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The New “Duck-and-Cover” – School Security as Contemporary Civil Defense and Mimetic of the National Security State

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The New “Duck-and-Cover” — School Security as Contemporary Civil Defense
and Mimetic of the National Security State

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
of Bard College

by
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Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

May 2020

*Gracia' a mami por to' lo' regaño'
Gracia' a usted soy el mismo to' los año'
Recuerdo, castigao' me iba pa' la cama
Por eso ahora de grande hago lo que me dé la gana, yeah
- Benito Antonio Martinez Ocasio*

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Introduction

Education exists as the cornerstone of the democratic project in the United States. It is not possible to have a properly functioning democracy without an educated citizenry. One can only be considered part of democratic society after being taught how to exist within the framework. How to vote, how governmental systems are organized and run, and what the civic expectations of an individual consist of, are things that are taught to people. Mass socialization into the responsibilities of individuals in a democratic society is needed to facilitate the existence of a democratic republic.

Because this socialization is required on a large scale, the congregation of new members taught how to be an active, informed, and knowledgeable member of the state was created as a system of schooling. Young members of society meet every day to be exposed to new knowledge and are ultimately taught how to be part of the society that they will join as a full member at age 18. At that age one is expected to vote, avail themselves to serve the nation through military engagement, and is treated as an adult in criminal proceedings. That age threshold marks the point in which one should be done with the schooling project. At age 18, one is expected to come into their role as a citizen of the United States. While schooling of course serves to do more than socialize students into being American citizens, the history of the federal government's involvement in the schooling system across the country has demonstrated how it is an objective of the state to create citizens, which is evident in the ways that the national security project has been part of the schooling project particularly since the Cold War.

During this time the United States had to construct a response to keep the state secure from threats originating from the Soviet Union. The development of the atomic weapon

complicated this securing mission further as there existed a threat to the homeland of the nation. Part of this response to the threat of the Soviet Union was to compete in technology and military capacity with the threat, posturing advancement and military superiority as a way to intimidate. In order to maintain this mission which served to position the United States as not to be threatened, the support of the citizens was also necessary. In securing this support from the citizens of the state, the United States carried out a program in civil defense, ultimately meant to create citizens that were supportive of the United States, injecting nationalism through manuals that taught people how to be of service to the nation during insecure times.

The United States was also posed with the problem that the threat of nuclear attack struck a fear in Americans that could potentially be debilitating. Living under the constant threat of an atomic weapon ending or altering life on a mass scale can serve to make people deeply fearful and inhibit them from going about their lives normally or at all. This unmitigated fear that can be deeply anxiety-inducing is part of the reason for the United States' development of the program in civil defense. "Emotional management," as Joseph Masco terms it, embedded as part of civil defense programs served to manage the level of fear that Americans felt toward the Soviet nuclear threat. This emotional management was carried out by instructing Americans on how to live and act in response to the tension, ultimately aiding not only in the effort of the state to secure, but serving to give citizens the piece of mind that there are actions one can take in order to feel less threatened by the idea of nuclear attack.

This greater program in civil defense on a national scale through manuals, films, images, and other media was also institutionalized through the schooling system all across the nation. The state took advantage of the schooling system and its ability to socialize young students into

citizens to serve in the interest of national security. Students became participants in a civil defense curriculum that was catered to them through duck-and-cover drills, informational films that constructed the threat of the Soviet Union, and other educational programs. Part of the schooling program in the United States was then retooled at this time in American history to construct the threat of the foreign other as the Soviet Union through the use of fear to constitute the power of the state to protect and secure within its sovereign borders. By creating fearful citizens, schools created complacent participants in the national security program that ceded power to the state in exchange for protection.

Since the Cold War however, the primary threat to the United States has changed, and therefore so has the program in civil defense generally and in schools. In response to 9/11, the United States retooled its program again to reconstruct the threat to the state as a different foreign power. This re-articulation of the threat post 9/11 employed the use of the existing framework and collective memory of the nation to shift the focus of national security, and concentrate more power in the state through fear.

Schools today are influenced heavily by state national security practices. Schools across the nation have become heavily securitized spaces that demonstrate the power of the state and serve to create citizens that are fearful both of the foreign threat and of the state itself due to the power that the state has over citizens in the name of national security. The school has become a microcosm of the state itself in the mission of creating a citizenry that understands the threat, is fearful of it, and cedes liberties in exchange for protection from the state.

Security practices in schools closely mirror what border entry and immigration control looks like in terms of practices, as well as their intent and impact. In the ways in which metal

detectors in schools create fear of being watched or caught, checkpoints scattered across the Southwest inculcate unease and tension for the undocumented immigrant driving around on their way to and from work, or to pick up their children. Schools that publicly post their daily detention list, like my middle/high school, construct the deviant student much like the construction of the criminal immigrant or foreign threat narrative pushed by the state in the mission of securing the nation.

Each of these practices are mechanisms of intimidation and control. I do not believe it to be coincidence that so many of these practices and outcomes overlap. The school, particularly the public school, exists as a microcosm of the society in which it exists. Schools are replicating the practices and norms that govern society, creating individuals who conform to the environment outside of the school building.

The purpose of this project is to interrogate the parallels between school and state security policies. The project also positions these similarities ultimately as part of the program of schooling that seeks to create citizens in the interest of national security through the mimicry of the state, inculcating a fear in students across the country.

The first section of this paper explores the use of fear as a means of citizen creation and control which serves to constitute the power of the state and its very existence. This analysis is offered through the lens of what Joseph Masco calls “emotional management” in his book Theater of Operations. Masco positions that the objective of civil defense measures is to control the emotional response that citizens have to the constructed threat in order to create fear, but a manageable amount that serves to derive power for the state to exert over citizens. This section also demonstrates the ways in which the existing framework of civil defense after the Cold War

was retooled to be used in the War on Terror after 9/11 using the spectacle of the attacks to harken back to images that were disseminated of atomic weapon attacks.

The second section provides a history of the emergence and implementation of civil defense programs in schools. Starting with the initial development of The Federal Civil Defense Administration in 1950, this section describes the emergence of civil defense programs in schools, how they were facilitated, and what its described purpose was. The purpose and curriculum of the program are explored through examining primary source documents that were given to instructors and administrators, as well as general advertising on behalf of the state. In this section, measures that were carried out in schools like the use of dog tags to identify students, and duck-and-cover drills are analyzed to reveal how these practices are productive of fear that constitutes the power of the state.

The final section is focused on drawing the parallels between school and state security practices as contemporary re-articulations of the threat and American response to the foreign threat. Both the school and the state programs are productive of fear that constitute the power of the state through the construction of citizens. By drawing direct parallels between school and state security practices such as: the existence of screened entry, the phenomenon of re-authorization that checkpoints provide, and the construction of an in-group and out-group, this section reveals how fear creates citizens and how schools serve to acclimate students to the security state by serving as microcosms that are mimetic of the state's national security program.

Section I: Emotional Management: Fear as State-Building

There exist many different means or avenues to assert control over a population. Which is the most effective or the most desirable means of control has been the subject of debate since the advent of social theorizing and thought. The classic Machiavellian question of whether it is better to be feared or loved is cited by many in conversations relating to leadership styles and types. Fear has proven to be one of the most effective ways to control a population, as evidenced by the relationship that states have with their citizens.

States of all kinds, despite regime type, employ the use of fear to inculcate their citizens with a framework of appropriate behavior, and a specific way to view the state. Fear then, to an extent, has almost guaranteed a subservient population. Citizens are fearful of imprisonment so most do not disobey laws. This fear is one form of control that states employ to assert their power over citizens. In addition to fear of the state itself as a governing and enforcing body, the fear that states construct of a foreign threat also serves to construct the power of the state, and therefore constitute the state itself.

The United States employs the use of both of these forms of fear in order to construct and reinforce its expansive power. This doubly sourced fear is derived from the construction of the threat of the terrorist or immigrant other as well as by carrying out the mission of national security to be able to thwart such threat. The threat of the terrorist or immigrant other is productive of fear. The power that the state then derives from that construction of the foreign threat is also productive of a fearful citizenry. This fear is then productive of control which in turn produces legitimized state power, and therefore constructs the state itself.

The constitution of state power and subsequently the state itself through fear is done in the United States through what Joseph Masco calls, “emotional management,” a state national security program that serves to manage the behavior and feelings of the citizens through the use of an appropriate amount of fear. Masco explores the national security program deemed civil defense through the responses of the state during the Cold War and traces its re-articulation through the state’s reaction to the terrorist attacks on 9/11. The U.S. is initially successfully able to carry out this citizen control program through the definition of the threat as well as instructing people on how to act, and then later retools the threat construction to make use of the public nature or spectacle of 9/11 to expand the power of the state.

Definition of the Atomic Threat and American Response

The development of the nuclear weapon during the Cold War created the tense situation between the United States and Soviet Union that characterizes the whole time period. Americans and Soviets alike understood the constant threat of nuclear war and mutually assured destruction that would ensue if one of the powers shot first. This reality was a frightening one to live in. The U.S. response to the threat of a nuclear capable Soviet Union was to bolster its security and defense capabilities.

Out of this response came the creation of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) in 1958. The agency was created in response to the successful launch of the Sputnik I satellite by the Soviet Union which created anxiety within the U.S. government that the USSR would surpass the United States in technological and defense capability.¹ The agency’s mission reads,

¹ Mohn, E. (2017). Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). *Salem Press Encyclopedia*.

The Defense Advanced Research Project Agency (DARPA) was established in 1958 to prevent strategic surprise from negatively impacting U.S. national security and create strategic surprise for U.S. adversaries by maintaining the technological superiority of the U.S. military. To fulfill its mission, the Agency relies on diverse performers to apply multi-disciplinary approaches to both advance knowledge through basic research and create innovative technologies that address current practical problems through applied research. DARPA's scientific investigations span the gamut from laboratory efforts to the creation of full-scale technology demonstrations in the fields of biology, medicine, computer science, chemistry, physics, engineering, mathematics, materials sciences, social sciences, neurosciences and more. As the DOD's primary innovation engine, DARPA undertakes projects that are finite in duration but that create lasting revolutionary change.²

The agency sought to develop anything in the field of technology and research in order to outdo the USSR and ultimately secure the nation. The way in which the mission is worded positions the agency as key to the fight against the USSR. Projects are meant to ensure the superiority of the U.S. military and keep the element of surprise in the arsenal of the U.S. government against exterior threats. This continued technological posturing was the response to the threat of the USSR growing as an international superpower. As this mission continued, another threat was identified by the state, the citizens of the United States. The only way that the threat of the USSR could be dealt with was with the compliance of the U.S. populace in the state's goals of national security. Masco highlights this new threat definition during the Cold War noting,

The policy of containment, as formalized in a report to the president by the National Security Council, known as NSC 68, proposed as a response to the Soviet bomb a total mobilization of American society based on the experience of World War II... The report identifies internal dissent as perhaps the greatest threat to the project of the Cold War... The report identifies internal dissent as perhaps the greatest threat to the project of the Cold War and calls for a new campaign to discipline citizens in preparation for life under the constant shadow of nuclear war. Thus, in the White House, nuclear fear was immediately understood to be not only the basis of American military power, but also a means of installing a new normative reality in the United States, one that could

² Defense Advanced Research Project Agency Mission as quoted in Joseph Masco, *The Theater of Operations National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014): 12.

consolidate political power at the federal level by reaching into the internal lives of citizens... By focusing Americans on an imminent end of the nation-state, federal authorities mobilized the bomb to create the Cold War consensus of anticommunism, capitalism, and military expansion.³

The National Security Council at this time deems American citizens as the greatest threat to the mission of posturing and defending against the Soviet Union. Ultimately, according to the NSC, Americans themselves are the biggest threat to the objectives of National Security. To disagree with the way that the U.S. responds to the foreign threat complicates the mission and makes it more difficult to secure the state. In response to this the state takes measures to try to control the response from the American people and in doing so works to centralize power federally in order to have complete control of the situation. The way in which this mission of control is carried out is through inculcating fear in the American public, creating citizens that comply and serve in the mission of national security to secure against the foreign threat of the Soviet Union and its nuclear capabilities.

Through this inculcation of fear in the American public, the state is thus able to reinforce its power through the control that results from this program that emerges deemed civil defense. By providing information regarding the threat to the public that is able to create fear, the state is able to define the threat, and in turn, citizens reinforce state power by accepting the definition of the threat. Once citizens accept the threat definition, they act according to the prescriptions of the state, and as a result constitute the power and existence of the state.

The civil defense program on a national scale manifested in many ways. The program was a national education initiative that handed to Americans the guidebook on what was going

³ Joseph Masco, *The Theater of Operations National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014): 48

on, who the threat was, and how people should be acting during that time: in service of the nation. The program nationalized sentiment against the Soviet Union, and educated Americans on what the threat from the foreign enemy was. The civil defense program, coupled with the rhetoric of being ahead of the USSR and keeping the element of surprise, bolstered nationalism in the United States. The result of the national security mission then was to create selectively informed citizens that understood who the threat was as constructed by the state. Fear both of the foreign threat, and of the power that the U.S. holds, served to allow the state to craft the model American. This program proved beneficial in securing the powers of the state. Masco writes,

In the United States, civil defense was always a willful act of fabrication, an official fantasy designed to promote an image of nuclear war that would be above all other things politically useful. It also installed an idea of an American community under total, immediate, and unending threat, creating the terms for a new kind of nation building that demanded an unprecedented level of militarism in everyday life as the minimum basis for collective security.⁴

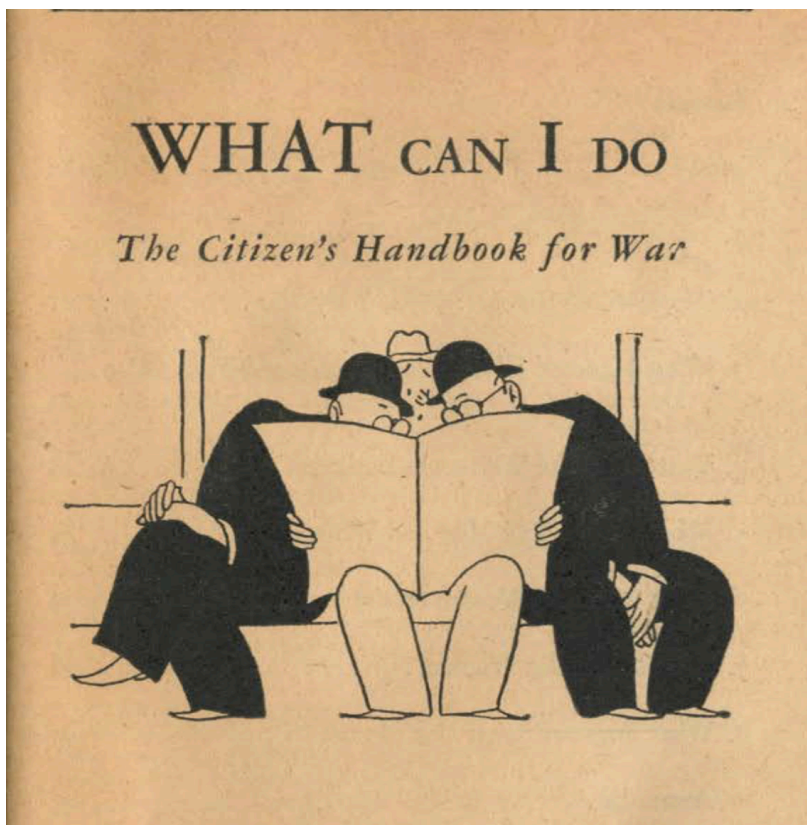
Here, Masco notes how the program of civil defense served as a tool for the U.S. to construct the narrative that was most advantageous to the state and its power. Civil defense was ultimately a political tool, as he states, to advance the agenda of control of the populace, and expanding the power of the state. To scare people into believing that a constant security apparatus must be at the cornerstone of national security serves to reinforce state power, making Americans fear not only the foreign threat, but the state itself as it continues to extend its reach further into the daily lives of Americans.

The ways in which people were meant to act was defined by the civil defense program, serving to control people after leading them into fear. Guides, movies, images, and other propaganda were disseminated across the country in pursuit of the expansion of state control

⁴ Ibid., 47

through fear. The U.S. Office of Civilian Defense published a guide entitled *“What Can I Do: The Citizen’s Handbook for War”* which defined what people should be doing to secure the nation from their own homes, ultimately aiding the war effort. The first chapter of the guide, *“What Everybody Can Do — Everywhere,”* reads, *“But this is your war — and your part in it is clear. You don’t need spare time. You need imagination to see the connection between tasks which to you may seem small and unimportant — and winning the war. You need understanding, resourcefulness, self-discipline, determination, and the love of America.”*⁵

The guide, published by an agency of the U.S. government, attempts to appeal to the nationalism that Americans should hold during this war. Each person should be in service to the nation. This appeal is done not only by calling on American nationalism, but also by creating fear. Images published by the state in this guide and others demonstrate the threat of nuclear attack. Pairing images of a nuclear attack with instructions on how to be a good contributing American during a fraught time in the nation’s security, serves to create a compliant



Cover Image, United States Office of Civilian Defense, *“What Can I Do: The Citizen’s Handbook for War.”*

populace that allows for the expansion of state power in the name of security. Citizens, presented

⁵ United States Office of Civilian Defense, *“What Can I Do: The Citizen’s Handbook for War.”*

with this information that is tailored to facilitate the further expansion of the state's power, are willing to accept the power of the state and its expansion. The state is successfully able to reinforce and expand its power as people are now fearful of what will happen if the state does not secure the nation, as well as if they do not comply.

Civil defense is then a political tool for the state to create and control citizens through the use of fear of the nuclear bomb. Masco describes how pivotal this program is in the realm of politics and nation building, writing,

... the invention of the atomic bomb proved to be utterly transformative for American society: it not only provided the inspiration for a new U.S. geopolitical strategy but it also provided officials with a new means of engaging and disciplining citizens in everyday life. For U.S. policy makers, the Cold War arms race transformed the apocalypse not only into a technoscientific project and a geopolitical paradigm, but also a powerful new domestic political resource.⁶

The American citizen is then constructed through the definition of the threat of the foreign nuclear power. The atomic bomb and the USSR were constructed as the threat to be dealt with. Using this fear of the foreign other, coupled with the threat of death by nuclear attack, the state was successfully able to administer a citizen crafting program that served in the interest of the state.

Re-articulation of Threat Construction Through use of Spectacle

The terrorist attacks on 9/11 broadcast live into the homes of Americans all over the country. Americans watched the homeland be attacked live on television as it unfolded. This event served as the catalyst for the retooling of the civil defense program in the United States. All of the images that depicted nuclear warfare were no longer needed as new, real, and powerful

⁶ Joseph Masco, *The Theater of Operations National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014): 1

images of the United States being attacked were etched into the collective American psyche for the state to use to expand its power. The threat, after the fall of the Soviet Union and 9/11 is re-articulated or pivots to a new foreign enemy. The state then relied on existing structures put in place through a nationwide civil defense program to reinforce power through fear. This new threat, while similar in that it targets the foreign other, differs in the factor of the unknown. A terrorist attack is always potentially imminent, and only the state can investigate a plan and stop it in its tracks. This difference in the material or seen threat makes the redefining of the threat so important. The unknown nature of potential terror creates more fear, allowing the state to take more control.

Masco details this possibility of expansive power due to the nature of the unknown threat, writing,

“...it transforms the unknown into a space of terror requiring immediate action—simultaneously validates and eliminates the possibility of factual evidence, creating both a rationale for unrestrained American power and a security apparatus of constantly expanding capacities and infrastructures. This logic renders security itself obsolete, replacing it with a constant conceptual agitation and physical mobilization. Threat (as pure potential) is used to enable a radically active and ever emerging counterterror state, allowing action to be favored over restraint, possibilities over capabilities, hypotheticals over knowledge.⁷

It is because of this unknown and omnipresent threat, coupled with the images of attacks on the homeland, that citizens are readily willing to allow the state to hold more power. The fear that these images and the unknown threat creates constructs the power of the state. Citizens are fearful and want to be secure, so the state takes more power and therefore fear on the part of the citizen reinforces the very authority and power of the state.

⁷ Ibid., 17

This expansion of power through a citizen creating program that uses fear to be effective is facilitated by the already standing structure of the civil defense program during the Cold War. The new program in Civil Defense after 9/11 calls on the imagery and emotional management that was put in place during the Cold War. Masco notes this re-articulation,

The mushroom cloud imagery, as well as the totalizing immediacy of the threat in his presentation, worked to redeploy a cultural memory of apocalyptic nuclear threat (established during the four decades of the Soviet-American nuclear arms race) as part of the new War on Terror... in this regard the War on Terror has been conducted as a campaign of emotional management within the United States, using the tropes and logics developed during the early Cold War to enable a new kind of American geopolitical project. The war redirects but also reiterates the American assumptions about mass violence, technology, and democracy...⁸

What happened after 9/11, as it relates to the United States' program in civil defense, was a shift to a new threat defined by the same foreign nature, but with new and real images. The program is the same in how it articulates the threat, but serves to greatly expand the powers of the state through creating fear in the populace.

This fear is created in many ways by the state. The threat is constantly communicated, serving to reinforce state power through fear. When traveling, citizens are confronted with the possibility of a terrorist attack through the continued communication of a possible threat. Threat level advisories are posted in places of travel, accompanied by heavily armed guards that serve to remind individuals that there is always the potential for a terrorist attack. Seeing these aspects of the national security apparatus right in front of you instills fear. That feeling facilitates the ceding of power and liberties to the state to do all that it can to protect. That fear creates state

⁸ Ibid., 72-3

power. That fear constitutes the state as without that fear, the state would not have the power to enforce.

This constant communication of an omnipresent threat can however have serious drawbacks. To have a citizenry that is constantly fearful of an attack is not optimal as panic or debilitating fear is not productive of a functioning society. The mission is then to create enough fear to reinforce the power of the state, but not cause extreme fear in people. This balance is the mission of the program in emotional management. Masco writes,

One of the earliest and most profound projects of the Cold War state was thus to deploy the bomb as a mechanism for accessing and controlling the emotions of citizens. The formal goal of this state program was to transform “nuclear terror,” which was interpreted by U.S. officials as a paralyzing emotion, into “nuclear fear,” an affective state that would allow citizens to function in a time of crisis.⁹

The balance between fear and terror continues with the re-articulation of the threat and the security response after 9/11. It would not be beneficial for people to be so fearful that they do not leave their house, afraid of being victim to a terrorist attack. The balance that allows people to be fearful enough to want the state to do all that it can to secure the nation is the mission of the use of fear in the contemporary national civil defense program. The state today derives its expansive power through the fear of citizens experiencing a repeated terrorist attack. The state is therefore constituted through the fear of citizens both of the foreign threat, as well as of the power that the state holds. To not act in the ways that the state deems beneficial to the mission of securing the nation is to act against the state and refuse its power. The possibility of punishment through the enforcement power of the state is also productive of fear that constitutes the very existence of the state.

⁹ Ibid., 49

The program in civil defense permeates down to the school level. During the Cold War, the program for students was a fully articulated program in civil defense education which taught students how to respond in a nuclear attack, as well as how to be of service to the country in the way guides like *“What Can I Do: The Citizen’s Handbook for War”* define. Separate and intentional lessons like that of Cold War era classes no longer serve in the mission of the civil defense of the nation. Today the school serves as a microcosm of the state, creating a model of how students should act as model citizens in the real world. Students who were not witness to the attacks also need to be inculcated with the fear of the terrorist or foreign other in order to constitute state power. Young people, or citizens in training, need to be pulled into the program of emotional management in order to constitute the state. Students need to learn fear for the state to continue to expand its power. It is because young people need to learn fear that schools today act as mimetic concentrated versions of the state through security practices, training new citizens for the counterterror focused national security apparatus.

Section II: Civil Defense Program in American Schools During the Cold War

When someone hears the words, “civil defense” what most clearly comes to mind are black-and-white films of dramatized doomsday, duck-and-cover drills, and the protection of the homeland during the Cold War. Civil defense as a concept refers to the larger national security apparatus that serves to protect citizens from foreign attacks, and natural disasters. Programs part of the goal of securing citizens termed civil defense dates back to the early 1900s, but became a formalized program as part of national security efforts with the creation of the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA). While other federal agencies existed prior to the FCDA that served to secure citizens from threats, much of the attention prior to the creation of the FCDA was focused on natural disasters. When the agency was created, the focus shifted to the threat of nuclear attack, and was much less concerned with the response to natural disaster or other, ultimately *non-foreign* threats.

President Harry S. Truman ordered the creation of the FCDA on 1 December 1950 by executive order. The order reads,

There is hereby established the Federal Civil Defense Administration (hereinafter referred to as the Administration) in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President... The basic purpose of the Administration shall be to promote and facilitate the civil defense of the United States in cooperation with the several States. Subject to the direction and control of the President.¹⁰

Truman orders the creation of the Administration to carry out the needs of Civil Defense according to his control and direction. At the time, the United States was responding to the threat of nuclear warfare from the Soviets after their successful test of a nuclear weapon earlier that

¹⁰ “Executive Order 10186 of December 1, 1950, Establishing the Federal Civil Defense Administration in the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President,” 367, <https://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=464649>

year. The President's intention then with the creation of this Administration was the successful dissemination of information that would serve one: to assure a system is in place in response to a nuclear attack and two: potentially assuage the fears of Americans in the face of the threat of such nuclear attack. The Administration's purpose or mission is in emotional management, working to manage and instrumentalize fear.

The question then became, after the creation of the FCDA: how does the Administration effectively disseminate information meant to protect civilians from attack, and appropriately respond to attacks? A solution the Administration comes up with to be able to successfully spread its message and aid in its goal of security and emotional management is using students in schools all across the country. The FCDA then publishes a manual titled, "Civil Defense in Schools," providing little rationale for why specifically schools should be the agents of information dissemination, and giving instructors and administrators a guide as to how to properly prepare students in the event of an emergency. The guide reads in its opening section on "Necessity," "Schools are not exempt from attack. A Honolulu school, for example, was completely destroyed by fire as a result of the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. All schools within territorial limits of the United States must be prepared for such an emergency."¹¹ While it is true of course that schools are not exempt from attacks on civilians, it still does not explain why the actions of the FCDA mainly focus on schools in the goal of protecting civilians at large. The focus on the schools reveals how these institutions serve as a means of creating citizens informed with specific information meant to serve the needs of national security.

United States. 1952. Civil defense in schools. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office. 2. <https://archive.org/details/civildefenseinsc00unitrich>.

Why the FCDA focuses its attention on schools is illuminated by JoAnne Brown in “‘A is for Atom, B is for Bomb’: Civil Defense in American Public Education,” where she explores this history of the use of schools as a means of effective Civil Defense. According to Brown, “The struggle for federal aid may have been won in the sky, but it was fought in the basements, classrooms, and auditoriums, as educators adapted schools to the national security threat of atomic warfare and claimed a proportionate federal reward for their trouble.”¹² In her writing, Brown posits that educators, administrators, and school systems quickly adopted the rhetoric and procedures of civil defense instruction in classrooms because it afforded them federal funding to do so.

This phenomena of schools absorbing national security discourse in return for federal funding begins to describe why schools became the chosen avenue for civil defense programs. Brown also details other reasons why schools were so quickly on board with adopting civil defense instruction into their curricula. In the time of the Cold War, much of the United States public education was under intense scrutiny for anything that could be moderately interpreted as communist. “Life adjustment” curriculum, as defined by Brown, inclusive of “phone manners, good taste in dress”¹³ was considered to be too communist in nature for the likes of anti-communist American sentiment, working to create American model citizens that serve in the interest of the nation.

Because of the perceived communist agenda of public schooling, schools joining in on the national anti-communist rhetoric by serving as a mechanism of civil defense programs,

¹² JoAnne Brown. 1988. “‘A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb’: Civil Defense in American Public Education, 1948-1963.” *The Journal of American History* 75 (1): 68.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 74

actually served as a way for educators to justify their positions and posit themselves as patriots working in the national interest against Communism and the Soviet Union. Brown expands on this, writing, "Civil defense in the schools thus deflected both kinds of criticism of education: By its overt patriotic appeal, it answered the anti-communist critics; by its embodiment of the principles of life adjustment in the most serious of contexts, it absorb the criticisms of Bestor and like-minded intellectuals."¹⁴ The inclusion and centralization of civil defense education in curricula across the public school system served two functions then: first, a stream of funding, and second, a way to fold educators in the anti-communist mission.

Schools agreed to specific practices in the name of civil defense education. Some of these practices are outlined in the guide published by the FCDA, "Civil Defense in Public Schools," outlining everything from proposed rationalizations, to how to send letters to parents about the program. Other organizations and individuals concerned with the goal of promoting civil defense in schools also propagated guidelines and provided educators with guidance. James Ridgway provides educators with the practices that educators should take as part of civil defense education. He instructs,

The point is that schools must prepare pupils for two different sets of war circumstances: (1) attacks without warning and (2) alerts, during which an attack may occur but probably will not. In the case of surprise attacks, the duck-and-cover advice is good. In the case of alerts, pupils should move to shelter areas as quickly as possible.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid., 74

¹⁵ Ridgway, James M. "School Civil Defense Measures." *The Elementary School Journal* 54, no. 9 (1954): 503. www.jstor.org/stable/998750.

The guide provides different means of protection and processes for students and educators. Schools across the country subscribed to this model, serving to give students hope that they could survive an attack.

Bert the Turtle: Tools of Civil Defense in Schools

The “duck-and-cover” response is arguably the most well known measure of civil defense. Duck-and-cover is such a part of the collective memory of the nation in part due to the proliferated iconography that came out of its marketing which was geared to appeal to young students. Bert the Turtle became the mascot for the duck-and-cover method of response to surprise attack. The animated turtle served as the emblem for the response to a nuclear attack, and was used in everything from pamphlets to movies.

Bert the Turtle also appeared in the official U.S.. Civil Defense animated film *Duck and Cover*, in which his matter-of-fact advice was set to cheery music.¹⁶ *Duck and Cover* typified the way both educators and FCDA officials handled civil defense for children. Instruction and drill were typically purged of all frightening elements and were implemented with a perverse cheeriness.¹⁶

Bert the Turtle exists to make civil defense measures more palatable to young students in the public school system. The use of the animated turtle aids in folding students into the mission that serves American national security. While the goal of the program was to ensure proper preparedness in the response of an attack, such instruction needed to cater to the sensibilities of its target audience. The result then, of trying to make responses to very serious violent threats accessible to children, is a strange infantilization of a credible fatal threat. Educators, administrators, and school systems participated in this unusual phenomenon because it was

¹⁶ JoAnne Brown. 1988. “‘A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb’: Civil Defense in American Public Education, 1948-1963.” *The Journal of American History* 75 (1): 84.

deemed necessary for the safety of schools and of the nation as it disseminated, on a wide scale, information that was helpful in response to the threat of attack, creating fear and in turn constituting the state by defining the enemy and threat of the foreign other.



Schools also participated in a large scale movement to place identification tags on student bodies. As part of civil defense measures on the side of aftereffects, schools made an effort to be able to identify students in the event of a search-and-rescue situation. For many schools this manifested as dog tags being supplied for every student by the administration of the school. Brown points out the program that New York City facilitated in 1952 in all its schools. She writes,

Though their precise purpose was never made explicit, the tags were designed to aid civil defense workers in identifying lost and dead children in the event of an atomic attack. By February 1952 New York City had spent \$159,000 on equipment and materials to produce two and a half million free dog tags for all public, parochial, and private school children; by April all children from kindergarten through the fourth grade had been tagged.¹⁷

The program in tagging children serves to facilitate identification with ease. Because of the way in which such programs were advertised and justified, parents welcomed the measure despite its, again, strange nature. Students were all tagged in the name of organization yes, but ultimately in

¹⁷ Ibid., 81

the event that they were to die. Wearing a piece around your neck every day in the event that your school is attacked is a solemn reminder that you live under constant threat of attack, scaring students and parents alike into a program in mass identification. Civil defense measures in schools are then ultimately productive of fear in both the student and parent that allows for the ceding of power to the state in exchange for protection from the foreign threat.

This does not seem to be clearly articulated in the ways in which students lived day

to day. I say this because in reading much of the literature that surrounds the practice, there is little to no mention of the effects such programs had on students other than how odd or unsettling the normalization of the potential of death of school-aged children is. All of these programs, despite their potentially detrimental effect on students, gets rationalized in one of a few ways.

Firstly and probably most clearly these measures were justified by the threat of eminent attack. At the height of the Cold War, Americans lived in the constant fear that the Soviets would attack on the mainland, whether with a more typical bomb, or any nuclear weapon. Through this fear such programs were easily justifiable despite any potentially harmful effects on young students. With civil defense being defined by the FCDA as



...a constructive precautionary program against national disaster. Civil defense seeks to cut down the potential damage of any disaster, bombing, chemical warfare; it expects to save lives, reduce casualties, and protect property in an emergency. Civil defense attempts to provide an adequate warning system; it includes training of people for an emergency; it includes forces trained in fire fighting and rescue work; and it includes an arrangement for inter-community aid.¹⁸

It is difficult to not think a program with such goals in mind as justified, particularly given the threat that Americans felt. For this reason, parents were able to cosign their children receiving such training and experience due to the fear that was instilled through the construction of the threat.

The FCDA and educators alike could also justify implementing civil defense measures into curricula by instrumentalizing it academically. Supporters of civil defense measures being part of school curricula published reports and articles meant to tie the lessons into greater educational goals. One such report in the *Elementary School Journal* reads,

The following skills, understandings, and attitudes illustrate those which pupils can be stimulated to develop by purposeful teaching of selected units on civil defense: SKILLS AND ABILITIES: 1. To carry out automatically the rules of effective self-protection ... 3. To act without panic in an emergency 4. To be able to administer simple first aid 5. To think critically about the social, political, economic, and moral problems and issues created by the release of atomic energy 6. To read with understanding materials that deal with atomic energy, civil defense, and related areas 7. To gain increased knowledge of world affairs and the critical issues confronting mankind ATTITUDES: 2. A desire to help others in need ... 6. A feeling of human worth and of respect for the rights of others 7. Loyalty and steadfastness toward our democratic heritage.¹⁹

Reports like this made civil defense part of the core curriculum of a society bogged down by fear and nationalism. With everyone preoccupied with the thought that an attack could happen at any

¹⁸ The Federal Civil Defense Administration, "Civil Defense in the Social Studies," as cited by McGowan, William N. "Civil Defense: The Public Schools' Role." *The Clearing House* 27, no. 3 (1952): 139. Accessed April 29, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/30179709.

¹⁹ Clara P. McMahon. 1953. "Civil Defense and Educational Goals." *The Elementary School Journal* 53 (8): 441-2.

moment, it is inevitable that the sentiment would seep into schools. Nationalism was also centralized as part of civil defense education in schools due to the national discourse that permeated into the schools through civil defense measures.

Why Schools?

Through school's civil defense was able to take permanence in the minds of children. Anyone subjected to civil defense programs held a fear of attack and therefore constructed an enemy out of the potential attacker: the foreign other. It is for this reason that the school was the perfect place for civil defense programming to occur.

There are then three core reasons as to why civil defense measures become issues of organized educational institutions in the United States. Firstly, schools are the place where young children are acculturated to American citizenship. This is recognized even in reports like the ones that seek to harmonize educational goals with those of civil defense education. The same report reads, "It becomes obvious that a program of this nature presents a realistic opportunity to educators to revitalize the program of training for citizenship."²⁰ Schools are then "training" grounds for citizenship and civil defense education serves as what training was needed at the time. During this time, schools are needed to defend national security. As such the school becomes a tool of national security.

This then defines reasons two and three of why schools are chosen as the vehicle of civil defense education. Reason two concerns itself with the pure logistics of the spread of information. Children are the way into the home. A schoolchild comes home after their day of education and can tell their family what they were taught. This daily dump of information into

²⁰ Ibid., 139

the home defines how schools serve as great ways to disseminate information through students. In order to get as many individuals as possible directly trained in civil defense measures, a student learns how to keep safe during an attack and can go talk to their family about how to make a plan. Bringing fear, or emotional management, into the home that may have otherwise missed the messaging otherwise. This spread of information to more individuals is productive of further fear and works to construct the power of the state in exchange for protection. Schools are then, “a channel for the mass education of parents as well as children... The new civil defense ultimately allowed educators to demonstrate the importance of the nation's schools to national security...”²¹

By being such an effective avenue to dissemination pertinent information, schools were able to position themselves within a very powerful position as essential to national security, which defines reason three for the use of schools as agents of civil defense: the school as a tool of national security. The threat for the United States at this time is the Soviet Union, and one way the United States deals with such a threat is to train its citizens in defense, partly, if not mostly, out of fear of attack from the enemy. It is plausible to believe that a person would be more willing to listen to their child as an agent of civil defense education, the nationalism that comes paired with it, as well as the construction of the foreign threat that is inherent in the measures that serve to inculcate fear of death. The trained agent as the interlocutor is more effective at dissemination of information than the government is. The student is also a well trained citizen themselves that serves in the interest of the government and society.

²¹ JoAnne Brown. 1988. “‘A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb’: Civil Defense in American Public Education, 1948-1963.” *The Journal of American History* 75 (1): 70.

Civil defense education serves to normalize the threat and fear of the foreign other in the name of creating a citizen. To partake in this polis, you need to have an understanding of what it means to be American, have a construction of that, as well as then not simply constructing the other, but constructing the other as a threat. This can most clearly be seen through the use of Bert the Turtle again. The character normalizes the idea within children that a threat is possible and that the best way to save yourself from the enemy is to duck and cover.

Your life is constantly in danger, and you should look out for “the flash in the sky” that is the work of some non-American enemy force. It is also your job, as Bert the Turtle delineates, to help others after an attack, hold empathy for your fellow Americans in need. These teachings serve to organize communities and ultimately American society. Civil defense education guidebooks like “Civil Defense in Schools” stress the importance of organizational structure. Simply looking at the table of contents of the guide, the importance of roles and factions is evident.

For these reasons, it is clear that while civil defense is meant to guard the citizenry from outside threat, it is also meant to organize and control an American public through training and ultimately fear that constructs the American citizen. Students are taught fear, construction of self in relation to their nation, and the concept of foreign enemy other through education generally, but specifically through civil defense measures in schools. The normalization of duck-and-cover drills, as well as dog tags in the event of attack of one’s school illustrates this point of training a citizen to understand that in this moment during the Cold War, this is what it means to be American, this is what it means to be in service to my country as a civilian.

As the Cold War no longer strikes a fear in American citizens, and as explicitly labeled civil defense programs no longer dominate the education of students in the United States today, new avenues to construct the American citizen need to be defined. It is later the threat of the terrorist that dominates the national security discourse and permeates into schools, and today stands as the threat of the immigrant other. The blend of these two foreign threats are what defines the new civil defense program in American schools today, focused on security and harsh disciplinary practices: the new duck-and-cover.

Section III: Parallels Between Contemporary the National Security Program in Schools and State Security Practices

Civil Defense education in schools during the Cold War focused on teaching students how to stay safe primarily during a nuclear attack. This education program ultimately served as a tool of national security in schools in that students were trained on how to behave during a potential attack, and the program successfully constructed the threat of the external actor that was a threat to the national security of the United States' homeland. Young students all over the country were then trained American citizens inculcated with the knowledge of the threat, who or what state or entity the threat was, constructing conceptions of American and other.

The educational program in schools existed as a distinct program that was clear, obvious, and not necessarily part of the main curriculum. The program manifested as videos and specific lessons that were designated and labeled as civil defense education. The training of students was not masquerading as something else; the program was outright intended for the purpose of teaching students how to carry themselves in the event of an attack, and generally how to be a good American citizen in service to the nation.

The national security program that exists today in schools varies greatly from the Civil Defense education program that took place while the United States was under threat of nuclear attack. Today's program is much more covert and more difficult to pinpoint. This change is due to the vastly different nature of national security today. Discourse and practices on how to secure the homeland differ greatly from how it existed during the threat of nuclear war. The ways in which the nation is secured today is much more invasive due in part to technology but more so to the entire landscape of national security changing following the attacks on 9/11.

Americans have had their privacy infringed upon and invaded following the passage of the Patriot Act.²² The Act, passed six weeks after the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City, greatly expanded the power of the FBI to acquire documents from Internet Service Providers, banks, and other institutions that included confidential information so long as the FBI wrote that the records they sought to acquire were part of a terrorist investigation.²³ This shift in the way that the nation was secured changed the landscape for which people engaged with the national security apparatus; security became a lot more visible, and this is the case for school security as well, ultimately making schools a microcosm of national security discourse and practices.

School entryway security in some cases across the country closely matches that of airports in nature, making it so that students are accustomed to hyper-securitized environments. This highly-securitized environment and student's engagement with it serves today as the national security education program in schools, replacing that of explicitly detailed Civil Defense education. What was once an obvious and intentional training of the good American citizen has morphed into a more subtle program that serves the same purpose of construction of the American compared with the threat, complicated by the program constructing students as threats within their own learning environments. Schools now exist as microcosms of the state, similar to the way the state controls immigration and border crossing, constructed by fear.

This parallel is most clearly exemplified in exploring the ways that security at the school entryway is mimetic of that of state borders. With national security discourse in the United States

²² Pizzo, Lucia. 2019. "USA PATRIOT Act." *Salem Press Encyclopedia*.

²³ *Ibid.*

being focused on protection from the immigrant, terrorist, or foreign other, schools are now training their students accordingly with the rise of the heavily securitized school building. The national security program in civil defense was mostly explicit in its intent through lessons and some experiential learning through duck-and-cover drills. The program today is based mostly in experiential instruction, teaching students what it means to exist in a state that is primarily concerned with security.

This instruction in schools is facilitated by performing the security measures the state carries out at borders and other entryways, in the school building. I will focus in this section on three memetic aspects of school security that serve to construct the school authority through fear: firstly, the practice of screening entry to the physical school building through technology like metal detectors and armed guards, secondly, through checkpoints within the school building that are unknown or unpredictable thresholds where proof of status and authorized presence is necessary through the employment of identification cards, and thirdly, the construction of an in-group and out-group through propping up models of people classified as one or the other.

Screened Entry

One of the more visibly apparent similarities between school and state security measures is entryway screening. Security at borders and airplane security screenings exist as a stringent process that screens each individual before granted entry. Someone who wants to pass the threshold of entry waits in a line for their turn to be screened by a security agent of some kind, whether that be a Customs and Border Patrol Agent or Transportation Security Administration Agent. Once one arrives at the front of the line an agent determines whether or not your entry is granted based on appearance, reason for entry, identification method etc.

Schools also follow this model of security for their students and guests with 94% of schools reporting during the 2015-16 academic year that they control and screen access to school buildings during school hours.²⁴ Controlled or screened access practices vary from school to school. One of the practices most clearly modeled by schools from state security measures is the use of a metal detector. Metal detectors have been used to ensure students are not bringing weapons into schools, but oftentimes a student is caught simply with some form of a metal that is not a weapon. Around 10% of high schools across the United States reported employing the use of metal detectors to screen entry for students and guests.²⁵

One most often goes through a metal detector at these thresholds to prove that they do not carry with them anything that can be used as a weapon. If someone is caught with something that they are not allowed or authorized to carry on their body, the item can be seized, and the person could potentially be detained based on what they were trying to pass through the security threshold. A person found with a gun is vastly different from a person caught with a scissor that they forgot was in their bag, but both cause the same security alarm and warrant interception. This phenomenon is true for locations of screened entry, particularly schools. There exist many stories of students who, while going through a metal detector while entering school, are found to have an object on them that a guard stops them for but is later revealed to be something innocuous, or even for educational use, like a geometric compass.

These instances are productive of the fear that students have that they may get in trouble for having the wrong thing on them at the wrong time. This fear constitutes the power of the

²⁴ “Percentage of public schools with various safety and security measures: Selected years, 1999-2000 through 2015-16” Washington, DC. National Center for Education Statistics

²⁵ “Percentage of public schools with various safety and security measures, by selected school characteristics: 2015-16” Washington, DC. National Center for Education Statistics

school administration and enforcement entity as students are so fearful that they adjust their behavior and double-check their belongings to ensure they hold nothing that can be considered a threat. Making students do this out of fear does not differ from the fear that individuals face attempting to cross that security threshold at a border or airport security. This practice in schools then matches that of the state security apparatus, training students to understand themselves within the American context as fearful citizens, reinforcing state power over the individual.

This fear is also reinforced by the presence of guards in schools at entryways as policy enforcers, just as state thresholds do as well. In the 2015-16 academic school year, 81% of public high schools in the United States reported security staff in their school on a regular basis, 70% of which are armed law enforcement officers.²⁶ School entryways are a heavily securitized threshold for students. Armed guards are a norm across public high schools across the country. The presence of a firearm may increase the tension that students feel entering a space that is guarded by an individual who has the potential of fatally harming them if they take the wrong step. This fear causes students to act according to protocol in order to evade the possibility of harm at the hands of a guard, armed or not. These guards are intended to secure the safety of students and the school building, but ultimately their presence coupled with harsh disciplinary policies, metal detectors, and their ability to screen entry for the school makes for a fearful environment for students to learn in. This fear gives power to the administration of schools in the same way that the fear of people who are attempting to cross state secured thresholds do, serving to legitimize the power of the state.

²⁶ “Percentage of public schools with security staff present at least once a week, and percentage with security staff routinely carrying a firearm, by selected school characteristics: 2005-06 through 2015-16” Washington, DC. National Center for Education Statistics

It is also important to note that none of these security thresholds are crossed by only one individual at a time; both schools and people attempting to enter the country are surrounded by others with the same intent of entry. There exists a spectacle of entry and most notably, violations of policy or practice. When one stands in line to enter the country at a border, you see each person ahead of you get checked, and pass. Sometimes, however, one is witness to a spectacle of violation. A person gets caught attempting entry who is not granted entry for whatever reason, and everyone behind that individual is witness to the power of the state to physically enforce the law. A group of migrants attempting to cross the border unauthorized, and at an unauthorized point of entry can witness this power as well, creating the same fear. This power by the state is not only segmented to the authorized points of entry, as guard patrol extends beyond those boundaries. This show of force is how the state constitutes its power, derived from the fear that is generated in those who witness the spectacle.

The same spectacle is true in schools, and is reproductive of the same fear and constitutive of the power of the school administration. In schools there are several ways in which students are shown demonstrations of force by their administration. Getting caught with something at the entryway with schools that have strict entryway policies is one way that guards demonstrate their power of enforcement derived from the administration. Threats of detention and suspension, or public reprimanding of students in front of their peers, also reinforces the power of the school administered by instructors. Both of these demonstrations of force are mimetic of the ways in which the state derives power through fear.

The national security program in schools today is one that makes students go through what they will in the “real world” outside of school, prepping an adolescent for what it means to

be an American citizen in the current state of national security objectives. The public school building that is heavily securitized exists as a microcosm of the state in how the school building is the object to be secured and the administration acts as the state. Students are therefore acclimated to the environment of security that national security objectives today are based around.

Checkpoints

The entryway is the first barrier, but getting past that threshold will not be the only verification or authorization of your occupation in the space you've entered. Checkpoints exist as random, unknown, and unpredictable barriers meant to verify identities and assure authorized status. Heidi Castañeda and Milena A. Melo describe the pervasive nature of checkpoints across the southwest near the U.S.-Mexican border. They write,

These checkpoints are located between twenty-five and 100 miles from the border along all major highways that lead into the interior of the United States and are staffed twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week, forcing travelers to pass through them if they travel north. As a result, undocumented persons living in this region define their lives by the distance they can travel before reaching a spatial boundary... These permanent checkpoints are supplemented by unpredictable temporary roadblocks placed in communities where immigrants live and work, operating as an additional level of inspection.²⁷

Checkpoints define how people can occupy space, particularly when your presence is unauthorized. Undocumented people in this expansive region near the southern border are forced to define their movements based on the locations of these checkpoints, and in addition to that, be aware that unmarked, randomly placed checkpoints will also pop up to create more of these verification thresholds. The unknown placement of the temporary checkpoints serve to inculcate

²⁷ Castañeda, Heide, and Milena A. Melo. 2019. "Geographies of Confinement for Immigrant Youth: Checkpoints and Immobilities along the US/Mexico Border." *Law & Policy* 41 (1): 81.

a continuous fear in those who are unauthorized in a space. Castañeda and Melo tell the story of Erin, a 25 year old DACA²⁸ recipient who simply describes the experience with checkpoints and CBP as fear, she says, “‘It was fear,’ Erin said. ‘We would see a Border Patrol agent and like put our heads down, try not to do anything that might get their attention to us...’”²⁹

The fear that Erin describes is what gives power to and constitutes the state. The state exercises and demonstrates its power by placing these checkpoints in order to catch undocumented immigrants, and that power is reinforced and affirmed by the fear of being caught. That fear is a recognition of the power that the state holds over the undocumented immigrant, legitimizing state power and therefore constituting the state as a whole.

To model this in schools and construct the power of the school and its administration, checkpoints exist in these spaces as well. Hall passes and bathroom passes authorize a student’s movement outside of the classroom. Despite students already being inside the school, they need to continuously prove their authorization within certain spaces. There exists a level of the presumed guilt of the student, or the person stopped at a checkpoint, due to the reauthorization of one’s passage at random thresholds. The checkpoint demonstrates the power of the school to continuously verify your presence and police movement in the same way as someone who is stopped at a CBP checkpoint.

There is no true comparison between the experience of a student in a public school and an undocumented immigrant’s continued struggle to remain in the United States. The analogy is

²⁸ “Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals” a federal immigration policy that allows undocumented people, who arrived at a young age to the country, to renew a deferral of deportation for two years at a time and become eligible for a valid work permit.

²⁹ Castañeda, Heide, and Milena A. Melo. 2019. “Geographies of Confinement for Immigrant Youth: Checkpoints and Immobilities along the US/Mexico Border.” *Law & Policy* 41 (1): 81.

made simply to demonstrate how the national security program in schools today is meant to parallel that of what occurs in day-to-day life as it relates to the threat of the immigrant or terrorist other, the main focus of the national security objective. The school creates policy relating to the movement of students within their learning environment that constructs fear within students so they accept the rules and therefore recognize the power the school has over them, constituting the school and its power, serving to construct students as threats themselves.

Construction of an In-Group and Out-Group

In order to facilitate entryway verification and checkpoints, there must exist a desired identity, as well as an unwelcome other. This is most easily constituted and verified through issuance of IDs which ascribe other forms of identity beyond personal identification including other forms of status. There has long existed a stigma against immigrants, particularly immigrants from non-European countries in the United States. If a permanent resident were asked to present a valid form of ID, and they presented a green card, that individual is immediately identified as other or foreign to this country. Whether or not the person who the ID was presented to harbors xenophobic sentiment, they were immediately able to identify this person as not native to the United States. This construction of who is American and who is not is facilitated by the granting of a card that corresponds with your identity and related status.

It is because of how much weight a card that identifies one's status holds that initiatives like IDNYC were created. The description of the card reads,

IDNYC is the new, free identification card for all New York City residents, which gives all of us the opportunity to show who we are—New Yorkers. As a government-issued photo identification card, IDNYC secures the peace of mind and access to City services that come from having recognized identification. IDNYC benefits every city resident, including the most vulnerable communities—the homeless, youth, the elderly,

undocumented immigrants, the formerly incarcerated and others who may have difficulty obtaining other government-issued ID. IDNYC cardholders can access services and programs offered by the City as well as by businesses. IDNYC helps enhance public safety, by serving as a recognized ID for interacting with NYPD. It also helps New Yorkers gain access to all City buildings that provide services to the public and is accepted as a form of identification for accessing numerous City programs and services.³⁰

The card is meant to offer a government-issued card for any resident of New York City despite any marginalized status. The undocumented and the formerly incarcerated tend to have issues obtaining IDs due to their status. A lack of a government-issued ID precludes one from accessing many services that individuals are entitled to. The point of this initiative was to bring more individuals into the in-group. With this ID there is no way to distinguish someone based on their immigration status.

IDs then serve as another way in which the state exerts its power. The state determines who is and who is not a citizen, permanent resident, or undocumented immigrant. Each of these statuses hold a certain title and respective identification card opportunities or lack thereof. To be out of the desired group presents a danger as you are seen as outside of the parameters of what it means to be an American and are therefore constructed as a threat.

Students in public schools experience similar constructions around identification cards, but more so in the construction of who is good or bad. In personal experience, attending a 6-12 public-selective school in New York City, to not have your ID with you as you entered the school building immediately warranted a detention. Missing an ID meant one had to stay in the school cafeteria after school for an hour in silence. Without your ID, you could not be identified as a student at the school, despite the small size and familial nature of the institution. A student

³⁰ "IDNYC." n.d. Accessed April 16, 2020.

without their ID could not officially be scanned in by the entry computer if they did not have their ID. Escalating the small infraction, posters listing every individual with detention that day, as well as how many detentions they had left to serve was posted on each floor of the school building for all to see.

The students who were on the detention list were broadcast as the individuals who you did not want to be. This list was juxtaposed at the end of every semester with the Honors List. The model students were posted in beautiful ink and nice card stock, next to the long detention list on printer paper. This served to prop up the model students while also highlighting who was outside of the norm.

There existed a fear within students at the school of being on that detention list for all to see. The school administration constructed who was good and who was bad and made that clear for all to see and model for themselves. The fear that students felt led many to remember to bring their IDs, wear their uniform, and be on time in order to avoid the public detention list. That fear and subsequent falling in line created and reinforced the power of the school administration. Harsh disciplinary practices as part of a securitized building code of conduct and students' responses of fear constituted the school and the administration's power and control over students.

The environments that schools have created are mimetic of the larger national security objectives of the state. Students are being taught how to affirm the power of the state by affirming the power of their school. This is the covert civil defense education that exists in schools today. It is no longer duck-and-cover drills, but microcosmic understandings of the state and state power.

Security measures across the world vary greatly, but all tend to coalesce around heavily securitized objects, particularly after 9/11. There exists a great difference between security and safety. Security refers to the actual protection of an object, safety refers to feeling protected from a threat. One can be secure, but not safe. The focus on security is a deliberate one; a focus on security affords the state more power to secure the state. In order to create citizens that are aligned with the objective of national security which is based in power, the school system creates the same system of fear that the state does broadly, acclimating students to the security state, and constituting the power of the state through such fear. Each of the security measures that are part of the heavily securitized school serve to inculcate students with an understanding of the national security discourse, who is the other, what ones part in that is, and ultimately constitute the state through fear.

Conclusion

The purpose of this project is to interrogate how schools have served as an apparatus of the national security state. Schools, through explicit civil defense education during the Cold War and the mimetic nature of the securitized school building as it relates to the security state, have demonstrated how these institutions have aided in the mission of creating citizens that are good participants that serve in the interest of state national security objectives.

Schools take in young kids and spit out on the other end Americans that understand their role in American society in relation to how they are to act to serve the nation, and secure the nation. The fear that the state inculcates, or the management of emotions that civil defense seeks to accomplish and works to construct the power of the state, is replicated in, and shrunk down to the level of the school. The school building physically represents the sovereign borders and limits of the state, the school administration steps in as the power of the state, and students are the subjects of the security state that the school represents.

The schools purpose in the mission of civil defense and in service of national security is then to acclimate students, citizens in training, to the routine of the security state. Entering the school building each day and going through a metal detector serves to make students familiar with that process when it comes up again for them at other thresholds that the state imposes. Constructing what it means to be part of the in-group through the propping up of the model-student provides students with the knowledge and conception of what the American citizen is meant to be. Falling out of line based on that construction of the model individual in schools also instills within students an understanding of what it means to exist outside of the norm or the

accepted by punishing students through harsh practices that are representative of state practices in discipline and punishment.

In the school building students are presumed guilty until proven innocent, just as threats to the national security of the state are. Verification of a student's authority to be in a space by randomly requiring passes or other forms of proof of authorized access serves in this mission of creating an understanding within students that they will always be subject to random thresholds that require proof of status. This practice teaches students that they must prove their authorization, serving to position them as threats until proven otherwise. By having students prove themselves in schools throughout the duration of their engagement in the education system, the individuals that result are ones that understand themselves as threats as they traverse the security state that surrounds them. There is a routine or normal that is presented to students in schools that makes it so that they are able to act accordingly when interacting with the state and its national security practices.

There exist much more harsh practices that are mimetic of state security practices that are meant to secure the nation that are not discussed in this project that serve in the same mission of constituting state power through fear. All of these security practices have served to acculturate students to the reality and power of the security state that they will come in contact with outside of the school, working to make students active and willing participants of the national security program in the United States.

Exposing students to the harsh security practices that the state carries out begs the question: how are our students affected by exposure to security that is representative and productive of state power? Does being exposed to the security state in the place that is meant to

provide knowledge and skills have a negative effect on student learning environments and the student themselves?

Some studies have begun to suggest that there may exist negative effects on students and their learning environments when the school building and disciplinary practices are characterized by heavily securitized zones, particularly for students coming from marginalized identities.^{31 32}

Exploring this effect further could illuminate some of the reasons why students from marginalized identities in schools that are heavily securitized perform lower on education metrics than their peers. If there exists a negative effects on the learning outcomes, or the emotional wellbeing of students due to the securitization of the school as a program in national security meant to instill fear, then changes must be made to the program of civil defense in schools for the sake of our students.

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I am concluding this project at a unique time in American history. This period will be what I believe to be the precipice of the next re-articulation of the threat to national security: the American recovery from COVID-19.

At the point of writing this, late April 2020, New York State, and others, are beginning to consider who to properly conduct contact tracing after restrictions on movement and contact are eased. Plans from the Governor include: mass hiring of individuals that will trace who has come in contact with a person who may be infected, as well as phone technology that can track locations of individuals, and log who one has come in contact with, and when. Both of these

³¹ Bracy, Nicole L. 2011. "Student Perceptions of High-Security School Environments." *Youth & Society* 43 (1)

³² Theriot, Matthew T., and John G. Orme. 2016. "School Resource Officers and Students' Feelings of Safety at School." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 14 (2)

measures attempt to stop the spread of the virus, but at the cost of privacy of an individual at the hands of the state.

Schools will be part of this re-articulation of the threat, just as they have been in the past during the Cold War with civil defense programs, and after 9/11 with the War on Terror. Schools may require the immunization of students before returning to school once a vaccine is developed. This practice of proving whether a student is vaccinated for specific ailments is already a widespread polarizing issue that parents and schools face. There has long existed a national debate around whether schools can compel parents to inoculate their children, and if they do not, bar the child entry to the school and their education. With people scared of getting infected, and the deep distrust of people that is developing in the country, some places may begin to supply individuals with cards or other proof of vaccination to be presented in spaces, including schools.

Students in the situation that allows for proof of immunity being a prerequisite for entry will be taught how to fear and not trust people at their word in whether or not they are safe. This practice would serve to acclimate students to the new reality that will come after the crisis has passed and the situation then becomes one of mitigation. The school will replicate the power of the state within its confines in whichever way the state responds to this crisis, serving to train individuals that are compliant with the response to the pandemic.

There could be a complete restructuring of the way students interact with their schools, and citizens with the state. If the effectiveness of instant testing proves to be adequate, there may exist a reality in which people are required to be tested upon entry to prove they are not infected. A program like this in schools that continues to position each individual as a threat changes the nature of entry in fundamental ways. Testing each entrant, or even some, is a time consuming

endeavor that restructures life for students. Actual instruction may begin later as to accommodate for the testing of each individual as students await results in a space that facilitates such a practice. This crisis affords the state the power to restructure society in order to deal with the threat of infection and death of citizens, and schools will match these programs in the name of the security of the nation. The state has the opportunity to expand its power in dealing with this crisis, expanding on the framework that is already in place that uses fear to constitute and legitimize the expanding power of the state.

The threat of COVID-19 causes a fear of other people, places, and surfaces that can cause infection, or death. That fear may prove to be productive of a ceding of privacy and further restriction on the movements of people by the state in order to stop the spread of the virus. The proposed way to recover from this crisis is to trace and isolate the infected and possibly infected, facilitated by the state, as well as philanthropic and corporate sponsorship.³³

What we may be seeing is the construction of a new threat that causes fear in individuals and necessitates the expansion of the power of the state to secure the nation. We may currently be experiencing the retooling of civil defense measures to manage the emotions caused by the increasingly less visible threat to the United States: the novel coronavirus.

³³ “Amid Ongoing COVID-19 Pandemic, Governor Cuomo Announces Contact Tracing Pilot Program Supported by Mayor Mike Bloomberg to Begin in Coming Weeks.” 2020. Governor Andrew M. Cuomo. April 30, 2020.