatives, and seek to find solutions to the food shortage problem. The food shortage becomes all that anyone in the prison ever talks about. And this, the homeless man says, is the biggest problem of all. Because ultimately, if a solution to the food shortage is found, very little will have changed. People will be well-fed, but they will still be living in prison.

While this is not how Hankins mobilizes the metaphor, for the purpose of this paper it is instructive to think of the prison as the neoliberal ideology that frames our policy-making. Public policy makers, with a focus on solving social and economic problems, operate within the "prison" of the neoliberal ideological and governance frameworks. These frameworks must be addressed if we hope to create significant and lasting change through the activity of policy-making.

In this paper I take a critical, theoretical look at urbanism. I address the socio-political ideology of neoliberalism, particularly as it informs the socio-spatial landscape of cities in the United States. Neoliberal urbanism negatively impacts our communities in two primary ways, by fragmenting urban space and reinforcing and normalizing socio-economic disparity through exclusionary policies and projects.

Neoliberalism

A somewhat controversial term, "neoliberalism" has been mobilized in academia in a variety of disciplines. The term gained significant discursive momentum, mainly by its critics, in the 1980s and 1990s in response to the Reagan/Bush/Thatcher era of Western political rule. Neoliberalism is a sociopolitical ideology that advocates a strict adherence to the principles of the private, "free" market in order to guide and implement solutions to critical social problems (Lin, 2013). Neoliberalism is the primary hegemonic discourse that shapes political and economic processes, the governance of institutions, and the making of places and spaces. (Peck and Tickle 2002)

Hackworth (2007) conceptualizes neoliberalism as a revival of classic liberal thinking that embraces free market economic theory and promotes the values of individualism. Neoliberalism has as its objective the dismantling Keynesian state intervention, specifically in the provision of social welfare that was seen by Keynesians as necessary in a free market capitalist society. Essentially, neoliberalists are individualists who believe that a prosperous free market will enhance freedom, liberty, and prosperity for all persons (who are willing to work for it), thereby making the Keynesian social welfare state obsolete (Peck and Tickle, 2002). Gregory Squires (1991) expresses concern with the emerging prominence of "public-private partnerships." He described this emerging trend as a result of the American ethos of privatism, which he defined as "the belief in the supremacy of the private sector and market forces in nurturing development, with the public sector as a junior partner whose principle obligation is to facilitate private capital accumulation" (Squires, 1991, p. 119). Within this ideological framework, one of the primary functions of the public sector becomes the facilitation of economic growth in the private sector. Examples include devoting public resources and policies to the creation of business-friendly market conditions and focusing policy on the provision of market incentives rather than market regulations. More specifically, neoliberalism can be found in the deregulation of markets, state downsizing, public sector financial austerity, and the "reform" of public services and social welfare programs – often in ways that punish or reward individual behavior rather than respond to the structural conditions of inequity (Lyon-Callo, 2008; Bourgois, 2010).

Peck and Tickle (2002) provide a useful summary of the emergence of the neoliberal project. The first wave, called "roll-back" neoliberalism, occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Following the economic crisis of the 1970s, the Reagan administration began "rolling back" and dismantling what had been central (and argued to be failing) public sector institutions. Across the board social entitlement programs were de-funded, federal urban development funding was retracted, and the U.S. embarked on an aggressive campaign of deregulation and austerity across multiple sectors. Fueled by anti-government sentiment and political rhetoric, it was believed that marketized solutions were the answers to the country's social and economic problems (Peck and Tickle, 2002).

The second wave occurred from the early 1990s into the early 2000s as the Clinton administration embarked on "roll-out" neoliberalism. The deregulatory economic philosophy of neoliberalism had become the new normal and went largely uncontested. However, this wave was characterized by an aggressive re-structuring and re-making of institutions and policies in order to explicitly promote market-based solutions, public-private partnerships, free trade, and the accumulation of private capital (Peck and Tickle, 2002). At the same time, the ill social effects of roll-back neoliberalism were being felt across the U.S., most acutely by low-income households, communities, and marginalized groups. In response the "roll-out" era also focused on implementing new forms of social welfare intervention, resulting in the social welfare "reform" policies of the 1990s. These policies were largely aimed at promoting individualized responsibility for poverty, and were implemented to regulate, manage, reform, and discipline the poor, who had been (and were continuing to be) socially and economically marginalized by the neoliberal project (Peck and Tickle, 2002). It is important to emphasize the far-reaching global impacts of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism is not a uniquely American phenomenon, or a uniquely Western one – although the West is the neoliberal project's ideological and structural "home base." The global reaches of neoliberal ideology and governance are immense. Peck and Tickle (2002) argue that neoliberalism can be thought of as an "operating framework," "ideological software," or "religion" that globally proselytizes "the virtues of free trade, flexible labor, and active individualism" (p. 381). This "religion" of neoliberalism "combines a commitment to the extension of markets and logics of competitiveness with a profound antipathy to all kinds of Keynesian and/or collectivist strategies" (p. 381). It has, they argue, become the global hegemonic mode of political and economic rationality.

One might have thought that the worldwide economic crash of 2008 would have led to the unraveling or re-thinking of neoliberalism as a dominant and uncontested paradigm. However, as of now it appears that the post-crisis era has led to an intensification of neoliberalism as the dominant political discourse and policy-making project as evidenced by the public sector's increasing reliance on fiscal austerity measures, the shrinking of political discursive space, and the amplified prevalence of anti-poor, anti-welfare rhetoric by political and media elites (Peck et. al., 2013). In fact, one of the oft-noted characteristics of the neoliberal agenda is its tendency to create situations of crisis, prompting policymakers to act in ways that further the neoliberal project. Peck, Brenner and Theodore (2013) describe neoliberalism's "remarkable adaptability – its Houdini-like ability not only to survive, but to gain further momentum through the exploitation of crisis conditions for which it is largely responsible" (p. 1091).

While economic and political elites attempt to deal with and resolve the social, environmental and economic costs of neoliberal re-structuring and policies, they fail to challenge the premises of the neoliberal project itself. Since the 2008 economic crisis, there have been some high-profile challenges to neoliberal hegemony, mainly in the form of public protest, such as the Occupy Wall Street movement and pro-union protests in the Midwest. The Zapatista autonomy movement in Chiapas Mexico, which began in the 1990s, is a well-known international example of a grassroots social movement directly challenging the global hegemonic model of neoliberal governance (Stahler-Sholk, 2007). These movements have exposed some of the weaknesses and contradictions inherent to the neoliberal project, but have yet to result in significant structural or policy changes at the national or global scales.

Neoliberalism is today's "common sense" discourse and political and economic ideology. It is the dominant and (largely) uncontested ideological paradigm. However, as a policy-making project neoliberalism

does not get played out in the same way everywhere. It is at the same time globally hegemonic with universal features, and variable in the local particularities of practice. Brenner and Theodore (2002) emphasize the need to pay attention to and understand "actually existing neoliberalism," the contextually embedded and locally particular ways that neoliberalism is constituted, manifested, and reinforced. In other words, neoliberalism is not only an intangible theoretical framework or intellectual tool for making sense of macro-level trends. It is manifested explicitly in local places, is developed and reinforced by political and economic actors, and results in policies, programs, and projects that are neoliberal in their both their design and their outcomes. This call for attention to "actually existing neoliberalism" demands that we learn to identify the various ways that the neoliberal project is acted out locally, in practice.

As economic, social, and cultural engines where the global, federal, state, and local collide, cities and their communities have been acutely affected and destabilized by the neoliberal project. In the following sections I locate neoliberalism in the context of urban development, and describe the fragmenting and exclusionary impacts of "actually existing neoliberalism" on our urban places and spaces.

Neoliberal Urban Development
Urban policies, strategies, governance, political structures, the organization of institutions, and the geographic and social character of our urban spaces have been "neoliberalized." However, it would be inaccurate to characterize cities as passive places. Not only does neoliberalism affect cities, but cities are spaces within which actors and institutional arrangements engage in neoliberal development activities. According to Brenner and Theodore (2002) "cities have become key institutional arenas in and through which neoliberalism is itself evolving" (p. 345). Our urban policies and development strategies reinforce and reproduce the neoliberal project.

Neoliberalism is not static; the neoliberal project evolves as it is reproduced in our urban spaces through the act of policymaking, governance, and development initiatives. "Cities, in other words, are not merely at the 'receiving end' of neoliberalization processes…processes of neoliberalization continue to be actively constituted (and contested) across a planetary system of urban(izing) regions" (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2013, p. 1093).

The language "urban development" is often mobilized discursively by urban elites as a synonym for economic development. Peck and Tickle (2002) tell us that "[n]eoliberalism promotes and normalizes a 'growth first' approach to urban development, reconstituting social-welfarist arrangements as anticompetitive costs and rendering issues of redistribution and social investment as antagonistic to the overriding objectives of economic development" (p. 394). Under neoliberal urbanism the primary objective of urban development strategies is economic growth. Other urban problems either take a back seat to this priority, or it is believed that they will be ameliorated as a result.

Logan and Molotch (1987) have argued that cities serve as sites for growth and expansion for the wealthy elite. Cities are used as "growth machines" by place entrepreneurs, such as businessmen, landlords, developers, banks, and other corporations. These actors, who are referred to as "growth machine activists" promote growth as the primary value in urban development due to the financial benefits they gain from place-making activities (p. 113). Logan and Molotch (1987) are particularly concerned with the commodification of place in the modern U.S. city, and see real estate markets as governed by inequalities in wealth and power (p. 109). Essentially, urban development tends to be dominated by a growth-first ethos that gives primacy to the accumulation of capital.

In the neoliberal city, the public sector (federal, state, city, and municipal) facilitates and promotes the fragmentation of space through the creation of insular and isolated spaces in our urban and metropolitan geographies by private sector developers. "Cities no longer simply accommodate private development requests; they often act as the driving force of private redevelopment" (Mele, 2011, p. 419). These spaces often take the form of shopping districts, cultural centers, waterfronts, sports arenas, and luxury housing

developments designed to accumulate capital. According to Weber (2002), "neoliberal redevelopment policies amount to little more than property speculation and public giveaways to guide the place and pace of the speculative activity" (p. 537).

In this analysis of neoliberal urban development, I use Christopher Mele's straightforward (though somewhat simplified) definition of neoliberal urban development to refer to "…a set of governance practices and regulations intended to valorize cities as sites for capital accumulation…" (Mele, 2011, p. 414). The focus here is on two contingent socio-spatial impacts of neoliberal urban development – the fragmentation of space and the subsequent socio-spatial exclusion that are brought on by the prevalence of what Mele (2011) calls "enclave oriented development," the creation of insular and isolated spaces in our urban and metropolitan geographies (p. 415).

Socio-Spatial Fragmentation and Exclusion

Neoliberal urban development fragments and carves up space, thereby reinforcing and reproducing the socio-spatial exclusion of marginalized populations. Mele (2011) examines how roll-back and roll-out neoliberal urban development has impacted the geography of Chester, Pennsylvania. Mele describes Chester's fragmented landscape, highlighting the Harrah's Casino, soccer stadium, waste management facility, and Rivertown, a multi-million dollar office complex. Mele (2011) argues that "Chester's disjointed redevelopment landscape is best explained not as a result of haphazard or bad city planning, but as a result of two successive waves of neoliberal urbanism that favor exclusionary development" (p. 422).

The redeveloped spaces in Chester were designed for specific uses by specific people – mainly visitors from outside of the City. They are situated geographically in a way that literally carves up the landscape into enclaves, disrupting any opportunity for spatial or social cohesion across space. According to Mele, these enclaves also go largely unused by the local residents, nor have residents reaped notable economic spillover benefits. Chester remains physically dilapidated and its residents continue to experience racial isolation and urban poverty at high rates. "Its [Chester's] population is half its peak in the 1950s, and the majority of its residents (75.7 percent of the total population) come from black families whose annual incomes are far below the state's median level (Mele, 2011, p.425).

Not only have Chester's residents not benefited socio-economically from the redevelopment projects, they have actually been harmed by their exclusionary impacts (Mele 2011). Brenner and Theodore (2002) argue that neoliberal urban development projects exacerbate existing inequities and create new forms of inequity. "…[N]eoliberal projects of political-economic restructuring collide with the pre-existing sociospatial cleavages and, in turn, create new forms of inequality, political disenfranchisement, and economic immiseration" (Brenner and Theodore, 2002, p. 345).

Exclusionary spaces, such as Chester's casino, soccer stadium, and Rivertown developments, are designed for private use and consumption. They are carefully monitored and controlled by private security mechanisms to ensure their correct uses by the correct people. These spaces, and the public spaces adjacent to them, are policed to discourage nuisances such as loitering, hanging out, or social assembly by local residents. Rather than providing local economic benefits, or providing local residents with spaces for socializing or community-building, "enclave-oriented redevelopment reinforces and normalizes longstanding patterns of class exclusion and racial segregation" (Mele, 2011, p. 422). In other words, poor, primarily minority residents are excluded from engaging meaningfully with and within these spaces, further legitimizing their social and economic marginality.

Sharon Zukin, an urban sociologist, takes particular interest in the role that culture plays in the creation of exclusionary urban spaces. Zukin (1995) argues that culture is a powerful tool used by urban elites, developers, and place-makers to control urban space: "As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes 'who belongs' in specific places…[and] plays a leading role in urban development strategies…" (p. 350). She explains that culture is purposefully used by developers and public officials to court high-income shoppers,

visitors, and tourists to consume redeveloped urban locations and their goods. These spaces, while appearing open to the public, are culturally marketed to particular groups. Therefore, they culturally exclude others. Furthermore, Zukin points out that these redeveloped and gentrified spaces are often literally privatized. Many re-development sites are owned and/or managed by private development corporations and private security companies who carefully police and monitor them.

The City of Wilmington, Delaware, like many small distressed urban areas, has invested heavily in developing an upscale waterfront redevelopment project to attract business, tourism, shopping, and high-end real estate. In 1995 a Governor's task force created the Riverfront Development Corporation of Delaware (RDC). The RDC was established primarily with funding from the State of Delaware, with additional public sector contributions from the City of Wilmington and New Castle County. The RDC is governed by a private board of directors, and operates with the mission to "create economic vitality along the Brandywine and Christiana rivers…" (Riverfront Development Corporation, 2013). They intend to acquire site ownership along the rivers in Wilmington "through direct acquisition, long-term leases or in participation with private developers. [RDC] can act as developer, construction manager and leasing agent…" (Riverfront Development Corporation, 2013). As a place-based reinvestment strategy, Wilmington's Riverfront is performing well economically, as evidence by continued construction and new business arrivals.

Wilmington is a hub for financial and corporate activity. More than half of all publicly traded companies in the U.S. and 60% of Fortune 500 companies are incorporated in Wilmington, including industry giants like Google and Ford. Wilmington is also home to a strong banking industry: Bank of America, Chase, Capital One, Barclay's, Citibank, and others. The City is a nucleus for national and global financial activity, with money flowing in and out of its boundaries on a daily basis. However, a majority of the City's residents have not reaped the benefits of this private sector activity or the Riverfront redevelopment projects (Scruggs and Blumgart, 2013). According to 2011 American Community Survey 5-Year Estimate, the Area Median Income (AMI) for the City of Wilmington is $39,019, 34% lower than the AMI for the United States as a whole at $51,371. The poorest census tract reports a median household income of under $12,000. This census tract, home to the South Bridge neighborhood, is located directly adjacent to the upscale Riverfront development.

The privatization of urban space for the purpose of economic growth, through processes of public investment and private control, is commonplace in the neoliberal city (Mele, 2011). While economic benefits can result for particular people or industries, the outcome is a fragmented urban landscape that reinforces the space "between us and them, between security guards and criminals, between elites and ethnic groups" (Zukin, 195, p. 350).

> The normative ideal of a city as a space that accommodates social, class, racial, sexual, and gender differences is rendered untenable when urban landscapes are carved up into self-contained fragments that are designed for specific social groups and types of behaviors and not (many) others (Mele, 2011, p. 422).

While somewhat controversial, the concept of "urban revanchism" has also gained traction as discursive tool for understanding what drives socio-spatial fragmentation and exclusion in neoliberal cities. Revanchism is a French term that emerged in the late 1800s to describe a movement by a social or political group to reverse territorial losses, often following a war or social upheaval. Neil Smith (1996) defines urban revanchism as a class struggle (with racial overtones) that is manifested through "a reclaiming of the city and the defense of their privileges by the white middle class in reaction to the 'theft' of the city by deprived and deviant groups" (p. 212).

According to Smith (1996), the white middle class is plagued by fears of economic insecurity. They seek to take the city back from the undesirable underclass and improve the quality of life in cities for themselves. MacLeod (2002) describes the process as an attempt by urban governments to "recapitalize the

economic landscapes of their cities" (p. 602). And while these strategies may have been economically profitable and contributed to the capital viability of otherwise blighted city spaces, "the price of such speculative endeavor[s] has been a sharpening of socioeconomic inequalities alongside the institutional displacement and 'social exclusion' of 'certain marginalized groups'" (MacLeod, 2002, p. 602).

Low-income minority groups are excluded and unwanted forms of social deviancy are repressed and criminalized. For urban revanchists, social deviancy threatens their economic security and their investments in capital growth and consumption. As a result, urban development policies often become entangled with policing and crime policies, resulting in the routine criminalization, exclusion, and further marginalization of the poor. The practice of policing poverty is an illustration of "actually existing neoliberalism," a locally particular way that neoliberalism is manifested and reinforced in the urban environment to produce exclusionary outcomes.

The Policing of Poverty

An example of policing poverty is the criminalization of homelessness, an issue that homeless advocates have been paying particular attention to during the past few years. These policies are often initiated by urban elites and public officials, and are deployed as strategies to protect capital and economic investments in urban spaces. Cities, towns, and municipalities across the U.S. have passed strict nuisance ordinances (such as anti-loitering, anti-panhandling, and anti-lurking laws) and performed sweeps of homeless sleeping areas. These ordinances, coupled with increased police patrol, target persons experiencing homelessness for performing life-sustaining activities such as sitting, sleeping, and eating in public places, necessary activities that persons experiencing homelessness often have no choice but to perform in public space. Persons experiencing homelessness are fined, arrested, and sometimes incarcerated for violating these nuisance ordinances (National Law Center on Poverty and Homelessness 2011).

In the City of Wilmington, Mayor Dennis P. Williams made it clear that his new Downtown policing strategy will increase police presence and target of nuisance violations such as panhandling and loitering in the City's central business district in order to protect the economic engine of the City. At a press conference in October 2013, Mayor Williams said, "To restore our vibrant downtown community, the City must enforce laws against panhandling, loitering, and disorderly conduct" (The City of Wilmington, Delaware, 2013). When persons experiencing homelessness are incarcerated for nuisance violations it becomes increasingly difficult for them to access the housing and services they need, and contributes to recidivism back into homelessness and the criminal justice system. First, it saddles them with criminal records, making it more difficult for them to access housing and employment. Secondly, incarceration disrupts their access to essential services. That person may miss work, lose their public benefits (depending on length of incarceration), lose important vital documents (state ID, social security card, etc.), or miss important appointments for housing, benefits or other vital services (National Law Center on Poverty and Homelessness, 2011). All of these consequences prolong a person's experience of homelessness, aggravating the very problem that policy-makers seek to address.

In 2010 the U.S. Interagency Council on Homelessness (USICH) and the Department of Justice (DOJ) issued a report called "Searching Out Solutions: Constructive Alternatives to the Criminalization of Homelessness." This report officially recognizes for the first time that in addition to possible violations under the U.S. Constitution the criminalization of homelessness may implicate our human rights treaty obligations under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the United States ratified in 1992. The policing of poverty is as a set of institutionalized urban policies that serves primarily to protect the economic interests of urban elites, providing a tangible example of "actually existing neoliberalism." As an urban policing policy in the neoliberal city, the criminalization of homelessness aggravates the very problem it attempts to address.

The criminalization of homelessness is also motivated by the urban revanchist need to suppress unpleasant social and economic deviance, such as loitering and panhandling. These policies are supported

ideologically and discursively by the neoliberal tendency to vilify and individualize the experience of poverty. Rather than tackle the overwhelming and complex challenge of urban poverty, policy makers employ this crisis-oriented tool to reduce the visibility of urban poverty in economically valuable spaces. It is a strategy for policing the "adherence to the economic logic of market-led growth…and securing that growth and defending it from disorder and disruption" (Samara, 2010, p. 199). The primacy of capital accumulation and economic growth, the ideological vilification of poverty, and urban revanchism are instructive frameworks for understanding the impetus for which policy makers implement punitive and exclusionary urban development policies, such as the policing of poverty, in the neoliberal city.

Conclusion

Policy-making in the era of neoliberalism is contradictory and paradoxical. The neoliberal urban project, in which policy-makers participate, aggravates and intensifies the very challenges that policy-makers are frantically working to resolve. As actors embedded in the neoliberal city, policy-makers design and implement urban policies that reinforce and reinvent the neoliberal project in their efforts to improve the socio-economic conditions of cities and their residents.

For example, for decades (mainly since the early 1990s) policy-makers have been aggressively employing strategies to develop inclusive, mixed-income, mixed-race neighborhoods – in other words, to undo the socio-spatial pattern of racially segregated neighborhoods and concentrated poverty, or in other words, socio-spatial exclusion. At the same time, the public sector significantly reduced its role in the provision of affordable housing. The public sector now relies primarily on private market mechanisms to provide housing for poor American households, with the public sector as a subsidizing or incentivizing agent (Hackworth 2007). In 2014 our urban communities continue to be highly disparate in terms of socio-economic wellbeing and ethnic composition, largely as a result of the neoliberal restructuring of the political-economy and its socio-spatial consequences (Lipman, 2008). The challenges facing urban policymakers are significant.

Policy-makers who are dedicated to solving some our most pressing urban problems must be able to recognize that the challenges they seek to resolve are located within, and products of, a complex network of local and global neoliberal arrangements. They must not only recognize the ideological and paradigmatic features of neoliberalism, but also be able to identify the concrete arrangements through which neoliberalism is actively manifested. They must be able to see cities as spaces of "actually existing neoliberalism." They must also be able to untangle the shifting web of actors and arrangements, and re-imagine alternative approaches within (or outside of) the hegemonic system is itself. These are not simple or straightforward tasks. And, they must be able to do all of this while operating in a system that is intensely competitive, anxiety-inducing, and crisis-oriented. As a result of these conditions, "…policymakers [often] deepen [their] degree of reliance on the very same policy portfolio that was responsible for so much of the predicament in the first place. Remaking hegemony under such conditions is a manifestly challenging task…" (Peck, Theodore, & Brenner, 2013, p. 1097).

However, there are opportunities for policy makers to be impactful. Policy makers may have the influence necessary to alter the trajectory of neoliberal projects in their communities. Unfortunately, while incremental policy shifts may secure some short-term benefits for those being marginalized, incrementalism is not a sufficient approach for altering the trajectory of our socio-spatial urban landscape in significant and lasting ways. Any "remaking" of hegemony will require strategic engagement with "actually existing neoliberalism" and deliberate challenges to its discursive and ideological power.

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Foster Youth Mentoring Program:
Assisting with and Connecting the "Aging Out" Challenges in Delaware

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D elaware has made great strides providing and improving services for the state's foster youth "aging out" of the system. However, even in light of new legislation and enhanced community-based programs, Delaware youth in foster care face many challenges when aging out of the foster care system. Potential outcomes for youth aging out of the foster care system, such as higher rates of incarceration, homelessness, unemployment, and teen pregnancy, as well as lower rates of high school graduation, can cost taxpayers up to $300,000 per youth in incarceration costs, public assistance support, and lost wages. However, Delaware's supportive services infrastructure has potential to address these problems. The Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative put forth six specific policy and practice recommendations for successful transitions (deemed the Ready-By-21 campaign), and, to date, the only one of these not directly addressed is permanency. The Delaware Youth Opportunities Initiative (DYOI) is the Delaware agency working to address each recommendation. One of the best ways of achieving all of these goals is to establish a statewide and inclusive mentoring program for foster youth beginning at age 14 through age 21. There are many ways to implement this: through a resource guide, a school-based program, or by reframing the Court Appointed Special Advocate's (CASA) role and training. When considering cost, timeline, feasibility, and the Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative's recommendations, the CASA role reframing option best fits Delaware's current atmosphere. This option achieves permanency within a one-to-one adult relationship.

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Background: Aging Out of Foster Care

"On average, for every young person who ages out, taxpayers and communities pay $300,000 in social costs over that person's lifetime."
Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative, Success Beyond 18 Campaign ("Aging Out of Foster Care," 2001)

What is "Aging Out" and Why Does it Matter in Public Policy?
According to Delaware's Division of Family Services, "aging out" is a term used to describe "what occurs when a youth reaches a state's age of majority," in other words, when a youth legally becomes an adult. In a report by the University of Delaware's Institute for Public Administration,

this means the youth is "no longer eligible to remain in foster care and the supports that come along with it" (Aging out" of Foster Care: Background and Resources Brief, 2012). National statistics from the Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative (JCYOI) show that youth who age out of foster care have higher rates of dropping out of high school, teen pregnancy, incarceration,

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unemployment, substance abuse, mental health concerns, and homelessness.

Research done by the JCYOI shows that over a lifetime, each youth costs taxpayers and communities $300,000 in public assistance and incarceration, as well as wages lost due to lack of high school graduation (Culter, 2009). If foster youth had the same rates of high school graduation, teenage pregnancy, and incarceration as their peers who had not been in foster care, then the United States would gain close to $5.7 billion in outcomes differences. Therefore, the Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative asserts that if local government and communities support youth during their transitional period (until age 21), then the youths' educational, employment, housing, and incarceration outcomes will save their constituents billions of dollars.

According to the Delaware Youth Opportunities Initiative's (DYOI) website (2013), approximately 100 youth will "age out" of foster care in Delaware each year. While no primary research on direct and specific costs related to these 100 youth, considering the previously mentioned research and statistics, potential societal and financial burdens to Delaware's youth and taxpayers can be estimated. According to Felicia Kellum, the Independent Living Program Manager for the Delaware Department of Service for Children, Youth and Their Families (DSCYF), 109 Delaware youth are projected to age out in FY13 and another 86 in FY14 (personal communication, 28 October 2013). However, it is important to note that this number cannot be perfectly accurate. Some who are included in this number currently will be reunited with their biological families. There may also be a number of youth who will enter into the system in their 17th year, and thus, be a part of the actual number at the end of the year. Therefore, it is impossible to tell what the exact number of youth aging out will be each year, and even once the number is settled, some youth who need services will be missed because they have returned to a home that cannot provide for them. The JCYOI has partnered with Delaware Center for Justice, the parent agency responsible for DYOI, to implement specific policy and practice recommendations to target the state's specific foster youth population. Over the last five years, Delaware has taken direct steps to further support youth aging out of foster care through legislation and services.

Delaware's Historical Context for Foster Youth Aging Out and the Challenges They Face

Over the last decade, Delawareans have made children and youth in foster care a priority. During the Delaware Children's Campaign's 2008 report, serious concerns were noted with family and adult permanency, Family Court jurisdiction, and Independent Living Programs (ILP). A March 2007 statewide phone survey established Delawareans' explicit concern with the outcomes of children and youth who spent their lives in and out of foster homes. According to the 600 Delawareans surveyed, 91% agreed that, "young people who reach age 18 and therefore leave the foster care system should have access to a transition program focused on housing, education, and jobs" (Our Children: Aging Out of Foster Care in Delaware, 2008). In 2008, projections related to the state's aging out population were as follows:

- 30% of youth will graduate high school by the age of 19;

- 10% will be incarcerated within a year of aging out;

- 6.7% will experience long-term homelessness (Delaware Children's Campaign, 2008).

These concerns and related projections birthed the Delaware Youth Opportunities Initiative (DYOI), a partnership between the Delaware Center for Justice and the JCYOI, and with the cooperation of DSCYF. Since its inception in January of 2011, DYOI has served as an advocacy think-tank "important [in] leveraging state and local resources, strengthening partnerships, and expanding legislation related to improving the quality of services for youth aging out of foster care in Delaware" (O'Hanlon, 2011). JCYOI provides technical assistance and support for Delaware's Ready-by-21 initiative. JCYOI helps DYOI address specific recommendations for target areas, which were shaped by foster youth voices and concerns from around the country. DYOI uses the JCYOI model to shape all programs because their model and recommendations

represent the leading and most up-to-date research. The JCYOI model addresses all outcome areas of concern expressed by the Delaware Children's Campaign. At the top of the list of concerns is permanency. According to JCYOI, permanency is achieved through foster families, adoptive families, or some other trusted and constant adult figure, and by which youth age out of the system with the stability only a permanent family, guardianship, or caring adult can provide. Without permanency the transition for youth to a completely autonomous lifestyle is difficult, and youth may struggle building and sustaining long-term, meaningful relationships for the rest of their lives. Thus, youth may begin to completely rely on the supportive services provided in the other focus areas. Permanency allows for former foster youth to positively mature emotionally and psychologically, while also creating a social network and social capital that prepares them to be independent at age 21. Due to this autonomy, youth will also be prepared to advocate for themselves in post-secondary education opportunities, which may subsequently lead to economic success and stable housing.

In 2011, the University of Delaware's Institute for Public Administration (IPA) published an environmental scan of the aging out population in Delaware. In these interviews, participating youth indicated that the most challenging and concerning issues they face as a part of the foster care system are:

- permanence

- employment opportunities

- educational success in high school, and subsequently, access to post-secondary opportunities

Foster youth asserted that "communication… [i]s an important factor related to personal and community engagement," and one that is not being holistically met (O'Hanlon, 2011). It is important to note that between 14 and 16 years old, youth were not very concerned about housing or physical and/or mental health. While youth recognize that having someone they trust is important, they were not as concerned as many professionals and the public were with these components. Whether this is because these are more long-term issues, and therefore not at the front of a 14-year-old's mind, or if these are not a concern in Delaware is debatable. Regardless, the youths have expressed concerns regarding the need for a more long-term and proactive intervention to address the needs of youth as they transition to adulthood. Establishing stable, trusting relationships between youth and adult mentors would serve as this proactive intervention.

Through its seven working groups, DYOI attempts to address the Environmental Scan's findings through the lens of five JCYOI policy recommendation areas. These include groups on education, employment, court involvement, housing, permanency, and physical and mental health, as well as financial literacy. On a legislative, policy-making scale, DYOI drafted the recently presented legislation to the Delaware General Assembly, in order to continue Delaware's work of assisting youth after age 18.

Delaware's Current Service Provision and Aging Out Environment

The administrations of both Governor Ruth Ann Minner and Governor Jack Markell have prioritized addressing the challenges associated with foster youth's transition to adulthood. Over the past decade, there have been many steps taken to address the challenges facing Delaware's aging out foster youth. To begin, on August 4, 2010, a multi-agency Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) (2010), involving Delaware State Housing Authority, Department of Correction, Department of Education, Department of Labor, and DSCYF, established an initial agreement between agencies "to better coordinate efforts and resources to address the comprehensive needs of foster care youth." The primary purpose of its establishment was to help DFS caseworkers and youth better understand and utilize the resources and services that already exist.

On July 15, 2010, Governor Markell signed into law Senate Bill 113, *An Act to Amend Titles 10, 29, and 31 of the Delaware Code Relating to Extending the Jurisdiction of the Family Court for Abused, Dependent and Neglected*

Children. This bill allowed for an extension of Family Court jurisdiction over youth in foster care through age 21. This extension gives youth who are having difficulty with support services, like obtaining housing vouchers or continuing their education, legal support by which the court can review their case to ensure the expectations for the Federal John H. Chafee Foster Care Independence Act ("Chafee") are being met. Chafee expects that Delaware will provide some supports in areas such as finances, health, education, housing, and training through the age of 21. Through a filing by DSCYF, youth, guardian ad litem (GAL), and/or the Court can apply for this extension. This type of legislation and the philosophies behind it, which is promoted nationwide by JCYOI, is a piece in youth's "successful transition to adulthood by age 25" ("Policy and Practice Recommendations," 2010).

Senate Bill 113 also allows for the continued and ongoing representation by the Court Appointed Special Advocate (CASA) for youth until age 21. CASAs are volunteers who are trained, selected, and supervised by an arm of Family Court. They are charged with "establishing a strong, stable connection with assigned child(ren), gathering information and making recommendations to the court about the child's best interest, and advocating to make sure the child receives needed services" (Court Appointed Special Advocates,). The CASA represents foster youth and children in court, as some children and youth may choose not to appear in court due to the difficulty of seeing their biological family. The CASA will ensure the Family Court judge is getting a full picture of the successes and challenges the youth or child is having, so that the state can better support them while in the foster care system and/or make a well-informed decision of whether or not reunification with the biological family is appropriate. The CASA gets all sides of the story, including the point of view of the child/youth, biological family, foster placement, school staff, and social worker. CASA volunteers must be committed to one year of service and are often the only consistent adult relationship in the life of foster youth and children. According to Delaware's Statewide CASA Program Coordinator, Gwen Stubbolo, as of October 2013, Delaware has 235 CASA volunteers; there are 100 volunteers in New Castle County, 65 in Kent County, and 70 in Sussex County. Approximately half of the foster population is assigned a CASA, the other half are assigned a Guardian At Litem (GAL). Each CASA is typically assigned one child or sibling group at a time, allowing them to dedicate their CASA responsibilities to this specific case (G. Stubbolo, personal communication, 31 October 2013).

In order to incorporate the voice of foster youth into the evolving system, the Youth Advisory Council (YAC) was founded in 2001 through the Division of Family Services (DFS) in partnership with youth who were in foster care at that time. YAC is an opportunity for Delaware's current and past foster youth to come together and share with each other, DCJ representatives, and Family Court judges their concerns and ideas for improvement. YAC is a community and support group for current and former youth who have been in care. They generate problems they and their peers face, and also propose solutions to those in roles able to make the change. This youth voice is an important asset to anyone attempting to make policy changes to positively affect current youth transitioning from care, while still being involved in court.

On September 18, 2013, House Bill 163, or *An Act to Amend Titles 10 and 29 of the Delaware Code for Youth Aging Out of Foster Care*, was signed into law by Governor Markell. This bill aligns DYOI and JCYOI policy and practice recommendations by providing additional policy support for youth in transition. These services and supports are a part of a larger JCYOI campaign referred to as "Ready By 21." Specifically, this law helps provide support for continuing education, financial stipends, and housing options. Now, reviews of young adult cases in Family Court, through "Extended Jurisdiction" (ages 18-21) must occur at least annually, and the representation of the youth, by attorney, GAL, or CASA, must be client-directed instead of a best interest standard, starting at age 18. "Extended Jurisdiction" refers specifically to the in-court, legal proceedings, but youth participating in "Ready By 21" services are not necessarily also participating in Extended Jurisdiction. If a youth is participating in Extended Jurisdiction, that individual youth opinion and desire must be given priority in court over the opinions of the attorney, GAL, or CASA. Extended Jurisdiction law explicitly states the areas that must be reviewed are: "financial stability; housing; medical benefits, including access to health care and other public benefits; employment and training; education; and community and individual connections to help support the youth" (Delaware House Bill 163, lines 70-75).

The Bill has a laser focus on independent-living services as they relate to the necessary skills required for full independence of state care. Though the law explicitly states the need to review specific topics annually and the need to "develop, administer, implement and provide a developmentally appropriate, comprehensive program," the responsibility of educating the youth about these things has not been formally assigned to any particular agency or organization (Delaware House Bill 163, lines 160-161). Creating a new role or program to guide youth through the new services will also create a better pathway for communication, which will help bridge gaps in services and among the various parties who are involved in assisting with transitional phases into adulthood.

Same Problem, New Approach
While Senate Bill 113 and House Bill 163 make substantial progress towards holistic support for Delaware's aging out population, questions about implementation, responsibility and accountability, and permanency still exist. Over the last six years, Delaware has collected substantial research analyzing the existing gaps in the services and supports available to youth as they age out, but there is still a question of how the new initiatives, resources, and services are linked together, and more importantly, communicated to the youth. The state agency primarily responsible for child welfare relies heavily on other community-based agencies to provide support services, namely Independent Living Programs (ILP). West End Neighborhood House (WENH), NorthEast Treatment Centers (NET), People's Place, and the Elizabeth W. Murphey School, Inc. contract with the State to provide supports like housing vouchers. However, WENH and the Murphy School are the only agencies in Delaware that actually have beds available for stable housing support geared specifically towards post 18-year-old youth in transition. ILP workers for these agencies have large caseloads and sometimes frustrating relationships with other caseworkers and advocates, commonly naming the problem of lacking explicit guidelines or expectations for each caseworker involved with each individual youth's case. These four agencies are also not included in the 2010 MOU, and thus communication between these agencies and the state agencies may be disjointed, tense, and even competing.

For example, Independent Living Caseworkers are charged with fostering accountability among youth. Youth who are housed through ILPs or the housing support voucher have responsibilities like finding and maintaining a job, continuing their education, and meetings bimonthly with their ILP worker and therapists. Depending on the program, youth must continue to do a combination of these things to maintain their eligibility to participate. ILP workers help the youth to find jobs or register for GED programs or college classes. ILP workers also often assist youth in developing the long-term skills needed to be successful in these areas. However, trying to promote transformational changes among youth can be undermined if youth are exposed to inconsistent frameworks. There is simply a need for clearer expectations and training guidelines, as well as conversations among all caseworkers and providers working on the same case. As a part of refining *Ready By 21*, DYOI is developing self-sufficiency benchmarks to be shared and utilized by all providers and youth aging out. The benchmarks are currently in draft form, and DYOI is working with DFS and the ILP providers to get them approved and finalized (J. Miller, personal communication, 21 November 2013). Implementation of the benchmarks is expected in 2014, but it is currently unclear which agency will be responsible for implementation.

With the new state requirements resulting from House Bill 163, additional youth education and awareness of services is necessary. Better communication between the public and nonprofit sectors in Delaware is also critical. All the services and disconnects between providers or responsible parties can be addressed through an appropriately framed youth mentoring program. However, this mentoring program must be very specific in its definition, approach, and training. First, there are many different definitions of mentoring. Delaware's mentorship should be a blending of a few different philosophies. Delaware's mentorship should be a "structured and trusting relationship that brings young people together with individuals who offer guidance support, and encouragement aimed at developing the competence and character of the mentee" (DuBois, 2012). David DuBois and Michael Karcher provide a model framework illustrating how this relationship is built (DuBois, 2012). Mutuality, trust, and empathy are key, but the three different development stages would be looked at through the lens of the JCYOI's five recommendation areas

and the moderators would be a specific training component based on the individual foster case. Lastly, the parental/peer relationships will become an outcome instead of a mediator. In other words, at first, establishing healthy, long-term relationships between youth and their biological family and/or their peers will be a goal of the mentorship, rather than a compliment to it. Eventually, these relationships may become mediators and join the support team for youth in their transition and beyond. In addition to the relationship-building model, the mentor should be matched to the youth through explicit guidelines and screening processes (Scannapieco, 2013). The mentor will also be trained to expect and address the unique circumstances and challenges associated with aging out within a checkpoint-timeline framework. "Checkpoints" are recommendations and talking points set up to serve as a "check-in" schedule. These serve to guide the mentor in their conversations with youth, as well as to ensure each mentor-youth pair is equitably discussing the myriad of issues and services available to assist in Delaware.

Criterion for Mentoring Program Evaluation

Exploring The Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative's Recommendations
The Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative gives six explicit recommendations for the policy and practice of helping youth make a successful transition to adulthood.

Recommendation	*Description of*
PERMANENCY	Every effort should be made to connect youth with permanent families. If permanent placement and/or adoption is not possible, it should be mandated that upon leaving foster care, aging out, youth should be "discharged to a family, legal guardian, adoptive parent, or a permanently committed, caring adult.
EDUCATIONAL PATHWAYS	Stable educational pathways should be provided and accessible, including higher education and trade schools. Continually, academic successes /struggles should monitored and addressed as necessary.
ECOMINIC/FINANCIAL SUCCESS	Stakeholders should create opportunities for economic success through financial literacy and employment.
STABLE HOUSING	Safe, affordable and stable housing should be provided.
EQAULITY AMOUNGST RESOURCES/SUPPORT	All of these should be addressed in an equitable fashion, regardless of race and geography, and work towards the long-term goal of youth autonomy.
YOUTH AUTONOMY	Youth should also be directly involved in the shaping of their own futures, especially from age 14 years and forward

Other Important Evaluation Criteria for Delaware Implementation
Any mentoring program option should be assessed primarily by how well it follows an appropriate and well-evaluated mentoring model, specifically the matching process and training curriculum. Training should include directly addressing the unique challenges of foster youth and the various services and providers that are available. Standards should be set that require mentors' commitment of at least a year of partnership with the youth, as well as explicit standards for checkpoints and time spent. Each area of concern for foster youth (e.g., graduation rates, educational attainment, criminality, career planning, and housing) should be addressed with the youth, and, therefore, with the mentors in ongoing training.

Next, the time and cost associated with implementation should also be considered. Ideally, the implementation timeline should not be more than one year, and the cost should not require the State to take away funding from other, already existing programs. The willingness and enthusiasm with which the responsible party would undertake the mentoring program, and how much support the program would get from all stakeholders (the youth, DFS caseworkers, court system, CASA/attorneys/GAL, ILP providers, etc.) may factor into the implementation time and start-up costs. The political and/or systematic feasibility may trump the extensiveness and effectiveness of the actual mentoring model and training program. In other words, beginning something from scratch may not be as feasible as expanding or using already existing resources and programs. However, there may be resistance to change within those programs. Therefore, the current service providers and their leadership must be included in initial conversations and their buy-in estimated. Lastly, options should be evaluated on how well they incorporate the opinions of current and former foster youth before, during, and after the development of the program. Specifically, their feedback on how well the proposed option addresses current concerns and outcomes (specifically, graduation rates, continuing education, housing, employment, and incarceration rates) should be strongly consulted and considered in development, implementation, and evaluation.

Delaware's Opportunities to Implement a Statewide Mentoring Program

Implement Mentoring in High Schools
Educational intervention is the primary method for programs to address negative outcomes associated with aging out. Currently, DYOI's Education Working Group has begun to develop a pilot program of mentoring within the school. Felicia Kellum of Division of Family Services is coordinating the pilot program in Kent County. In a partnership with Connection Generations, mentors have already been trained and will be placed in schools to help willing and eligible youth with educational and vocational planning. A focus will be made to reach out to eligible foster youth in Kent County to participate and be matched with a mentor. Connecting Generations has a proven training and mentorship philosophy called "Creative Mentoring" (Creating Hopeful Adults Mentoring Program). This philosophy helps train in-school volunteers to be tutors, as well as creative, ongoing advocates to empower children and youth within an educational and vocational framework. Creative Mentoring also helps schools design their own programs within the philosophy and to incorporate the unique strengths of the individual school and its faculty.

The Connecting Generations program is a widely used program in Delaware, and the training is free. Kellum used Connecting Generations to kick start another statewide mentoring program called Creating Hopeful Adults Mentoring Program (CHAMP). CHAMP aligns with the mentoring framework outlined in the evaluation criteria, but has had difficulty getting enough adult mentors to support the number of youth needing one. The educational pilot program will use the same training, provided through the independent nonprofit agency, Connecting Generations. However, the education-based program has built-in mentors through the school system faculty and staff. Connecting Generations' training program can be altered in order to cater to the educational aspects of the program. The education-based mentoring program is ready to launch immediately, and would impact 19 youth between the ages of 11 and 14. By instituting a mentoring program in schools, DYOI hopes that graduation rates among foster youth will increase from the current 30% rate. Attention to youths' grades and struggles, is an important element, helping them in subject areas in which they struggle would lay a stronger foundation for high school. However, the mentoring is more than

that; therefore, by initiating and taking time for conversations about career ambitions and futures dreams, mentors can then encourage and connect mentees to specific school subjects or extracurricular activities that are related to their career goals. The mentor can provide valuable social capital for later in life by kick starting a network to help with employment – whether this is promoting part-time employment during high school or contribute to long-term career goals.

Within the JCYOI recommendations, the autonomy component is as equally unaddressed as permanency in the aging-out, foster youth population. By addressing each of these issues in a school setting youth can simultaneously increase emotional intelligence for relationship building, while also positively planning for a sustainable career path. Continually, the Delaware school mentoring program option would allow the mentor to discuss any individualized classroom concessions that may need to be made for foster youth. The 504 plan, which refers to Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, is a plan any student in Delaware can apply for, and which would provide for some concessions, allowing the child to be successful in the classroom. These concessions could provide additional time to submit assignments, having a "chill pass" that allows children to leave the classroom to calm down in stressful moments, or helping to teach proper communication modes and coping methods. The school mentors would address these elements with youth, and the mentor would be able to secure the 504 plan in less time than the placement-focused caseworker (J. Miller, personal communication, 21 November 2013).

The school-based mentoring program does have some drawbacks. First, there is currently no plan for how this relationship will continue into high school, or if it would be possible to implement in all schools across the state. It is fair to estimate statewide implementation of such a program would occur over several years, and there is no current plan for how placement changes would impact the ability of mentors to travel between schools. Still, this option has major strengths. First, it has the potential to directly address the concerns with incarceration, graduation rates, continuing education, and employment. If these areas are addressed more comprehensively, and youth have options from continuing their education after high school, they would gain a better educational foundation, and thus support for employment opportunities as well. This option also allows the youth to have a lot of power. They become better decision makers when choosing their education pathway, and can safely learn to advocate for themselves. This could translate into the courtroom and increase their involvement in their foster cases, and into their lives at large. However, youth who must transfer schools often, or who have already dropped out, could be lost in the system. Statewide implementation could take years due to the time it would take to get each school on board and to enlist the required number of volunteer mentors. It might not even be feasible to get every school system to agree to have the mentor program in its schools. Housing after aging out will still be a challenge. It is also likely that financial literacy and aid would be necessary for a period during and after high school. Social challenges like established support and relationships within the community and among peers would remain an issue. Still, educational attainment is tied to employment, and therefore, more economic stability among youth. There may be a lessened likelihood of incarceration, while establishing a trusting and positive relationship with an adult. This option could be a good place to pilot a mentoring program, especially since DYOI is already moving to pilot an educational mentoring program in Kent County, DE. Evaluation of this DYOI pilot experience can greatly inform any statewide option in the future (J. Miller, personal communication, November 21, 2013).

Modify CASA Volunteer Training and Expectations
Similar to the education related option, introducing a new mentoring framework to the CASA training program would build on an established system without perpetuating new cost. CASAs are all volunteers and the required curriculum for new training has already been obtained, though not yet implemented. When a person is interested in becoming a CASA they have an initial interview with the statewide and respective county coordinators. After the interview, they will complete an application, which will be followed by a second, more formal, interview. If the coordinators determine that the applicant is qualified to serve as a CASA, candidates are then required to go through a 30-hour training program before being assigned a case. Typically, CASA's will spend about 12 hours a month on their case depending on the circumstances

surrounding the case. The CASA is matched to children or youth based on personality and demographic information and this already addresses one of the biggest problems cited when mentoring programs are attempted with foster youth- appropriately matching mentors and mentees (Scannapieco, 2013).

Gwen Stubbolo has been with the CASA program for 16 years, and she has noticed a changing culture and nature of the CASA role within the past three years because of the recent legislation. She says that it is "moving towards being more of a natural mentoring role, especially with the older ones" (G. Stubbolo, personal communication, 31 October 2013). New training programs are being formulated in response to extended jurisdiction and being able to represent adults from 18-21. Recently, the CASA program has adopted the National CASA "Fostering Futures" training curriculum. This curriculum focuses on combining the traditional court advocate role with the emerging mentoring role (The National Court Appointed Special Advocate Association, 2012). Training begins with an activity that requires CASAs to complete a Venn diagram with characteristics that describe "advocate" on one side and "mentor" on the other. The training focuses on the intersection of the two components. Stubbolo contends that this intersection represents the evolution of the CASA role. CASAs are a blend of nonprofit sector volunteerism and public sector, court-system privileges. As a mentor, the CASA would have a role in all areas of the foster youth's life. The CASA position permits the volunteer to have the privileged case information, as well as the freedom to work with youth outside of agency allegiances, allowing the youth's well-being and success to be the primary focus. The framework to support a mentoring program already exists; additionally the CASA coordinators support the change in the CASA role. When the idea of enhancing the CASA role to encompass a mentoring relationship was proposed to Gwen Stubbolo, she was supportive. As the statewide coordinator she has the power and position to enable the program's implementation. Therefore, all the criteria for evaluation have been sufficiently met through this option.

However, to expand the role of the CASA role from a court advocate an out-of-court mentor would require an overhaul of the CASA statute within the state of Delaware. The cost and time associated with this statute and role changes would take time, but it would be possible for Delaware to change its CASA statute. The CASA role change would also further complicate the worker relationships discussed earlier, especially between ILP workers and the CASAs. Furthermore, the youth who have Guardian Ad Litems (GAL) instead of CASAs would not benefit from this program. As mentioned, half of the foster population has a GAL instead of a CASA, but it is not clear how many youth, ages 14-21 have a CASA versus a GAL; this would need to be explored in order to ensure that as many youth as possible are benefiting from this program. Still, this option directly addresses all of JCYOI and DYOI's recommendations and goals, as well as direct resources towards clarifying the roles of each caseworker in the youth's lives.

Optional Supplemental Resource Program: Resource Guide
Throughout the country, resource guides designed to help youth with the transition process have been developed. These guides address a variety of issues including housing options, court proceedings and processes, and appropriate points of contact for specific issues or concerns. Many of these guides are developed by, or at least with the help of, youth in care or who have aged out. DYOI has expressed interest in putting together a similar guide, and has begun work on a Bill of Rights document. The Bill of Rights would address all the rights youth have in court proceedings, the information that should be provided to them, how to maintain relationships or visits with siblings, and how and when their desires can and should be used in court and placement. Two related guides would need to be developed in conjunction: both for foster youth. One would focus on needs and support of children and youth while they are in the system and another as a guide to navigate the aging out process. These would flow from the Bill of Rights; therefore, full development and distribution of all "Guides" would be more than a year down the road. The guide would provide a list of agencies that exist to assist with a variety of support services (e.g., access to and funding for continuing education endeavors, housing, stipends, transportation, and job training).

Development of such a guide would take time, dedication, and communication among numerous agencies throughout the state. Empowering youth and/or YAC members to take part in the formation and

maintenance of the guide would provide a project opportunity for youth, aligning with the JCYOI recommendation of giving the youth autonomy to help shape their own futures and understand the specified programs and policies in place, which are designed to assist in various phases of transition. The guide would promote communication among agencies and give youth more responsibility and autonomy in shaping the policies the help them make developmentally appropriate decisions. Instead of having to always ask a caseworker or judge for help, they can initiate conversations with agencies that would be able to help the youth, help themselves. This guide would make a useful supplemental resource to the work done through a mentoring program, and would allow the youth to continue developing the autonomy JCYOI stresses.

Option	Advantages	Disadvantages
Continue Current Program(s)	- No added cost - Address the majority of JCYOI focus areas (education, housing, incarceration, healthcare, etc.) - Already have guy-in from necessary stakeholders	Does not address permanency problem for foster youth
Supplemental Resource Guide	- Ties together current services - Low cost - Already being put together by DYOI	- Relies on youth to navigate the system - Does not address permanency problem for foster youth
School-Based Mentoring	- Gives foster youth a permanent adult role model - Helps youth navigate educational supports	- High cost for new hiring - No guarantee of equitability across school district, or buy-in across school district - Long-term timeline before it can begin to be implemented statewide.
CASA role changes	**Low Cost** **Gives foster youth a permanent adult role model** **Helps youth navigate existing services**	**Does not reach all youth equally** **Requires new role to be written into statute**

Proposal: Modify CASA Volunteer Training and Expectations

The CASA mentorship model would be the easiest and most cost effective to implement. It would take approximately 6-12 months to implement the Fostering Futures training, and ensure that all current and in-training CASAs are trained (for more information on Fostering Futures see Step 2 of Action Plan). Gwen Stubbolo has already received the training and the CASA Coordinators are involved in a "train the trainer" program. The mentor-mentee framework addresses the five JCYOI recommendations. The CASA statewide coordinator is convinced that the mentoring relationship between CASA's and older youth is happening

naturally. Implementing a new training component to establish clear definitions and an understanding of "mentorship" for older foster youth would solidify this transition, and ensure equitability of expectations for the relationship. This addresses the JCYOI concern with equitability and the Delaware ILP caseworker concern of unclear boundaries. It is recommended that a panel of YAC members or other former foster youth be involved in the training to inform CASAs about Delaware's unique environment and the specific experiences of the foster youth who have lived it. Therefore, the "CASA option" is the best option for a statewide mentoring program, especially considering that the program is already established with staffing and involvement in court. However, there is room to include all of the options in a long-term plan. The resource guide could be developed as DYOI continues its work; the education-based mentoring could be included over time, as this aspect takes unique and expert knowledge to correctly navigate all the pathways. First though, the CASA's who are matched with youth 14 years and over should be trained in a mentor framework.

Why?: Support for Proposed Option
The funding for this training is already built into the CASA program. The training requires no supplies outside of the curriculum, and because the Fostering Futures curriculum has already been obtained, there would be no additional cost of implementing this program. CASAs are required to complete at least 16 hours of training annually, in addition to the 30 hours required when they first become a CASA. Adding mentoring training to existing hours would not be difficult. A potential challenge would be getting all current CASAs who have youth over the age of 14 to choose this option as a part of their training. Since DYOI is currently piloting the educational mentoring program in one county, it will be important to share best practices, and make sure that any youth involved in both do not become confused, and that the adults are working together towards the same short and long-term goals for the youth.

The CASA option has a solid logic model that fits within the existing DYOI and JCYOI framework. The CASA mentor model could be slowly implemented over the next year, with the goal of all current and prospective CASA being training in the mentoring framework by 2015. This would mean that Delaware's CASA coordinators would need to offer the curriculum monthly, in order to make the training as accessible as possible. This option would only positively affect existing programs. There would be some growing pains, particularly in clarifying caseworker roles in relation to the mentor, but ultimately the CASA mentor would serve as the connector between all supportive services, the court system, and the youth.

How: Action Steps for Implementation

1. *Establish a Resource Guide, Complete with a Bill of Rights*

   Using the Texas Resource Guide model, DYOI has begun developing a plan for the Bill of Rights. The concerns and questions raised by YAC about the foster care system as it applies to court involvement, the ability to see siblings or continue a relationship with biological parents, and being involved in extracurricular activities will be addressed in the Bill or Rights and lay the framework for the rest of the Guide's index. Thus, the entire Resource Guide would be a joint effort by the youth and the Delaware Center for Justice since the guide would be distributed to youth through their CASA. Therefore, it will be important for a CASA representative to serve on the guide development. The guide provides CASA volunteers with educational tools, which help initiate conversations with their youth mentees. CASA's are expected to work with youth on how to use it and have ongoing conversations about the topics included. This will provide youth with direction for housing, continuing education, and career planning, encouraging them to think longer-term and begin preparation earlier than 18. Alternatively, the distribution and upkeep of the guide could also be done by DFS or YAC within DYOI.

2. *Institute New Training for all CASAs- New and Old*

   As previously mentioned, Gwen Stubbolo recommended using the National CASA training in a program called *Fostering Futures for Delaware's CASAs*. DYOI and the Delaware CASA program can or may review

this curriculum to help establish whether or not it addresses the mentor role as described earlier. The curriculum blends the role of advocate with that of a mentor in order to support youth transitioning into adulthood. Each of the seven chapters in the training manual addresses a different aspect important in the aging out process. Youth involvement in court is a priority area of DYOI, and CASAs with this training could partner with DYOI in achieving relatedly similar goals (The National Court Appointed Special Advocates Association, 2012).

In order for the implementation of such a program to run smoothly, explicit expectations regarding communication between agencies should be established up front. First, minimum communication hours/times between youth and CASA mentors should be set. At least a year commitment should be made, but this is already a requirement of the CASA program. Effective communication with youth requires at least two hours per week (Scannapieco, 2013). However, Stubbolo asserted that the average amount of time spent volunteering as a CASA is 12 hours per month. Therefore, an outline of how to spend this time between youth development and investigation for court proceedings would be required. This could be part of the training; how to begin conversations when looking for court information, and then, how to use these conversations as an opportunity for development (G. Stubbolo, personal communication, 31 October 2013).

Second, checkpoints should be set. Again, "checkpoints" are recommendations and talking points set to a "check-in" schedule, in order to guide the mentor in their conversations with youth, as well as to ensure each mentor-youth pair is equitably discussing the myriad of issues and services. These checkpoints would serve as guidelines for the appropriate age to begin having conversations about various topics discussed in the guide. The guidelines will most likely not be followed to the letter, as the developmental and emotional state of youth will vary, regardless of age. However, the age points serve as a countdown to aging out. The mentee and mentor should together set goals about where the youth would ideally like to be at different ages. Short-term goals, such as academic (or grade) achievement or choosing high school classes, medium-term goals, such as wanting to apply to college or be involved in an ILP, and then long-term goals about careers and family-relationships should all be discussed.

Another significant aspect that should be addressed through checkpoints and training is the importance of establishing, or reestablishing, healthy and safe relationships between the youth and their biological families. This relationship may not be desired by the youth. However, if they do express interest in going back to live with or reconnect with their biological families, then this is a subject matter that the CASA should address in combination with other stakeholders. DFS, ILP, and any other caseworkers involved with the youth should work together to ensure that reconnecting with biological family members is done in a healthy, safe, and productive way.

The CASA-as-mentor program could be piloted in one county. An ideal county may be one with the smallest foster youth (age 14-21) population, and one who's CASA Coordinator has already gone through the Fostering Futures training. A pilot program would allow any unforeseen challenges to be addressed before launching the program statewide. The evaluation of the pilot would follow the same evaluation steps as a statewide program, but would allow extra or less attention to be paid to certain areas of the curriculum, while also allowing additions to be made in areas the mentors did not feel adequately prepared to address.

3. *Evaluation Program*

There should be a plan to evaluate the mentoring program. This would best be conducted by members of DYOI, who have a good understanding of the full-range of services and programs provided for foster youth aging out in Delaware. The desired outcome is to create permanent relationships for foster youth in transition, while also helping youth navigate supportive services Delaware has implemented. Other outcomes that must be assessed include increased high school graduation rates, decreased rate of

homelessness, incarceration, and teenage pregnancy, as well as the less statistics-driven goal of giving youth more autonomy and futuristic-thinking ability. Surveys should be given before entrance to the program and after exit in order to obtain data on these outcomes. Longitudinally, the program hopes to see less former foster youth reliant on public aid after 21, and more former foster youth in successful careers, being self-sufficient. The evaluation should address all of the desired outcomes, as well as the youth and mentors feelings about the relationship and its effects on the youth's transition. The Scannapieco-Painter study models one evaluation plan, which uses the Likert Scale to measure youth and mentor's feelings about the relationship, but Scannapieco is skeptical of the self-report's ability to capture true data (Scannapieco, 2013). However, if the survey is anonymous and conducted annually, or if there is a CASA change, while also accompanied by an exit interview process, more valid data may be found. The data from the more immediate, one-year-out statistics, the yearly surveys, exit interviews, and longitudinal public aid statistics will serve as a way to modify the program as necessary over time. The program's effectiveness should be revisited at least every two years in order to ensure the training curriculum encompasses any new legislation, service providers, or cultural changes.

In addition to the overall evaluation of the program, there should be ongoing, monthly self-evaluations conducted by the various agencies that are involved in youth cases. This may not be directly related to mentoring, but it allows for all parties to troubleshoot various issues that would affect mentors' conversations and planning with youth. This also helps to ensure that those who may not have CASAs are still getting the benefit of across-provider communication. Representatives from CASA, DSCYF, YAC, DYOI, and the court system should meet monthly to evaluate and hold one another accountable for their role in the legislation's service provision mandates. This would also be a place for youth to raise concerns about the mentoring program's discrepancies across cases or just a concern about how a service is being delivered. Continually, within the courtroom, judges can evaluate or check-in on the mentoring program. This holds mentors accountable, and also gives youth an incentive to come to court. Both parties (CASA and judges) will usually be in the courtroom anyway, and no extra mandates would be needed the discussion would surround the well-being of the youth. According to Julie Miller, "DYOI and the Child Protection Accountability Commission are currently working on the extended court jurisdiction process (what tools can be used by judges during these hearings) and that can be added into the process we come up with" (personal communication, 21 November 2013).

Conclusion

Permanent or long-term, trusting adult relationships can make all the difference in a successful transition out of state care and into self-sufficient adulthood. Delaware has a unique opportunity to institute a statewide mentoring program to help establish these relationships because of its small size and the current efforts and attention being paid to this transition. Delaware already has progressive legislation in place, as well as many community-based support services. Therefore, a mentoring program can link all the services and supports together, while giving personal, one-on-one guidance to youth. Mentoring aligns with the current efforts, initiatives, the recently passed legislation, and other already existing programs and services that are proving to have a positive impact, all the while ensuring that the youth are being held accountable for their actions and have autonomy in shaping their futures.

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Appendix A

Youth Aging Out of Foster Care Statistics		
CONCERN	DELAWARE	NATIONAL***
Incarceration	Of 394 youth 16 to 21 years of age that participated in IL services during 7-1-12 through 6-30-2013, 27% reported having ever been incarcerated.*	25% incarcerated within two years of leaving foster care
Homelessness	Of 290 youth 18 to 21 years of age that participated in IL services during 7-1-12 through 6-30-2013, 37% reported having ever been homeless. (this includes youth that reporting having experienced homelessness prior to entering foster care).*	20% by the age of 20
High School Graduation	Of 290 youth 18 to 21 years of age that participated in IL services during 7-1-12 through 6-30-2013, 34% have obtained a diploma or GED.*	51% vs. national comparison group graduation rate of 90%
Unemployment	66%**	25-55%; only 38% of those working after one year

*Felicia Kellum, DSCYF, November 18, 2013
** As of 2011, and only those youth participating in an Independent Living Program
Source: IPA Environmental Scan, 2011, page 14
*** Source: http://www.childrensrights.org/issues-resources/foster-care/facts-about-aging-out/

Appendix B

Social Cost of Aging Out Challenges	
The increased earnings of one cohort year graduating at the rate of the general population over a working life	$748,800,000
One cohort year unplanned parenthood based on the cost of first 15 years of life for the first child	$115,627,350
One cohort year criminal justice costs for a criminal career	$4,833,736,200
Total for education, unplanned pregnancy and criminal involvement for each cohort year	$5,698,163,550

SOURCE: Cutler, I. (2009). Cost Avoidance: Bolstering the Economic Case for Investing in Youth Aging Out of Foster Care. *Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative*, *1*, 1-20.

Appendix C – Acronym Glossary

CASA- Court Appointed Special Attorney
CHAMP- Creating Hopeful Adults Mentoring Program
DCJ- Delaware Center for Justice
DSCYF- Delaware Department of Services for Children, Youth and their Families
DYOI- Delaware Youth Opportunities Initiatives
GAL- Guardian At. Litem
JCYOI- Jim Casey Youth Opportunities Initiative
ILP- Independent Living Program(s)
WENH- West End Neighborhood House
YAC- Youth Advisory Council