

LOOKING AHEAD:
THE WAYS CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN
POLITICIANS IMAGINE THE FUTURE

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DEDICATION

To my children Jade and Rory

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the ways in which contemporary American politicians imagine the future. Analysis of the futures-related content of political speeches and congressional testimony reveals that, contrary to conventional wisdom, politicians do think beyond the next election and, at times, consider the plight of future generations. Chapter 2 analyzes images of the future and futures-related discourse found in State of the City and State of the State addresses delivered between 2000 and 2010. The dissertation provides a new methodology to classify images of the future to improve the ability of analysts to identify long-term politics. Typically, categorization schemes such as Dator's generic images of the future encourage the analyst to conceptualize the future as a noun, the thing it becomes. This dissertation offers a new classification scheme that invites scholars to conceptualize the future as a verb, a political process and contest. By exploring the ways politicians speak about the extent of human agency in shaping the future, this dissertation develops a technique to help scholars escape the short-term economic development versus long-term environmental preservation frame that dominates our thinking about long-term politics and intergenerational justice. Chapter 3 investigates the use of future generations-related language and themes in these speeches. Chapter 4 studies the struggle to control the future of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). The ANWR debate shows that the future is a process (a contest) as much as it is a thing (what emerges). The ANWR debate also suggests that one cannot speak about the plight of future generations in any universal or common way because future generations do not share a unified identity. Drawing on an array of sources including James Dator's generic images of the future and Michel Foucault's ideas on power/knowledge, I study

how these generic images of the future and power shape the way politicians do (and do not) speak and think about the future and the implications for creating just futures. This dissertation complicates an overly simplistic view of long-term politics and contributes to a discussion about the possibilities of more future-oriented government in the current political structure.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
Politicians Don't Take the Future Seriously.....	1
Short-Term Assumptions and Starting Points	3
Individuals and Groups have Exclusively Short-Term Interests	4
Events Contain One Time Horizon	10
Future Generations are a Single Entity	11
Long-Term Thinking is Altruistic	11
Long-Term Action Will be Punished by the Electorate	12
Short-Term Action is Required by the Structure of Democratic Institution	13
Politicians Have No Long-Term Interests of their Own	14
Future-Oriented Behavior is Counted by Winning Acts of Legislation ..	15
Long-Term Thinking is Primarily a Struggle between Short-Term Development Needs and Long-Term Environmental Issues	16
A More Complicated Story	30
Agency without Autonomy	31
The Remaining Chapters	32
The Justification for This Dissertation	33
CHAPTER 2. IMAGINING THE AMERICAN FUTURE: VISIONS OF WHAT IS TO COME IN POLITICAL SPEECHES.....	36
Why Rhetoric and Discourse?	36
State of the State and State of the City Speeches	43
Images of the Future	44
Economic Growth Image	51

Technology Driven Future	53
Economic Growth versus Environmental Protection Equals Green Jobs	59
Feasibility	63
Education – Preparing Today’s Labor Force for Tomorrow’s Jobs	75
Using the Future – The Future as a Strategic Asset	79
Hauntingly Familiar	82
Education in 2100	85
Social Continuity	86
Phoenix in 2034	87
The Emergence of the Creative Class	89
Social Justice & the Uncreative Class	95
Technological Fixes	97
The Future Hawaiian Style	106
There Can Only be One	107
Using the Long-Term	108
Smart Growth	110
Shrinkage (Smart Decline)	116
Who to Shrink?	118
Image Complexity (Images within Images)	121
The Many Challenges to Futures Thinking	123
Agency Images	142
Conclusion	152
CHAPTER 3. IMAGINING FUTURE GENERATIONS	155
Generativity	158
Who Benefits?	162
Open Space	167
Time Horizon	170
Scope of Interest	172
The Gendered Nature of the Future	173
Conclusion	178

CHAPTER 4. ANWR: A CASE STUDY IN POLITICAL FUTURES	179
Why ANWR?	180
Background	181
Structural Prohibitors or Enablers	184
Whose Long-Term?	186
Cost Benefit Analysis	188
Growth Future	191
Thinking About Future Generations	194
National Environmentalism versus Global Environmentalism	204
National Security	210
Indigenous Futures	217
Alaska Land Claims Settlement Act	228
Introducing the Gwich'in	231
Who Decides? The Genuine Native	233
The Timeless Indian	241
Conclusion	247
 CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION	 249
 REFERENCES	 272
 APPENDIX. FUTURE EXCERPTS	 295
Dean, Howard. 2000. Vermont State of the State Address	295
Gordon, Phil. 2004 Phoenix State of the City Address	298
Hoeven, John. 2005 North Dakota State of the State Address	308
Lingle, Linda. 2009 Hawaii State of the State Address	314
Nickels, Greg. 2007 Seattle State of the City Address	324
Shaheen, Jeanne. 2001 New Hampshire State of the State Address	326

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: ANWR Map.....	182
Figure 2: ANWR Land Use.....	182

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Politicians Don't Take the Future Seriously

A popular belief in futures research, political science, and public administration is that elected members of government do not think long-term (20 years or more into the future) or beyond the next election cycle when preparing or considering legislation and providing plans and visions to their constituencies. For example, public administration scholars Keiner, Rejeski and Wobig described it this way:

Ask high level public officials how much time they are able to spend thinking about long-term issues, and the answers often range from “none” to “a few moments in the shower this morning.” The future is simply too distant to command much attention given the day-to-day imperatives of government. (Keiner, Rejeski, & Wobig 2002, 26)

This assumption that government focuses on the present and does not think long-term is shared by numerous futurists. In the words of political scientist and futurist James Dator: “it is impossible for a legislator to be future-oriented” (Griffith 2005, 8) and “... the future can and MUST be ignored by elected officials (Dator 1998). This is echoed by futurist Alvin Toffler when blaming government policy makers for failing to anticipate the future: “Our political decision makers swing widely back and forth between doing nothing about a problem until it explodes into crisis, and alternatively, racing in with ill-equipped, poorly assessed crash programs” (Toffler 1978, xvii). And reechoed by futurist Richard Slaughter when writing “governments around the world still maintain their short-term time horizons up to the next election, with little or no thought for the longer-term” (Slaughter 1996). This conventional assumption is not limited to political scientists, public administration scholars, or futurists. To illustrate, an editorial appearing in Australian newspaper represented the belief this way:

Government must begin thinking ahead with the unacceptable rate of unemployment in this country, one would expect the Federal Government to be doing everything possible to remedy defects in our education and training system. Unfortunately, as with business here, Australian governments do not understand the necessity to set long-term goals... Surely, somewhere in the ranks of our

leaders there is someone who has the vision to anticipate what Australian society will be like in 20 years time. (Northern Times 1998)

Even some government officials share this belief. According to the former General Accounting Office Comptroller David Walker “One of the biggest problems in Washington today is the continued unwillingness of public officials to look at the future, recognize reality and make difficult policy choices” (McFeters 2005). Although not a futurist, Walker’s responsibility for supervising the US federal budget from 1998 to 2008 led him to conclude that the United States suffers from temporal myopia and an inability to engage and solve long-term problems. The belief that government focuses on the present and does not think long-term is widespread.

Yet politicians do speak about the future and act on behalf of future generations. In the course of my graduate studies in public administration and political science, I read and could not help but notice that many contemporary American political speeches contained beliefs of and desires for the future well beyond the next election and, indeed, beyond the politician’s term limit in office. When, during a course in political futures in my doctoral program, I began to review legislation and public policy for language and provisions to promote and protect future generations, what I read did not always concur with the mainstream view that politicians ignore the future. It appeared as if academics making such assertions avoided the wealth of political language on the future and the examples of legislation and policy proposed on behalf of future generations. It is easier not to see a concern for the plight of future generations if one remains committed to the prejudice that politicians don’t care about the future. However, if one begins to read political language and public policy closely and with a habit of finding the future, instances of it become apparent.

In my job as a librarian, I noticed that numerous academics spoke and wrote about topics in a way that allowed them to ignore long-term organization and action inherent in political movements. To illustrate, a review of academic literature indicates there is little published on the subject or keywords *long-term politics* (or *short-term politics* for that matter). Although a substantial amount of political thought and energy is devoted to long-term projects, these actions are described in the academic literature under a myriad of

other subjects such as parks, forestry, soil erosion, water quality, water management, mining, ranching, agriculture, climate change, space research, urban planning, economic and technological development, demographic changes, military strategy, wilderness preservation, wildlife protection, nuclear waste disposal, etc.). In short, a focus on the *who, what, where, and how* of subjects rather than the *when* (in particular, the *duration*) places an emphasis and turns the analysis of the political on the non-temporal (the demographic, technological, environmental, economic, legal, scientific, social, spatial, etc.) rather than the temporal (the time horizon enveloped within each subject). Bending de Certeau for my purposes, there is “a triumph of place over time” (de Certeau 1984, 36). Thus when speaking about the political, “there is an invisible identity of the visible” and a “sort of knowledge that remains silent” (de Certeau 1984, 108). In these cases time (the how long, the duration) often remains silent and ignored; consequently, long-term organization and action is often “hidden in plain sight” (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, xv).

Short-Term Assumptions and Starting Points

However enlightening the belief that politicians do not think and act long-term is in promoting futuristic thinking and intergenerational justice, the limitations of such an approach for the study of temporal politics become apparent when we sketch the basic assumptions contained in the argument. Using philosopher Jacques Derrida’s (1976) deconstructive method of critique as a guide, we are able to expose and criticize the arbitrary and constructed representations that characterize much of the political commentary on temporal politics. Rather than finding meaning about the future in the conscious and goal-oriented decision making actor (the conventional starting point for many futures researchers), Derrida inspires us to find meaning in futures related texts (the linguistic structure that people operate in). Summarizing Derrida’s procedure, political scientist Michael Shapiro encourages us to identify arguments that contain structurally opposed arguments “(represented as different and mutually exclusive) with no analysis of middle categories or alternative or plural terms identifying arguments” (Shapiro 1989, xv). For example, “long-term” is opposed to short-term,” “present generation” to “future generation,” and so on. Put another way, Derrida’s procedure encourages us to identify

either/or thinking and replace it with something richer. Derrida's insight provides a conceptual vehicle to identify and oppose the assumptions that lead us to conclude that it is impossible for politicians to be future-oriented. Some of these assumptions are:

Individuals and Groups have Exclusively Short-Term Interests

Political commentators typically describe individuals and groups as if they only have short-term interests. Consequently, to be (re)elected, politicians develop an approach to politics that is *responsive* to these short-term interests (Dunn, 1999; Kim and Dator 1994; Sasaki 1994, 2004). In other words, some analyses suffer from a tendency to translate or see all political action (for the electorate and the politician) in terms of short-term interests. I shall refer to this principle as *crude short-termism*. For the crude short-termist, *all politics is short-term*. Crude short-termism presumes that there are no long-term political interests—hence there is neither pressure nor incentive for politicians to pursue long-term legislation. Flipping this, even if the politician wants to act responsibly towards future generations, they cannot be (re)elected because no one will support them. The electorate is represented as a monolithic block of individuals and groups exclusively pursuing their selfish, short-term interests. As a result, the future-oriented politician stands alone; they are an island of long-term thought in a sea of short-term interests. Illustrating a strain of crude short-termism, futures researcher Bruce Tonn points out

Special interest lobbying and concern for future generations are completely inconsistent with other by definition. The former represents a group of people, who usually have significant financial resources, that press government to make specific decisions on specific matters favourable to them in the short term at the exclusion of all other people, all other issues, and anything related to the long term. (Tonn 1996, 416)

In one fell swoop, Tonn creates an inseparable cleavage between lobbying and long-term interests. But notice what is ignored in this argument that accepts uncritically the assumption that individuals and groups only lobby for their exclusive, short-term interests. In actuality, individuals and groups, some with large sums of money, such as the Natural Resources Defense Council, Sierra Club, World Wildlife Fund, Rainforest Action Network (aka *Gang Green*) regularly engage in long-term lobbying to preserve the environment for present and future generations. But Tonn either ignores their efforts or frames their organization and action as “short-term and at the exclusion of other

people.” This narrow method of thinking about political organization and action mystifies what is happening in many areas. Crude short-term explanations represent individuals and groups as if they *only respond* to the opportunities and challenges of the moment rather than envision and pursue preferred futures over the long-term. At times, individuals and groups with long-term goals use short-term arguments to justify, rationalize, legitimate, and initiate their long-term goals. Take, for example, Hawaii Governor Linda Lingle’s proposal for State of Hawaii workers to adopt reductions in vacations and sick leave *in response* to the pain of a poor economy and short-term budget deficit. Although these cuts in vacations and sick leave were unlikely to result in significant or rapid savings to resolve the short-term budget deficit, this short-term problem was used to justify, rationalize, and legitimize Lingle’s Hawaii Republican Party’s long-term interest in reducing the number of and budget for State of Hawaii workers. If the economy rebounds in the future, Governor Lingle’s Republican Party successors are not likely to support the restoration of government worker numbers and benefits to their prerecession levels. My point: individuals and groups sometimes use response to short-term problem explanations and crisis management language to promote and justify the enactment of long-term goals that they have been unable to initiate. Describing all politics as if it were exclusively short-term sometimes conceals long-term ambitions.

Further, Tonn uses the terms *short-term* and *exclusion* in an unqualified manner. He assumes that everyone will understand and agree on what these terms mean. In Tonn’s writing, these terms are fundamental and fixed for all. If, for example, a corporation lobbies to prevent or mitigate legislative initiatives such as the Clean Air Act, he is likely to represent them as purposively and intentionally acting for their *short-term* benefit at the *exclusion* of all other people. Rather than representing lobbyists as if they are free and self-constituting beings conspiring to exploit people through the exclusive promotion of their own selfish and immediate interests, and downplaying the meaning of the future from the corporate point of view (as Tonn does), I perceive lobbyists as actors immersed in a discourse (a rationality – a reason of business) that encourages them to speak about decreased regulatory burdens and economic growth and development as if they are long-term and inclusive. Because the future is understood in terms of economic

development, what is good for the company is good for the community. Using the narrow conception of wealth found in current industrial discourse, creating the optimal conditions for a thriving and prosperous economy are not only fair and just for present generations, they are the greatest gift one can leave to future generations. Crudely stated, numerous business leaders and politicians believe the following formula: prosperity = security. Thus, the official story goes, *developing* one's economy to the fullest extent possible in the short-term is for everyone's benefit in the long-term. This general sentiment, helping future generations by helping present generations, is echoed by professor of International Relations Wilfrido Villacorta when he argues "the best way to create a better world for future generations is to improve the conditions of the young generations who are now living with us..." (Villacorta 1994, 82). But Tonn presumes that there is a right (*real* and *true*) way and a wrong way to lobby for future generations (and he knows the difference). Moreover, Tonn presumes he can correct the mistaken view of short-term politics by showing people the truth (about how they should go about caring for future generations). While I agree that some individuals and groups do ignore or exploit future generations, I do not think that this should always be characterized as a straightforward narrative (for example, all lobbying is short-term and exclusionary). There is no patron saint of the future because there is no *one* way to look after future generations. It is far from clear how one respects the future. In other words, there is no point in establishing the *real* or *best* way to care for, promote, or envelope the interests of future generations because there is no privileged site from which we can speak about intergenerational justice that is not constructed. Actions that excite one group about the future may perturb another. For example, using the precautionary principle in public policy to protect future generations is applauded by some but discouraging and disappointing to others because they believe "such an approach is of dubious utility and may even be counterproductive" for future generations (Morris 2000, back cover). I aim for a more problematic notion of short-term interests and intergenerational justice in this project.

In addition to the problems listed above, the assumption that individuals and groups are composed exclusively of short-term interests fails to adequately account for long-term change. The implicit argument: given that no one is pursuing long-term

change, short-term political interests and decisions cause long-term change. Stated otherwise, long-term changes flow out of short-term politics. Although one could explain all long-term social change as flowing out of short-term interests, this would be reductionist and misleading. To illustrate, one could argue that the American Civil Rights activist Rosa Parks refused to give up her bus seat to a white passenger because of her short-term interest to get a seat. But just as the subject of Parks's act of resistance was not limited to getting a seat on a particular Montgomery, Alabama, bus, the time horizon of her resistance was not limited to December 1, 1955, or one to five years in the future of that date (1956-1961). In a word, her ambitions were *transtemporal* (a hybrid mix of time horizons). The implicit time horizon of progressive social organization and action is simultaneously short-term (one to five years in the future), medium-term (six to nineteen years in the future), and long-term (20 or more years in the future) change. Issues such as child labor restrictions, compulsory schooling, organized labor, woman's suffrage, affirmative action, equal opportunity legislation, immigration, population control, and the Endangered Species Act (to name a few) simply cannot be understood in terms of individuals or groups simply pursuing short-term interests. Individuals and groups resisting social injustice and working towards a preferred future typically have transtemporal ambitions (they want to eliminate injustice in the short, medium and long-term simultaneously). *If voters have transtemporal interests, and if politicians must respond to voter interests, then transtemporal (including long-term) legislation and initiatives must be possible.* Further, politicians that support these transtemporal ambitions can and do receive votes and aid from these individuals and groups.

Also neglected in numerous analyses of socially progressive events is the time it takes for them to unfold. The suffrage and abolition movements, for example, were not achieved in a three to five year time frame. Activists pursued these ideals, and pressed politicians to bring them about, for years. This disregard for enduring struggles and long-term interests is not limited to social events. As Bob Seidensticker points out in his book *Future Hype: The Myths of Technology Change*, commentators often ignore the years of preparation that make technologies possible. Seidensticker argues that conventional representations of the Internet made it appear as if it burst out of nowhere in 1991 (the year it became public). Yet the Internet began in 1969. But the 22 year history that made

the Internet possible was erased from many accounts about it in the popular media and academic literature. Taking over 20 years to unfold, the Internet was the result of years of planning, funding, and preparation on the part of government and universities. Backgrounding the extended period of time bound into social movements and technological projects camouflages long-term politics and the ongoing pressure and possible incentives for politicians to initiate (or respond) to future oriented thinking and intergenerational justice.

Other telling illustrations of the limitations of crude short-termism were apparent in Hawaii's struggle over House Bill (HB) 444 of the Hawaii State Legislature. Briefly and simply, HB 444 proposed that all the benefits, rights, responsibilities and processes attached to marriage be attached to civil unions (for lesbian and gay couples). Community commentary on the HB 444 revealed a way of speaking and imagining the future that was not limited to short or long-term interests. For example, arguing against House Bill 444, The Most Rev. Larry Silva, bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Honolulu, wrote a commentary in the *Honolulu Advertiser* stating

Marriage is not just about the two individuals, but about our community and its future. Civil unions undermine the connection between procreation and marriage. Children are not commodities. We have a responsibility to assure a firm foundation for raising children and this is best done in the context of a loving father and committed relationship that gave them life. (Silva 2009, B4)

Although Silva links HB 444 to the future, his ambitions were timeless. He did not speak and imagine the future as if it were a natural, external, linear, and unidirectional dimension that can be divided quantitatively into pieces called short-term, medium-term, and long-term, Silva's preferred future was heterotemporal. He spoke about temporality in ways that were revealed less through counting years and more through a continuous heterosexual process of renewal and reproduction. Silva wanted to preserve what Michael Warner describes as "heteronormativity" ("a life and death struggle over the future of the child whose ruin feminists, queers, and pro-choice activists intend)" in future generations (Edelman 1998, 25). Issues such as HB 444 simply cannot be understood in terms of individuals or groups pursuing their short-term interests. Proponents and opponents of HB 444 were involved in a contest over a preferred future.

That preferred future was spoken about in ways that escaped the arithmetic frame of counting years. Leaving aside the inconvenient truth that children in heterosexual families sometimes suffer from poverty, abuse, neglect, separation, and abandonment, Silva spoke about the future in terms of family time and community time, “a heterosexual family with a reproductive agenda” being the foundation to a healthy community’s survival and preferred future (Shapiro 2001, 125). Silva’s remarks invite us to speak about time in general and the future in particular as something internal and produced through human activity and meaning (in this case, reproducing children and a healthy society through heterosexual marriages and families) rather than something external or extra-human that happens to us. Despite the diverse ways of perceiving, experiencing, and demarcating time (e.g., war time; peace time; jail time; summer time; Christmas time; personal time; leisure time; day time; night time; sunrise; sunset; mating season; ski season; hunting season; family leave; maternity leave; sabbatical; childhood; afterlife; eternity; grieving period; honeymoon; future generations; etc.) crude short-termists are committed to a framework and system of intelligibility that compulsively returns us to ways of speaking and thinking about maximizing immediate clock and calendar demands. The crude short-termist ignores and discounts, as political scientist Michael Shapiro puts it, “other modes of time and other modes of presence that lie outside the familiar” linear political time (Shapiro 2001, 125). Because there are other ways of speaking and thinking about time, choosing *one* way to represent a politician’s temporal interests is incomplete. In other words, the diversity of time extends far beyond matters of (re)election for politicians. Therefore speaking about a politician’s temporal motivations, incentives, and interests exclusively in terms of short-term interest and action limits our ability to see the richness, contradictions, and paradoxes manifest in the politics of time. Additionally, and more importantly, it forecloses our notions of temporal possibilities within existing institutions.

In this project I argue that individuals and groups are not exclusively short-term thinkers; they hold a mix of short, medium, and long-term ambitions. Further, they perceive, experience, and speak about time in general and the future in particular in a variety of ways that are undetected, unreported, and unappreciated in conventional political commentary. Put another way, people and institutions are *transtemporal*

(containing a mix of time horizons) and *heterotemporal* (composed of multiple and competing ways of thinking about the future and experiencing time). The thrust of this argument is not to invent new dualisms (such as essence/hybridity) and valorize hybridity so much as to challenge the common-sense assumptions often implicit in time discounting explanations and develop a sense of what is possible. Drawing on de Certeau, “each new time provides a place for a discourse,” a new way of speaking about time and the future (de Certeau 2000, 25). Although analysts may describe political behavior in single and closed time frame, temporality cannot easily be partitioned or be treated as discrete and isolable units. The breakage of time into quantifiable pieces and historically significant chunks is a political act, one that simultaneously reveals and conceals political power. Telling and measuring time is “an infinite labor of doing” (de Certeau 2000, 33). Although it seems natural, it is produced; although it seems neutral; it has an impact. I will show that temporality is an action that is a practice of power. Further, I will demonstrate that the prevailing view that individuals and groups have exclusively short-term interests is often an oversimplification.

Events Contain One Time Horizon

Analysts not only treat human ambitions as if they are neatly self-contained within a single time horizon, they treat complex events as if they can be reduced to one time horizon. However, many events are better conceptualized as an arena of activities and time horizons that interact and interlock with one another rather than as a single event with a single time horizon. To illustrate, can one truly say the US-led war in Iraq or Afghanistan is a short-term, medium-term, or long-term event? It is all of these and none of these simultaneously. Wars, like many issues, contain an indefinite number of components. Each component carries a time horizon. Which time horizon is the crucial time horizon in identifying the war’s temporal identity? For example, the Iraq war ostensibly contained several major objectives: ousting Saddam Hussein; fighting terrorism; establishing democracy; rebuilding Iraq’s infrastructure; making the Middle East safe for American interests; and so on. Was the crucial time horizon immediate military victory leading to a regime change? Was it the elimination of Al-Qaeda? Was it the establishment of free and fair democratic elections in Iraq? Was it rebuilding the Iraqi infrastructure? Was it making the Middle East safe and peaceful? Each of these questions

can be broken down further. For example, if the crucial time horizon was rebuilding the Iraqi infrastructure, was it the building of roads? Water works? Bridges? Electrical plants? Hospitals? Airports? Schools? Each project and sub-project contained different time horizons. Some of the projects must be completed in a sequence. However, it is commonplace for political commentators to conceptualize the myriad of projects that come under just one objective of the war, rebuilding the infrastructure, as if they be reduced to a single time horizon. This assumption of the single time horizon event can hide long-term politics from view.

Future Generations are a Single Entity

Intergenerationalists often speak about the need to balance the needs of present generations with the needs of future generations. Kim and Dator, for example, encourage us to think of the living as part of the *present generation* and the unborn, the “people we will never know, and who can never thank us for caring for them, or bring us to task for failing to do so,” as *future generations* (Kim and Dator 1999, 8). Beyond the division of living/not yet living, intergenerationalists make little effort in problematizing present generations or future generations. But identity and interests are rarely so straightforward. As futures researcher Sohail Inayatullah points out, “future generations thinking is not transparent, it is problematic. The question often not asked is whose future generations?” (Inayatullah 2005). Or as attorney and legal scholar Christopher Stone asks “which future generation” (Stone 1996, 68)? Are we talking about future generations of Native Hawaiians? If so, are we talking about Native Hawaiians in 20 years, 200 years, or 2000 years? Are we talking about future generations of Native Hawaiians living on Maui, Las Vegas, or Mars? Are we talking about future generations of Native Hawaiian men or women? As Stone points out, the phrase future generations is often used “loosely and often without much consistency” (Stone 1996, 68). As I will show, the lumping of beings into one of two general categories (present generations or future generations) sometimes conceals long-term organization and action.

Long-Term Thinking is Altruistic

Despite the characterization that long-term thinking is good to do, there is nothing inherently good or bad, right or wrong, inclusive or exclusive, just or unjust about long-

term thinking. Just because one organizes and acts long-term doesn't mean one thinks inclusively, democratically, or justfully. Again, drawing on futurist Sohail Inayatullah:

In the plea to save the world for future generations, issues of the rights of the Other are often forgotten. Each civilization wants to ensure that its members survive and thrive, expanding to all corners of the world, that the graves of their ancestors are forever enshrined. But it is often at the expense of other civilizations that these claims are made. Osama Bin Laden is the latest and clearest example. While he may represent the disenfranchised Islamic world and the brutalized Palestinians, he violates humanity's future generations for his particular aims. All suffer. We should remember the paradigmatic worlds of indicted Serbian war criminal Dragoslav Bokan, who gained fame by forcing Croat civilians to walk through minefields, and gunning down those who refused: "All I care is how much I can use my influence to inspire future Serb generations. Also noteworthy are white power websites devoted to future aryan generations (and the many, many other examples). (Inayatullah 2005)

The pursuit of one individual or group's long-term interests can come at the expense of others. Some policies are more beneficial to some future generations than to others. Although the point is obvious, it bears underscoring because if we ordinarily imagine long-term thinking as altruistic (such as saving scarce resources for all future generations), rather than egotistic (say, for example, positioning a particular state's military to kill the *enemy* more effectively and efficiently in 30 years), we neglect the blood and treasure spent by politicians on selfish policies guided by long-term visions of nationalism, racism, and other collectively maladaptive behaviors. Often, future generations are pitted against one another. Taking these contests between and among future generations into account reveals an aspect of long-term organization and action.

Long-Term Action Will be Punished by the Electorate

This assumption draws on a combination of rational choice theory (politicians are assumed to be motivated solely by the desire for office and self-interest, for instance, Arnold 1990; Fiorina 1989; Martin 2003) and institutionalism theory (politicians are constrained by the standard operating procedure and structure of government, for example, Knight 1992; March and Olsen 1984; Ostrom 1982). The rational choice treatment is articulated by Dator when he writes

In a democracy, elected officials must be responsive to the needs of the voters and of the Political Action Committees—who give them money. The future does not vote, and the “the future” does not have a political action committee, and thus the future can and MUST be ignored by elected officials. (Dator 1998)

Dator draws a link between the costs and benefits enjoyed by a politician and their behavioral choices to pursue short-term thinking and avoid long-term thinking. Presumably a (re)election savvy politician will pursue policies maximizing some individual or group's short-term interest and in return receive campaign contributions and votes in the process. Conversely, the politician that pursues long-term (future) action will be punished by the electorate (no campaign contributions and no votes). Hence, the rational politician always votes to maximize short-term interests.

Since they insist that politicians can do no more than pander to present interests, rational choice theorists flatten out and homogenize temporal politics. Further, they assume that the public tracks and punishes politicians for long-term legislation. However, all long-term policies are not of equal interest or benefit to the public and thus not equally punishable. Numerous bills with long-term implications are not salient to the public because they are not covered by the media. Thus the politician that instigates or participates in long-term policymaking in these zones of public indifference is neither likely to obtain rewards nor face penalties for their actions here. Because the public's knowledge of long-term issues is shockingly low, vague, and not well understood, politicians that voted long-term on numerous issues are often reelected.

Short-Term Action is Required by the Structure of Democratic Institutions

I have coined the term *temporal institutionalists* to describe those that argue that the structure of democratic institutions determines the time horizon of political actions.

Kim and Dator articulate this sentiment well when they point out that politicians

cannot follow through on their various commitments to future-oriented acts and policies because, it seems, the pressures and needs of the present always overwhelm their concern about the future. That is, the very structure of the institutions they find themselves in always seems to give much more weight to the present than it does the future, and they cannot successfully override those structural impediments, no matter how they may want to do so. (Kim and Dator 1999)

However, as political scientist Vivien Lowndes argues

Institutional rules may produce variation and deviation as well as conformity and standardization. They evolve in unpredictable ways as actors seek to make sense of new or ambiguous situations, ignore or even contravene existing rules, or try to adapt them to favour their own interests. (Lowndes 2002, 101)

Rather than fixing time horizons, the politician's routines and standard operating procedures offer a degree of temporal autonomy. Gary Bryner points to one structural routine, for example, that offers such an opportunity.

One of the most important features of Congress is its fragmented and decentralized, committee and subcommittee system. Almost all policy-making decisions are made in the committees and subcommittees rather than on the floor of Congress, and this structure increases access to interest groups. The committees are fairly specialized and their actions typically do not attract the level of attention in the press that accompanies floor debate on controversial issues such as Social Security reform or national energy policy. Interest groups gravitate to the committees, where they attempt to persuade members and their staff to modify proposed legislation to their liking, often long before the issues gain much visibility. (Bryner 2007, 130)

When diverse interest groups such as the Sierra Club and the National Coal Association have access to the same committee such as the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources, opportunities and incentives for short and long-term legislation exist in tandem. While business interest groups are more likely to have more resources to influence policymaking than public interest groups, the degree of media exposure sometimes promotes the long-term interests of the public interest group and increases the incentive for politicians to act long-term. Although interest group access to committees and subcommittees *generally* results in short-term legislation, it *sometimes* leads to medium-term and long-term legislation. Rather than being fixed in the short-term, politicians continually move from one time horizon to another crossing, recrossing, and confusing temporal boundaries within the same democratic structures.

Politicians Have No Long-Term Interests of their Own

Politicians are often represented as instruction bound. In effect, politicians merely respond to the electorate. However, another strand of studies argues that legislators are increasingly not responsive to the preferences and concerns of their constituents (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000; Lijphart 1997; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993). In their book *Politicians Don't Pander*, political scientists Lawrence Jacobs and Robert Shapiro argue that "the conventional wisdom that politicians habitually respond to public opinion when making major policy decisions is wrong" (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000, xii). They argue that "politicians' own policy goals are increasingly driving major policy decisions..." (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000, xv). I will demonstrate that politicians have, and at times, pursue their

own long-term goals for the future and future generations. Briefly, I will argue that politicians have a degree of discursive and temporal autonomy.

Future-Oriented Behavior is Counted by Winning Acts of Legislation

Those arguing that politicians are unable to instigate or participate in long-term behavior fail to count the long-term votes sequestered within losing future-oriented legislation. Legislative votes are reduced to and analyzed as a single vote—a win or a loss. What counts is what wins. Thus the future-oriented votes are rendered invisible. For example, the Climate Stewardship Act (S. 139) of 2003 proposed in the U.S. Senate called to begin reducing greenhouse gas emissions by 2010 (a medium-term bill with long-term ambitions). The act lost by a vote of 43-55. Despite the fact that 43 senators voted to pass the act and the bill’s sponsors, John McCain (R-AZ) and Joseph Lieberman (D-CT), were reelected, this vote is likely to be used as evidence that it is *impossible* for legislators to be future-oriented. This narrow method of assessing temporal politics (only counting the short-term votes and ignoring the long-term votes) mystifies what is happening in many legislative contests. Legislative votes are rarely unanimous and straightforward. They are subject to disagreement and contestation. By suppressing information inconsistent with their views, scholars contending that politicians are unwilling or unable to take action on behalf of the long-term future are guilty of discarding disconfirming evidence and “discovering what they want to discover” (Wagner 2002: 47). In doing so, they contribute to the cynicism that so many share about a politician’s willingness and ability to engage in long-term politics. If we give credit to politicians who voted long-term within losing acts of long-term legislation, we expand our notion of long-term political possibilities.

Further, those who solely focus our attention on acts of legislation are unaware of or dismissive of the future-oriented behavior in government that takes place at the agency and department levels. As Kraft and Kamieniecki point out, when trying to influence government policy

companies may decide to put up limited opposition in the public arena of Congress, and instead, concentrate their time and effort fighting environmental rules with regulatory agencies such as the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) or in the courts, where extensive media coverage is less likely. If a particular policy only affects one industry or one large company, corporate

executives may choose to bypass Congress altogether and quietly approach the EPA or another agency with their grievances. (Kraft and Kamieniecki 2007, 8)

At times, companies attempting to influence government policymaking target administrative agencies rather than legislators and other elected politicians. Although legislation is an important indicator of government's future-orientation, it is only one of numerous indicators. Government is vast and encompasses millions of employees working in hundreds of departments at the local, state, and federal level. Comparatively, the legislative branch of government consists of a small number of employees. Thus limiting our attention to legislative acts diverts attention from long-term action in other areas of government.

Finally, drawing on French philosopher Michel Foucault's insights, those that measure the future orientation of government by acts of legislation often fail to explore the discursive terrain which shapes the legislator's temporal preferences. By limiting their notion of the political to acts conducted in the official halls of government power, they forego Foucault's general understanding of government – the conduct of conduct (Foucault 2000). Or, as Michael Dillon puts it, “governmentality functions as “a domain of cognition rather than legislation” (quoted in Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 174). Putting their gloss on Foucault's notion of governmentality, Ferguson and Turnbull note that “governmentality operates not so much by giving orders as by giving birth to order, by making it possible to talk about some things and not others, in some ways but not in other ways” (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 174). In such contexts, politics is better thought of as a battlefield for our imaginations rather than a theater for pursuing our short-term interests. Discourse shapes how politicians do (and don't) think about the temporal aspects of subjects in particular ways. Further, political commentators speak and write about behavior in ways that flatten out and homogenize the temporal diversity present in the legislature.

Long-Term Thinking is Primarily a Struggle between Short-Term Development Needs and Long-Term Environmental Issues

Because futures researchers are often concerned about the needs of future generations, they speak about our need to preserve and pass on adequate amounts of natural resources to the future. Thus they often lament the politician's support and

promotion of short-term economic development interests over those of long-term environmental interests (pollution, population, global warming, nuclear waste disposal, etc.) and often conclude that politician's discount the needs of future generations. However, in the process of focusing on environmental legislation, they sometimes overlook long-term social legislation. To illustrate, from 1993 to 2008 over 40 U.S. state legislatures have enacted laws "that prohibit any person from restricting or limiting the right of a mother to breastfeed her child" in public places" (La Leche League 2009). This progressive social legislation is not intended to last three to five years, but to continue in perpetuity. Assuming future generations want to breastfeed their children anywhere a woman is authorized to go in public, these laws establish a policy enabling them to do so. Despite the enactment of such laws, a search on the 23 October 2009 in *ScienceDirect*, a database indexing articles appearing in *Futures* (an important multidisciplinary, scholarly journal containing articles on forecasting and futures) for the word *breastfeeding* in *Futures* retrieved two results. Neither of these articles focused on breastfeeding or breastfeeding legislation. In contrast, a search on the word *environment* appearing in *Futures* retrieved 3,340 articles. Many of these articles focused on the tension between short-term economic development and the long-term natural resource degradation and depletion. The point: knowing the future is about the environment is a way of not knowing it is about progressive social legislation. This practice of seeing the future largely in terms of short-term economic development versus long-term environmental destruction reflects futures researcher Ivanna Milojevic's observation that "future studies remains largely male dominated in terms of practitioners and in terms of the epistemological assumptions that underlie theory, methodology and content." When discussing visions of the future, she contends that "most men tend to concentrate on "grand" historical analyses and issues" (Milojevic 2000). In other words, by concentrating on the grand contests between short-term economic developers and long-term environmental interests, male scholars may often overlook examples of long-term legislation involving caretaking (particularly those involving child care and child rearing). This legislation often aspires to be transtemporal (improving social conditions in the present, medium, and long-term future). Because future generations will need more than natural resources to live well, we need to pay attention to the grand as well as the

‘not so grand issues’ (such as breastfeeding legislation) before saying it is impossible for politicians to act long-term. Other examples of ‘not so grand issues’ include North Carolina’s recent law that bans smoking in bars and restaurants (not easy legislation to pass in a state where tobacco companies have had substantial impact on the state’s future) and California’s recent ban on the use of artificial trans fats in restaurants (Bauer 2009). Both pieces of legislation are intended to improve the health conditions of present and future generations. In his influential book *A Theory of Justice*, American philosopher John Rawls argues for an expanded notion of social justice that moves beyond the just provision of natural resources to future generations to also include knowledge, culture, and social institutions which promote liberty. Using Rawls’s expanded notion of social justice as a guide, we can sharpen our eye for legislation that is long-term but is overlooked because it is not a classic development versus environment struggle.

Taken together, these assumptions conceal long-term thinking and the multiplicity of ways that contemporary American politicians and the electorate think about the futures beyond the dominant temporal modes of analysis. Moreover these assumptions make political short-termism seem natural and inevitable. Drawing on Ferguson and Turnbull, they make short-termism “unremarkable while refraining from attributions of agency” (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 65). Short-term politics just happens. It is a seemingly natural process that flows out of democratic institutions. Hence no particular politicians can be identified and held responsible for acting short-term because they are all *responding* to what the public wants. Pleading from the prison house of short-term politics from which there is no escape, the politician can be heard shouting to future generations “the democratic structure made me do it, the democratic structure made me do it!” Interestingly and in contrast to the dominant representations of natural short-term politics, neuroscientists argue “that we spend more of our time away from the present than in it” (Gilbert and Buckner 2007, 91). Despite the wide and complex time travel that takes place in the human mind, prevailing assumptions about political behavior would have us believe that politics in contemporary democracies is universally and totally limited to short-term imagination and interests because one cannot think and act beyond the boundaries of one’s democratic structures. It as if legislator and citizen leave history and future at the door as they enter the legislature. This remarkable claim is rendered

unremarkable and unproblematic, a conventional truth that invites rethinking. Yet politicians can and sometimes do think and take long-term action within contemporary government structures. To explain this we need to think about when it might be necessary and feasible for politicians to speak about the long-term future and act on behalf of future generations. We need to highlight the discourse enabling them to pursue future oriented thinking and intergenerational justice. While I admit that any attempt to summarize the universe of meaning, purposes, goals, motivations, and discourses of politicians is partial and incomplete, the following list outlines a number of considerations that, taken together, invite and, at times, compel a politician to engage in long-term politics and consider the plight of future generations.

The temporal dimension of the issue compels long-term thinking. Extending Italian futures researcher Eleanora Masini's observation about the temporal dimension of futures studies to politics, by their material nature (ecological, chemical, and physical properties), certain issues invite long-term thought and action (Masini 1993, 32). To illustrate, when dealing with radioactive nuclear waste (thousands of years), reforestation (hundreds of years), and global warming (decades), legislators are compelled to think about issues well beyond the next election or their term limit in office.

Individuals and groups with long-term interests influence politicians. One weakness in the conventional view that all politics is short-term arises initially from the assumption that each community is composed of a monolithic population of voters exclusively dominated by short-term interests. But within many communities, there is political variation among members. Political variation leads to temporal variation. For example, groups such as Greenpeace have long-term environmental interests and make an effort to influence legislators to achieve (or avoid) a particular long-term issue. In addition to using the media to influence public opinion and votes, sometimes make campaign contributions. Consequently, on some issues (particularly those with extensive media coverage), it may be in the politician's best interest to pursue a long-term action to be (re)elected. In effect, I am extending the political responsiveness argument to long-term interests.

Many issues are simultaneously short, medium, and long-term. Complex issues such as immigration (legal and illegal) contain multiple interlocking demographic, economic,

educational, environmental, and legal components. Each of these components carries a variety of time horizons and temporal impacts. Some are immediate (providing education, medical care, drivers licenses, and social services for immigrants) while others are far reaching (poverty reduction, citizenship status, border control, national security, etc.) and will not have a noticeable impact on a community for years. In a fascinating full-page advertisement in *Newsweek*, a advocacy group called *America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource-Planning*, links long-term immigration to energy consumption to a declining standard of living and ultimately to the security of the United States. Underneath an enlarged gas price sign featuring regular gas at \$3.96, plus gas at \$4.26, and premium gas at \$4.36, the ad, drawing on the U.S. Census projection in 2004, reads:

If foreign oil has us over a barrel now, what happens when our population increases by another 100 million? As rising prices put renewed pressure on family budgets, many worry price increases will continue. Some recall the mile long gas lines years ago when Americans had to compete for a share of dwindling energy supplies. With America's population at a record 300 million today, supplies are tight in spite of record high prices. And the U.S. Census Bureau projects that another 110 million people will be added to our population between 2000 and 2040. What will happen to energy prices then? Not to mention food and other resources. Fortunately, there is some hope. Americans are already consuming less. Alternative fuel sources are now being vigorously pursued. And another major leap in population is avoidable if we all work together. According to the Pew Hispanic Research Center, 82% of America's projected population increase between 2005 and 2050 will result from immigration. If we can continue reducing our energy consumption, begin leveraging alternative fuels and agree on a reasonable plan to reduce immigration, we may be able to reduce the threat of even higher prices tomorrow. Aren't we all tired of foreign investments having us over a barrel. *America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource Planning*. **300 million people today, 400 million in just 30 years. Think about it.** (*America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource-Planning 2008*)

Starting with the immediate problems of rising oil prices and dwindling energy supplies experienced in 2008, the ad then invites us to envision an undesirable immigrant swollen future in 2050. The ad links short-term issues and long-term concerns; it warns Americans that their natural resources and long-term future are in jeopardy partially due to the uncontrolled flow of immigrants to the United States. By using the name *America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population- Immigration-Resource Planning* the ad is

designed to provide the appearance of neutrality. However, the name of this organization, an alliance of five *immigration reform* groups, is not a neutral name. The name indicates that anyone who disagrees with their policies is either un-American or a short-term planner (in effect, someone who does not care about America's future). Moreover, the use of the word *we* throughout the ad suggests that America is a united community – (e.g., another major leap in population is avoidable if *we* all work together; Aren't *we* all tired of foreign investments of having us over a barrel?). Who is the *we* here? For *America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource-Planning*, the *we* is, presumably, *normal* Americans, that is, white/middle class or white/upper class Americans. As political scientists Kathy Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull point out, by erasing their own history of immigration in the United States “most mainland whites think of themselves simply as “Americans,” rather than as descendents of a group who eliminated a prior claim through violence” (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 95). The process by which white Americans (rather than red Micmacs or Shoshones) became the starting point (the racial default setting) of who is (and isn't) entitled to immigrate to the United States or participate in the *American* future is an effect of political power. Without ever saying a word about race or national origin, *America's Leadership Team for Long Range Population-Immigration-Resource-Planning* implicitly calls for white Americans to come together to prevent poor brown (Mexicans, Cuban, etc.), black (Haitians, Somalis, etc.) and yellow (Hmong, Laotians, etc.) people from immigrating to the United States and driving up the price of oil. Although the image appears as if it were working for the good for all Americans (after all, what God fearing, taxpaying, English speaking, white, middle class “American,” for example, would want to pay more for oil), it is simultaneously, and in stark contrast, laboring to promote the prevailing race/ethnic (white), class/property (middle and upper class) vectors of power. In actuality, *we* in the United States are composed of many races and are neither united in one mind about immigration nor the links between immigration, natural resource depletion, and America's future security. The uneasy combination of short-term problems and long-term fears in this ad illustrates how issues are sometimes conceived of and spoken about in a transtemporal manner. The ad also demonstrates how some groups pit select categories of future generations (natives/immigrants, Americans/Mexicans) against

each other and use images of the future in particular and time in general as an instrument to pursue their policy ambitions. Politicians are pushed and pulled along these transtemporal and competing generational tensions. Depending on the issue, politicians are compelled to pay simultaneous attention to short, medium, and long-term futures. This offers a glimmer of hope (and fear) for the politician's potential capacity to operate on multiple temporal levels, including the long-term future.

Transborder problems and pressures. Many environmental issues, for example, cross the boundaries of city, state, region, and country. To illustrate, lakes in New York suffered from acid rain produced by plants in Ohio that emitted sulfur dioxide. New Yorkers pressured Ohio politicians to enact long-term legislation to mitigate acid rain. International agreements and standards resulting from transborder problems, such as the Kyoto Protocol, sometimes pressure and provide incentives for politicians to justify long-term action.

What is good (or bad) for present generations is good (or bad) for future generations. As Professor of the Humanities Ernest Partridge says “it seems that a remarkably large number of our “duties to the future” benefit us and those we directly care about (i.e., the next generation)—pollution control, population, global warming, etc.” (Partridge 1994, 276). At times, there is no perceived competition between present and future generations. For instance, preserving our topsoil, using renewable energies, and maintaining clean and adequate amounts of fresh water are social benefits that can be enjoyed by present and future generations. Individuals and groups often link these social benefits in intergenerational arguments. During the Waikiki Aquarium's 2009 Earth Day festivities, employees of The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, for example, argued that keeping the ocean free of marine debris is not only good for our present economy (from fishing and navigation to human health and safety), but necessary for future generations. Politicians that use blended interest arguments, illustrating the simultaneous benefits and dangers to both present and future generations, are better positioned to gain support from present generations to pursue long-term legislation.

Another twist on this theme, in some circumstances, select individuals and groups reinforce their arguments about what is just and fair in the present by extending moral claims and rights to future generations. To illustrate anecdotally, during a recent visit to

Pennsylvania, I spoke with residents engaged in a “Save the Wetlands” campaign from commercial development (shopping center). Although they were interested in preserving the untouched beauty of the neighboring wetlands for their own present aesthetic benefit and the low population lifestyle afforded by the open land, some residents linked their argument to the rights of future generations to experience biological and landscape diversity. Put another way, *the future generations will also benefit* argument is an icing-on-the-cake argument; protecting the rights of future generations provides legitimacy and moral reinforcement for select present generation benefits. On a larger scale, governments and unions sometimes use this blending argument to justify large public work projects that employ people in the present but that are intended to reduce or resolve problems experienced in the long-term future. Indeed such an argument was made by spokespeople at the Honolulu Rapid Transit exhibit at the 2009 Hawaii Auto Show. In addition to describing how rail construction in Honolulu will employ 10,000 workers a year and inject a major economic stimulus in the short-term (by 2011), the exhibit representatives told me the project will significantly reduce future traffic in the long-term. After showing me how Oahu’s population is expected to grow by 200,000 people by 2030, they described how rail transit enables us to plan for our future and enjoy a better quality of life. In a near commercial-like jingle, the representative closed our conversation noting that “Honolulu Rail Transit was a winning combination for the present and the future.” Politicians have an opportunity to be future oriented when they are able to blend the interests of present and future generations.

Moreover, this principle is not solely used by public interest groups. Political scientist Gary Bryner points out that “businesses that sell control technologies may be among the most influential proponents of new environmental laws, and their views carry significant weight with some members of congress” (Bryner 2007, 134). Bryner also observes that “some businesses have found that environmental regulations help them to reduce waste and save money” (Bryner 2007, 134). In their book *Natural Capitalism*, Paul Hawken and Amory and Hunter Lovins provide multiple examples of companies that are using greener operations to run profitable and expandable companies that do not destroy, directly or indirectly the world around them (Hawken, Lovins and Lovins 1999). My point: a profitable present is not necessarily the enemy of the future. Assuming, like I

do, that corporate leaders would prefer to be profitable in the present and leave a positive legacy to future generations, savvy future-oriented politicians are more likely to find more corporate supporters of long-term programs and legislation if they can show them the way to make sustainable operations profitable.

Legacy. The desire for a positive historical legacy sometimes induces intergenerational public policies. Although legacy opportunities may arise at any point during a politician's career, legacy readiness and motivation may be an especially salient issue during a politician's last term in office before required termination due to a term limit. The legacy motivation of, say, a second-term president is high because they cannot be elected to a third term and are therefore no longer dependent on campaign donations or votes. During his second-term in 2006, for instance, the United States of America's President George W. Bush established the Northwestern Hawaiian Islands Marine National Monument in Presidential Proclamation 8031. One of the goals of this national marine sanctuary is to preserve and perpetuate natural, cultural, and historic resources for future generations. We can see this legacy concern in a wide and varied set of examples. Hawaii's Governor Linda Lingle, for instance, "who leaves office after two terms later this year, has said she did not want civil unions to be her legacy" (Depledge 2010). The politician's desire to leave a mark on history, to live on, in a sense, through their political actions, and be remembered in a favorable way is a powerful incentive to act in ways that will care for future generations.

Generativity. The developmental psychologist Erik Erikson introduced the concept of *generativity* in his book *Childhood and Society* (E. Erikson [1950] 1993). Generativity, for Erikson, is a stage of socioemotional human development that typically occurs at midlife; it is a concern for and commitment to future generations. Rather than solely speaking about political ambitions in terms of the single-minded pursuit of reelection, self-centered advancement, and obsessive short-termism, Erikson offers a new model of political motivation – one that finds meaning in caring for the future in healthy midlife adults. For Erikson, concern and commitment to future generations is a profound human need longing for expression. Generativity in midlife adults, the general age range of many contemporary American politicians, is already there, in place and the mode through which public policy runs through. Note, like Erikson, I am not arguing that the

legislature, or any government institution, is a society of saints or perfect altruists. Nor am I, like Erikson, suggesting that each politician is equally generative. But like Erikson and in contrast to commentators such as Antarctic researcher and activist Ron Naveen, that argue "... humans are incapable of thinking in time frames exceeding their own life spans" (Naveen 2005, 20), I declare there is nothing unthinkable about the politician's potential for thinking and acting on behalf of future generations. Indeed there is a psychological and emotional case to be made for it. Humans are not, as futures researcher Harold Lindstone suggests, genetically compelled to focus on the present (Lindstone 1973). Rather than accepting genetic and natural arguments for discounting future generations, I shall, as political scientist Sankaran Krishna argues, "reassert the political" by focusing on "the capacity of humans to collectively alter their present as well as their future through thought and action" (Krishna 2009, 6). Erikson's ideas on generativity are useful in contesting universal and natural claims of time discounting.

Secure incumbents. Facing little or no competition, some politicians run practically unopposed elections. Therefore incumbents are not necessarily consumed with anxiety of reelection and are therefore able to take intergenerational action without solely pandering to short-term interests. Congressman Neil Abercrombie, representing Hawaii's 1st District, for instance, ran unopposed or virtually unopposed in numerous elections. Because Hawaii is such a heavily Democratic state, Abercrombie operates with reasonable confidence that he will be reelected. When he voted to oppose drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (foregoing production of an estimated 876,000 barrels of oil per day in 2025), he was, predictably, reelected. Even if his vote for present generations to make sacrifices (forego cheap oil) on behalf of remote future generations so that they may experience wilderness was not popular, it is not easy to unseat or punish him for it. As Jacobs and Shapiro point out: "The sheer number and diversity of politicians' positions make it very difficult for voters to identify their representatives' positions on specific issues, clarify their own views, and decide if punishment is warranted" (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000, 21). Further, Abercrombie may be satisfying enough of Hawaii's primary local interests that secondary issues that impact seemingly far-off places like Alaska have little interest or relevancy to large numbers of Hawaii's voters, giving Abercrombie an opportunity to pursue his own interests here.

Alternatively, Hawaii's voters may have largely supported Abercrombie's intergenerational vote. Regardless of the particular choices or motivations in this case, the secure incumbent may be willing and able to act on behalf of the future without fear of being punished by the electorate.

Party whipping. To ensure political party discipline in legislation, party officials, or whips, work with and pressure legislators in their party to pass bills that reflect the party's position. To obtain whip rewards, avoid whip punishments, and to further party goals, legislators sometimes vote in a futures-oriented way because it reflects their party's official position.

Discursive selections. Politicians speak about the future in a variety of ways. They can draw upon (or ignore) a repertoire of discursive statements that encourage just provision for future generations. In his 2005 State of the City Speech, Salt Lake City Mayor Ross C. "Rocky" Anderson, for example, invoked the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy declaring "In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations" (Anderson 2005). By drawing upon a pre-scripted statement, *the next seven generations*, Anderson calls upon an alternative temporal imaginary, one used by the Cherokee, to encourage a long-term view of politics and to remind us of our communal responsibilities to generations over time. Although there is no one official authoritative discourse about the future, the growth model dominates the way politicians speak about the future of the American economy. When using the statement, *the next seven generations*, Anderson is not simply describing a deeper future, he is opposing growth projects in the present that lead to selfish and careless squandering of the heritage of future generations. In doing so, Anderson is using language strategically "to marshal public support" to conserve resources for future generations (Edelman M. 1984, 47). The *next seven generations* not only shapes the way Anderson imagines the future, it enables him to speak in a way that provides the appearance of rationality and the necessity of looking further into the future.

Politicians have a wide range of possible discursive options toward future generations: from *global warming*, *sustainability*, and the *precautionary principle* which promote ecological constraint, savings, and intergenerational fairness to *immigration control*, *immigration reform*, and *population stabilization* which encourage the

perpetuation of prevailing race/ethnic and class/property vectors of power. Because the future is partially created by the language we use to imagine it, discursive selections can provide politicians with both the rationale and motivation to extend our notion of responsibility to future generations.

Court decisions and regulatory agency demands. Court decisions and regulatory agency demands sometimes compel politicians to be future-oriented. To illustrate, the United States Supreme Court's decision in 2007 in the *Commonwealth of Massachusetts et al. v. Environmental Protection Agency et al.* that carbon dioxide is a pollutant under the Clean Air Act and that it can be regulated by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) was a first step in a long process that is likely to pressure Congress to confront a major long-term issue: global warming. According to Washington Post reporter Juliet Eilperin, on 17 April 2009, the Environmental Protection Agency

officially adopted the position that carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gas emissions pose a danger to the public's health and welfare, a move that could trigger a series of federal regulations affecting polluters from vehicles to coal-fired power plants... The agency's proposed finding likely will intensify pressure on Congress to pass legislation that would limit greenhouse gases. (Eilperin 2009, A3)

Responding to the decision, Rep. Edward Markey (D-Mass), declared "It is no longer a choice between doing a bill or doing nothing... It is now a choice between legislation and regulation. The EPA will have to act if Congress does not act" (Eilperin 2009, A3). In some instances, politicians are compelled to act long-term because courts and regulatory necessitate it.

Problem solvers are leaders. Although the cynic might argue that government creates rather than solves problems, many Americans expect competent politicians to solve problems. Anthropologist John Xavier Inda notes that

government is inherently a problematizing sphere of activity – one in which the responsibilities of administrative authorities tend to be framed in terms of problems that need to be addressed. These problems are generally formulated in relation to particular events – such as epidemics, urban unrest, and economic downturns – or around specific realms of experience: urbanism, poverty, crime, teenage pregnancy, and so on. The goal of governmental practice is to articulate the nature of these problems and propose solutions to them. (Inda 2005, 8)

In some instances, scientists and public interest groups, along with the media, are able to convince the public that certain objects or phenomena, such as global warming, are problems with long-term consequences. In addition to increasing scientific data and testimonials from scientists, pictures of polar bears stranded on small ice flows helped the public conceptualize global warming as a danger to the present and the future. Because politicians are supposed to solve problems, those that appear to take long-term problems seriously may be seen as leaders. To illustrate, Professor of Environmental Policy Judith A. Layzer argues that when retired Nebraska Republican Senator Chuck Hagel, a vocal detractor of the Kyoto Protocol, considered positioning himself as a presidential candidate in 2008, he began to soften his stance because “climate change held some credit-claiming potential.” According to Layzer, after Hagel considered a possible run for president in 2008, he switched his position on global warming in 2005 and “introduced three bills that would provide tax benefits and government-backed loans to U.S. companies that export or invest in equipment to reduce CO₂ emissions” (Layzer 2007, 118). Moreover, when analyzing state-level environmental policy, professor of public policy Barry Rabe and political scientist Philip Mundo argue that

a growing number of attorneys general and governors, from both political parties, have attempted to burnish their reputations by “taking on” powerful industries, including those degrading environmental quality. One can even leap ahead to the 2008 presidential primaries and envision a number of gubernatorial contenders who might run in part on their environmental records, including active engagement on combating climate change amid continuing stasis on the issue at the federal level. (Rabe and Mundo 2007, 273)

Accordingly, confronting what the public considers a long-term problem can lead to greater national visibility and be useful for runs for higher office. For instance, Rabe and Mundo also claim that “democratic legislators and Republican Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger increasingly tussle over who deserves credit” for establishing carbon dioxide emissions standards for vehicles” (Rabe and Mundo 2007, 281). Moreover, when discussing California’s initiatives to reduce greenhouse gas emission, Rabe and Mundo contend

there are political benefits for leading proponents, including near-celebrity status for some (such as Democratic Assemblywomen Fran Pavley), a boost to seek statewide office (such as Democratic Senator Debra Bowen), and an opportunity to gain national and international recognition as a leader on climate policy (such as Governor Schwarzenegger, who announce the state’s 2005 executive order not in Sacramento but rather at the United Nations World Environment Day meetings. (Rabe and Mundo 2007, 283)

Rabe, Mundo, and Layzer’s observations indicate that, in some circumstances, there are political incentives to address long-term problems.

The future is reproduction. Part of a politician's job is to ensure that the state continues. They are, using a Lee Edelman phrase, "engaged in a fantasy of realizing an always indefinite future" (Edelman L. 1998, 24). As such, politicians and the electorate are drawn to a mix of discourses that conceptualize the future as a form of reproduction and a meaning of political futurity linked to children and future generations (Edelman 1998). So conceived, children and future generations are what political scientist Deborah Stone calls, "*motherhood issues*, everyone is for them when they are stated abstractly..." (Stone D. 1997, 12). Rhetorically, the public expects a politician to express concern for the plight of children and future generations. Therefore politicians have an incentive to speak abstractly about their concern and compassion for future generations because in doing so they show their emotional and moral fitness for office. Although these political narratives appear neutral because they typically stress the moral necessity of conserving resources for future generations, like all stories, "they have a job to do, a perspective to promote, a kind of world to affirm or deny" (Shapiro 1984, 2). When politicians get bound up in speaking about the future as a form of reproduction, part of this job is to support and reinforce the existing status quo. Politicians can speak about passing on resources but not about transforming power structures. Although they can, and do, call upon individuals and groups to contribute to intergenerational fairness, they do so within the confines of democratic capitalism (albeit a kinder, gentler, sustainable capitalism of some sort). While this speech is long-term and promotes a traditional form of intergenerational fairness, it forecloses discussions about the evolving composition, character, and needs of future generations. By stressing political continuity and social stability, future generations rhetoric and public policy, to some extent, promotes, and simultaneously conceals, a static view of possibilities and power. However, it is long-term and, to some degree, expected by the electorate so politicians have an incentive to show care and concern for the plight of future generations.

The above list of problematic assumptions and political incentives provide for the possibility of long-term politics and for a politics of time that leaps outside the categories of linear time. I seek to create a framework for an alternative model of political analysis that broadens our view of what is temporally possible and that does not reflexively

dismiss long-term politics as irrational or other-term politics as a momentary lapse of reason.

A More Complicated Story

Despite all I have said so far, the point here is not to show that contemporary American politicians focus a significant amount of time, energy, and attention on the remote future and the plight of future generations. Indeed, nothing I have said so far invalidates short-term politics. In fact, I believe that politicians spend considerable attention on the interests of their contemporaries and short-term public policy. However, the story is more complicated and nuanced than that. Formulated to explain the proliferation of short-term politics, temporal institutionalists and crude short-termists leave us ill prepared to study and examine medium-term, long-term, and other-term politics. Because they argue that time horizons are primarily a mechanical epiphenomena, a mere reflex of rules, an effect of procedures and formal organization of government, their work makes short-termism appear natural, unremarkable, normal, and inevitable in democracies. In extreme cases their work is cynical and depressing because it indicates that long-term political and ideological struggle are futile within the structure of democratic government. Consequently temporal institutionalists cut their followers off from collaborating in the development of a nuanced discussion of temporal politics in contemporary government. Simultaneously, and in stark contrast, neuroscientists argue “that we spend more of our time away from the present than in it” (Gilbert and Buckner 2007, 91). Despite the wide and complex time travel that takes place in the human mind (and this includes politicians though they are often described as a different species), temporal institutionalists would have us believe that politics in contemporary democracies is universally and totally limited to short-term imagination and interests because one cannot act beyond the boundaries of one’s democratic structures. It as if legislator and citizen leave history and future at the door as they enter the legislature. This extraordinary claim is rendered unremarkable and unproblematic. As I demonstrate throughout the dissertation, this conventional truth needs refinement because politicians can and sometimes do think long-term within contemporary government structures.

Agency without Autonomy

Instead of merely condemning politicians for their short-term behavior, I want to introduce an analytic to suggest that we can use the contrast between and fusion of James Dator's futures work and Michel Foucault's philosophical efforts to think about the future in general and cases of intergenerational justice pursued by contemporary American politician's in particular.

In the canonical futures studies work (which Dator's is an example), politicians are represented as rational, moral, autonomous, and purposive. The primary political problem is one of helping politicians anticipate possible futures, envision preferable futures, and pursue intergenerational justice. In contrast, Michel Foucault's work encourages us to think of politicians as discourse limited subjects. Within the Foucaultian frame, the primary political problem is discovering hidden political power in statements about the future spoken by politicians and critiquing these futures that are often represented as neutral and independent. My purpose is not to endorse one approach over another; rather, I seek to synthesize the two in order to explain variations in temporal politics. Drawing on the work of political scientists Mark Bevir and R.A.W. Rhodes, I will construct a middle ground between Dator's autonomous politician and Foucault's discourse bound politician, a politician that has "agency without autonomy." (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 32). As Bevir and Rhodes put their gloss on Foucault,

Some theories...assume autonomous subjects who think and act solely to their own reason and commands. ...Foucault rightly opposes such an idea. However, a rejection of autonomy need not entail a rejection of agency. To deny that subjects can escape from all social influences is not to deny that they can act creatively for reasons that make sense to them. On the contrary, we must allow for agency if only because we cannot separate and distinguish beliefs and actions by reference to their social context alone. Different people adopt different beliefs and perform different actions against the background of the same social structure. Thus, there must be a space in social contexts where individual subjects decide what beliefs to hold and what actions to perform for their own reasons. Individuals can reason creatively in ways that are not fixed, nor even strictly limited by, the social contexts or discourses in which they exist. We agree...that subjects experience the world in ways that necessarily depend on the influence on them of social contexts. Nonetheless, we still should allow that the subject has the ability to select particular beliefs and actions, including novel ones that might transform the relevant social structure. (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 32)

This notion of “agency without autonomy” will drive my analysis of those occurrences of future-oriented thinking and intergenerational justice promoted by contemporary American politicians. Therefore an important political question for my work becomes “why do different politicians adopt different beliefs and perform different actions toward the long-term future and future generations against the same background of social structure?” This leads to additional questions: What opportunities exist for the politician to think and act on behalf of future generations?” In what ways are politicians fixed in the way they speak about the long-term future and future generations? By focusing on cases that do not fit easily into conventional view of short-term politics, I can pursue these questions in the following chapters, provide an opening for a neglected area of study, and illuminate a variety of aspects in the politics of time.

The Remaining Chapters

In Chapter 2, I examine the nature of the future as rhetorical object. By studying actual talk found in a variety of political speeches, transcripts, bills, laws, testimonies, and articles found in the popular media, I comment on the way contemporary American politicians at the local, state, and federal level conceptualize and speak about the future. This analysis includes comments made by the public. In addition to exploring image-making, metaphor-making, and category-making, I study the political reasoning used to see the future as one thing rather than another. Using a strategic (rather than a historic) frame, I pay particular attention to how politicians use language in general and the future in particular as an instrument to enable (and disable rival) public policy goals. I also examine how discursive selections compel the politician to speak about the future in certain ways and not others (thereby revealing hidden political power). The findings feature actual examples and incentives for long-term and other-term political organization and action.

In Chapter 3, I investigate the use of future generations-related language and themes in State of the City and State of the State speeches. This is particularly important because future generations-related themes not only demonstrate interest in the long-term but often include visions of intergenerational justice.

In Chapter 4, I analyze the debate to control the future of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). Crucially, and contrary to the dominant presumption that politicians neither think nor care about the future or future generations, ANWR shows politicians grappling with the question of justice between generations as well as the complications and complexity of long-term thinking. Additionally, ANWR helps us conceptualize the future as an arena of political contestation as a diverse group of indigenous peoples, environmentalists, corporations, present generations living in several states, and politicians at the local, state, and federal levels struggle over what should – and will – become of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. For those interested in promoting intergenerational justice, analyzing ANWR can lead to new and interesting insights in the politician’s willingness and ability to pursue long-term thinking.

In Chapter 5, I provide a conclusion that reviews recurring futures-related themes and concerns found in the State of the City, State of the State, and ANWR testimony. It provides a caution against a too easy conclusion of the inevitability of short-term politics.

The Justification for This Dissertation

No matter how many cases of futuristic or intergenerational thinking and action we see, we are not obliged to change the explanations that fail to account for them. Every act of intergenerational justice can be explained away as a momentary lapse of reason with the politician returning back to their natural short-term state. As the temporal institutionalists argue, intergenerational justice and future oriented public policy may indeed be more likely to emerge out of changes to our democratic structures such as changes to national constitutions requiring protection for future generations (Bourg 2006; Ekeli 2007; Haberle 2006; Tremmel 2006), or the establishment of institutions that offer political representation to future generations (e.g., a Guardian for Future Generations (Agius and Busuttil 1994; Stone 1996), a Court for Future Generations and a Futures Congress (Tonn 1996), a People’s Tribune (Sasaki 2004), an Ombudsman for Future Generations (Javor 2006), and a Commission for Future Generations in the Knesset (Shoham and Lamay 2006)). For my part, I hope so; but I do not see evidence that would make their appearance in the United States more certain than when they were introduced. While the identification with future generations and the articulation of new democratic

structures to bring about futures related public policy are vital to bringing about intergenerational justice, explanations of how it is possible to incite the political will to bring about more future oriented thinking and intergenerational justice within the existing political system and during the interim to new democratic structures is equally important. Although our current democratic structures are intergenerationally unproductive, it is not impossible to initiate, promote, and enact futures legislation within them. For those of us interested in the fate of future generations, we cannot—we should not— simply say “it can’t be done” or we have to wait until new institutional structures are created. Indeed, when speaking about industrial environmental collapse, David R. Brower points out:

In 1993, the Union of Concerned Scientists published a statement signed by two thousand scientists, a good hundred of them Nobel laureates. It says, “No more than one or a few decades remain before the chance to avert the threats that we now confront will be lost, and the prospects of humanity immeasurably diminished” (Johnson 1995, x)

Thus we need to begin working now, however unlikely our efforts to bring about substantive long-term change may be, in existing democratic structures and with current politicians to figure out ways to produce more intergenerationally-oriented public policy. Philosopher Norman Care echoes this theme when arguing:

it is not enough for us to formulate a conception of justice that takes future generations into account; we must also understand better than we do what motivational factors are available now to support action that is in line with the principles and policies of justice toward future generations. (Care 1994, 295)

We need to study and examine successful examples of future-oriented politics, however limited, so we can learn how to bring more of it about. Because so much political commentary about the prospects of intergenerational justice is negative and persistently monolithic, we need to highlight positive instances of it to combat cynicism and inspire hope in those working towards intergenerational justice. We need to learn multiple ways of how and when to appeal to politicians to bring about more future-oriented acts and policies. We need to inspire an expanded notion of intergenerational citizenship. As the father of two young children, I hope this project makes a modest contribution towards these goals.

The next chapter examines the future as a rhetorical object in contemporary American politics and community commentary. By listening attentively to how “the

future” is imagined and represented by individuals and groups we can see how it is used as an instrument to foreclose and undermine alternative futures. We can also study a variety of images, ways, topics, time horizons, and discursive statements that politicians mobilize to act on behalf of future generations. This chapter is about language and its importance for thinking about the future. It looks at the ways in which language orders our perceptions about the future as well as when it might be necessary and feasible for politicians to speak about the long-term future and act on behalf of future generations.

CHAPTER 2

IMAGINING THE AMERICAN FUTURE: VISIONS OF WHAT IS TO COME IN POLITICAL SPEECHES

In the previous chapter, I proposed situations when it might be necessary and feasible for politicians to speak about the long-term future and act on behalf of future generations. This chapter will show examples of how politicians characterize and represent the future. Because political speeches are both containers and shapers of what is to come, they illustrate how rhetoric and discourse push the electorate to imagine the future in selective ways. I hope to reveal the opportunities for long-term thought and intergenerational justice as well as instances of hidden political power within these speeches.

Why Rhetoric and Discourse?

Before proceeding to the analysis of long-term political language, let me clarify my attitude toward studying rhetoric and discourse. I readily admit that there are times when politicians say one thing but do another. One potential member of my doctoral committee, the recently deceased political scientist Ira Rohter, argued that studying political language, “mere words,” and discourse distracts us from the serious business of understanding the propellants of possible futures and the causes of social problems (Ira Rohter, pers. comm.). Rather than focusing on language and discourse, he argued that political scientists should focus on the intersection of material factors and public policy. For example, Rohter argued global warming was primarily understood and approached as an intersection of technological, demographic, environmental, economic, and public policy factors (largely directed and controlled by corporate leaders and a narrow elite) rather than as a rationale produced by the meaning found in pre-scripted discursive (linguistic) statements. Therefore a careful critique of global warming should include a fundamental structural alternative to the fossil fuel complex. This critique should also include an action-oriented strategy to identify and mobilize alliances to support and pressure politicians in passing legislation to realize the preferred alternative future. In other words, if the origin, maintenance, and trajectory of possible futures are primarily caused by a confluence of material and policy

factors, studies that emphasize how people speak about and represent problems are not particularly useful because, even if insightful, they will not result in social change. As Rohter told me, “if we sit around deconstructing political rhetoric and public policies about global warming, as the waters rise, there will be nothing left for future generations to speak about” (Ira Rohter, pers. comm.). For Rohter, one cannot achieve (or avoid) a particular future by simply speaking about it differently. Thus the political scientist must become a planner and agent of public policies aimed at bringing about preferred futures – a legislative advocate for local, ordinary people. Rohter’s out of the classroom and into the legislature brand of political science—an engaged political science blending theory, political awareness, and applied activism—questioned the need for this dissertation because, ultimately, from Rohter’s perspective, it lacks pragmatic political usefulness (it speaks broadly about the language and discourse of the future but offers little in terms of concrete steps to improve the future of average citizens).

My split with Rohter takes place on several points. First, we value the study of language differently. When thinking about possible futures, I believe the examination of language is equally as important as the study of demographic, technological, environmental, and ecological factors. In contrast, Rohter, largely, downplays the examination of language. Because he stresses the gap between what politicians say and what they do, he largely conceptualizes and describes rhetoric as a bad thing, an action intended to distort, conceal, spin, manipulate, deceive, exaggerate, and persuade. In doing so he largely ignores the instances of consistency between what politicians say and what they do (how they vote, what they fund, and the futures they try to realize). In their attempts to persuade the public they are worthy of support and (re)election, politicians sometimes articulate their hopes, plans, and expectations for the long-term future. Sometimes they do what they say. Although, as Foucault instructs us, no one individual or group holds power over the future, politicians have greater opportunities to influence how the future plays out. Consequently, a politician’s talk and texts are valuable because they sometimes provide a map of the future that unfolds. To focus on the relationship between politicians and the future, then, is to attend, at least on some level, on “the actual mechanisms through which” they “have sought to shape, normalize and instrumentalize the conduct, thought, decisions and aspirations of others in order to achieve the objectives they consider desirable” (Miller and Rose 1990: 8).

One of these mechanisms, or *technologies* as Foucault might call them, are political speeches. A political speech orients the public to think about and approach the future in a particular way. Therefore, speeches should be an object of study for the futures-oriented political scientist.

Even if a politician doesn't act on their rhetoric, it is useful for a political scientist to understand the work the rhetoric and discourse about the future is doing for (and to) the politician and listener. Learning how politicians use language to promote justice for future generations is important, but learning how politicians use this same rhetoric and discourse to influence, regulate, and control present generations is equally important. Again, drawing on Miller and Rose's analysis of Foucault's notion of governmentality, we can say politicians use the future to render the present "amenable to certain kinds of action" (Miller and Rose 1990, 7). Stated otherwise, how we think about the future influences what we do (and don't do) in the present. This theme of using the future to manage the present is echoed by anthropologist Arthur Mason when he points out that representations of future are inserted into the present and this in turn influences how we construct the present (Mason 2006). As classic rock musician Bruce Springsteen aptly puts it, "Now, this is a song called *Living in the Future*, but it's about what is going on right now!" (Springsteen 2008). Mason and Springsteen capture the notion of a future created for the purpose of political maneuvering today. Although talking about science fiction literature, Professor of Feminist Theory Donna Haraway reinforces this theme when pointing out that "possible worlds are constantly reinvented in the contest for very real, present worlds" (Haraway, 1989, 5). Again, the point at issue here is not the consistency between language and action, but the extent to which political statements about the future are politically useful in the present. If, with Michael Shapiro, we recognize that

all stories and accounts, no matter how much their style might protest innocence, contain a mythic level – that is they have a job to do, a perspective to promote, a kind of world to affirm or deny. Seeming neutral accounts of activities deliver by dint of their grammatical and rhetorical structures, implicit political arguments, either legitimations for entrenched authority or polemical critiques which seek to demystify or disestablish existing structures of power and domination. (Shapiro 1984, 2)

Extending and bending this insight to stories about the future, no matter how much their style indicates they are about the future, they are all, in a sense, stories that either legitimate or critique existing structures of power and domination. In our stories, we travel backward and forward in time to learn about now. Therefore when we study stories and representations of the future, we are, in many respects, learning more about the present than the future. Put another way, people cannot have knowledge of the future based on their experiences in the future. In this view, the future is largely a linguistic phenomenon, a mental projection and extrapolation of historic and contemporary material conditions and discursive statements. Because imagining the future is partially a linguistic process, we should study language because it is the mechanism used to carry and reproduce constructions of the future that surround us in the present. Our focus switches from the robustness and predictive value of the image to its utility (social function) for the contemporary politician. Our overarching question becomes “What is this future doing for (and to) the contemporary politician?” How do they benefit from this representation? Further, how does this future constrain the politician?

Because Rohter contended the task of the futures-oriented political scientist included identifying significant trends and emerging issues driving social change, envisioning alternative futures, and creating alliances to change public policy to improve the future of the ordinary citizen, he, largely, bypassed the relationship between language and the future. Understanding and approaching political power as something “possessed by agents who exercise it to define the options of others” (Connolly 1984, 156), Rohter’s work focused on the relationship between political change and economic power. Briefly, Rohter studied how powerful individuals, organizations, and institutions advanced or deflected political change. In effect, Rohter followed the money. In doing so, he concentrated on how campaign contributions influenced political votes and thus futures.

Within an understanding of money equals political power, Rohter treated language “merely as vehicle to designate objects or represent the world as it is itself” (Connolly 1984, 139). In other words, although language could be used to advance particular futures, Rohter treated it as if it was, generally, a neutral tool. As indebted as I am to Rohter’s work and insights, this is a point of departure in our approach. Rather than conceptualizing language

as neutral, I begin with the Foucauldian view that language practices position us to speak about the future in particular ways and not others. In such a view, language is political and worthy of analysis. This approach invites a broader notion of political power. Connolly, drawing on Foucault's work, describes this broader view of power as "a set of pressures lodged in institutional mechanisms which produce and maintain privileged norms as the subject or the primacy of epistemology" (Connolly 1984, 156). Before our mayors, legislators, or lobbyists ever step foot into the official arenas of government such as City Hall, the Legislature, or the courts, their images of and preferences for the future are found in language. Further their plans, speeches, and legislation are "built out of and on top of and into" this same language (McClellan 1993).

Because language carries and reproduces epistemological positions, it is a potent mechanism of political power. Politicians do not approach the future from a neutral starting point; they inherit discursive starting points "produced in the interest of those with the power to shape reality" (MacKinnon quoted by Ferguson 1984, 175). By *reality* here I mean epistemological representations about the future, notions of what is possible, probable, preferable, practical, natural, realistic, naïve, childish, and so forth. This shift from speaking about language as epistemologically neutral to epistemologically strategic in terms of possible futures compels us to consider the way political power shapes our imagination (or lack of imagination). As professor of public affairs Howard E. McCurdy observes, "imagination shapes public policy by creating expectations" (McCurdy 1997, 4). Put another way, language and imagination are not simply immaterial, they are translated into public policy and in turn shape the direction of the future by motivating political action. Language and imagination, to some extent, explain public policy and public policy, to some extent, explains language and imagination. They enter into a mutually reinforcing feedback loop. So, rather than thinking of the representations found in our language as "ineffable or spiritual forces," social psychologists Margaret Wetherell and Jonathon Potter contend that representations have a "concrete life" and are "embedded in institutions and tied to action in everyday life" (Wetherell and Potter 1992, 28). Therefore, representations are not, "just about ideas or beliefs," but also about "practical conduct" motivating particular futures (Wetherell and Potter 1992, 28). Because this is an important theme in this project, let me provide an example. In his failed presidential campaign in 2000, Dr. John Hagelin of the Natural Law

Party, called for the use of Transcendental Meditation (TM) to regulate, reform, and rehabilitate prisoners in maximum security prisons. The idea struck many Americans as laughable. Why? Lodged in our language is an episteme (world-view) and discursive statements that relates things to one another. We did not choose this world-view, we inherited it in language. To illustrate, the dominant American order of things influencing our representations of the future focuses on science, technology, and an ever-expanding capitalist economy. In the dominant American classification scheme, Hindu meditation techniques, such as TM, introduced to the Western world by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, dubbed the "giggling guru" because of his habit of constantly giggling during television interviews, are not to be taken seriously. In the dominant way of representing the present, TM is, largely, a New Age, spiritual exercise practiced by white, middle or upper-class, American women in expensive suburban homes or lavish urban lofts rather than a punishment technique for poor, African-American and Latino men in maximum security prisons for violent crime. The juxtaposition of prisoners and New Age practices produces the impression that the politician is zany or irresponsible because it defies our categories of order, classification, and knowledge of crime and punishment. It does not matter how much money John Hagelin had or was able to secure from special interest groups or wealthy individuals, a large part of the general public would find him unfit for office because his ideas are out of synch with conventional wisdom and commonsense. One does not rehabilitate prisoners, one punishes them. An effective politician punishes prisoners with cost-effective technologies based on scientific principles. Thus the dominant mode of representing the future of prisons is spoken about, largely, in terms of science, technology, economics, and punishment. To illustrate, on 10 August 2009, when I googled the "future of prisons," the first Web page in my results list was titled *Speculations on the Future. Coma Prisons in the Year 2083* (Krandor). Like the prison found in the 1993 science-fiction film *Demolition Man*, the prison of 2083 represented here uses technologies to medically induce comas and efficiently hold up to five million prisoners in a cost-effective state of sleep. The same politicians that anticipate flying cars, outer space settlements, and the cryogenic restoration of prisoners as a routine part of our future, are likely to dismiss the image of TM in our future prisons as ridiculous. This example illustrates a major function of the politics of language: language generally maintains rather than challenges the dominant modes of representation. Despite its emancipatory

potential, language is more likely to deflect and hinder rather than propagate and amplify social change.

Drawing on Foucault's work, literary theorist Edward Said emphasizes that our "imagination is never free, but is limited in its imagery, assumptions, and intentions" (Said 1994, 201-202). Although Said was writing about Orientalism, a lens that distorts the people and places of the Muslim Orient, his work has relevance here. Just as Westerners developed their expectations of Muslim Orient people without ever seeing them, those in the present develop expectations of future people and places without ever seeing them. Because people cannot have knowledge of the future based on their experiences in the future, we all suffer from a temporal Orientalism of sorts. By elucidating the relationship between political power and truth, both Foucault and Said add to our understanding of why one representation of the future (the prison using TM) is dismissed as impractical, naïve, and unrealistic, while the other (the sleeper prison requiring technologies that have not yet even been invented) is considered possible, probable, and preferable to many contemporary Americans. Just as we represent the Muslim Orient from the vantage point of the privileged, we represent the future from the vantage point of the privileged. In other words, we imagine the future within a conceptual framework that reflects certain interests and certain power relations. In this way, power constrains our imagination. This framework of a preconceived future is the end result of a process initiated by a swirling (and somewhat random) confluence of influential institutions, disciplines, professions, associations, technologies, events, and so forth that becomes sedimented and inherited in language.

One of Foucault's major insights about power is that it works on kings (the rich and influential) as well as peasants (the marginalized and poor). In short, no one escapes the effects of political power. The prince does not control the meaning of his inherited and preferred future any more than the pauper. We can use Foucault's work on language, particularly discursive statements, to awaken us to the world of epistemologically privileged futures we inhabit. In a discussion of his work, Ferguson and Turnbull write "In The Art of Telling the Truth," Michel Foucault asks, "What is my present? What is the meaning of this present? And what am I doing when I speak the present?" (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, xv). Applied to futures this becomes "What is this future? What is the meaning of this future? Why would

anyone, for example, imagine a probable and preferred future where amassing large numbers of equally sized, homogenously colored, rectangular pieces of paper featuring the heads of dead white men (dollar bills) have any *meaning*? How did dreams of money enter into our social imagination and colonize our future? Why do we expect the future to include the endless exchange and accumulation of money? Why are competing versions of the future, say, local bartering communities, rarely anticipated? If we hope to understand the motivations and incentives behind competing representations of the future, we must follow the discourse as well as the money. Stated otherwise, political power is not simply a question of money, then, but of meaning too. Thus I find Rohter's classic notion of "the man" sitting behind a corporate desk consciously exploiting the average citizen based on his own ideas and preferences inadequate in explaining long-term politics. While valuable, it is only a partial explanation. I want to add Foucault's idea of the emergence of a rationality (contained and reproduced in language) that guides and shapes the way "the man" thinks, understands, and acts into the mix. In Foucault's view, there is no one powerful man sitting behind a desk autonomously calling the shots and directing the future. Instead there is a rationality, an order, a version of truth, a system and way of speaking about and representing the world and the future that precedes and guides "the man." If we believe ideas and meaning matter (that they structure human behavior), then we can—and should—study the interaction of the factors pushing the future (demographic, technological, economic, and environmental) and the factors pulling the future (language, discourse, images, and meanings). Because I focus on language in this chapter, let me introduce the speeches I read to analyze the political imagination in the framing of the future.

State of the State and State of the City Speeches

Political life is full of speeches. Those interested in the way the future is understood and approached by contemporary American politicians will find speeches a useful resource in finding the imagined long-term future. When studying State of the Union speeches, Campbell and Jamieson argued this genre of speech is important because they (1) "are widely read and discussed (quoting Charles Beard)," (2) "identify problems and justify the policies deemed best suited to the solution," (3) "articulate the values underlying executive assessments and recommendations," (4) "trace the executive's

accomplishments and frustrations and often highlight the extent to which a legislative agenda has been enacted, persists, or has been abandoned,” (5) “create and celebrate a community’s identity by tying together the past, present, and future,” (6) “recommend specific legislative initiatives and their justification,” (7) “offer a space for the executive to articulate the way they envision the public and their responsibilities,” (8) offer “a vision of the future,” (9) “illustrate how legislative initiatives become proposals that make the future described possible,” and (10) articulate “the principles that should govern the present decision making about the future” (Campbell and Jamieson 1990, 52-54, 57, 59, 71). These same general characteristics are present in State of the State and State of the City speeches. Because my primary concern here is images of the future articulated by contemporary American politicians, I examined a total 422 State of the State speeches from all fifty United States delivered from 2000 to 2009. I supplemented my State of the State readings with 200 randomly selected State of the City speeches delivered by American mayors between 2000 and 2009. Although these speeches do not provide rich soil for radical futures, they do, on occasion, surprise. While not in my sample for this project, in 1861, for example, Mayor of New York City Fernando Wood proposed that New York City become a free city and secede from the United States. Wood, referred to as New York’s “Southern Mayor,” argued that New York “would have the whole and united support of Southern States, as well as other States to whose interests and rights under the constitution she has always been true” (Wood, quoted in Farrow, Lang, and Franks 2005, 3). Despite the absence of a call for radically new social and political arrangements, the speeches do provide, what taxidermist Carl Akeley might call, a “peep-hole” into the American social imagination (Haraway 1989, 29). While I recognize that any student of political science or futures research studying these same speeches would come up with different interpretations and conclusions, the sections below offer my readings as they pertain to long-term futures. Let me now turn to the theoretical study of images of the future.

Images of the Future

One strand of this dissertation studies images of the future conceptualized and articulated by contemporary American politicians. Images of the future have been the focus

of futures related scholarship (future studies) for over fifty years. Dutch sociologist Fred L. Polak coined the term “images of the future” in his seminal two-volume book *The Image of the Future; Enlightening the Past, Orienting the Present, Forecasting the Future*, originally published in 1955 and translated from Dutch to English in 1961 (Polak 1961). According to Polak,

man’s conscious striving to foreknow the future plus his partly unconscious dreams, yearnings, urges, hopes and aspirations for that future, periodically and successfully, are condensed, crystallized and clarified into different set of more or less specific, outlined and projective expectations or ideational goals. Such a set, at its end-stage of collective and positive images prospective, and constructive development, may be called...an image of the future. (Polak 1961: 16)

After analyzing 1500 years of European cultural change, Polak concluded

positive images are regarded as the primary causal factor (though not always the exclusively dominant factor in a changing complex of causes) in cultural change. Of course, they arise out of the spirit of the times, but precisely in order to break through these times and to guide the spirit of the times in thinking about and working for the futures. Their enkindling spiritual power radiates out over the course of history, via the creative minority, as long as they command the faith and confidence of a majority or a sufficiently weighty segment of society, and as long as they have a convincing mass appeal. (Polak 1961: 122)

In the most elemental terms, Polak suggests that each image exerts a pull on people and draws them into the future. This proposition highlights a central tenet in Polak’s work: optimism and the ability to project a positive image is critical in bringing about a desirable future state. Conversely, negative images led to decline and stagnation.

While Polak coined the term *image of the future*, Harold Lasswell may have been the first in political science to use the concept of the image of the future, which he referred to as the *developmental construct*, in his 1935 book *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*. He expanded and extended the concept in his 1937 article *Sino-Japanese crisis: The garrison state versus the civilian state* and his 1941 article *The Garrison State*. Although Lasswell may have been the first in political science, it was neither the main thrust of his work nor an influential part of his intellectual legacy.

While not the originator of the idea of images of the future, James Dator has greatly contributed to the use of the concept in political science. Dator’s work evolved from and was

influenced by a number of scholars who understood and approached the concept of images of the future as a bridge to forecasting alternative futures and inventing preferred futures (K. Boulding, 1956; Mau, 1968; E. Boulding, 1971; Bell and Mau, 1970; Bell and Mau, 1971). Rather than predicting *the future* (singular) by trend extrapolation and technological forecasting, these pioneering scholars sought to reveal and amplify the human elements of decision-making in controlling the future. Their ultimate goal: empower average people to direct social change (humanize the futures). To illustrate, collaborating with futurist Warren Ziegler in the 1980s, Elise Boulding held a series workshops, primarily with peace activists, to develop images of the world without weapons (Boulding 1988: 110-117; Ziegler 1987). Dator follows these scholars when arguing that images of the future are central unit of analysis in futures studies:

Futures studies does not try to study “the future,” since “the future does not exist to be studied. What does exist and what futurists do study, are the images of the future in people’s minds. These images differ between individuals, cultures, men, and women, social classes, and age groups. One job for futurists is to identify and study these varying images, to understand their origins and history, to see how they animate individual and group action, and then to anticipate how people, acting on the basis of an image of the future, “push society into one future or another, just as their images can be said to pull them forward. (Dator 2002: 7-8)

Viewed in this way, images of the future include any mental representation that shapes our anticipation and supports our actions. It includes our expectations, anticipations, hopes, and fears. Although Polak’s conception of the image of the future encompassed “the idea of the Future which is radically different than the present,” and “the perfected antipode of the imperfect here and now” (Polak 1961, 56), I will be using Dator’s broader, and at times less “utopian and transcendental” (Huber 1978, 179), notion of images of the future.

Because much of his work has focused on the way people picture possibilities in their society and world, Dator has analyzed a broad and deep array of images that exist in numerous cultures. He has concluded that images “can be lumped into one of four major (generic) images of the future:

Continuation (usually “continued economic growth”)

Collapse (from [usually] one of a variety of different reasons such as environmental overload and/or resource exhaustion, economic instability, moral degradation, external or internal military attack, meteor impact, etc.)

Disciplined Society (in which society in the future is seen as organized around some set of overarching values or another—usually considered to be ancient, traditional, natural, ideologically-correct, or God-given).

Transformational Society (usually either of a “high tech” or a “high spirit” variety, which sees the end of current forms, and the emergence of new [rather than the return to older traditional] forms of beliefs, behavior, organization and—perhaps—intelligent life forms). (Dator 2002, 10)

These four major generic images of the future provide us with a starting point and conceptual framework for the study of how politicians represent (and ignore) the future. Although they are an important tool in my methodological toolbox, they must be used critically because the preexisting molds used to classify the images do not adequately capture the diversity among them. While they invite us to consider similarity among our representations of the future, that sameness is reductionist. Seen this way, our conceptual understanding using the four generic images comes at a price. If, for example, one lumps capitalist, communist, and fascist images of the future into a Growth image because they each share a component in their representations which emphasizes economic growth, one ignores a great deal of difference among these images. As beneficial as the Growth image is in helping us perceive the sameness of these images, it limits our analysis to one component of the image: economics. Moreover, it simplifies the economic component even further: the extent to which the vision imagines economic growth. In doing so, the analyst neglects the degree to which each image is different within the economic sphere. To illustrate, notions of ownership, property rights, responsibilities, markets, regulation, and economic planning and a constellation of other economic factors are ignored. Using a zoological analogy to reinforce this point, while it is helpful to know that whales and meerkats are both mammals, there is something awkward in lumping these animals in the same classification. Knowing that they are both air breathing animals whose females are characterized by the possession of mammary glands gives me partial knowledge of what they share, but their vast anatomical and behavioral differences are obscured by the simple classification of *mammals*. Because any classification system simultaneously

illuminates and blinds us conceptually, we must be on guard for the ways it reveals and conceals knowledge about the world.

From a methodological perspective, Dator provides descriptions of the four generic images, but he does not offer instructions for identifying the crucial component which determines how the image should be classified. Because every image contains multiple components, which component is the crucial one in determining the classification? For instance, images of the future that feature cohabitation (living together before marriage) touch on several institutions: marriage, love, sex, monogamy, family structure, religion, contracts, commitment (to mention a few). Which component is the crucial component in determining the classification of the image? Is it marriage? If so, the analyst might focus on the downfall of the old—marriage—and classify it as a Collapse image (privileging representations which emphasize the moral degeneration of the community that result from people “living in sin”). Alternatively, the analyst might focus on the emergence of the new lifestyle—cohabitation—and classify it as a Transformational image (valorizing representations which emphasize liberty, choice, privacy, and freedom from the state and church). In contrast, the analyst might stress the ongoing institution of marriage within cohabitation images and classify it as a Continuation image (privileging representations which spotlight the “monogamous,” “trial run” or “pre-marriage living together” aspects of co-habitation). To what degree might those struggling to achieve (or avoid) these futures (or those struggling for or against gay marriage, polygamous marriage, line marriage, polyamorous communities with no marriage, etc.) agree with the analyst’s categories? Might they describe them less in terms of the continuation, collapse, or evolution of existing institutions and more in terms of justice or freedom or righteousness or human rights or civil liberties or equality or love or something other than the analyst’s preexisting categories? Or might they decide the primary component determining the classification is not marriage but monogamy or heterosexuality or family structure or the requirements to have and raise children (rather than the analyst’s dividing category of marriage)? If so, another entire range of possible classifications arise for the same cohabitation images. The absence of a clear methodology to classify images in this scheme is a simultaneous strength and weakness. It is a strength because it enables the analyst to classify anything they want in the generally vague categories. This results in a quick and intelligible framework to talk and reason about the wide and varied representations

of the future. The arbitrary methodology is also a weakness because, ultimately, it results in a universal classification system that constricts the way analysts conceptualize images of the future. My point here is not that Dator's classification system is right or wrong, but those choosing to use it must do so critically.

Although Dator's four generic images of the future are not meant to constrain representations of the future, sometimes they do just that. Put another way, the four generic images of the future often operate as discursive statements or discursive categories. Futurists inherit them, speak them, tend to naturalize them, use them in unreflective (or prescribed) ways, and allow them to dominate the way they conceive of and represent the future. And, like any discourse, the four generic images reveal certain ways of speaking about images and conceal alternative ways of speaking about them. Hence, from a critical perspective, the four generic images become an object of analysis rather than a neutral method for classifying and analyzing representations of the future. We might, for example, begin by understanding the rules and practices which produced the categories Continuation, Collapse, Disciplined, and Transformational. We might then explore how certain names such as Dator come to hold a privileged place in futures studies and why and how his students (like myself) continually reproduce, reinterpret, and comment upon his four generic images of the future. Ultimately, because the four generic images of the future regulate the way we talk about the future, if we choose to use them, we should do so with caution because they carry the potential of fixing the way we think.

Dator has not developed, at least to my knowledge, a new classification system or added new generic images since originally formulating the four generic images between 1974 and 1976 (Jim Dator, pers. comm.). Despite significant demographic, technological, economic, environmental, social, and political changes over the last forty years, the absence of new classification systems or new categories of generic images indicates an implicit assumption in Dator's work that images change slowly or not at all, at least not enough to warrant new generic categories. In this sense, Dator's classification system is conceptually fixed (we do not see any examples of wholly new generic images of the futures in 40+ years). Again, although I will use Dator's four generic images of the future because they help me make sense of how contemporary American politicians imagine the future, I do so knowing

that seeing the world through the four generic images is a way of not seeing it in other ways.

Despite the shared belief among futurists that images of the future have a crucial role to play in societal development, there have been surprisingly few, if any, attempts to study images of the future held by politicians. Given that politicians have greater opportunities to influence how the future is played out, the study of their images should be a central concern of political scientists. However, the general consensus that politicians do not think about or act on behalf of the electorate beyond the next election may account for the shortage of studies. After all, why should anyone study something that doesn't exist? Although there have been numerous studies about images of the future held by different groups such as Danziger's (1963) study of social groups in South Africa, Huber's (1973) examination of elites in South Africa, Livingstone's (1983) exploration of the gap between views of the future held by intellectual and the general public, Textor's investigation of (1990a and 1990b) Thai images, McKeown's (1990) survey of scientists, and Cannon's (2000) analysis of cultural creatives, there are no seminal works on politicians to draw on. In 1986, political scientist Bruce Shefrin argued that "though images of the future are integral parts of American political life, they have been systematically ignored primarily because they have been so unconsciously held, loosely developed, and unclearly articulated; the images we operate under remain implicit and inchoate" (Shefrin 1986, 209). In his 2005 dissertation proposal *Branching the future*, Rasmus Karlsson, a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science at Lund University in Sweden, echoed this assertion when pointing out "studying the rich literature that today exists on political parties, it is rather surprising that so little has been written on images of the future" (Karlsson 2005, 1). There are, however, two important general studies about the future that provide insight and expectations for this study. First, the comparative national study entitled *Images of the World in the Year 2000* (Ornauer et al. 1976) revealed that people in different countries equated the future with technological change. Further, pessimistic views of the future were more developed than optimistic ones. The second study, by Tonn, Hemrick, and Conrad, (2006), found respondent's (from 24 countries) ability to image the future goes dark around 15 to 20 years into the future. To what extent do contemporary American politicians express these views in their speeches? If, as sociologist Bettina Huber argues, "images of the future held by

government decision-makers are crucial in determining what kind of social change will take place” (Huber 1978, 184), future researchers and political scientists need to pay more attention to what politicians are saying about the future. Hopefully this dissertation will fill a gap in the literature.

Economic Growth Image

When reflecting on images of the American future, Dator argues that “by the end of World War II, the development paradigm had become the official image of America’s future.” And

no nation, government, corporation, or citizen anywhere in the world is expected to have any view of the future except that which results from the continuing affluence and expanding opportunities of an ever-growing and ever-enriching economy. And every citizen, corporation, government and nation of the world is expected to be an actively contributing part in the creation and operation of that globally expanding economic system. (Kim and Dator 1999, 2)

After reading 622 speeches by contemporary American politicians, using Dator’s generic images of the future, I concur with his conclusion that the *Continuation* image featuring continued economic growth, or what I shall refer to as a *Growth* image, is the dominant representation of the future. Indeed, all 622 speeches (100% of the sample) implicitly assumed some elements of or explicitly articulated continuation images of the future. By dominant future, I mean a representation of the future that has a conceptual gravity that pulls our vision of the future towards it. In addition to being the most frequently occurring vision of the future, the dominant image provides the intellectual starting point for our notion of possible, probable, and preferable futures. Put another way, it provides a baseline from which all other competing representations of the future are considered “impractical, naïve, childish, or utopian” (Berlant quoted in Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 119). It is the default vision of the future providing the politician and the electorate with a starting point for their expectations for what is to come.

When contemporary American politicians imagine the future, visions of economic growth are prominent and recurring. For example, Nebraska Governor Dave Heineman, pointed out “Our vision for the future is about creating jobs...” (Heineman 2009).

Mississippi Governor Haley Barbour put it this way: “Mississippi’s future is and will be inexorably tied to the growth ... of the economy” (Barbour 2009). And New York Governor Eliot Spitzer said “What are we striving for? What is our vision? Quite simply, to make New York...the center of economic growth...” (Spitzer 2008). Indeed, in the minds of many contemporary American politicians, there is no more fluorescent indicator of a healthy future than economic growth.

For Foucault, *economic growth* is a discursive force that flows through the politician’s position. The politician draws on and speaks through “economic growth” and depicts the future not as a transformational spiritual vision but, primarily, as a continuation of the present. For Dator, “economic growth” is a dominant representation that pulls the politician toward realizing the Continuation image. Both discourse and dominant images of the future are inherited. Discourse is one means through which the image of the future speaks, circulates, and reproduces. Although Dator gives more attention to the motivation of the politician in selecting an image than Foucault does discourse, their work is, to some extent, complementary. The concept of economic growth as discourse and dominant image of the future both provide meaning, focus, and shape to the future. The discourse and image create “expectations, anticipations, hopes and fears” (Bell 1997a, 82). And, most importantly, the discourse and image shape the kind of social change that will (and won’t) take place. Moreover, the discourse and image contribute to the ways that politicians conceptualize the future as a problem. Drawing on Miller and Rose’s work again, “government is a problematizing activity: it poses the obligations of rulers in terms of the problems they seek to address” (Rose and Miller 1992, 181). The problems politicians articulate and pursue are linked to the discourse and images that flow through government. Coupled with Foucault’s point that “government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, and health and so on” (Foucault quoted in Inda 2000, 5), the primary problem politicians work on becomes “how do we increase the wealth of the population in the future?” How do we lay the foundation for (and not jeopardize the future of) economic growth? The present and the future, therefore, become amenable to an endless series of actions to promote growth such as attracting and recruiting new businesses, investing in new industries; preparing and providing a competitive, skilled workforce; levying or cutting particular taxes; and so forth. By

focusing on growth the future becomes a temporal territory that must be cultivated. The more the public believes the future is about growth, the more they expect politicians to plant the seeds of long-term growth. The politician drawing on this preexisting meaning of the future (growth) intensifies it by managing the population in this direction (growth). This, in turn, contributes to a mutually reinforcing feedback loop in which the public and the politician aspire to and realize growth futures. In this way the future as growth becomes common-sense and the barometer of competence of a good politician.

From Foucault's perspective, the direction of the future is not primarily explained in terms of influential politicians or campaign donors striving for power. Rather, the future is shaped by the emergence of a rationality, the reason of government. Following Foucault and my analysis of the State of the State and State of the City speeches, the reason of the state can be boiled down to two primary purposes: prosperity and security. In this approach, rather than focusing on the president, governor, mayor, or legislator's personal goals and motivations, the focus shifts from who has power to how one achieves the rationality (prosperity and security) most effectively and efficiently.

Again, I claim that voters are not just concerned about growing the economy (and having a good job) in the short-term (within the course of the politician's term in office), but well beyond that. Thus the politician becomes compelled to think and act on behalf of the long-term future, and, in the process, to manage populations in the present to do so.

Technology Driven Future

Because the future must be managed, the electorate's focus must be kept on economic growth and attuned to the rhythms of the work and the industries of tomorrow. In his book *Rational Exuberance*, the economics editor at *BusinessWeek* Michael J. Mandel argues "that over the long run, economic progress in an advanced country such as the U.S. depends mainly on technological progress" (Mandel 2004, xii). When thinking about the future, many contemporary American politicians share this view. To illustrate, North Dakota Governor John Hoeven said:

Our country's economic growth over the last 50 years has been fueled by new and emerging technologies. The jobs of the old production economy have been replaced

with the careers of the new technology-based economy. Our competition is not just regional or national, but global. Economists now predict that 75 percent of the S&P Fortune 500 companies in the year 2020 will be comprised of companies that don't even exist today. North Dakota must come to the table as a player and full-participant. Ready to do what it takes to prosper in the next generation. Ready to take advantage of the new opportunities. (Hoeven 2005)

New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman put it this way:

we must lay out a forward-looking agenda that gives our families greater opportunities for the best jobs. Now we must establish our place in a new economy by making high technology the undisputed engine of our growth. What does the new economy look like? It's a world whose raw materials are the microchip and information technology. It's an economy that places a premium on skills and education. It's a world where more and more jobs will come not from corporate giants but from small, fast-growing firms...But every state is making technology a priority. If we run in place we fall behind... Promoting high technology is only a means to an end, and that end is jobs – more jobs, better jobs, higher-paying jobs for all our families. (Whitman 2000)

Mandel predicts the next breakthroughs that will drive transformative economic growth are: advanced telecom, nanotechnology, biotechnology, energy, and space technologies. When thinking of the long-term future, numerous contemporary American politicians agree. Examples of this type can be seen in the following extracts:

According to Wisconsin Governor Tommy G. Thompson,

the economic potential for biotechnology and high technology is incredible. For example, UW professor Michael Sussman and his partners used research at the UW to create a company called Nimblegen that will make DNA chips. Brokerage houses assess the market for these DNA chips at \$1 billion immediately with room to expand to \$40 billion in the next decade. Imagine the next Microsoft being developed right here in Wisconsin. Already, the race is on to see which state will create the Silicon Valley of 2000 and pull its people out front with exciting and lucrative new career opportunities. As one of the top 10 technology states in America, Wisconsin is uniquely positioned to lead the pack. But to win this race, we must make the right investments to fully grow these industries and make Wisconsin more competitive. (Thompson 2000)

Calling attention to the importance of nanotechnology, Georgia Governor Sonny Perdue said

we are putting \$2 million toward a \$45 million state commitment to construct a world class Nanotechnology Research Center at Georgia Tech. Nanotechnology – the engineering and building of products at the atomic level is projected to be a \$1

trillion industry within 12 years. I want Georgia to be a world leader in creating this new industry. (Perdue 2004)

Following the nanotechnology theme, Albany Mayor Gerald D. Jennings pointed out

one of the most important economic development initiatives to emerge in our City in the past 15 years, is the research and development center at Albany NanoTech, which is steadily becoming a driving force for the future of our region... In September of 2008, Governor Paterson and other New York State Leaders gathered at Albany NanoTech to announce significant new investments by IBM and New York State, accelerating the State's international leadership in nanotechnology research and development creating up to 1,000 new high-tech jobs upstate. The State pledged to support this endeavor with economic development grants, which will leverage more than a 10-to-1 private investment of \$1.5 billion from IBM. This is just the beginning of what we will see at this center and its impact on our region, and even the world... (Jennings 2009)

Turning to space technology, New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson declared

we continue to build strong economic momentum—like the cutting edge agreement the State negotiated with Virgin Galactic to build the world's first spaceport for commercial space flight. It's a promising endeavor for New Mexico, with a projected long-term impact of \$752 million dollars and nearly 5,800 jobs. The Spaceport—perhaps more than any other project—represents the future of economic development. It serves as a symbol of our aggressive efforts, a calling for future leaders in science and technology, and as an inspiration for the American entrepreneurial spirit. (Richardson 2006)

Emphasizing energy technologies, Michigan Governor Jennifer Granholm emphasized

the demand for wind and solar power in this country is about to explode. President Obama has announced ambitious plans to double our nation's use of these renewable energy sources in just three years. As the nation's demand for renewable energy goes up, so, too, does the demand for the technologies and products that are critical to the new energy industry. We will seize upon this surging demand for renewable energy to increase the supply of good-paying jobs in Michigan. So here's our next aggressive goal: By the year 2020, Michigan will reduce our reliance on fossil fuels for generating electricity by 45 percent. We will do it through increased renewable energy, gains in energy efficiency and other new technologies. You heard me right: a 45 percent reduction by 2020. How will we reach this 45-by-20 goal and get the jobs that come with it? Instead of spending nearly \$2 billion a year importing coal or natural gas from other states we'll be spending our energy dollars on Michigan wind turbines, Michigan solar panels, Michigan energy-efficiency devices, all designed, manufactured and installed by Michigan workers. (Granholm 2009)

Focusing on the new energy economy, Colorado Governor Bill Ritter explained

Our calling card to the 21st century must be the New Energy Economy. People all across Colorado are excited about the possibility of creating jobs, adding economic value to the state and establishing Colorado as a national leader in energy. This is our chance to build a New Energy Economy in Colorado. Fossil fuels will continue to be a major part of our energy economy. But with our abundant supplies of wind, sun and crops, renewable energy plays an important role. It's how we create new jobs and stimulate the ailing economies of the Eastern Plains and San Luis Valley. It's how we breathe new economic life into our farms. It's one way to give new economic relevance to our colleges and universities. It's how we prepare our workforce for 21st century industries. All around the country, states are already making great headway. This means competition and urgency. Energy is today's version of the space race of the 60s and the technology race of the '80s and '90s. We have a head start because of our natural resources, our intellectual resources, and our entrepreneurial spirit. Last year, the legislature and governor wisely create the "Collaboratory," linking some of our finest research facilities – NREK, CU, CSU, and Mines – to harness the tremendous intellectual power here in Colorado. Now we must do everything possible to ensure that the futuristic technology coming from the labs and the classrooms is transferred to the marketplace. Private companies are knocking on the door wanting to build the biggest wind farms and solar parks in the country right here in Colorado. All we're missing is a state government to lead, to inspire and to invest. If we miss this opportunity, we miss the opportunity of a lifetime. We cannot fail... (Ritter 2007)

Speaking about biotechnology and emerging technology, Texas Governor Rick Perry said

I ask you to make investments to grow our world-class research institutions, develop cutting edge technologies and harvest the miracle of modern sciences with a new \$300 million Emerging Technology Fund. Over the next ten years, California is investing \$3 billion in one area of biotechnology. Ohio is putting up \$1.1 billion for technology commercialization and Kansas is investing half a billion dollars in biotechnology. We can't afford to be left behind. In the next ten years, emerging technologies will generate \$3 trillion in revenue worldwide. The question is, where will those investments be made, and who will reap the benefits? Where will the better, faster computer architecture be designed, the gene therapies and treatments that will rescue people from terminal and chronic disease, the cleaner technologies that clean the air our children breathe? I want them developed in Texas labs by Texas minds to the benefit of the Texas economy. This is a test of our vision: Will we succumb to short-term thinking, or invest in limitless possibilities? (Perry 2005)

The focus of these images is on the industries of the present and the future. These images are not necessarily rich (for example, neither Governor Granholm nor Governor Ritter consider the possibility that wind, a major source of energy for their new green

economy, may be dying down because of global warming (Borenstein 2009)), but they are long-term. They are not sophisticated, but they are, in the view of many contemporary Americans, commonsensical (the kind you learn in daily life). As argued in the first chapter, the politician can speak about the long-term and future generations if they tie this long-term time horizon to the present. In these examples, the politician not only puts a face on the future economy, they invest (or call for) investment in it and thereby shape the society that unfolds. In each of these excerpts the dominant representation of the future is the Continuation image. The primary hope: economic growth. The primary fear: economic stagnation and retraction. Within each of these excerpts is a fierce sense of competition among cities, states, and nations in the ultimate game of the 21st Century: economic dominance through technological innovation.

In each of the excerpts above the politician is drawing on and reinforcing the American tradition to imagine the future in terms of technology. In the context of a Growth image of the future, the politician expresses this general theme through a group of emerging discursive statements such as biotechnology, nanotechnology, spaceport, New Energy technologies, and green technologies. This, however, does not mean the dominant way of representing the future, a future driven by new technologies, is preferred by all Americans or goes uncontested. To illustrate, not all New Mexicans are supportive of Governor Bill Richardson's plans for "Spaceport America" and partnership with Richard Branson's space enterprise Virgin Galactic (announced in the excerpt above). Despite the "forecast of up to 5,000 thousand new jobs and a \$1 billion boost to the region's economy" (Stolley 2009), some New Mexicans, particularly those who have to pay \$200 million in taxes to fund the construction of the spaceport (MSNBC), resist the idea of an economy driven by a commercial spaceport. While the spaceport is being built in Sierra County, neighboring Dona Ana County also is raising taxes to fund spaceport development. However, according to Dona Ana County Tax Commissioner Oscar Vasquez Butler, "people here don't want to be Buck Rogers. We like driving our tractors around" (Hamashige 2007). While he doesn't object to a spaceport, he "doesn't want the residents of Dona Ana County to pay for something they are not going to use" (Hamashige 2007). At a time when "we don't have enough money to pave our roads," Butler argues the taxes to fund the spaceport "amounts to poor people subsidizing a

private enterprise that will cater to the wealthy” (Hamashige 2007). Indeed, Virgin Galactic has a waiting list of 300 people who have paid all or part of the \$200,000 ticket price for a two-and-a-half hour suborbital ride (Stolley 2009). In other words, space tourism is for the wealthy (at least for the moment). In accord with Butler’s sentiments that government supported space programs will not be used by common folk, comedian Wanda Sykes remarks “I don’t give a damn about space travel. I don’t even have a passport so you know I don’t give a fuck about the weather on Mars... Approximately twenty percent of Americans currently own a passport, so why are they dicking around in space” (Sykes 2005, 15)? Further, Sykes reinforces Butler’s feeling that government supported space programs amount to subsidies for the wealthy when she refers to government space programs as “welfare for nerds.” By representing the space program as “welfare,” Sykes reorients space tourism and opens a discursive space within which we can understand and approach government investments in outer space. By speaking of the space program as social welfare received by the rich and educated, Sykes resists the official way of representing New Mexico’s future and encourages us to ask questions about equality, justice, worthiness, the proper role of the state, and preferred futures. Note, I am not arguing that Butler and Sykes are right or wrong. Nor am I arguing they are able to cast off the American tradition (conceptual tendency) of linking technology and the future. I am saying that some Americans do not find the *official* future a *preferable* future. Governor Richardson’s deal with British industrialist Richard Branson and Virgin Galactic called for the New Mexican legislature to put up \$140 million for spaceport development if two of the other three counties adjoining the spaceport also contributed (Stolley 2009). While voters in Sierra County agreed to the tax, in Dona Ana County the tax to pay for the spaceport passed “but by just 270 votes among more than 17,000 cast” (Associated Press 2008), and voters in a third county, Otero County including the city of Las Cruces, rejected the tax (*SpaceToday* Blog 2008). In short, not all New Mexicans are enthralled by the possibility of a long-term future including a commercial spaceport, particularly if they have to pay for it through increased sales taxes. The split vote in Dona Ana County and the rejection of the increased sales tax in Otero County indicates a divided community and provides a challenge to the perspectives of

those who imagine and represent the future largely in terms of technologies perceived to disproportionately benefit the wealthy.

Economic Growth versus Environmental Protection Equals Green Jobs

As discussed, Rose and Miller conceptualize government as a “problematizing sphere of activity.” Following their work, we look for the problems and solutions that politicians articulate as a path for possible futures. A recurring problem expressed by contemporary American politicians is the tension between economic growth and environmental consequences. West Virginia Governor Bob Wise articulates this problem:

Let me take a moment to talk about another challenge our state faces – how to achieve balance between developing our economy and protecting our environment. We will have a strong economy. We will continue to mine coal, to produce electricity, to manufacture quality goods, and to create high-technology jobs. It was the prevailing wisdom in the last century, in previous generations, that economic growth carried the price of environmental sacrifice. We in West Virginia often divided ourselves into two camps – energy on one side, environment on the other. In so doing, we lost sight of a basic truth; we will share the future of West Virginia together. It is my goal to put behind us the era of divisiveness on the issue of West Virginia’s environment. All of us who love West Virginia’s environment – whether we work at behind a desk or a dozer, at a coal mine or a corporate headquarters – love our hills, our rivers, our woods and our valleys. We must preserve them for our children, and their children. We can have a clean environment and we can have good paying jobs. And there must be no higher economic development priority-therefore I ask you to elevate the Director of the Division of Environment to the post of secretary, and add this official to the Governor’s Cabinet to emphasize the importance of environmental protection to our people. Every action DEP takes affects our environment and our economy. (Wise 2001)

When discussing his contribution to fueling Vermont’s economic growth, Governor James Douglas noted

I offered an alternative to the often heated contest between those who seek economic growth and those who seek environmental preservation. This third way resists the extreme impulses of ideology and recognizes that in Vermont, our economy and environment are codependent. We must accommodate each for the betterment of both. (Douglas 2004)

One solution for those who seek environmental preservation and those who seek economic growth: green jobs. As Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa pointed out

we are aggressively growing the industries of the future here in L.A. We need to build a future in which clean technology is as synonymous with Los Angeles as motion pictures or aerospace where L.A. is acknowledged as a growing capital of the green economy. With our Solar L.A. plan, we're working to cut our carbon footprint and to transform L.A. into a clean energy powerhouse. With the nation's most far-reaching green building ordinance, we believe we can create America's most vibrant job site in sustainable construction. And at the Port of Los Angeles, I'm proud to say tonight that we've sent 2,000 dirty diesel trucks to the junk yard and replaced them with vehicles that run on natural gas and electricity. I believe L.A.'s economic future starts right here, in places like Balqon, where the next generation of electric trucks are being designed, tested and manufactured; where we are literally revving up the engines of our Clean Truck Program; where the wheels of a clean, green port are turning; and a new high-tech venture is producing clean fuel vehicles in L.A., for the betterment of LA. This facility will serve as the model for our Harbor Clean Tech Center; for investments in the latest vessels for green development; for the San Pedro Bay Port Technology Development Center -- home of green companies serving our port. A few miles up the 110, we are building a literal "Clean-Tech Corridor." A business corridor bringing together researchers, designers and manufacturers from around the world dedicated to sustainable solutions and to creating green-collar jobs. Located just outside of downtown, this corridor will house our Clean Tech Manufacturing Center, a catalyst for smart growth that could create as many as 1,000 high-paying jobs. It will host our Clean Innovations Research Center, where the world's leading experts will come together to define future renewable energy sources, water conservation strategies and green building advances. The Clean Tech Corridor will rest alongside the Cornfields Arroyo Seco -- the first and only LEED-pilot neighborhood by any big city in the United States of America. A cluster of pedestrian-friendly streets sitting along public transit lines. A model for future communities where residents walk more, drive less and have access to quality jobs and affordable housing. This is a unique moment of opportunity. It's an opportunity to stand at the forefront of the clean-tech revolution; to transform our old industrial core into ground zero for green jobs and sustainability. And if we follow this path, we can turn a new page toward a green tomorrow. Write a defining chapter in L.A.'s economic future and start a new book where environmental progress and economic growth go hand in hand. In the end, we know that responding to our current crisis requires that we forsake short-term politics for long-term investments. (Villaraigosa 2009)

And New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg follows in this spirit:

The idea that environmental protection and economic growth are diametrically opposed is so 1990s. Growing our green industries is actually the sixth focus of our jobs plan. It's become popular to talk about green jobs - but we're actually creating them. This year, we'll work with Speaker Quinn and the City Council to 'green' our Building Code and enact the nation's first law to require existing private sector buildings to improve their energy efficiency. Those two steps will reduce our carbon footprint and create jobs for people with green skills. We'll

help more New Yorkers acquire those skills through by greening our job-training programs. The City will also create its own green jobs by investing \$900 million over the next nine years to retrofit City schools, hospitals, and other buildings with new energy systems. That work will support 1,000 jobs in the construction industry, save taxpayers money, and help us meet our goal of reducing City government's carbon footprint 30 percent by 2017. We'll also begin encouraging more investment in wind power by identifying the best places to generate it. And through installations on City buildings, we'll more than double our production of solar power - from two megawatts to at least four megawatts. It's all part of PlaNYC - our vision for a greener, greater New York. And it's part of our effort to become the leading city in sustainability. If we achieve that, we'll also become the global center for a host of green businesses that are focused on energy efficiency, recycling, smart transportation, and so many other areas that we could become the Silicon Valley of sustainability. Sustainable development is a good example of an industry where jobs will become available. (Bloomberg 2009)

Politicians do not speak of green jobs and sustainability simply out of concern for the planet and future generations. According to a TIME poll conducted in July 2009 (during the Great Recession), nearly half of the 1,003 Americans ages 18 and older surveyed said that “protecting the environment should be given priority over economic growth” (Stengel 2009, 40). With environmental issues on the minds of many voters, politicians are racing to outgreen one another, a competition that is good for their (re)election as well as the environment and future generations. The most progressive politicians speak about the relationship between the economy, environment, planetary health, and future generations. They focus on how to grow the economy while trying to protect the environment. Hopefully their solutions will create development trajectories that lead to more intergenerational justice.

Shifting our attention from a rational choice account to a Foucauldian frame of understanding, each mayor and governor experiences the economic growth and environmental preservation debate within a prior discourse. The politician inherits and speaks rather than constructs the statements *green jobs*, *green economy*, *economic growth*, *environmental protection*, *sustainability*, and *carbon footprint* as well as events such as *global warming*. Here the politician's reasoning, beliefs, and values are secondary. The source of meaning driving the beliefs, values, and action for the politician as well as the electorate are found in the discourses they inherit and speak. In this way we

are all (politician, electorate, scholar, etc.), in Foucault's view, more a contingent product of discourse than a seeker of autonomous and purposive plans.

Another goal within a Foucauldian approach is to expose and criticize the apparent neutrality and independence of discursive statements and events. Take New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg's goal of *sustainable development* as an example. His implicit assertion: sustainability advances the overall interest of New York City. Put another way, everyone will benefit from a sustainable economy. However, when discussing the assumptions of sustainable development, German researcher and author Wolfgang Sachs raises several important questions such as: "Is it supposed to meet the needs for water, land and economic security or the needs for air travel and bank deposits? Is it concerned with survival needs or luxury needs? Are the needs in question those of the global consumer class or those of the enormous numbers of have-nots" (Sachs 1997, 9)? Because Bloomberg does not address these questions he leaves his notion of sustainable development in "circles of privilege and power" and "obfuscates the point that there will be no sustainability without restraint on wealth" (Sachs 1997, 9). As Sachs says, "more intra-generational equity is a condition for achieving inter-generational equity" (Sachs 1997, 9). However, Bloomberg does not put rich New Yorkers on the spot and ask them to change their lifestyles and reduce their disproportionate consumption of the world's resources. Thus sustainability discourse deploys a tactical approach to equity, a problematic of enabling the poor to catch up with the rich. This way of talking about development recruits the language of poverty reduction, environmental protection, and intergenerational justice. But Mayor Bloomberg leaves the world configured in a way that does not invite the electorate to systematically consider the ways that rich New Yorkers contribute to producing and prolonging poverty throughout New York and the rest of the world. Will New York's wealthiest residents begin riding on the new smart public transportation? Will they begin bicycling around the Big Apple? Will New York's elite children be in the public schools retrofitted with wind and solar power (or secluded with other children from wealthy families in private schools)? Will New York's rich stop travelling to London or Paris? Will they stop using air conditioning in their summer home or drop their indoor swimming pool temperatures in the winter? Will they reduce their meat intake or consumption of foods from different parts of the globe? Will they stop

filling their multimillion dollar condominiums with mahogany and teak furnishings? Will they reduce their water consumption and waste generation? As described, Bloomberg's green jobs and green economy appear to be more about ensuring consumer choice rather than reducing consumption or redistributing wealth. As Sachs says, "justice is about changing the rich, and not about changing the poor" (Sachs 1997, 13). Bloomberg's image of the future does not engage Sach's formula for justice. Like many green enthusiasts and scholars, the intersection between class and carbon footprint is ignored in Bloomberg's vision of a green economy. Using sustainability discourse, Bloomberg's representation of the future largely favors the status quo and the rich.

Feasibility

At the beginning of the chapter we asked: when is it necessary and feasible for the contemporary American politician to speak and act long-term? One response: the economy. More specifically: the future of work. The electorate expects politicians to figure out the needs and priorities of working adults now and for the children that will be working a few decades from now. In the mind of many Americans, there is no higher priority in the present or in the future than a good job. Politicians are expected to have a long-term vision that articulates how and where we will work. If they don't, they run the risk of being considered inept by the electorate because they lack vision. Though the investments described in the images above take place in the present, they position the city, state, and nation to grow in the future. From the perspective of much of the electorate, the future is a temporal space to be economically cultivated and politically guarded. Innovative high technology industries that will lead to robust job growth in the future do not make unaided appearances; they require long-term political attention and investment. Thus the long-term future becomes a task for the state and politician.

These images of the future are also noticeable by what is missing. By focusing on the technology rather than the application, the politician creates the appearance of neutral future in which all will benefit by working in a high paying job in the nanotechnology or biotechnology industry. Without a call to examine what emerging nanotechnology or biotechnology will be used for and whom they might impact and how, the politician provides a partial and incomplete account of the future that cloaks the long-term

aspirations of particular individuals and groups. To illustrate, of the \$1.5 billion invested in Fiscal Year 2008 by the United States Federal Government in nanotechnology research and development, the largest share (\$460 million) allocated to any single agency went to the Department of Defense (National Nanotechnology Initiative 2010). If one merely represents the use of nanotechnology as making stain repellent clothes or microscopic medicine (innocent, beneficial, and everyday consumer applications) rather than weapons, one ignores and camouflages a major political goal: to increase the strategic responsiveness of the United States armed forces in the long-term future. Similarly, if one limits the description of biotechnology application to helpful medicines or insect-resistant plants that will reduce hunger in the developing world rather than, say, producing new weapons or developing plants that might have a harmful environmental impact or creating an economic dependency of Third World farmers on American corporations for seeds, or enabling American corporations to claim private ownership of plants, animals, and human genes or genetically modify, patent, and profit from culturally significant plants and animals, one masks long-term politics and aspirations. By pursuing the biotechnology future conversation with a variety of other political voices throughout the world such as indigenous people, we contest the notion of a neutral long-term future. For instance, Victoria Tauli-Corpuz, of the Igorot people in the Cordillera region of the Philippines, argues that a long-term future characterized by the widespread use of biotechnology undermines the rights of indigenous people. She concludes

the position of indigenous peoples vis a vis biotechnology is still evolving. The common thread in the various positions is the view that life-forms should not be patented. If the ownership of patents on life-forms is the main incentive for scientists and corporations to invest in biotechnology, it might be a good idea not to allow this. The benevolent motives avowed by scientists who want to contribute to sustainable development should not be tainted by the commercialization or commodification of life. It is also generally agreed that the harmonization of intellectual property rights regimes to fit the mold of western Intellectual Property Rights particularly Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights is morally and legally indefensible. This is being done to further legitimize the desire of industrialized countries and their transnational corporations to have monopoly control over biotechnology and information technologies. Those who have contributed their centuries-old knowledge to develop and protect the rich biodiversity in their communities will now be accused of biopiracy because the right to this knowledge is going into the hands of the corporations through IPRs. It should be recognized that indigenous peoples

have a right to their intellectual and cultural heritage; this is clearly articulated in the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and other UN standards. This right is being blatantly violated by developments in biotechnology. Even the collection of genetic materials from indigenous people's bodies through the HGDP and other similar projects is a violation of the rights and integrity of indigenous peoples. Indigenous peoples also agree that the protection of biodiversity and cultural diversity cannot be effectively guaranteed if their rights to their ancestral territories are not recognized and respected. Therefore, protests against biotechnology cannot be separated from the call for the recognition and respect of the rights of indigenous peoples to their territories and resources and their right to their intellectual and cultural heritage. (Tauli-Corpuz 2010)

In Tauli-Corpuz's view, biotechnology equals colonization. She resists a future in which indigenous peoples territories, bodies and minds are dominated by Western biotechnology companies. In the words of political scientist William Connolly, she "dissolves the appearance of neutrality" by providing an antibiotechnology perspective (Connolly 1984, 139). By linking biotechnology to race, law, and culture, she shifts the way we think and speak about biotechnology. Rather than understanding and approaching a future filled with biotechnology products from a universally beneficial and productive commercial/economic perspective, Tauli-Corpuz focuses on the people, cultures, animals, plants, and ecosystems behind the biotechnology products and how they might be harmed. She gives us different vision—a more holistic spreadsheet of the costs—of a future filled with biotechnology products. The ultimate outcome of her social justice-oriented framing of the biotechnology future is a critical rather than supportive. She makes room for the idea that a biotechnology future can hurt.

Biotechnology development in the United States is more than a strategy for short-term gain. The investment of billions of dollars in biotechnology development is laying the groundwork for domination, long-term domination (including but not limited to the development of new and unmatched weapons, a legal system conceptualizing and enabling the ownership of plant and animal genes, and an economic system that effectively creates dependencies on US manufactured seeds and genes, and so forth). Scholars that represent these investments as exclusively short-term are robbing these political actions of their long-term characteristics. As I argued in the first chapter, there is continuous interplay between the short, medium, and long term time horizons. Just as those who write monthly checks on their

30 year mortgage are not just paying this month's rent, politicians investing in biotechnology are not just paying attention to present day economic, legal, and military interests.

A second point to be noted, just because a long-term future does not benefit all of humanity or nature, does not make it any less long-term. For example, when describing the U.S. Army's vision of how its troops will look and function in 2030, Dutch De-Gay of Natick Soldier Systems in Massachusetts, the developer of the RoboTroop weaponry (featuring "an armoured exoskeleton able to withstand blasts, burns and rifle rounds but light enough to be maneuverable" along with a biometric helmet, data gloves, sensors on torso and legs, and smart boots), told reporters "the Pentagon invested billions of dollars in this and we are not going to be in the business of giving away our secrets to hostile forces" (Sunday Star 2009). This long-term future (developing and controlling nanotechnology based weapons) is being pursued precisely because it advantages select individuals and organizations. The fact that some scholars and social critics want politicians to craft legislation to help everyone, everywhere, at every time does not alter this. Therefore, although I agree with Kim and Dator that the structure of institutions that politicians find themselves in "gives more weight to the present than it does to the future" (Kim and Dator), I would add that institutions give more weight to the interests of influential constituents whose temporal needs are wide and varied. This results in a range of short, medium, and long-term future-oriented policies and behavior that disproportionately benefit some and harm others. We cannot separate time from the issue or the constituency. These factors are chained and we should allow enough slack in the chain to allow for and explain acts of long-term politics. In summary, it is quite possible for contemporary American politicians to think and act long-term in current government structures. The more important question becomes: for whom?

This is not to say that politicians spend significant amounts of time, energy, and attention attending to the pressures and needs of the long-term future. Again my main concern in this project is to contest the claim that politicians operate *exclusively* within short time horizons with little or no sensitivity to future generations. Many scholars and journalists claim politicians cannot and do not think and act long-term. And because they believe politicians are only concerned about (re)election, they believe absolutely any legislative or executive policy or investment is present-centric. Suffering from temporal myopia, future-

oriented political critics often focus exclusively on the short-term gain, the campaign contribution for the politician, the jobs in the present, the tax revenues for the city, state, and nation at the moment. And few, if any, of them will know or say that it is truly not just short-term politics, but long-term interests and politics that drive some policies and investments in the future. In 2030 these same critics will explain the appearance of RoboTroops as if they sprang up randomly as result of politicians and organizations suffering from short time horizons rather than the result of a far sighted, calculated, nanotechnology initiative to realize a preferred long-term future of U.S. military superiority that began in 2001.

Illustrating the point that large public works projects don't just happen overnight or in the short-term, Albuquerque Mayor Martin Chavez proudly announced

this year has been one of accelerated progress on a number of key fronts, including our long-term water supply. Finally, after 40 years in the making we are utilizing the San Juan Chama water in our city. Today, it waters some of our public spaces in the northern part of the city. And soon, it will also augment our drinking water supply, as we have finally broken ground on a treatment facility that will ultimately be the source of 70% of our future water needs. This, in tandem with the community's record breaking in water conservation, gives our precious aquifer much needed relief and puts our city's long-term water prospects... We have tonight met the 30% water use reduction goal that we set 10 years ago... We of course can and will do even better. But anyone who says Albuquerque's economic future is limited by water, doesn't know what they are talking about.

In the area of our water future, by the year 2014, we have a goal of reducing our water use to 150 gallons per person per day. Since we have made our goals to date, and have more innovations and incentives in the works, there is no reason we should not be able to meet this ambitious target. Don't be surprised if, in the future, we tap methane gas from our landfills to power high efficiency water desalination plants that produce clean drinking water from the aquifer to our west that is presently too salty to use. (Chavez 2004)

This excerpt from Chavez's 2004 State of the City speech reflects the interesting way in which the influences of environment, demographics, economics, technology, and politics interact and produce images of the future. Chavez reports that the project was long-term: "after 40 years in the making we are utilizing the San Juan Chama water in our city." Using Masini's argument (see page 19), the temporal dimension of the issue compels long-term thinking. The diversion of large amounts of water across New Mexico cannot happen overnight. The construction required to bring this about requires significant

planning, investment, and ongoing work. It simply cannot be done within three to five years (or within the next election cycle). This example also illustrates a point made in the first chapter: many issues are simultaneously short, medium-, and long-term (see page 19). Albuquerqueans have short- and medium-term goals (to reduce water consumption to 150 gallons per person per day by 2014, 10 years). They will achieve this through “innovations and incentives” in the works as well as some more ambitious long-term projects (“tapping methane gas from landfills to power high efficiency water desalination plants that produce clean water drinking from the aquifer to our west that is presently too salty to use”). In effect, the problem and solution are not easily fragmented into short, medium-, and long-term containers. The problem and solution are none of these and all of these at the same time. Desalination plants (particularly those powered by methane gas from local landfills) do not appear magically overnight. If such plants exist in 2024, the visioning, planning, construction, and funding began well before and therefore the plant should not be described by critics or scholars as yet another example of a short-term politics.

In an international study on images of the future, Ornauer and researchers found that people often equate the future with technological change (Ornauer et al. 1976). So too do contemporary American politicians. Although Chavez does speak about reducing water consumption through new behavior, his long-term solution is primarily technical: the relocation of existing fresh water from sources outside Albuquerque and the conversion of salt water to fresh water through technological means or both. Knowing the future is technological is a way of not knowing it is political. In other words, if I know the solution to Albuquerque’s water problem is technological, this is a way of not knowing it is demographic or ecological. Chavez, for instance, does not speak about the demographic or ecological wisdom of packing 846,000 people into arid metropolitan Albuquerque. Far from it. Unable to escape the discursive gravity of the Growth image of the future, he links water availability to future economic growth: “anyone who says Albuquerque’s economic future is limited by water, doesn’t know what they are talking about” (Chavez 2004).

When imagining water production and consumption in Albuquerque in years to come, Chavez makes no mention of the water-intensive Intel silicon chip processing plant on the outskirts of Albuquerque. “Intel, the world’s largest manufacturer of computer chips has its largest fabrication facility in Albuquerque” (Akin 2000). According to environmental speaker and writer Jim Motavalli

Intel’s water consumption of four million gallons a day in Albuquerque is changing the ecology of this region. The city is slowly running out of water, and residents are being asked to reduce usage by 30 percent over 10 years. Intel itself is pushing a “Water Smart” program that encourages people to take shorter showers, turn the taps off when brushing their teeth, and water their lawns “only when needed.” Meanwhile, residential water rates in Albuquerque are increasing— to \$1.75 per 1,000 gallons last year. But for that same amount of water, Intel (which uses three percent of Albuquerque’s water) paid only 87 cents, and its water use is increasing (Intel pays even less—25 cents per 1,000 gallons—for the water it pumps itself from the aquifer. All that water is slowly draining the region’s well—as much as two and half feet a year, according to some sources. That means water pioneers are having to venture farther afield to find new sources, putting centuries-old communal water system, called *acequia*, in danger. In rural north-central New Mexico, water flows through ancient earth ditches first built by the Pueblo Indians and the early Hispanic settlers, 400 years ago. Because an increasing amount of Intel’s water comes from the Rio Grande, Intel is under court order to acquire and retire water rights to the river. It went shopping down south, and in 1993, it proposed to buy the irrigation rights to rural San Marcial, causing a storm of protest from local farmers and ranchers, and from Albuquerque groups like SWOP (SouthWest Organizing Project) that call it an environmental justice issue. “For indigenous people, water is a social necessity, and it should be owned communally,” says Gauna (a veteran activist and director of SWOP). (Motavalli 1998)

In response, Intel’s corporate services director of public affairs Richard Draper said “the city of Albuquerque buys water rights on the open market, too... If a farmer is retiring and wants to make some money by selling his water rights, who is SWOP to tell him he can’t do it? It’s a private property right, and we take that seriously in New Mexico” (Motavalli 1998). Draper reorients the issue from farmer’s water rights and an environmental justice to “private property rights.” Crucially, instead of referring to communal water rights or the historical *acequia* when conceptualizing and articulating the future of water use, Draper speaks as if water could and should be individually and privately owned. In this view, water is just another commodity. For Draper, a critique of Intel water use is a critique of the heritage of the American West. Specifically, an attack on law and property

rights in the American West. Despite the United States Geological Survey's report in 1993 that showed "Albuquerque was pumping out its groundwater nearly three times faster than it could be replenished" (Selcraig 1994), interpreting Intel's water use as an innocent and important economic contribution rather than a destructive ecological driver in Albuquerque's long-term future is commonplace in Albuquerque. Because Intel employs over 5000 people and contributes over \$1 billion annually to New Mexico's economy (New Mexico Site Search 2010), conventional wisdom has it that what is good for Intel is good for Albuquerque. Put another way, in the view of many Albuquerqueans, Intel's silicon chip production will bolster the community's long-term future. Indeed, in a limited long-term way, they may be right. Intel's gluttonous water use may benefit Albuquerqueans for several generations. But, at some remote period—after 100 years, say—the water depletion will have dire ecological consequences. In other words, the interests of Albuquerqueans living in the near long-term (say, those living 100 years from now) sometimes clash with those Albuquerqueans living in the remote long-term (say, those living 300 years now). These pitted interests illustrate some of the challenges of speaking for future generations. Which future generation should the politician represent? This leads us to another demographic problem driving Albuquerque's future not articulated in Chavez's technologically-oriented Growth driven future: the arrival of newcomers. In particular, the domestic immigration of an educated and professional class of technology workers and their families into New Mexico and Albuquerque from out-of-state. Their arrival raises an important political question: who should decide Albuquerque's future?

If Albuquerque's future is open and navigable, then who decides and by what right? One newspaper article tells us that although the New Mexico has the highest per-capita concentration of Ph.D.s in the U.S., it can't find enough skilled managers (vice presidents of sales or marketing or finance) to run the companies being spun out of the work at Sandia National Laboratory" (Akin 2000). Further, when speaking of New Mexico's scramble to find managers to staff its growing computer industry, director of finance for Boeing-SVS, Inc. of Albuquerque noted "the cutting-edge nature of the high-tech work in Albuquerque and its quality of life will help and other companies in the region to attract the employees required to grow" (Akin 2000). Gauna argues "that almost

half of the jobs at Intel are going to people from out of state” (Selcraig 1994).

While Draper contends that Intel only accounts for about eight percent of Albuquerque’s annual water use, he neglects to mention the water used by the recently arrived out-of- state workers Intel has recruited and relocated to New Mexico (Selcraig 1994). Because residential users account for 60 to 65 percent of Albuquerque’s annual water use (Selcraig 1994), Draper uses a narrow accounting scheme that ignores several important environmental consequences of Intel’s business operations in New Mexico (Selcraig 1994). Draper’s partial and incomplete assessment of the environmental costs of Intel’s silicon chip production leads to a representation of the future that sustains Intel’s position in Albuquerque.

Stuck in the conceptual tarpit of the Growth image, Steward and Draper, like Mayor Chavez, do not ask whether it is appropriate for those with no historical prior residence in Albuquerque to have an equal or greater say in the use and politics of Albuquerque’s water future. Those recruited from cities such as Atlanta, Austin, Boston, Denver, New York, Raleigh-Durham, San Francisco, and Seattle for many of the high technology jobs are likely to be male, white, middle class, college educated, and urban. Drawing on Bevir and Rhodes’s work, we assume these newcomers have traditions (an inherited web of beliefs or conceptual tendencies) that shape and structure their beliefs and actions. These traditions are not likely to encourage the newcomers to consider water sacred, communal, and religious like some of Albuquerque’s indigenous peoples. For example, the Isleta Pueblo tribe in New Mexico, a small group of Pueblo Indians living on the Rio Grande River, fought the City of Albuquerque over water quality standards. The Isleta Pueblo declared they had the “right to self sovereignty in determining acceptable water standards for their community” which, in effect, meant they could set upstream water quality standards in Albuquerque (Harris 1994). They alleged that unacceptable pollutants from the City of Albuquerque’s sewage discharged into the Rio Grande River floated downstream and contaminated the Isleta Pueblo’s water poisoning fish as well as centuries-old corn and squash fields and made the water unsafe for religious ceremonies. The main argument, according to the attorney for the Isleta Pueblo Lamar Perez “is that if the people of the Isleta Pueblo have the right to expression of

religion, and that includes the right to participate in ceremony, and the waters of the Rio Grande are a major element of the ceremony, then the water should be safe for human contact” (Harris 1994). How many of the new high tech employees from urban Atlanta, Austin, Boston, New York, San Francisco, and Seattle support such an understanding and approach to water?

Just as the “influx of new people and values” in Hawaii leads to the decline of traditional values and behaviors (Rohter 1992, 51), so too does the immigration fed by high tech employers such as Intel, Boeing, and Sandia Laboratories in New Mexico contribute to the dilution of a unique New Mexican sense of place. For the newcomers to Albuquerque, how is water thinkable? When looking at the Hudson River, how many New Yorkers, for instance, have a conceptual tendency to think of the water as “good for religious ceremonies” or “good for crops” or “used collectively by the people for subsistence” or a “living, spiritual, and rights bearing entity”? For many of the newcomers, water is largely understood and approached as a lifeless commodity that can and should be individually used and privately owned. In such an understanding, the meaning of water is ultimately linked to growing the economy. Newcomers that want to immerse themselves in water that is safe for human contact are more likely to dive into their private, residential, chlorinated pool or take a bath in their new suburban homes rather than wade in the Rio Grande River. It is not as if clean water in the Rio Grande River is unthinkable for newcomers, but the agricultural, environmental, and spiritual interests of Natives, locals, and farmers (and river itself) are secondary to using the water for the growth purposes of the newly arrived (building new homes, suburban subdivisions, roads, malls, industrial production, etc.). The newcomer arrives because of a job in Albuquerque and may very well leave if a better one is available in Houston, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, or Denver. In other words, the newcomers are primarily concerned about the availability and accessibility of jobs in Albuquerque rather than the traditions (the New Mexican acequia history and traditional water management methods and customs) and long-term ecological needs of the natives, locals, and wildlife. Indeed, for many newcomers, reading about the Isleta Pueblo’s water quality struggles may be their first brush with American Indians (outside of an elementary school lesson or American Western movie). If so, the Isleta Pueblo may seem backward, selfish, scared of

change, and resistant to progress if they insist water be regulated in ways that limit economic growth. However, as the newcomers (largely white, male, middle class, college educated, and urban) grow in number, they will increasingly decide the future of Albuquerque's water by right of their gender, race, class, education, jobs, and money, not their long-standing connection to the community and place of Albuquerque. Put another way, because many of the local adults in New Mexico lack the basic skills necessary to qualify for high-tech jobs that will presumably drive New Mexico's future, locals are less visible to politicians and subsequently less influential in directing New Mexico's future. Because the out-of-state newcomers recruited to New Mexico to work in high tech jobs are often white, male, middle or upper class, college educated, and urban, one begins to see how poverty, race, and gender work together to decide who decides the future and by what right.

Despite his hopes that technologies will produce or bring new water to Albuquerque, Mayor Chavez recognizes the stress that unlimited growth in Albuquerque puts upon the finite and long-term water needs when stating "if we don't talk about the water problem we will have a crisis for which our grandchildren will condemn us" (Selcraig 1994). Indeed, Chavez reports that he "rejected the overtures of a California company that wanted to relocate to Albuquerque but wanted a guarantee of 1 million gallons of water a day" (Selcraig 1994). However, since much of his talk about Albuquerque's future is represented through a Growth image, inevitably his efforts are directed toward increasing the out-of-state population that resides in Albuquerque and thus exacerbating long-term environmental problems.

Ultimately, when charting the vision of Albuquerque's future in the years and decades to come, Chavez does consider water supply and use an important long-term issue. However, as political scientist Deborah Stone points out, "things can mean (and therefore be) more than one thing at once" (Stone 1997, 31). Economic expansion with nominal environmental regulation means both that Chavez condemns growth and that he does not. He cares about the long-term future and he does not. Here it is enough to note that politicians, like all of us, are a jumble of inconsistencies. This inconsistency is not simply political manipulation or pandering (saying what is necessary to different

individuals and interest groups to obtain votes), it is often, as Stone describes, the ability to have and hold contradictory beliefs. These competing beliefs are turned on and off by a constellation of interacting and competing demographic, environmental, technological, economic, political, religious, psychological, cultural, ideological, historical, symbolic, philosophic, scientific, ethnic, racial, gender, age, class, genetic, educational, regional, discursive, and legal (to mention a few) switches. The complexity of this interaction of switches accounts for some of the gap between what a politician says and what a politician does when it comes to long-term politics (and the inability of futures researchers to predict the future beyond vague generalities).

As I argued in the first chapter, scholars and critics that background the extended period of time bound into social movements and technological projects (see page 7), (such as the development of the Internet or water works or complex weapons or the biotechnology and nanotechnology industries), obscure and mystify long-term politics. They would have us believe long-term politics by elected politicians within democratic structures is a miracle—something so incomprehensible, so unprecedented, so unbelievable—that without an act of God it cannot happen. But what they overlook in their eagerness to account for the significant amount of short-term legislation is that individuals and organizations have long-term political, psychological, and material needs. The short-term argument subtext: influential people and organizations do not have or pursue long-term interests through elected politicians. However the call to reproduce, the hope one's culture and cherished beliefs will survive after they are dead, the desire for a legacy, the need to position one's descendants to enjoy rank and privilege, the desire to grow economically, and the will to dominate have been driving factors in politics throughout history. The idea that contemporary American politicians do not have these desires, are not influenced by others that have these ambitions, or are simply unable to pursue and realize these goals in current democratic structures strikes me as unreasonable and diversionary. Whether one is constructing a pyramid, building a dynasty, or expanding an empire, the desire for transcendence burns deep in the heart of (wo)men. The need to say "I was here," "I made a difference," "I was honorable," "I will survive," or "I passed something of value to the future" drives many to initiate long-term political projects. This drive to go beyond one's time is rooted in the human condition and finds

its way into contemporary political structures. Indeed some of our contemporary social and ecological misfortunes stem from our inability to stay in the time where we belong.

Education – Preparing Today’s Labor Force for Tomorrow’s Jobs

If growth is the goal of the future, education is the means to realize growth. As Arkansas Governor Mike Beebe puts it

As we look to the future and begin undertaking of moving Arkansas forward, I intend to be especially involved in the most critical issues of educational advancement, economic development, the well-being our future, and meaningful tax relief. Education is the hinge on which our future swings. Excellence in education will be one of our greatest challenges, and it will be one of our most important victories... Under the mandate of preparing for our future, it is our first moral obligation... Education is the seed from which our future grows. (Beebe 2007)

Following Foucault, “government has as its target population” (quoted in Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 174). In State of the State and State of the City speeches, politicians target children and the ensemble of institutions which manage children. Special attention is paid to education in general and schools in particular. For many contemporary American politicians, the primary, if not exclusive, purpose of education is to provide children with the skills needed to make the economy grow in the future. This theme is stated bluntly by New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman:

Promoting high technology is only a means to an end, and that end is jobs – more jobs, better jobs, higher-paying jobs for all our families. The process starts with education – the linchpin of economic expansion. (Whitman 2000)

After Oklahoma Governor Brad Henry asserted that “education is the wellspring of economic development,” he stressed the need for “preparing today’s labor force for tomorrow’s jobs” (Henry 2003). Taking us on a hundred year journey that touches on numerous topics, New Hampshire Governor Jeanne Shaheen links education and the future while calling attention to the special relationship between education and economic growth in her 2001 State of the State speech (see the futures excerpt in the appendix). She argues that “the new economy of the 21st century is run on brainpower, not horsepower. In this economy, success is built on ideas, innovation and information -- and the foundation for this new economy is education” (Shaheen 2001). And Shaheen contends

that “if New Hampshire's future is to be bright and secure -- then we must recognize that improving education is the single most important issue we face. Nothing else that we do here will have a greater impact on New Hampshire's success or failure in this new century” (Shaheen 2001). Many of Governor Shaheen’s sentiments are shared by North Dakota Governor John Hoeven. In his 2005 State of the State (see the futures excerpt provided in the appendix), Hoeven dedicates a large portion of the speech to education and its relationship to achieving economic success in North Dakota. Hoeven believes

To realize the true potential of our state, we must invest in our priorities - priorities that will help us build the best business climate in America. That starts with education - both K-12 and higher education. In an information age, in a technology-based global economy, we must have the most productive and best-educated workforce. To paraphrase the great British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, "Upon the Education of the people of this country, the fate of this country depends." Education is critical not only to each one of us individually, but also to build the economic vitality of our state. (Hoeven 2005)

Here, like in many contemporary American political speeches, education is described as the most important factor in determining the city, state, and nation’s future. The link between education and economy and economic growth is firmly established and unquestioned. Further, the normalization of education as high-tech job preparation helps to hide the circumstances and groups that produced this discourse and meaning. Within this discourse, the primary problem becomes: how does the city, state, and nation produce “a potent workforce of educated competitors” (Mandel 2004, 158)? The primary hope: education will drive economic development. The primary fear: outdated and poor quality education will lead to economic stagnation and retraction. Thus the present becomes amenable to an endless series of interventions in the educational system to produce more productive workers in the future.

This conflation of education and economic utility by contemporary American politicians illustrates another one of Foucault’s points about discourse: meaning is found as much by what lies outside the discursive formation as what lies within. Because the meaning of education emerges within a growth image of the future characterized by global, market, consumer, cost/benefits discourse, *education equals job training*. It is not something else (saving the planet, exploring new worlds, provoking a sense of awe, remedying social injustice, spiritual development, artistic creation, philosophical musing,

religious salvation, intellectual journeying, ancestor connection, global citizenship, and so forth). As a result, the “you go to school to get a job” understanding is repeated so many times it becomes common-sense. This constant repetition undermines our ability to imagine alternative educational systems. Because the purpose of education for many politicians is to produce the kind of people needed for a society, if the future was imagined, say, as a local, green, feminist community or a sovereign indigenous nation or an international space settlement on Mars, the politician might offer alternative visions of educational systems.

Just as Foucault argues that discourse restricts our ability to envision new possibilities, futures researcher Zia Sardar (1993) contends that dominant images of the future limit our ability to construct alternative visions of the future. Building on Sardar’s work, by forcing all visions of the future of education within “a single, dominating, philosophical outlook” (economic growth), politicians effectively *colonize the future* because they silence alternatives and render other possible futures less thinkable (Sardar 1993, 183). By drawing attention to the dominant Growth image, I am not arguing that politicians are unable to think beyond it. I merely contend, as Bevir and Rhodes (2003) do, that it structures and limits (rather than fixes) their imagination. It makes it harder to think of, and be taken seriously and considered competent by the electorate, if a mayor or governor calls for public education to produce, say, more innovative mimes or graceful dancers rather than, say, biotechnologists or nanotechnologists. In the dominant mode of representing the future, job-growth and national security depends more on innovative high-tech industries (biotechnology and nanotechnology) than the arts (dancing and miming). Thus the arts, as one example, are marginalized in public education in the present in preparation for an anticipated high-tech future. This principle is not limited to politicians. To illustrate, when providing suggestions to representatives of the Herman Miller Furniture Company for a “Classroom of the Future” exhibit at the “Campus of the Future” conference in Honolulu in 2006, I provided several scenarios for classroom of the future(s). The ideas from my high-tech scenario were well received and considered for implementation in the exhibit. However, my suggestion that they consider indigenous possibilities for the future of education—that may or may not include classrooms—was rejected. Despite my proposal to help find Native Hawaiian students and teachers to

develop indigenous educational futures, this scenario was not pursued. Beyond Herman Miller's obvious need to see and use an image of the future that features commodities (furniture in classrooms that the company can sell), the fault—if fault there be—in not pursuing indigenous futures lies less in Herman Miller's desire to dominate non-Western cultures than a violation of “common-sense.” Common-sense being the future of education (singular) is a Western, technological, competitive, capitalist vision. An indigenous representation of the future was rejected as impractical, unrealistic, and zany, while the Western, high tech representation was considered possible, probable, and preferable to many conference attendees. The conspicuous absence of non-Western futures throughout the entire conference indicated that this limitation of imagination was not limited to the Herman Miller Company.

Because we imagine the campus of the future (singular) within a conceptual framework that reflects certain interests and certain power relations, power constrains our imagination. Though few of the conference attendees consciously marginalized alternative futures, they did marginalize alternatives when responding to dominant images of the future. Because the process of rejecting alternative futures is largely automatic and unconscious, it is a response to hidden political power. Ferguson's reflections on Foucault's insights on the relationship between power, language, and knowledge are instructive here:

There is no pure and neutral language, no pure and neutral knowledge; the point of view of the powerful forces itself upon the word, claiming a privileged status for its particular way of apprehending. “All knowledge is political not because it may have political consequences or be politically useful, but because knowledge has its conditions of possibility in power relations. (quoted in Ferguson 1984, 174)

Extending Foucault and Ferguson's work on the “conditions of possibility” to futures, I mean the intellectual starting point for what representations of the future are considered possible, probable, and preferable. This starting point does not however prevent one from resisting the dominant way of representing the future of education. Further, while the official image of the future disproportionately benefits some, it is not without value. Just as Foucault argues that “power is not wholly negative” because it “produces things, it

induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, and produces discourse” (Foucault 1980, 119), the official future provides a similar positive function; it provides a purpose for education and consequently calls for a series of positive interventions between parent and child and state and child to produce a ‘healthy’ and ‘productive’ adult that is economically independent and contributes to the greater community.

Using the Future – The Future as a Strategic Asset

Visions of education are often connected to our hopes and fears of a global future. In the excerpts below, South Carolina Governor Mark Sanford emphasizes a future in which South Carolinians compete against everyone in the world.

But the question is how do we get to a place ten years from now where we’re thriving, given the fact that globalization and the Internet are here, and we’re directly competing with 1.2 billion Chinese and 1 billion people in India...I believe passionately in education... I believe passionately in public education... If you send someone out into the 21st century workforce without a first rate education you are literally doing the equivalent of sending them into battle without a gun. You cannot thrive, you cannot prosper, without a grade A’ education in today’s world particularly since, as I just mentioned, 1.5 billion new entrants have come into the workforce in the last twenty years... We ultimately have to answer this question: if you live in a world of transformative change, wherein you literally are competing with the likes of China and India in a way that we never have before, can you afford incremental change in something as important as education? As we all know our founding fathers were very deliberate in setting up a political system that could only move in incremental steps. Any legislatively-wrought change in education will be incremental though we are in a world that has literally been turned upside down with globalization and the Internet. In fact, politics are very unlikely to change certain long-rooted traditions of our educational past...That’s why I continue to believe that what politics won’t change, market forces can change. That is the reason I’m so interested in this notion of school choice. Said more simply, if we keep on doing what we’ve been doing, we’re going to keep on getting what we’ve been getting. (Sanford 2005)

If we read Sanford’s speech, not as a source of information about the future, but as a speech directed towards changing the present, we will find an illuminating use of the future. With the present educational system firmly in the center of his vision of an inevitable global future, Sanford draws on a *future preparedness* repertoire and legitimizes the switch from public school to school choice – a voucher system—a market fix. By arguing the market, not politics, will produce beneficial changes in the

educational system, he undermines Krishna's call, cited in the first chapter, to "reassert the political" by focusing on "the capacity of humans to collectively alter their present as well as their future through thought and action." When arguing that the market will do what politics cannot, Sanford creates a false market/political opposition. He treats the market as if it is a natural, independent, and objective force rather than a political system of government investments, taxes, incentives, disincentives, laws, and policies. By representing the global future as inevitable, he undermines competing versions of local and glocal futures. By treating school choice as a neutral fix benefitting all students equally, he dismisses the National Education Association's opposition to school vouchers "because they divert essential resources from public schools to private and religious schools, while offering no real choice for the overwhelming majority of students" (National Educational Association 2009). Outside of his assertion, Sanford provides no evidence that school choice will better prepare students to compete in the 21st Century than public school. However, it is how Sanford puts ideas about the future to political use in the present that is most relevant here. Shapiro's reflections on stories, cited earlier, are suggestive here. Rather than considering stories about the future as predictions of the future, Shapiro proposes a view of stories that looks at the political job they do. In other words, to what extent does this story about the future legitimate or critique the existing (present) structures of power and domination? Sanford's story about the future legitimizes the current way of conceptualizing education (largely as a process of acquiring vocational skills and a battle among cities, states, and nations) but it simultaneously critiques the dominant institutions delivering public education such as public schools, administrators, teachers, and unions.

Rather than thinking about Sanford's strategic use of the future, we can move to a discursive and image based explanation of his use of the future. Through a discursive perspective, the focus moves from Sanford's use of the future to how the meaning found in globalization discourse and growth images of the future leads him to conceptualize and articulate schools, largely, as vocational training grounds to advance state economic goals. This normalization of education as just another weapon in the state's economic arsenal becomes more apparent through the use of metaphor. As Lakoff and Johnson describe it, "the essence of a metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of

thing in terms of another” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 5). For Sanford, *education is war*. Put another way, Sanford’s ideas on education “are structured through the concept of war” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 5). This understanding is reflected in his choice of words: “If you send someone out into the 21st century workforce without a first rate education you are literally doing the equivalent of sending them into battle without a gun” (Sanford 2005). Through globalization discourse and metaphors, the world consists of endless economic competition where there are winners and losers. The battle for economic dominance against billions of Chinese and Indians begins in South Carolina’s classrooms. The discourse produces a necessity, a bellicose world, to which the politician must respond. In such a world, long-term thinking equals educational leadership. The politician is obligated to position the state to succeed educationally so it can flourish economically.

What we get a glimpse of in Sanford’s speech is how discourse assists in managing a population. In the dominant mode of representing the future, children are understood and approached as economic resources and political instruments to help the city, state, and nation compete effectively in the 21st Century (rather than, say, inherently valuable spiritual beings that should be developed intellectually for humanitarian purposes). The seamless connections and interaction between economic and education discourse positions politicians and the electorate to speak about the future of the city, state, and nation as if it begins in schools. As the marriage of economic and education discourse encourage us to conceptualize and articulate school as space of national security (security being our ability to produce an educated and creative workforce that can outperform hordes of Chinese and Indian workers in a global, high-tech economy), the politician is compelled to speak about the long-term future because the target population, children, will not become educated workers for years.

We started the chapter with the following question: when is it necessary and feasible for the contemporary American politician to think and act long-term? One response: Because the electorate expects politicians to figure out the needs and priorities of children several decades from now, the politician is expected to provide the educational foundation for the children to succeed in the future. Let me make one point

clear: I am not saying that politicians think robustly about the futures of education. Indeed, as I argued, the dominant discourse and images they use limit their imagination. However, I contend that, at times, politicians do think and act long-term when it comes to education. From preparing today's workers for tomorrow's jobs to investing in university research centers anticipated to create more jobs in the long-term future, politicians are expected by the electorate to lay the educational groundwork that contributes to both short and long-term economic growth. Again, I am unwilling and unable to dissect and fragment the unity of temporal ambitions here (the merger of short, medium, and long term educational success). As flat as their long-term thinking and investment in the possibilities for education may be, it very well may place the city, state, and nation on a path to the future that unfolds.

Hauntingly Familiar

Recalling Shapiro's work, stories of the future legitimize "entrenched authority" and the economic-business order in the present. As historian Joseph Corn and curator with the Minnesota Historical Society Brian Horrigan argue when analyzing visions of the American future, "technology becomes the only arena where change occurs. The material landscape may be radically different...but the social and political landscape is unaltered" (Corn and Horrigan 1984, 135). So it is in the images of the future spoken by American politicians. Echoing the findings in the *Images of the World in the Year 2000* (Ornauer et al. 1976) study, American politicians, like many people throughout the world, often link the future with technological change. The problem with this dominant way of representing the American future is that if we restrict our images to economic growth and technology, we naturalize and legitimize the existing social and political landscape (including the inequalities) and simultaneously undermine alternative futures because we are either unable to imagine or are silent about new political innovations and social possibilities. If we don't question whose preferred future is being pursued in these images, we may mistakenly believe that all Americans will benefit equally from, say, a growth oriented future featuring a thriving nanotechnology industry. One implicit theme in these images is that the progress enjoyed in these futures will be open to all and include more members in an ever-widening community. However, access to this progress

is likely to be structured by a political system that does not provide equality of opportunity. Because the images are silent on new political possibilities, this problem is ignored and the existing social and political system reinforced because it is repeated but unquestioned.

Overall, the images of the long-term future projected by American politicians are, in the words of rock musician Stevie Nicks, “hauntingly familiar.”¹ Depicting these images in negative terms, in terms of what we don’t see, there is an absence of radical changes in governance, dramatically different visions of society, marked differences in the distribution of wealth, or new possibilities for sex, race, class, and gender justice. In the minds of many American politicians, the mold for the long-term future remains primarily a white, male, middle-class, English speaking, tax-paying, heterosexual, child-bearing, monogamous, home-owning, car driving, democratic, capitalist, Christian, energy-consuming, earth-bound, individualist, rights-bearing, meat eating, gun-toting, genetically unaltered, purely organic, anthropocentric nation of consumers where the United States, along with a handful of national rivals, compete to dominate world economic markets. Although the nation will consist of more elderly people and be more culturally and racially diverse, those aging and diverse peoples will assimilate into affluent, white, communities of American consumers. The difference: rather than driving a gas powered car to work at an automobile plant, the Americans of the 21st Century will drive hydrogen powered automobiles to work at nanotechnology research centers. There is little strangeness in these futures. Applying what historian Sam Wineburg believes about many representations of the past, these images of the future “offer little possibility of surprise or amazement, of encountering people, places, and times that spur us to reconsider how we conceptualize ourselves as human beings” (Wineberg 2001, 6). Wisconsin Governor Tommy G. Thompson illustrates this theme:

Wisconsin is where the future begins. Together, let us start boldly carving in stone Wisconsin’s Face of the Future. In the next 50 years, the face of Wisconsin will look distinctively different. It will be older, healthier, and more diverse. Just think

¹ From the song “The Edge of Seventeen” on the album *Bella Donna* (1981) by Stevie Nicks.

about these remarkable changes in demographics and lifestyle. By the time our nation celebrates its 250th birthday in 2026, we will be experiencing the most dramatic age shift in American history. The number of senior citizens will more than double by then. And by 2017, the number of people turning 65 will exceed the number of births in Wisconsin for the first time. We'll be issuing more social security checks than birth certificates. When Wisconsin celebrates her bicentennial in 2048, minorities will comprise one quarter of our population, rising dramatically from 11 percent today... Along with futuristic visions of flying cars and vacations to the Moon, Wisconsin will be more mobile than ever. A commute to work anywhere in the state will be as long as the seconds it takes to go online. In more populated areas, you'll have a variety of mass transit options to choose from while your electric-powered car is plugged in at home getting charged. But if you missed the high-speed Amtrak to work, you can still check your emails and voice mails before joining a morning teleconference, all by using your personal pocket-sized communication center. Today's palm pilot will be tomorrow's office. Alternative energy supplies such as hydrogen fuel cells will power our homes, businesses and schools. And less fossil fuel consumption means a cleaner environment. Finally, our population will be healthier than ever. Vitamin enriched foods grown here in America's breadbasket will carry more powerful, disease fighting nutrients. Our produce will be easier to grow and more resistant to disease, drought and infestations. University of Wisconsin-Madison will decode the human genome and allow for your personal genetic profile to be traced, encoded on a chip and downloaded by a doctor so your illness can be diagnosed and treated. This research will help us solve the mysteries of cystic fibrosis, Parkinson's and Alzheimer's. New medical advancements may push the life expectancy to more than 100 years by 2048. (Thompson 2000)

With the exception of vacations to the moon, there is nothing unfamiliar in this image of Wisconsin 2050. Outside of a few demographic changes and improved technologies, Wisconsin 2050 is quite similar to Wisconsin 2000.

Although Vermont Governor Howard Dean puts a liberal gloss on Vermont's future in 2100 in his 2000 State of the State Address (see the futures excerpt provided in the appendix), his Vermont of 2100 is, for the most part, hauntingly familiar. The Vermonters of 2100 are, largely, struggling with the same problems as the Vermonters of 2000. While I certainly do not know what the future holds, Dean's future strikes me as too familiar. In effect, Vermont will be a more racially diverse community that smokes less, has access to health care, uses more alternative energy, and no longer pays state sales taxes.

Education in 2100

Although Vermont's children will be taking virtual classes with students in England, Israel, and Taiwan, the emphasis is largely on the possibilities created by "unimagined technology" and the expanded international audience and extended market of lifetime learners rather than any novel possibilities of the content, purpose, and meaning of education. Further despite the expanded international composition of the classroom, Dean makes no mention of Vermont's, largely white, children in Brattleboro taking classes with students of different races and classes of students throughout the United States. Assuming poverty and race are still around in 2100 in a nation state called the United States, might some of the white and affluent students of Brattleboro want to take physics classes with say, poor African American students in Chicago or poor Lakota students living on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota or poor Chicano students in Phoenix or Laotian immigrants in Los Angeles (or whatever group of Americans are disproportionately poor in 2100)? Dean's unimagined educational technologies are restricted in their social links. The idea of international links to select countries such as England evokes images of a cosmopolitan and enriching educational environment while Taiwan conjures images of educational superiority in the natural sciences that appeals to many white, middle and upper class Vermont families, but the idea of taking classes with poorer Americans is more like technological bussing and forced racial integration. Given the time and effort put into preparing State of the State speeches, the selection of England, Israel, and Taiwan were not accidents. These countries were selected to deliver a certain appeal to the image of the future.

When speaking about the future of education, Dean holds fast to the American tradition of linking technology and future when speculating "of technology we cannot imagine today." Sociologist and bioethicist James Hughes has imagined future technology in the future to enhance intelligence and improve our memories. In his book *Citizen Cyborg*, Hughes speaks about cognition-enhancing drugs, gene therapies, and connecting the brain directly to human computers (referred to as Brain Machine Interface, brain chips, brainjacks, and brain implants). To illustrate, Hughes

envisions that “recipients of brainjacks would be able to think directly into and directly call up calendars, address books, lyrics of songs, lines of dialogue for a play or foreign language dictionaries. With an internet connection we could silently read our email, surf the World Wide Web and carry on a mind-to-mind conversation with other brainjack users... by 2030” (Hughes 2004, 40). Taking it a step further, computer scientist and futurist Ray Kurzweil predicts that by 2030 using a combination of nanotechnology and computer technology that the structure of the human brain will enable people “to think at computer chip speeds” (Hodges 2004, 40). Despite their faith that neurologically enhanced and linked students would render our current schools entirely irrelevant, Hughes, Kurzweil, and Dean do not speak of a new reason for education. What will our neurologically enhanced students do with their newfound brainpower? Will they, for example, develop more powerful weapons or be writing better poetry? Will they be making indispensable consumer devices (such as a revolutionary waffle pancake pans) or saving rainforests? Will they be amassing personal and corporate wealth or fighting to end slavery (note, “there are more slaves today than at any point in human history” (Skinner 2010)? Will they be saving the planet or contributing to its biological decline? The point is that the authors of these images do not say. As Corn and Horrigan argue, technology becomes the primary arena where change occurs in all of these images of the future. The classrooms, students, teachers, technologies, and instruction methods may be different, but the social and political reasons for education in Vermont 2100 remain unaltered. There is often no discussion or vision or meaning for the social and political purpose of education in 2100. Thus the images are conservative and work to preserve the status quo.

Social Continuity

Bending and editing Wineburg’s insight about the “useable past” into what we can call the “useable future,” Dean “enters the future knowing what he is looking for... He discards or just ignores vast regions of the future that either contradict his current needs or fail to align tidily with them” (Wineburg 2001, 6). Although Dean does not offer a robust reading of possible futures, he does enable the Vermonters of

2000 to feel a kinship and connectedness to the Vermonters of 2100 through the transmission and presence of familiar institutions (capitalism, democracy, individualism, Christianity, monogamy, English language predominance, United States, United States Constitution, United States armed forces, HMOs, Internet, taxes, family farms, jails, schools, home ownership, car driving, meat consumption, gun ownership, consumerism, animals used primarily for human purposes, biologically unaltered Homo sapiens, and Vermont still exist). Put another way, with the exception of more minority neighbors (not including robots or any other biologically enhanced creatures), access to health care, life-long learning opportunities, and the funny wind turbine on their roof, the Vermonter of 2000 would not experience culture or temporal shock in 2100. They will fit right in because not much will have changed.

Rhetorically, Dean links the past, present, and future by moving back and forth over 200 years (1900-2100). Repetition of the phrase “One hundred years ago...” focuses attention on Vermont’s past. Rather than representing his present stance on universal health care, for example, as his own or recent, he portrays himself as carrying on traditions started one hundred years ago. By evoking a strong sense of continuity among past, present, and future, his stance on universal health care does not seem new, radical, or transformative. It is simply carrying on a moral commitment made by past generations of Vermonters. In this way, Vermonters move forward in a historically prescribed way with Dean in office.

Phoenix in 2034

In an international survey on how people think about the future, Tonn, Conrad and Hetrick (2006) found that the future goes dark around 15 to 20 years into the future. In contrast, Phoenix Mayor Phil Gordon urges Phoenixans to look at least 30 years into the future when asking, “where are you looking? If it isn’t to at least the year 2034, you need to look further” (see the futures excerpt provided in the appendix). Unbound by Tonn, Conrad, and Hetrick’s 15 to 20 year barrier, Mayor Gordon paints a picture of Phoenix in 2034:

In thirty years, I see a Phoenix with beautiful tree lined streets stretching across neighborhoods, where electric light rail runs cleanly from Ahwatukee to Anthem - - and connects all valley cities one to the other. I see a Phoenix where children can play safely in their own front yards, and their school yards. I see a Phoenix where immigration issues were long ago resolved. Where a boiling pot became, once again, a melting pot -- as our forefathers envisioned. In 2034, I see a Phoenix with a vital and vibrant downtown -- a city that blends old and new alike with tolerance, compassion, and pride. Where today's new creative class is about ready to retire -- and wants to live in the very same downtown where they worked for 30 years. There are university students becoming the next entrepreneurs, doctors, scientists and educators -- they *come* here from the four corners of the globe and they *stay* here to keep Phoenix a thriving and bountiful community -- a national beacon of opportunity and a global center of knowledge. I see a Phoenix with shaded pedestrian pathways -- and people sitting on their front porch benches talking to each other and living a quality of life that too many cities gave up on... too many years ago. And I see people strolling through the many art galleries and museums that our city wisely invested in, knowing that a city without culture has no soul. In 2034, I see a Phoenix with downtown hotels that were begun in 2004 - - filled to capacity with business conventioners, sports fans on hand to watch yet another World Series -- and proud mom's and dads from all over the country visiting ASU's Capital City Campus on Parents' Day. I see young families celebrating their very first home -- in Maryvale, where children play without fear, where the neighborhood schools are touted among the best in the nation, and where parents feel they've found the perfect place to begin their American Dream. And I see grandparents walking to the neighborhood grocery -- where they are greeted by name -- and living in neighborhoods that offer safety, security and companionship. I see a city where no one has to choose between food and shelter, because in 2004, people made good, solid choices to bring high wage jobs and opportunity to Phoenix. (Gordon 2004)

While I am impressed with Mayor Gordon's call to think at least 30 years into the future, with the exception of poverty reduction ("where no one has to choose between food and shelter"), nothing here strikes me as particularly novel. Gordon's community of the future is beautiful, orderly, diverse, prosperous, and secure. One does not obtain a picture of a big, unfriendly city dominated by a vast network of tangled skyscrapers, but an intimate community. Residents in this image live in individual homes rather than public projects. Although he speaks of a community where people know your name, individualism and consumer thinking are insinuated in this image of the future. Despite the intimate small-town living-style he describes, the primary reasons individuals will choose to work and retire in Phoenix 2034 are the amenities and economic opportunities. He does not speak of groups remaining in Phoenix because it is their home, because they are concerned about social

justice, and because of their interest in the future of their long-time neighborhoods. In Gordon's 2034, the ties between residents and Phoenix are based on consumer expectations (what Phoenix provides them with) rather than emotional bonds to people, churches, schools, etc. Given his vision of scientists and students coming from all over the globe to work and study in Phoenix, he appears to believe that the United States will continue to be one of the world's economic superpowers offering international citizens economic opportunities in a global economy. He presumes people will still physically attend universities and that the United States higher education will continue to attract people from abroad.

Curiously, in his 5686 word 2004 State of the City speech, he only mentions the word *water* three times. He mentions water once when describing a labor scenario in which police must guard a water plant; a second when talking about the grass and foliage in Patriots Park; and a third when describing a leak in the multilevel parking structure beneath Patriots Park. Given Mayor Gordon's prediction that Phoenix will move from the fifth to the third most populous city in the United States ("right behind New York and Los Angeles") within 30 years, one wonders where all the water will come from for thousands of newly arrived residents in this desert city. Yet he never pursues this problem in his speech. Indeed, with the exception of mentioning "shaded pedestrian pathways," one wonders if Gordon believes the desert still remains in 2034.

Gordon's preferred future may very well come to fruition. However, from my perspective, it is not particularly rich in considering trends and emerging issues that could lead to novel futures for Phoenix, the United States, or any of the institutions (such as higher education) that he envisions as continuing into the future in essentially the same way as they do now.

The Emergence of the Creative Class

Mayor Gordon does have other visions of Phoenix in 2034:

You can do business with Intel and live in Boston. You can edit newsletters for APS, and live in Japan. But we don't want that for Phoenix. That's what happened in cities we've already raced ahead of. We want people to live here. To work here. To prosper here. Translated... we want the creative class and the new economy to move into the 'hood. But we also want it to live, work and play

in the 'hood. That requires Phoenix to become the most livable city in the country. And it requires all of us to think outside the box. I want us to be innovative where we were once conservative. I want us to embrace new ideas and to think BIG. I'm thinking big. You have to think big as well – as a community and as a city. We've been cautious and taken slow, deliberate steps to get where we are. And that was fine – then. But times and technology call for a quickening in decision-making and in action, to get what we want... and what we need. And what we need to get us to the next level – is “The creative class”. The creative class is not an age group. Not generation X. Not gender specific. Not just PhD's and Rocket Scientists. It's blue collar, white collar and NO collar. It's the high-rise architect and the person who washes its windows. It's an attitude. It's the future. It's now. IT'S YOU. If we want to be on the register of great cities, we have to welcome, attract and embrace the new knowledge economy. It's the next revolution of innovative ideas and discovery. If we blink – we will miss this opportunity – forever. Philadelphia blinked. Detroit blinked. And our ability to attract the creative class lies in the advancement of technology, education and the resulting prospect of high wage jobs. We have a low unemployment rate – that's absolutely true – but we also have a low median income rate to go with it. If we don't embrace a knowledge economy, we'll end up another “has-been boom town”. (Gordon 2004)

Again, there is nothing unfamiliar here. What is troubling though is a city composed exclusively of a “creative class.” When reading Mayor Gordon's description of the creative class, I am reminded of the black, gay comedian Wanda Sykes's description of her wife: “I like to say she's French because it sounds nicer than “white”” (Blanco 2009). Similarly, Mayor Gordon says “creative class” because it sounds nicer than “white, male, middle class, and college educated.” Despite Mayor Gordon's assertion that the creative class includes blue collar workers and window washers, the gender, race, and socioeconomic stratification of the creative class is likely to be disproportionately white, male, and middle or upper class—those having the right stuff—that magical combination of technical and entrepreneurial skills to attract the capital necessary to start-up new, small, high tech companies. To illustrate, of America's 25 fastest-growing tech companies (Ray and Murdock 2008), my research revealed that 24 were founded by men (21 of these were founded exclusively and are managed by white men). Of the four companies that weren't started exclusively by white men, two were co-founded by white and Asian men. Only one, Cognizant Technology Solutions, appears to be founded exclusively by an Asian-Indian male. The remaining company, LifeCell, was founded by a white woman with a Ph.D degree. This is the creative class Mayor Gordon seeks – talented scientists and engineers that can help Phoenix build

fresh startup companies in emerging technology areas. And if Phoenix fails in attracting this creative class it will “end up another has-been boom town” like Detroit, with an 82% black majority population (United States Census Bureau 2009a). In a similar strategy and vision, “thirty chambers of commerce of the Great Lakes Region – including Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and Youngstown” are endorsing and pressing Congress “to create a High-Skilled Immigration Zone to let the Frost Belt cities more easily recruit skilled immigrants” (Peirce 2009, 27). Like Gordon’s vision of a city composed of the creative class, high-skilled immigration in the Great Lakes Region means immigrants with science and technology skills that will stimulate economic growth (not any and all newcomers).

Growth discourse operates more covertly than immigration discourse. While both are intertwined and touch on the long-term future, growth talk gives the appearance of being neutral, inclusive, and positive. Who wouldn’t, for example, want to kickstart the economy of the Great Lakes Region and improve the living conditions of skilled immigrants? Who wouldn’t want to recruit the “best and brightest” immigrants to live in and contribute to the national interest? It turns out, however, there are a number of individuals and organizations that would prefer to avoid changing U.S. immigration laws to enable more “high skilled” immigrants to live and work in the United States. To start, there are a large number of immigration policy groups in the United States such as the Federation for Immigration Reform, the Center for Immigration Studies, and NumbersUSA that are striving to create a preferred future that reduces the number of immigrants entering the United States for a variety of demographic, cultural, environmental, and economics reasons. To illustrate, the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) argues that there is no shortage of skilled workers in the United States. In effect, FAIR argues the perceived shortage is largely the result of high tech industry lobbyists attempting to increase the supply of high tech labor to drive down wages for all high tech workers. Citing evidence from a variety of sources (the US Bureau of Labor Statistics, former Chairman of the Federal Reserve of the United States Alan Greenspan, the AFL-CIO, and articles appearing in the information technology trade magazines), FAIR insists that American companies “are actively choosing to lay off U.S. workers instead of H-1Bs” (skilled immigrants) (Federation of American Immigration Reform 2008) As to the assertion, often made by politicians in their speeches, that the city, state, and nation’s “ability to compete internationally depends on being able to employ the

best and brightest professional workers from around the world,” FAIR contends that nearly half of all the approved high skilled immigrant workers do not even a master’s degree (Federation of American Immigration Reform n.d.). In other words, America’s best and brightest, those with equivalent or higher academic credentials and technical skills and experiences, are squeezed out of the market by cheap foreign labor. University of California Davis Professor of Computer Science Norman Matloff concurs with FAIR’s conclusion that there is no technology labor shortage in the United States. When discussing the number of qualified employees in the information technology industry, Matloff points out that “no study, other than sponsored by the industry, has ever shown a shortage. HR departments routinely exclude CV’s of applicants they deem “too expensive”—those that are over 35. So managers never see these CVs, and mistakenly believe there are no applicants” (Matloff, 2009). In Matloff’s view, skilled immigrants under 30 years old are cheaper in both wages and benefits than comparable American workers. This in turn leads to the exaggerated, and inaccurate, industry claims of a domestic labor shortage which rationalizes and legitimizes the recruitment of high skilled foreign workers.

The immigration debate takes place in the context of a Growth image of the future where immigrants are viewed in terms of economic costs and benefits and the impact on U.S. employment and growth rates, rather than say, a community of individuals equal in their economic and political rights independent of U.S. territorial and national interests. Despite their differences, the dominant Growth image underpins both preferable futures (those calling for fewer and those calling for more skilled immigrants). Both sides argue their preferred future is in the city, state, and nation’s best interests and socially just. FAIR’s preferred future protects American workers against industry, the U.S. Government, and foreign workers. The technology industry’s preferred future includes a large pool of technically skilled workers to grow companies and profits. The politician’s preferred future is to grow the city, state, and national economy which, in their view, means prosperity and security for all. But no preferred future here is neutral and inclusive.

Moving from domestic resistance to international opposition, politicians, scholars, and the media in the countries of emigration sometimes describe skilled worker movement from their country as “brain drain.” For example, when describing British brain-drain,

journalist Robert Winnett remarked “a record number of doctor, teachers, and engineers have settled abroad for more than 10 years. The most popular destinations are Australia, United States, Canada, New Zealand and holiday areas including France and Spain” (Winnett 2008). Because “tens of thousands of pounds of taxpayer’s money is spent on educating graduates (the cost of training a junior doctor, for example, is 250,000 pounds” (GBP) or about 405,000 dollars (USD) at the time of writing) (Winnett 2008), the United States obtains high skilled workers largely at the expense of British taxpayers every time a British educated and trained science, technology, engineering, or mathematics worker moves to the United States. Regarding undeveloped countries of emigration, African Union Commission Chairperson Jean Ping remarked that “brain drain has become a constraint in the efforts to ensure development and growth in Africa” (Meir, 2008). And research director at the Business Ethics Center of Jerusalem Asher Meir put it this way:

to be blunt brain drain is charity from the poor to the rich. Many poor countries understand the only way to develop is to educate their youth. As a result they invest a huge fraction of their extremely meager resources in education. The sacrifices then become a donation to rich countries when their doctors and nurses move to Europe or North America. There doesn’t seem to be any way out: If they don’t invest in education they will never develop; if they do they lose twice – not only do they lose the money invested in education but also the most educated citizens are usually the most talented so much of their talent pool is drained away. (Meir, 2008)

While some stress the rights of human beings to move freely across national borders and the benefits to both the country of emigration and immigration, others argue the movement of skilled workers from developing countries or countries that pay for higher education tuition with tax dollars is unfair and unjust.

An emerging problem in this area that U.S. politicians may have to grapple with is *reverse brain-drain*. As Megan Feldman envisions

as other country’s technology centers blossom and if U.S. immigration law continues to cap employment visa applications from major sending countries such as India and China, the United States may not become the place of choice for many skilled immigrants. Indeed, if their home country’s technology centers continue to develop and career opportunities increase, we might actually see skilled immigrants returning to work in their home country (reverse brain drain). (Feldman 2007).

Reverse brain drain is not an object of conversation or debate in State of the City or State of the State speeches yet. In this area, politicians are not, as Dator says, identifying “significant trends and emerging issues” (Dator 2001).

Like the domestic debate, the international struggle over skilled worker movement simultaneously illustrates Dator’s point that “there can be no pretense to truth, objectivity, or universality” underlying futures (Dator 2002, 7) and Foucault’s belief that any official future that emerges does so not because it is truthful, but because one group has managed to impose its will (it’s rationality and way of ordering the world) over others. Although their terminology and units of analysis are different, both Dator and Foucault contextualize and historicize how we think about the future, what we value about the future, and how we understand our futures. While Dator gives more attention to an individual’s ability to invent and pursue preferred futures than Foucault, both aspire to increase the range of possible futures (for Dator, to achieve preferred futures, and for Foucault, to resist dominant futures).

Because the needs and concerns of immigrants do not always dovetail with the needs and concerns of natives, it is difficult to know what stance on immigration labor laws is the more generative and long-term. Is it protecting the rights of U.S. born workers? Is it easing immigration restrictions for high-skilled immigrants? Is it easing immigration restriction for all immigrants? Is it improving U.S. education so the children of working class are better positioned to secure the dwindling number of full-time, adequately waged jobs in the future (eliminating the need for high skilled immigrants)? Is it enabling the indigenous peoples of the United States to have a greater voice in who and how many can immigrate to areas they once controlled? Justice does not dictate what future to pursue here. A futurist might respond with the question “Where do we want to go as a community?” However, the answer to this is challenging because, in some respects, there is no *we* and there is no *community* (in terms of one shared preferred future). Further, there is no universal guide or standard to follow to balance the needs among competing groups within present generations let alone between current and future generations. Although the absence of universal standards does not justify an absence of political engagement, my goal in this project is not to imagine and articulate the optimal generative future, but to explore long-term and generative politics in the existing political system.

Social Justice & the Uncreative Class

Where will the uncreative (disproportionately minority, poor, and unskilled) class live? Will Phoenix build adequate amounts of low-income housing or affordable rental units for the uncreative class or will Mayor Gordon let the “market” determine where they live? After introducing the concept of a Citistate, Mayor Gordon expands on his long-term plans here:

I'll tell you what else will propel us to the top of the Global marketplace: our ability to work together as **one** region, **eight** municipalities and **four million** energetic, forward thinking, people. What Neil Peirce calls a Citistate. A Citistate is neither one government, nor divergent interests with competing governments. A true Citistate is defined by regional cooperation and shared goals for the future – and that *very much* describes our Valley. With no clear geographic boundaries, we are competing -- as a region -- for opportunities. And we're competing not against each other, but against other regional areas like the Silicon Valley or Dallas-Fort Worth or Boston, Massachusetts. Scottsdale's economy is our economy. Our success is Mesa's success. If this city fails, the valley fails. A true, cohesive, cooperative CITISTATE is our prescription for success. And we're getting there. Not too long ago, Tempe and Phoenix were at war over Sky Harbor. And do you remember the Scottsdale Road mall wars? You'll be happy to know that's all changed. Today we're together. We're creating the most livable communities in the valley -- and have the cooperative spirit of every City and town in the Valley as we move past the obstacles of the past. In my very first days in office, we demonstrated what can be accomplished when we *think* big and *act* big as one region -- with shared prosperity as our goal. We came together at the State Legislature and made certain our transportation needs were heard -- and were met. I have never seen the leaders of this valley act in such a spirited and cooperative manner -- utterly selfless and completely forward thinking. That moment in time should serve as a template for many more moments to come. In that spirit, I'm asking every mayor, city and town council in this Valley to join me in putting a screeching halt to “subsidizing and incentivizing” seven dollar an hour jobs, with millions of taxpayer dollars. Not a unilateral assault, but a bilateral agreement to move toward a more prosperous valley. How do we justify these upside down spending sprees in order to save our tax base? It's destructive. It's short sighted. Why do we need to pay to put a big box in any part of this valley? They're going to build where the demand is and I say “close the public checkbook and let the market dictate where development goes.” (Gordon 2004)

Mayor Gordon envisions the Tempe, Phoenix, and Scottsdale governments collaborating to make “a more prosperous valley.” One way they will achieve this is to keep box stores, low-wage and unskilled workers, and low-wage and working-class families, shoppers, and residents (the uncreative class) out of the valley unless “the market” dictates it. In Gordon's

Phoenix of 2034, we will have a new form of segregation and social dichotomy: creative/uncreative neighborhoods. The creative class will live and work together in thriving and prosperous downtowns full of people just like themselves: college educated, highly technical, entrepreneurial, and urban. Again, if current educational and occupational trends continue, this will result in a disproportionately white community. Meanwhile the governments of Phoenix, Tempe, and Scottsdale will join forces to create, implement, and support public policies which keep the uncreative class out of the creative class's neighborhoods and schools. Because the types of places the uncreatives work will be unworthy of government subsidy, those needed for unsubsidized low paying jobs, will have to travel further to get to work because fewer affordable rentals will be available in the valley. Indeed one can easily envision a scenario where working-class renters who have lived in Phoenix for decades eventually will be priced or pushed out. This will result in uncreative parents that care for and spend less time with their children because they will be commuting longer distances to and from their uncreative 'hoods outside the valley.

Anchored in a Growth image of the future, the vision of a creative class assumes an expanding economy. The "creative" in "creative class" ultimately means thinking in ways that grow Phoenix's economy rather than imagining new ways to bring about social justice. Visions of a creative class mobilize a series of narratives that link technology and the future and connect creativity and economic expansion. However, a creativity that insists on technological advancement and contribution to the knowledge economy erases and disparages other understandings of creativity and is only creative in the narrowest cultural frame.

According to Gordon, downtown Phoenix in 2034 "should embrace different peoples, different cultures, different religions, different interests." But unless there are substantial changes in the college enrollment rates, college major selections, and the racial composition of minorities in technology related fields, minorities such as African American, Latinos, American Indians, Pacific Islanders will be underrepresented, disenfranchised, and invisible in a preferred future where a creative class drives Phoenix's economic growth through technological innovation. Note, I am not assuming that white and Asian males are the only one's capable of technological innovation and contributing to economic expansion. However,

there is a relationship between race and gender, and educational opportunity, occupational selection, and occupational opportunities. If present trends continue, the high paying jobs (the science and technology related jobs often requiring extensive amounts of college work in math, engineering, natural sciences, and information technology) in Mayor Gordon's vision of an "Opportunity Corridor where new Surgical Robotics, Molecular Diagnostics, and In-body Medical Sensors products are designed and manufactured" (Gordon 2005) are more likely to go to white and Asian males than any other group. Although I have no doubt that we will see some African Americans, Latinos, Hispanics, Pacific Islanders and women in these positions, the more likely scenario is that they will occupy the lower paying jobs in these companies requiring physical labor (custodians, packing, shipping, etc., that is, if these jobs are not done by robots in 2034).

Disproportionate racial access to transportation, housing, healthcare, schools, child care, jobs, and political enfranchisement is nothing new. However, the emergence of the category "creative class" to justify, rationalize, and legitimate inequitable relations between groups is new.

Technological Fixes

When analyzing historical visions of the future, historian Joseph Corn argues that one recurring tendency is to engage in the "fallacy of technological fix" (Corn 1986, 221). In effect, a new technology is conceptualized as a "social panacea" that will bring about major social changes. In these visions, the technological fixes do away with the need to make substantive social and political changes. When looking ahead to the future, contemporary American politicians frequently imagine technology as fixing social problems. Mayor Gordon, for instance, imagines technology playing an important role in the typical Phoenix neighborhood in 2034.

A city must have entertainment, arts, recreation, education and community. A city needs real neighborhoods. It always has been, and will always be, neighborhoods that tie us together in the human way. Can it be possible to keep our neighborhoods "people friendly" and at the same time high tech hardwire them for the future? Oh Yeah. Every neighborhood could be on their own "friends and family intranet". Not the *internet*, but their own neighborhood net. Imagine having instant messaging to alert people who are in their neighborhood, where

their children are and who is with them. What if we had a neighborhood cam where everyone could tune in and monitor the activity on their street? Not BIG BROTHER YOU. To check in on the kids, without being obtrusive. It's just an idea -- but one I have been thinking about a great deal. Heck, ADOT's had one for years checking out traffic on the freeways. And the moms and dads at City Hall can watch their own children in day care. (Gordon 2004)

In addition, Gordon mixes nostalgia and technological enhancements in the neighborhood of the future:

We've launched our front porch bench initiative. It will help us BENCH CRIME, but it will also help you become a part of the fabric of an authentic neighborhood. A place we remember from when we were kids. A place where neighbors looked out for one another and where children were under the protective eye of the entire block. I know I couldn't do anything wrong without the grapevine kicking in. From the time I "Messed up" to the time I ran in the back door to the kitchen, my mom was off the phone and saying "Philip B Gordon! Mrs. Smith just called...." That was the high technology of the times, (and I'll bet the internet still doesn't work as well). This new century will bring that grapevine back. Bigger and better than ever. We will use technology to keep the City's neighborhoods informed. And we can be out front with all of our neighbors keeping them in the loop of what we learn on that information highway. And you what? We'll have every neighborhood intranet wired by the year 2020. You can bet on that. (Gordon 2004)

In this rendering of the Phoenix neighborhood of tomorrow, technology will play an important role in parenting. In Gordon's imagination, technology will enable us to return to the past, a better time when adults throughout the entire neighborhood pitched in and helped raised children. Using information technology to monitor our children may become commonplace in the Phoenix of 2034. But if so, will it stop with simple cameras and instant messages from other parents on the *neighborhood net*? Might implanting Geographic Position System (GPS) technology inside children's bodies to monitor them be far off? Indeed, the good folks at Brickhouse Security (Brickhousesecurity.com) already offer a *Child Locator*. According to Brickhouse:

Locate Wandering Children, Pets, Or Elderly Family Members Quickly

The instant your loved one wanders too far, the hand-held Locator will instantly notify you with loud beeping, vibration and directional guidance all at once. As featured in the newest Duracell "Power To Protect," commercial, The BrickHouse Child Locator gives parents piece of mind in a way that simply has not been possible before. Perfect for special-needs children & everything else you care

about, we help take the worrying off your shoulders by alerting you the *second* they wander. Not a moment too late. (Brickhousesecurity.com)

So Easy, Even A Parent Can Use It

As you get closer, the beeps get louder while the directional guides get stronger, letting you know you are moving closer to the tag and not further; helping you shorten the search for your wandering child. The convenient on-screen directional display and audio guidance leads you in the right direction the first time, quickly and reliably up to 600 feet away. As an added precaution, a Panic Tag with new "click" technology is included for your child to press alerting you they feel in danger. With batteries lasting up to 90 days powered by Duracell, you know that The BrickHouse Child Locator will always be there when you need it most. (Brickhousesecurity.com).

One imagines the beeping of hundreds of Child Locator devices adding to the richness of the soundscape in the Phoenix neighborhood of 2034 as parents track their children, aging parents, and pets. However, if this emerging parenting technology is not enough to help you be the best parent you can be, Brickhouse also offers a comprehensive *Surveillance Kit* including audio and video tracking (because you never know what your nanny or child is really doing), a *Teen Tracking* product, a *Portable Lie Detector*, and my personal favorite, the *Semen Spy Detector* (able to detect even the most minute traces of seminal fluid on your teenagers). Combined with the increasingly popular student monitoring software Zangle (zangle.com) used in numerous wealthy school districts throughout the United States, affluent American children should be well protected (and managed) in the future.

Mayor Gordon argues that “it is his job to paint a picture” of the future of Phoenix (Gordon 2004). This sentiment is echoed by San Jose Mayor Ron Gonzales when he said

I think the mayor’s job is to stretch the community’s imagination. Our imagination of what’s really possible to make a great city, to raise the bar, for our community, for our leaders, and for the next generation. I believe that local government must be about more than just fixing potholes, paving streets and balancing budgets. Though these are essential, we must push the boundaries so we can achieve what San Jose should be, rather than what it merely can be...To think about more than just what seems possible today. (Gonzales 2005)

Like Gordon, Gonzales believes the mayor is responsible for providing a vision for the city. Like a good futures researcher, the mayor, in this representation, helps the electorate imagine

beyond the present. In an editorial titled “We Don’t Need No Stinking’ Vision,” managing editor of the *Honolulu* magazine Kam Napier criticized those calling for the Mayor of Honolulu Mufi Hannemann to express some larger goal and vision for Honolulu beyond the efficient management and maintenance of basic city infrastructure (roads, sewers, parks, etc.). Napier remarked

I can finally express my reaction to this insistence that politicians have a “vision:” What the hell for? Isn’t the whole point of our system that we have the visions, the dreams, the aspirations, which we then elect representatives to protect? When did Americans become a nation of dreamless people, just waiting for some megalomaniacal politician to fill their empty heads with visions?... Representatives would serve us better if they thought their jobs were to meet our expectations, rather than serve up visions. (Napier 2005)

In contrast to Dator’s politician that slavishly (re)presents and defends the interests of those that elected or financed their campaign, Napier’s comments are more aligned with Jacobs and Shapiro’s depiction of the politician that articulates and pursues their own desired vision and policy goals (see page 14). Although Foucault would argue that politicians do not have autonomous policy goals, they merely articulate inherited ideas, I argue, along with Bevir and Rhodes, that politicians have a degree of autonomy in selecting among preexisting, competing, and multiplying discursive statements and events. As Bevir and Rhodes put it, the politician has “agency without autonomy” (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 32). They argue:

To deny that subjects can escape from all social influences is not to deny that they can act creatively for reasons that make sense to them. On the contrary, we must allow for agency if only because we cannot separate and distinguish beliefs and actions by reference to their social context alone. Different people adopt different beliefs and perform different actions against the background of the same social structure. Thus, there must be a space in social contexts where individual subjects decide what beliefs to hold and what actions to perform for their own reasons. Individuals can reason creatively in ways that are not fixed, nor even strictly limited by, the social contexts or discourses in which they exist. (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 32)

This approach enables us to account for variation (similarities and differences) in the visions of and preferred futures among politicians drawing from the same discursive inventory. Without such a concept, analysts are restricted to studying similarities among politicians. In this case, investigators would be limited to the following statement: politicians are constrained from long-term action by their common political structures. The question of why

some individual politicians vote to preserve the environment and others to develop it is a meaningless question because in this framework they are all constrained temporally within the same political structure. Bevir and Rhodes's ideas here help us to think about similarities as well as differences. In other words, differences are not simply structural, but are to varying degrees individual.

Moving back to Gordon's image of Phoenix in the future, he is not so much painting a picture of the future as much as lamenting and projecting the present, (dangerous and uncaring communities, divorced families, one parent families, and temporally stressed parents in 2004), into the future. As historian Joseph Corn argues, "Americans have imagined that machines will enhance widely shared values such as... family stability" and have shown "a penchant for viewing machines as social panaceas" (Corn 1986, 222-223). Corn refers to the conceptual tendency of Americans to believe that machines rather than politics will remedy social problems as the "fallacy of technological fix" (Corn 1986, 219). To what extent is Mayor Gordon doing this when envisioning and proposing the use of information technology to monitor and track children? Will busy, tired, and cynical parents working longer and longer hours prefer using a future version of Brickstone's Lie Detector and Semen Spy Detector on their teenagers rather than having an old fashioned heart-to-heart talk? As the union of parenting and security discourse encourage us to conceptualize and articulate childhood and adolescence as a management (rather than parenting) problem, will these emerging technologies be limited to parents? Will schools use them? Will children's sport teams? Will other parents subject playmates and their parents to a battery of technological tests before granting permission and arranging a play date? And what of privacy? To what degree do children and teenagers have privacy rights? What new legal challenges will result from the use of these technologies? Will these technologies truly produce healthy, self-reliant, and productive adults? Are children and teenagers subjected to them learning how to relate and work on problems with their future children? Will these technologies actually bring families closer together? Can these surveillance technologies reduce divorce rates? Incivility? Economic conditions requiring parents to work longer hours? What new counter technologies will emerge to frustrate the Semen Spy Detector and information technologies intended to monitor and police children? Unfortunately, Mayor Gordon does not discuss any of these issues. Again, Mayor Gordon is participating in a tradition of imagining the future in

terms of technology and technological fixes to social problems. It is as Corn says: “Faith in a better tomorrow through technology continues to influence policy and events” (Corn 1986, 228). However, it is comforting to know that despite the development of new parenting technologies, kids will still have the same problems. But will they? Will children even want to go outside in 2034 or will they be inside all day playing in virtual worlds? If the World Wide Web continues to develop and offers an enhanced immersive experience, will our teenagers be staying out late at night, drinking, listening to Rock and Roll, and having sex with other humans or staying at home having virtual sex with intelligent, empathetic, highly erotic avatars? Indeed, parents in 2009 are having problems getting their overweight children out of the house now because they stay indoors playing primitive interactive video games for hours. Will children prefer the company of avatars in 2034? Why bother with one demanding human boyfriend or girlfriend when you can have a multitude of virtual friends and sexual partners? If the world is dangerous, why bother letting kids go out into it at all? Might parents prefer the new dangers of the virtual world to the old dangers of the real world? Again, Mayor Gordon is silent on these issues so he may be assuming the kids and teenagers of 2034 will have similar problems of those in 2004. I, however, am not so confident. But the main point here is that the future is largely imagined in terms of technology. And technology won’t ultimately fix the social problems compelling us to use the technology. Here the political is reflexively thinking of technical solutions for social and political problems.

In addition to Mayor Gordon’s vision of new parenting technologies to solve what is ultimately a confluence of economic, social and political problems, Nebraska Governor Dave Heineman provides another classic example of the fallacy of technological fix when looking ahead to the future of education. Sounding like a good futures researcher, Heineman alerts Nebraskans that their public schools are anchored in the past: “Nebraska needs to reform its school day and school year. The needs of the student have changed dramatically during the past century, yet our American education system continues to rely upon a 100 year old calendar” (Heineman 2010). To stay relevant and create 21st Century workers, Heineman envisions the use of information technology to create a virtual high school.

Imagine how a Nebraska Virtual High School could expand learning beyond the traditional school day and school year for both students and teachers. Every school district stands to benefit from this effort. For rural and urban school

districts, it will provide access to a wider range of rigorous academic subjects such as foreign languages and advanced math and science classes. For school districts with parents without internet access at home, schools could keep buildings open later in the evening for students to access these academic programs online. Imagine students spending more time in virtual classroom between the hours of 3:30 p.m. and 8:30 p.m, and less times on the streets involved in drug and gang activities. Imagine students using Nebraska's Virtual High School from their home, a library or a community center during the summer. With innovative and creative thinking we will expand learning opportunities well beyond the traditional school day and school year. (Heineman 2010)

In this image, information technology not only remedies educational problems, it fixes social problems such as drug use and gang activity. Heineman's vision lacks a sophisticated conversation about the motivation for learning. Further, it does not discuss or reference the relationship between race, poverty, and educational success. Why does Heineman imagine that an online high school (available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week) will motivate students in low-income households with no parent in their life who participates in their education to learn more and go to college? Why does Heineman believe that children from inner-city, low-income communities of color that participate in drug use or gang activity will suddenly stop this behavior because a new calculus class or Italian language class is available 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, all year long? Despite Heineman's faith in computer learning to bring about greater equality, his vision of equality remains imprisoned with a consumer frame. His notion of equality refers to consumer convenience: expanded course offerings and extended schedules.

Like Governor Sanford, Governor Heineman largely approaches children as economic resources to be developed to help the state compete effectively in the 21st Century (rather than, say, inherently valuable beings that should grow in mind, body, and spirit). Thus, Heineman offers no alternative visions of providing Nebraska's young people with physical, social, spiritual, or moral learning. Learning, for Heineman, is largely the acquisition of skills that technology employers are looking for (advanced math and science). Speaking from the perspective of future employers and within a consumer frame, civil-rights and economic equity issues seem like a small part of the online education future. To illustrate, Heineman does not call for a discussion on inequitable funding for some within Nebraska's schools. He ignores this or implicitly believes information technology will remedy these problems (the fallacy of technological fix). In addition, Heineman is silent on

whether or to what extent computer learning will impact the public employees in education and the unions that represent them. In short, we are not encouraged to stretch our imaginations beyond a consumer frame or consider the future of public education in Nebraska from many viewpoints. Like Governor Sanford, Governor Heineman's vision for the future of public education is shaped largely by a Growth image of the future. Enveloped within the Growth image is a tradition which includes the belief that technology can remedy social and political problems.

State of the City and State of the City addresses are, in effect, a genre. There are particular, distinctive, and recurring elements found throughout these speeches. One predictable element is the future direction component. The politician provides a sense of where the city or state is going in the future. One of the signature features in this element is alerting the electorate that if they want to achieve the state's preferable future, then they must be willing to change with the times. After the mayor or governor identifies outdated operations, they call to replace them with resources, services, or policies that are in line with both present and future 'realities'. In the example above, Governor Heineman illustrates this element when calling Nebraskans attention to the need to reform the school day and school year: "the needs of the student have changed dramatically during the past century, yet our American education system continues to rely upon a 100-year-old school calendar" (Heineman 2010). He then proposed a solution that was in line with his version of present and future realities: the Nebraska Virtual School (a technological fix). Because discussions of the future are often constrained by a problem solving orientation, the mayor or governor must identify outdated practices and replace them with modern technologies that will solve the problem and improve the quality of life. Typically, this technology also gives their city or state a competitive advantage vis-à-vis their peer cities and states. When looking ahead to the future in the State of the City and State of the State speeches, the fallacy of technological fix is a recurring element in representations of the future.

Technological fixes to social and political problems are valorized by politicians because they favor the status quo over transformation. Typically, it is easier and less disruptive to the elite to change the technology rather than change the social and political

order that underlies many of the problems that politicians point out. For example, why does Mayor Gordon imagine a future where parents monitor their children with remote surveillance technology instead of, say, imagining an economy supporting a secure middle-class so that one parent can remain at home to care for children or more flexible work-life policies? Why does Governor Heineman imagine a future that features computer learning that promotes math and science skills instead of, say, outdoor education that provides children with direct experiences to nature or more small schools with a decreased student-to-faculty ration that emphasizes ethnic heritage or community? Both Mayor Gordon and Governor Heineman offer a small view of the future that draws on a tradition of technological fix because they tell the story of the future from the perspective of large businesses. Drawing on Foucault, imagining the future from the perspective of the elite is more the result of a rationality that has emerged within certain power relations rather than an autonomous decision by politicians to side with the establishment. Because they profit from the existing status quo and find stable social and political conditions necessary for secure investment and economic growth, large businesses tend to support social and political continuity. From this point of view, social problems can be remedied by more efficient and effective machines rather than transformational changes that redistribute wealth, knowledge, and power.

If economic and labor trends continue, if there are any jobs to have at all, it will be harder to obtain a middle class standard of living for the family of 2034 than the family of 1950 or 1960 with one parent home watching the kids (the Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Gordon in Gordon's excerpt above). Children need attention. Attention requires personal care and time. Neither the Brickstone Mobile Lie Detector nor the Semen Spy Detector will provide working parents with the time, energy, and attention required to help children into becoming intelligent, healthy, caring, spiritually fulfilled, and productive adults. The same goes for education. Despite the tendency for American politicians to believe that technology can remedy social problems, the development of children and young adults capable of successfully navigating the challenges of the classroom, the workplace, and everyday life will not be obtained through the simple presence of more online offerings and virtual schools. However, the tendency to imagine the future in such a way is an established tradition that contemporary American politicians draw upon regularly.

The Future Hawaiian Style

Hawaii Governor Linda Lingle spends a significant portion of her 2009 State of the State address speaking about Hawaii's future. She provides another example of an image of the future identified more by technological rather than social advance. Although her 2009 State of the State Address (see the futures excerpt provided in the appendix), offers a list of new and improved technology, the soul of Hawaii's future remains untouched. By focusing on technology (solar farms, windmills, geothermal projects, electric cars, advanced communication infrastructure, and so forth), rather than the political and social possibilities, the future becomes largely a matter of machines and very much about the economy. Thus, for Lingle, the technology changes but the political and social order largely stays the same. As Corn and Horrigan point out, such a view is comforting because "if only the material world changes, leaving social arrangements intact, the prospect of technological innovation becomes less intimidating" (1996: xiv). However, they contend this idea "may be an illusion" because "technology has historically been a catalyst of change, not a conserver of traditions or a refuge for established ways of life and thought" (Corn and Horrigan 1996: xiv).

Although Lingle calls to decrease Hawaii's over-reliance on outside food sources by "increasing Hawaii's food self sufficiency," she remains silent on some of the politics of food. She does not address important questions such as where the food will be grown? Who decides what to grow? Who will grow the food? Who will distribute the food? Who will sell the food? Who will prepare the food? Can we expect large corporate farms or small family-run farms? Will those workers be unionized? Who will care for the food grower's children? Who decides how much water can be used for what crops? Will the foods be genetically modified? Will supermarkets be changed? Will food producers and consumers get to know each other?

Lingle's image is defined as much by what she does not speak about as what she does. She envisions nothing strange for Hawaii's future. There are no questions such as will Hawaii remain part of the United States or be sovereign? Will Native Hawaiians obtain a nation-within-a-nation political status? Will refugees from submerged atoll and island states such as Tuvalu, Kiribati, Vanuatu, and the Marshall Islands establish nation-within-nation states in Hawaii? What language will be spoken in Hawaii? Will

homosexuals and lesbians be able to marry in Hawaii? Because Lingle provides no answers to these questions, or ones like it, her image of the future is profoundly conservative because of the implied assumption much of the present will continue into the future.

There Can Only be One

From a rhetorical perspective, Lingle's use of the word *our* and *we* in her 2009 State of the State Address homogenizes Hawaii's residents and futures. Rhetorical scholar Adrian Beard observes "politicians like to invoke a sense of national cohesion, with them at the centre" (Beard 2000, 81). Beard points out one way they do this is by the strategic use of the pronouns *our* and *we*. To illustrate, Lingle's use of the word *our* in "planning *our* future together" and *we* in "*we* are in this together" and "it is only by sticking together that *we* will be able to deal effectively with the immediate fiscal crisis and strengthen *our* economy in the long run" illustrates Beard's contention. Her use of *our* and *we* conjures an image of fellowship indicating togetherness and unity on a shared journey into Hawaii's future with Lingle at the center. Used in this fashion, *our* and *we* (rather than *I/me/myself/mine*) imply a collective agreement and consensus on Hawaii's future. Lingle displays little sensitivity or awareness to different images and preferences of the future "between individuals, cultures, men and women, social classes, and age groups" and so forth (Dator 2002, 8). In this context, those that disagree or resist *our* future (Lingle's future and plan) are selfish, disloyal, and irresponsible. Put another way, you are either with us (*we* that care about Hawaii's progress and future) or against us (those that oppose Lingle's reading of the present and plans to realize a better future). Further, there is either success (carrying out Lingle's plan in the present to reach the preferred future) or failure (not executing Lingle's plan in the present and not reaching the preferred future).

Despite Lingle's single framing of Hawaii's future and single conceptualization of success and failure, there is a diversity of opinion on what is possible or preferable for Hawaii's present and future and multiple ways to think of success and failure. For instance, some of Hawaii's most long-standing resisters and sufferers of the official future, Native Hawaiians, believe Hawaii ought to be politically sovereign and separated

from the United States. Unlike Lingle, some Native Hawaiians believe Hawaii's future should be geothermal energy-free. In contrast to Lingle's hope to raise additional taxes through increased agriculture, some Native Hawaiians are working to bring about a preferred future enabling them to participate in traditional subsistence practices (eating and trading, rather than selling, the food they grow, catch, and hunt without paying the State of Hawaii any taxes). Moving beyond indigenous futures, some Greens in Hawaii envision guaranteed employment, fixed wage and salary differentials, and new structures for governance; some peace activists and environmentalists call to reduce or eliminate U.S. Military presence in Hawaii; some labor unions seek to protect and expand State of Hawaii's worker's rights; some marijuana growers in Hawaii hope for a future that includes marijuana legalization enabling marijuana to become Hawaii's primary export crop; and some New Age practitioners envision and work toward realizing their hope that the island of Hawaii and the surrounding waters will become the place where humans and dolphins merge spiritually into a new species. By keeping Native Hawaiians, Greens, unions, peace activists, environmentalists, marijuana growers, and New Age practitioners (to mention a few groups) out of the speech, Lingle erases and silences opposing futures for Hawaii. By creating an official image of the future, Lingle indicates there can only be one way of looking at the future. This repeated theme of one, coherent, and homogenous state future is summarized concisely by Virginia Governor Mark Warner: "One Virginia. One Future"(Warner 2002). From my perspective, visioning one future is never enough. Democratizing futures requires the inclusion and consideration of many possible futures. Regardless of my discontent with Lingle's fidelity to a single future, her image of the future is long-term and may very well be the future that unfolds. Indeed some would argue Lingle's future is probable because the state is laying the groundwork (the economic base, the legal-political arrangements, and the social consciousness) for its realization.

Using the Long-Term

Achieving greater clarity about how visions of the future impact the present opens possibilities for a richer dialog on long-term thinking and action. Lingle's excerpt is interesting because she draws attention for the necessity of long-term thought and action.

After stating that *we* have “near-term and long-term obligations,” she warns the electorate “that we cannot afford to merely hunker down and muddle through the next year or two.” Further she argues that “short-term solutions that merely defer the hard choices to those who will follow us are just as bad as no solutions at all.” She contends that “we can’t meet our responsibility by kicking the can down the road. We must make meaningful choices now that address the reality we face today while laying the foundation for a better future.” Far from shirking long-term responsibilities, Lingle argues that long-term thinking is an ethical requirement for responsible leaders and an enlightened electorate. By rhetorically fusing the present and the future in statements such as we need to “navigate through the turbulence of the current fiscal crisis and achieve our preferred future,” she uses the future to help justify, rationalize, and legitimate spending cuts (and later but related calls for furloughs, layoffs, and substantial reductions in the size and services offered by state government (otherwise known as *resizing* and *reshaping*) in the immediate future. Despite the appearance of balance between the present (short-term) and the future (long-term) which is important in creating an impression of wisdom and prudent leadership, the focus is, in effect, *we* must suffer in the present to obtain our better future. The sacrifice is necessary (indeed it is depicted as a necessary reaction to an external event, the Great Recession) because it will lead to future progress. By describing her representation of the present as “the *reality* we face today,” she speaks as if her construction is a *fact* rather than a *version*. She also treats her choices as if they are the only possible solutions (for example, slashing the Department of Education’s budget rather than raising property taxes to pay for education) to “laying the foundation for a better future.” As a former president of a Parent Teacher Organization of a public school in Hawaii that lost 17 days of lost instruction in the 2009 and 2010 academic year to furloughs, I can testify the governor that her choices were not, in the opinion of many of Hawaii’s parents with school aged children, “laying the foundation for a better future.” In addition to the lost instruction days, Governor Lingle’s path to a better future led to a situation at my daughter’s public school where some of the children in poor families ate less or not at all on furlough days because they relied on the reduced or free meals provided at the school. Note, the children in Hawaii’s elite private schools (largely and disproportionately from affluent and White families) did not experience furloughs and reduced instruction opportunities. As I scrambled to figure out what to do and how to subsidize the children on furlough days, I

realized that *some* members of the present paid a disproportionate price to realize Hawaii's *better* future. Eric Seitz, an attorney seeking to block furloughs in Hawaii's public schools with a class-action federal lawsuit, echoed this sentiment when saying "when you cut educational opportunities, the impact of that falls on lower-income and predominantly local people... This disparate impact is on communities generally of color" (quoted in Essoyan 2009, 10). This tension leads to a concern raised in the first chapter – there is neither a universal agreement on a *better* future nor a path to realizing it. Again, what is relevant here is how Lingle inserts the idea of the future into her representation of the present and uses it strategically to rationalize a course of action – spending cuts, furloughs, layoffs, and reductions in the size and services provided by state government. Despite the repeated calls by Governor Lingle for shared sacrifice, these reductions, like the school furloughs, disproportionately impact poor, working class, and middle class families. In such a case, the image is used more to manage select populations in the present than to prepare for a neutrally beneficial future for the entire population.

Smart Growth

Although Dator has asserted that all images of the future can be lumped into one of the four major generic images, he believes that there is variation within each image. To illustrate, from Dator's perspective, capitalism and communism are variations of the Continuation image. Although they differ on points such as the ownership of means of production, for example, both images are fundamentally committed to the pursuit of continued economic growth. Within this framework, we need to consider what appears to be a new image of the future, *Smart Growth Society*, but is not. Despite an increasing number of speeches warning of a decline in lifestyle that results from unregulated development, Smart Growth images ultimately imagine a future characterized by growth. Colorado Governor Bill Owens introduces the image:

I would now like to talk with you about one of the most important issues facing Colorado growth. During the next decade hundreds of people will move to Colorado to find the lifestyle that we enjoy. Our challenge is to welcome the prosperity that our new residents provide while maintaining the quality of life that we benefit from every day. The challenge is the foundation of "Smart Growth: Colorado's Future." This initiative recognizes the diversity that makes Colorado unique. It is a specialized package of incentives not mandates geared toward

saving our natural landscapes, promoting strong neighborhoods, and building our transportation future while providing economic opportunities. (Owens 2000)

Another example comes from New Jersey Governor James E. McGreevey:

For years, all over New Jersey we thought if we built one more road, one more mall, one more housing development, our problems would be solved. The truth is – that is the problem. There is no single greater threat to our way of life in New Jersey than the unrestrained, uncontrolled development that has jeopardized our water supplies, made our schools more crowded, our roads congested, and our open space disappear. And the irony is that the very promise that this development would lower our property taxes has turned out to be false. In fact, the opposite is true. Runaway development drives up our property taxes, it doesn't lower them. We cannot; we must not; we will not let this trend continue. Because if we do, the very appeal that our state has held for decades for aspiring middle class families will evaporate before our eyes. At the dawn of the last century, President Teddy Roosevelt saw what unchecked logging and development were doing to our national landscape. He took on the special interests and created a national forest system that preserved our forests from destruction and introduced an ethic of conservation. At the dawn of this new century, New Jersey faces a similar and even more dramatic challenge. Will we take on the special interests, and finally end the cycle of unchecked development that is destroying our quality of life? We must do this right, we must do this smart, we must do this together, and we must do it now. We must find the will to stop development that costs more than it saves, takes more than it gives, and that diminishes our lives and degrades our surroundings. Every day in New Jersey we lose 50 acres to uncontrolled, thoughtless development – 50 acres every single day which we will never get back. It is time to draw the line and say “no more” to mindless sprawl. We must make our government a force for change rather than an instrument that is used to enable more and more misplaced development... We will have rules and regulations that say “no” to development in all the wrong places and “yes” to development that works for communities.” (McGreevey 2003)

And yet another example from Miami, Florida, Mayor Manuel Diaz:

To understand the real long-term solution to global warming, we need to first understand how we got here. Traditionally, cities in America were developed as high density, compact, walkable, mixed-use neighborhoods – think of Washington DC, Boston, a New York – where neighborhoods connect to form great cities. But all that changed - we abandoned our cities for the failed promise of the suburbs. . . we paved our land...Destroyed our natural areas. . .wasted our water resources...spent billions to connect distant neighborhoods... Strained municipal budgets..., and we glorified the automobile. And you know the result - longer commutes, traffic congestion, more asphalt, pollution, and isolation — disconnected neighborhoods diminishing human contact, separating us from our neighbors, and increasing human impact on climate change. Make no mistake, the low density suburban sprawl that has characterized growth in South Florida is the

true enemy of sustainability – It is not smart growth, it is not sustainable growth. Major planning and environmental groups agree - the cure to sprawl is a return to the core - bringing people together so they can live, work, shop, and play close to where they live. This is why the single most critical action we can take to help save our planet is to embrace smart growth - to design cities that make sense. In Miami, way before there was a climate protection agreement or a Kyoto Protocol, we decided to embrace smart growth on a scale never before seen in any major US city - and this is the cornerstone of Miami 21. Miami 21 is rooted in the belief of the power of traditional neighborhoods to restore the functions of sustainable cities. It values long term, regional considerations over a short term focus. It strives to achieve a unique sense of community and place. It challenges old assumptions in urban planning by providing an alternative to urban sprawl, traffic congestion, disconnected neighborhoods, and urban decay. (Diaz 2007)

And, finally, although he never uses the term Smart Growth, Columbus Mayor Michael B. Coleman provides a twist on this theme:

We're securing our future by changing the way our city grows for the next 50 years. The policy of the past 50 years was that we should grow outwardly at all costs – the cost of highways, safety forces, parks and schools – usually borne by city residents. But our new growth policy of the city requires that those costs be borne by the developers themselves and the 200,000 new city residents yet to move to Columbus – that's the policy of Pay as we Grow. (Coleman 2005)

In the first two extracts, representing the majority of Smart Growth descriptions, the politician imagines a long-term future within a consumer sphere. The Smart-Growth image tells a story about the necessity of careful planning to enhance the lifestyle of present populations in the future. The focus here is not improving the future in a humanitarian and collective sense, but making the future more convenient, comfortable, and enjoyable for contemporary individuals that will be living in the medium and long-term future. Although Smart Growth questions the concept of growth as a social panacea, it does not go so far as to dispense with the general notion of growth. Like low-tar cigarettes, light beer, decaffeinated coffee, and sugar-free soda, Smart Growth promises all the pleasure... and none of the guilt. In this case, a future where we obtain all the benefits of growth and none of the problems such as the loss of open spaces, traffic congestion, pollution, bloated real estate values which drive up property taxes and drive out locals, and so forth. As the ruin and danger of unregulated growth increase, so do the calls for Smart Growth.

The third excerpt, from Miami Mayor Manuel Diaz, is unusual because it links Smart Growth to global warming. While Diaz illustrates the problems unregulated growth has caused (longer commutes, traffic congestion, more asphalt, pollution, isolation, disconnected neighborhoods), he also extends the time horizon and broadens the ethical appeal when connecting Smart Growth to "long-term considerations over short-term focus," "climate protection," and "saving the planet". By illustrating that growth regulation leads to a better present (well designed neighborhoods where people commute less and interact more) and a better future (climate protection that saves the planet), Diaz illustrates the principle that what is good for the present is also good for the future.

Although Diaz's image does take Smart Growth in a new direction, it remains a fundamentally consumer oriented vision because he does not call for Miamians to *consume less*. While he does imagine a world where Miamians travel less and presumably decrease their fuel consumption by walking, bicycling, using public transportation, or driving less, he does not explicitly call for radical lifestyle changes that lead to reduced consumption. He does not, for instance, speak about designing cities to optimize spiritual growth which will lead to new ways of thinking about happiness and success. Ultimately, he reinforces the idea that buying things makes us happy. Rather than challenging the mainstream relationship between success and consumption, he concentrates on shopping greener (e.g., walking to your neighborhood *Bath and Body Works* store to buy environmentally friendly organic shampoo and shower gel rather than driving to the area *Walmart* to buy ordinary shampoo and soap). Stated otherwise, we should buy responsibly (ethical consumerism), not less often.

In contrast to a future characterized by consumption, in his address to the nation in 1979, President Jimmy Carter said:

many of us now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. Human identity is no longer defined by what one does, but by what one owns. But we've discovered that owning things and consuming things does not satisfy our longing for meaning. We've learned that piling up material goods cannot fill the emptiness of lives which have no confidence or purpose. (Carter 1979)

Unlike Diaz's message, Carter's is not one of growth and happiness through ever-expanded consumption, but of a more radical call to search for meaning outside of

consumption. Crucially, instead of imagining a future where Americans consume more, he envisions a future that is materially simple and spiritually rich. This imaginative reorientation from consumption separates Carter from many of his predecessors and successors. In his fireside chat to the nation in 1977, Carter called upon Americans to "make modest sacrifices" and to "learn to live thriftily" for the good of society. And he urged companies "to promote conservation and not consumption" and private citizens to waste less energy by keeping their thermostats "at 65 degrees in the daytime and 55 degrees at night" (Carter 1977). While Carter is not likely to have lost his presidential reelection to Ronald Reagan in 1980 for one reason, one wonders the extent to which his vision of a materially simple future impacted his reelection bid. Through the critical futurist's lens, Carter may have underestimated the concreteness of growth imagery expected by the American electorate. In other words, growth images have consistently captured the American public's imagination. Inviting the American public to visualize a world where they were more than consumers and an economy characterized by shrinkage more than growth disrupted the dominant political imaginary and may have resulted in negative images of Carter rather than negative images of consumption.

Though Americans are persistent in their faith and hopes for a future characterized by economic growth and ever expanded consumption, by the 2000s, Smart Growth images appear more frequently in a world increasingly concerned about global warming. This shift in perspective is evident in Diaz's belief that Miamians can "save the planet" through a Smart Growth world. If we develop high density, mixed use (rather than mixed race or mixed class), urban neighborhoods where we can walk rather than drive to the places we work, shop, and play, we can decrease fuel consumption and reduce global warming. This is, to some extent, accurate and should be applauded. If each person and every city reduces their carbon emissions, we will slow global warming. But notice what is ignored in this vision that targets automobile use as the primary technology responsible for the cause of global warming. Since Miami is not self-reliant, nearly all of its food and products must be imported. Rather than offering Miamians an alternative form of urbanism that, for example, depaves sections of Miami so food can be grown closer to consumers, Diaz leaves out talk of the energy and resources required to produce, store, and distribute food and consumer products. Thus his narrow method of

thinking about Smart Growth mystifies the energy costs of Miami lifestyles. If the majority of resources are used and pollution generated at the point of extraction, production, and distribution, then claims to significantly reduce global warming by consuming less fossil fuel at the point of product pickup are not likely to lead to the massive carbon emission reductions required to significantly slow global warming. To illustrate, walking to a small, local hardware store rather than driving to a regional Walmart to buy a George Forman Grill manufactured in China will only reduce carbon emissions by a small fraction. The main benefit is not so much carbon reduction but guilt reduction. The ecologically enhanced consumer can now say with confidence that they helped save the planet by walking rather than driving to buy their grill. Here the consumer ignores the living conditions and rights of the animals slaughtered for their barbeque; the extraordinary energy and ecological costs required to produce and distribute the meat they will barbeque; the labor conditions, wages, and benefits of the meat workers and grill producers; the resources used and pollution generated in every stage of the production, distribution, and consumption of the meat and grill; and the disposal of the grill and unused meat (along with the other 184,000 tons of solid waste collected in Miami each year) (Soldevilla 2005). Within this context, Diaz's Smart Growth image results in a feel-good, sustainability-light, Coke can recycling ethos that enables consumers to carry on ecologically destructive lifestyles and feel good about it in the process. As such, formulating the future in terms of Smart Growth benefits the middle and upper class already enjoying a privileged consumer lifestyle and the corporations profiting from this way of life. However appealing, such initiatives are not likely to lead to the massive carbon emission reductions required to significantly slow global warming. Ultimately, Diaz's Smart Growth image and notion of sustainability is not "comprehensive, integrated, and large scale - three characteristics that," Huey Johnson argues, "are key to solving environmental problems, whether on the local, regional, or national level" (Johnson 1995, 1).

Another conspicuous absence in Diaz's Smart Growth image is the tourist industry. While Miami has 413,000 residents, it attracts about 5 million tourists a year (*Globe and Mail* 2008, B8). Indeed the very year Diaz articulated this Smart Growth image "an unprecedented 12 million people visited Miami-Dade County in 2007

spending \$17.1 billion" (Ortiz 2008). Ignoring the enormous environmental costs generated by these tourists (energy used and pollution generated getting to and from and in Miami, water consumed in Miami, and so forth), Diaz dilutes any long-term sustainability gains made by residents living in their mixed use neighborhoods.

The image and theme of Smart Growth is likely to shape the visions of future communities. Despite my concerns about the ability of the Smart Growth image to save the planet, it is preferable to Dumb Growth (unplanned, unmanaged, and low-density development). Further, and more importantly for this analysis, it is a long-term image of the future articulated with increasing frequency by contemporary American politicians. Despite the apparent neutrality contained in Smart Growth discourse, the image is largely status quo because it reinforces the existing social and political order. It does not call for radical shifts in lifestyle or power. As we experience more problems with growth, voters will expect politicians to fix these problems. Although some politicians will tacitly or explicitly admit that our present growth policies are out of control, they will often respond with Smart Growth images. Through this discourse, growth is understood as a fixable problem of rational planning and management. While the wisdom of unchecked economic growth will be an object of conversation, the mainstream solution, ultimately, will not be as former President Jimmy Carter envisioned: a materially simple and spiritually rich future, but an abiding commitment to economic growth through a high degree of planning. This planning is neither likely to be objective nor fair, but envisioned and articulated within the confines of discourses which promote the interests of particular individuals and organizations. As a result, I'm not confident Smart Growth will be too smart.

Shrinkage (Smart Decline)

Although economic growth is considered essential to the future of American cities and states by many contemporary American politicians, there is an emerging generic image spoken in America's older deindustrializing (Rust Belt) cities that conceives of the future in a different way: shrinkage (sometimes called "Smart Decline" or "Rightsizing"). Politicians articulating Shrinkage images are coming to believe that their cities cannot continue to grow and operate as they have done in the past. While they do not envision

the city as collapsing, they do speak about the need to redesign, reinvent, reengineer, restructure, and consolidate cities based on disappearing industries, reduced populations, and a dwindling tax base. The Shrinkage image is articulated in Youngstown's, Ohio, 2010 Vision:

1. Accepting that Youngstown is a smaller city.

The dramatic collapse of the steel industry led to the loss of tens of thousands of jobs and a precipitous decline in population. Having lost more than half its population and almost its entire industrial base in the last 30 years, the city is now left with an oversized urban infrastructure. (It has been described as a size 40 man wearing a size 60 suit). There are too many abandoned properties and too many underutilized sites. Many difficult choices will have to be made as Youngstown recreates itself a sustainable mid-sized city. A strategic program is required to rationalize and consolidate the urban infrastructure in a socially responsible and financially sustainable manner. (City of Youngstown 2010)

Although Youngstown's population declined from 160,000 in its zenith in the 1950s and 1960s to about 80,000 today, the area of the city remains the same (City of Youngstown 2010). The Shrinkage image envisions contracting the city's residential footprint (by demolishing abandoned homes in sparsely populated neighborhoods and relocating the remaining residents to densely populated neighborhoods). Youngstown is not alone in its idea of transforming neighborhoods by "right-sizing" (a euphemism for downsizing, or in this case, demolition). While "Youngstown has demolished more than 2,000 vacant structures, most of them residential homes" (Skolnick 2010), Detroit, with a population dropping from nearly 2 million in the 1950s to less than half that number in 2005, has plans to demolish about 10,000 homes (Runk 2010, 26-27). As Detroit Mayor Dave Bing put it, "Strengthening our city will take a long-term strategy for how we use Detroit's 140 square miles productively. The harsh reality is that some areas are no longer viable neighborhoods with the population loss and financial situation our city faces" (Bing 2010). Although Bing did not provide details in his 2010 State of the City, Associated Press reporter in the Greater Detroit area Dave Runk provided a sketch of the Mayor's plans:

Operating on a scale never before attempted in this country, the city would demolish houses in some of the most desolate sections of Detroit and move residents into a stronger neighborhoods. Roughly a quarter of the 139-square-mile city could go from urban to semi-rural. Near downtown, fruit trees and vegetable farms would replace

neighborhoods that are an eerie landscape of empty buildings and vacant lots. Suburban commuters heading into the city center might pass through what looks like the countryside to get there. Surviving neighborhoods in the birthplace of the auto industry would become pockets in expanses of green. (Runk 2010, 26)

Creating a denser city enables government to deliver services more effectively. Detroit Mayor Dave Bing argued “that the city can’t continue to pay for police patrols, fire protection, and other services for all areas” (Runk 2010, 26-27). Echoing these sentiments, Youngstown Mayor Jay Williams said “We have a city built for 200,000. We have 70,000 people, and they are all spread out. I think there’s an understanding that we can’t keep investing where you have only a handful of people” (Morrison 2009).

Despite the talk of job growth within Shrinkage images, our understanding of the Shrinkage image would be inadequate if we were to simply lump it as a Growth image. While job growth is talked about, unlike classic Growth images (or variants like Smart Growth), it is spoken about within the context of downsizing, consolidation, demolition, and survival of the city. The emphasis in Shrinkage images is *saving* (not *growing*) the city. As Youngstown Mayor Greg Williams put it: “We have had to embrace the fact that we are going to be different and there is no going back to where we were...But being smaller can also be better” (Carey 2009). Unlike the conventional Growth image, a major point in the Shrinkage Image is the only way to get better is to get smaller.

Who to Shrink?

As indicated throughout this project, images of the future are inextricably linked to our longstanding ideas about gender, race, and class. According to Brentin Mock, “it is acknowledged across the board that when cities shrink, the neighborhoods that end up most expendable are typically low-income and often predominantly African- or Latino-American communities” (Mock 2008). Detroit, Youngstown, Flint, Saginaw, and other cities considering becoming smaller and greener must answer questions such as: What homes do we demolish? What neighborhoods do we eliminate? Who should be relocated? What sections of town should be turned into verdant pastures? What sections of town do we invest in? What schools should be closed? What union (government) jobs should be cut or reduced? Who should and should not pay new taxes? My guess is that the answers to these questions will intersect with gender, race, and class considerations. According to

Flint Journal reporter Kristin Longley, “Detroit Mayor Dave Bing has said that he absolutely intends to relocate residents from mostly vacant neighborhoods and is bracing for legal challenges to his downsizing plans” (Longley 2010). Bing plans on maintaining and investing in “healthy” neighborhoods (Longley 2010). My hunch is healthy means wealthy (or at least wealthier) neighborhoods. In other words, homes in the poorer neighborhoods will be targeted for destruction and residents forced to relocate.

To describe the future of Youngstown or Detroit in terms of shrinkage, is to tinker at the margins of the dominant way of talking and reasoning about the future. While it does attempt to position the city to deal with changing material conditions, it does not challenge the electorate to radically rethink the future. To illustrate, when imagining Detroit’s future within a Shrinkage image, Mayor Bing sees “a city with vibrant neighborhoods, with retail and grocery stores, a city’s that’s home to thriving small businesses, better mass transit and community parks and green space” (Bing 2010). Although Bing’s image strikes me as conservative, it is important to know his expectations for Detroit’s future. Through one lens, Detroit’s future in 2030 will largely be determined by the decisions he and his administration make in 2010. As Dator writes, “one of the major things shaping the future ... is what people presently imagine the future as being” (Dator, Bezold, and Cahn 1981, 6). Thus, Bing’s image is important. However, because the future is not exclusively a result of our images, values, and wishes, it is useful to consider the demographic, technological, economic, and environmental factors that might intersect with Bing’s plans and impact Detroit’s future.

A Shrinkage image does not change the politician’s primary problem: “How do we create more jobs?” Rather it changes the types of jobs that a city attempts to attract as well as the conditions and goals of job recruitment. To illustrate, rather than trying to attract a single new industry that employs thousands (and consequently lays off thousands if business declines or moves), politicians and business leaders in Youngstown are working to attract and grow the number of new, young, start-up small businesses. As the U.S. Small Business Administration points out, small businesses (firms with companies with fewer than 500 employees) “have generated 64 percent of net new jobs over the past 15 years” (United States Small Business Administration, Office of Advocacy 2011). Thus

politicians and business leaders are trying to align themselves with this new small business economy and handle the problems of today while setting a course for tomorrow.

While Youngstown's interest in attracting smaller businesses does touch on Dator's suggestion to consider trends driving the future, it does not address his call to consider strange futures which stress novelty. One emerging problem, for instance, described by social critic Jeremy Rifkin in his book *The End of Work*, is "what do we do with the millions of people whose labor is needed increasingly less, or not at all, in an ever more automated global economy?" (Rifkin 2004, back cover). Rifkin argues that "perhaps as little as 5 percent of the adult population will be needed to manage and operate the traditional industrial sphere by the year 2050" (Rifkin 2004, xxii). This problem did not appear in the State of the State speeches and State of the City speeches I analyzed. Although there is a recognition that the future of employment is changing, the dominant political response is to (re)train people to make sure they have the right skills to match what employers need. Detroit Mayor Dave Bing illustrates the mainstream political response:

The truth is most of the manufacturing jobs lost in recent years are never coming back. The auto industry is once again moving in the right direction, but our economy has shifted and a shift in our job strategy is long overdue. That's why my administration's jobs plan will focus on three priorities: One. Aggressive job and business creation and retention focused on emerging industries and small business...Two. Fixing the City's business climate and making us more attractive to both existing and new businesses...Three. Preparing our workforce to enter industries and jobs that need workers today and will need more tomorrow. (Bing 2010)

While politicians do envision fewer manufacturing jobs in the United States, the mainstream long-term response is to develop more technical and innovative employees for tomorrow's jobs, "jobs that build from a human being's unique abilities like problem solving and creativity" (Kiviat 2010, 26). The complete collapse of labor demand described by Rifkin is strange. The idea that few, if any, people will be required to work is strange and unrealistic to many in the present. Further, it is not a future many in the present are likely to prefer. This leads me to the question: To what extent should future-oriented politicians prepare people for futures they prefer versus futures that might happen despite their preferences? What gives us greater control of our situation? Like most of this project, I cannot answer this question or get

to the bottom of it. Given that this is an academic project, I feel no compelling need to create an operations-manual for future-oriented politicians (nor an infomercial for Futures Studies). Given that there is no procedure by which reliable and objective answers can be obtained to this and many of the questions in this dissertation, any answer here would ultimately privilege my own preferences rather than multiple readings. Following the late and great professor of culture and communication Neil Postman, “answers given ... are the end products of questions. Everything we know has its origin in questions. Questions, we might say, are the principle intellectual instruments available to human beings” (Postman 1995, 172-173). Therefore, if I can contribute to the development of questions in Futures Studies, then I would judge this a successful project. In the humanities, where I classify Futures Studies, questions advance our thinking and understanding just as much if not more than answers.

Image Complexity (Images within Images)

The Shrinkage image illustrates the hybrid character and the arbitrary component of classifying images of the future. Because Shrinkage images often contain a growth component (a call to expand the number of new, small, start-up businesses in the city) the analyst could classify it as a Growth image. Alternatively, the analyst could focus on the change from urban residential neighborhoods and industrial areas to greenbelts practicing urban agriculture with working farms and co-op living and classify it as a Transformational image (Detroit as a city where nature occurs). Or the analyst could focus on the population decrease, dwindling tax base, contraction of neighborhoods, and reduction in government services and employees and classify it as a “Shrinkage” image. Any way classified, the image contains a number of overlapping and competing elements (as many images do).

Although images regulate our notions of what is possible, this is only one side of things. People bring their own actual experiences, memories, and values to each encounter with an image. While we may not be totally free of the meanings we inherit in our images, we are not totally slaves to them either. There is a middle ground, what Bevir and Rhodes describe as *agency without autonomy*, enabling “different people to adopt different beliefs and perform different actions against the same social structure,” or in this case, different

beliefs and different actions against the same image of the future (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 32).

Just as the analyst selects and emphasizes particular elements of an image in its classification, different Detroiters select different components in the same image to move towards different preferred futures. Because images of the future contain a degree of ambiguity, they are subject to interpretation. Consequently, there is a range of perspectives within each image. Some inspired by Bing's image will go on to create urban farms; others, under the influence of the same image, will work to recruit new, high tech, start up, small businesses. Some Detroiters are building collective agricultural cooperatives, community gardens, farmers markets, and a local food system; others do not visualize changing their participation in the current industrialized food system. There is an openness and ambiguity (a complexity) within each image enabling diverse readings and responses. In other words, people do not simply receive images; each person has a *degree of autonomy* in shaping the images (emphasizing and pursuing some elements while ignoring and avoiding others). Analysts should not ignore the differences in the beliefs and actions of individuals operating under the influence of the same image.

In the futures studies literature, however, images often sound like discrete, unitary, and coherent packets of meaning pulling passive people toward one future. Yet our images of the future are not necessarily unitary and coherent stories. It is useful to make sense of them and see them as a multiplicity of imaginative elements within a larger narrative that come into play, compete with, and act as inspiration to both reinforce and challenge official representations of the future. Looking deeper, we can locate images within images. For example, many Growth images have a shrinkage component. Numerous governors and mayors tell a story of growing the number of number federal government jobs in their city and state, yet simultaneously call to cut the number of city and state government employees. In effect, growth (and the notion of efficient and effective government) is conditional and limited to certain domains of the economy (the private sector and federal jobs) while shrinkage is preferred in other domains (city and state government jobs). Analyzing the same image(s) even further, while many city and state government jobs should be cut, the number of police officers and firefighters (security personnel) employed by the city and state should

grow. The Shrinkage image illustrates that there is no single, coherent image in government, but instead a number of competing images, variations of images, and images within images which produce different possibilities for the futures. From the point of view of a futures studies concerned with broadening the array of images and creating spaces for possibilities, it is strategically useful to conceptualize images as fuzzy, overlapping, and competing (rather than coherent, discrete, and reinforcing) because it enables us to account for more variation in image visualization, selection, and action.

The Many Challenges to Futures Thinking

An important goal of this project is inject nuance into our conversations of long-term politics. To attain this nuance, we should consider the multiple layers of challenge to futures thinking. In many respects, the most serious obstacles impeding futures-thinking in politics are not caused by the structure of political institutions, but rather many complex interlocked problems which discourage and frustrate collective, democratic, long-term, and imaginative thinking.

Returning quickly to the analysis of the Shrinkage image to start this conversation, to say that Mayor Williams or Mayor Bing imagines a future characterized by shrinkage does not mean they envision a wholly different world. Those envisioning a consolidated Detroit with working farms (see *hantz farms.com* to review one such proposal), for instance, do not imagine newness in every aspect of life. The newness is limited to population size, the scope of government services, the responsibilities of citizens, the development of a local food system, or the integration of nature into the city. Simultaneously this image assumes stability in other and more numerous areas such as capitalism, free markets, monetary use, private property, individualism, Christianity, marriage, monogamy, heterosexual nuclear families, child rearing practices, English speaking, utilitarian public education, gender roles, the use of violence and lethality to solve social problems, the need for a military, an anthropocentric view, and so forth. Consequently, one could argue the Shrinkage image is nothing more than a version of a Continuation or Growth future because it is a variation around a single set of assumptions rather than a representation constructed around a profoundly different worldview (although many of Detroit's residents would debate this and describe the image as Transformational). However, no matter how radical the perspective or different the

cosmology, each image isolates a limited number of elements in the present and futurizes them.

Recalling my gloss on Michael Shapiro's work (see pages 38 and 39), the image of the future is not about the future as much as it is about the present. The part of the image that one futurizes is the component of the present they critique and the part that remains stable is the element of the present they legitimate. This is the essential thing: *people must first change their present before pursuing a future and therefore the immediate target and subject of action is the present. No matter how much a representation may appear to be about the future, it is grounded in contemporary concerns.*

Because it is impossible to speak about the future without drawing on concepts and objects from the past or present, all images of the future, no matter how radical, sophisticated, or strange, rely upon and operate through the present. Thus there are no pure images of the future. We can only represent our perceptions of the future from within our past and present experiences. When writing about the elements of feminist discourse, Kathy Ferguson points out "there is no ungendered perspective, and the claim to have access to such a perspective is itself a denial of the power relations" (Ferguson 1984, 174). Extending and bending Ferguson's insight to futures, there is no unrepresented perspective, and the claim to have access to such a perspective is itself a denial of power relations. Neither futures researchers nor politicians can lift themselves out of and transcend the present. Consequently, what people speculate about the future is always limited by their present, and second—and relatedly—what they imagine is rooted in power relations. This is an important point that deserves underscoring and repetition because it illustrates how the dominant discourse and dominant image of the future work to frustrate and block social change. When describing her workshops to help people picture a world without weapons, Elise Boulding, former professor of sociology, peace activist, and futures researcher, wrote:

The methodology of the workshop is based on Polak's concept of a "breach in time," a drastic discontinuity between the present and the future that can nevertheless be encompassed by the human imagination. Participants must step, in fantasy, into a future very different from the present, and report back from that future on their observations of a society, which they must then analyze in terms of the social institutions that could sustain it... This is very demanding work,

drawing alternately on fantasy and on analysis, and requiring suspension of pessimism and disbelief. (E. Boulding and K Boulding 1995, 99)

Because our notions of the future are so rooted in the present, Boulding's experiences in such workshops led her to the observation of the need to use *fantasy* and *requiring suspension of pessimism and disbelief*. The idea that a peaceful society is possible and that weapons will not be a permanent part of our future is very difficult for many in the present to believe. Despite the fact that the majority of the world's people have never killed (Glenn Paige, former professor of political science, estimates that since 1000 B.C.E. "at least ninety-five percent of humans have not killed" (Paige 2002, 27)), the idea that man is a natural killer permeates society and legitimates the needs for weapons. Interpreting human behavior as naturally peaceful and life-giving rather than naturally violent and lethal appears from the dominant way of speaking about the world to be *fantasy* and requires one to *suspend disbelief and pessimism*. Such beliefs urge the state to continue to build on its heritage of police and military expenditures and carry great weight in legitimizing and rationalizing the massive expenditures 'required' to keep the military ready 'to defend the interests' of the United States. However, even for those with imaginations as sophisticated as Boulding, the workshops are a mirror of present and thus of power. In other words, if the workshops are constantly drawing attention to the possibility of a world without weapons, peace, and life-giving, you are also drawing attention to weapons, violence, and killing. In this sense, the object and imagination and act of resistance still focuses on the present and thus of power.

Carrying forward our past and present appears inescapable. When writing about the way we conceptualize the past, historian Sam Wineburg describes this process as "*presentism*—the act of viewing the past through the lens of the present" (Wineburg 2001, 19). Wineburg argues this way of thinking "is not some bad habit we've fallen into. It is instead, our psychological condition at rest, a way of thinking that requires little effort and comes quite naturally" (Wineburg 2001, 19). When writing about the future, Dator touches on this theme of presentism when saying the future that most people have in mind is that "whatever is happening now will continue" (Dator 2009a, 4). Thus if dwindling tax revenue dominates Detroit's concerns now, then many Detroiters will feel it will dominate their future. If they are worried about the loss of jobs now, the loss of jobs will fill their future. As Dator puts it, "a 'flat' image of the future-viewing past, present, and the future as essentially

unchanged—is probably somehow “in our genes” (Dator 2009a: 5). This tendency to understand the future in terms of the present inhibits our ability to imagine wholly different futures.

In contrast, Dator calls for politicians to be future oriented. In part, he means the ability to imagine strange futures. He writes

any useful statement about the future should appear to be ridiculous and to elicit responses of disbelief, shock, horror, or disgust. If you nod your head in agreement about some statement about the future, then forget it. It may be true but it is not particularly useful to you. What you need to know about the future is what you don't already know and which you find difficult to hear. (Dator 1997)

Stated otherwise, it is a mistake to see the long-term future merely as a quantitative or linear extrapolation of the present, a pure increase or expansion (or contraction) of an existing trend or institution. The lesson: we may be experiencing wholly new problems. Therefore we should resist the temptation to think of the future as a rough copy of the present.

Like his four generic images of the future, his emphasis on strange futures (futures which emphasize novelty and the peculiar) are a simultaneous conceptual strength and weakness. On the one hand, imagining strange futures is a strength because it helps us to imagine a world beyond current power relations. When describing the political, Foucault writes “all knowledge is political not because it may have political consequences or be politically useful, but because knowledge has its own conditions of possibility in power relations” (quoted in Ferguson 1984, 174). Reworking Foucault's insights for my purposes, I say all futures are political not because they have political consequences or that they can be politically useful, but because the future has its own conditions of possibility in power relations. Drawing on this theme, Dator's focus on strange futures can be read as a call to contest present-day power relations, or at least realize the present-day power relations will change. The possibility that novel, peculiar, and radically different futures will arise indicates a shift in power relations. These new power relations bring new conditions of possibility for wholly new futures. On the other hand, Dator's emphasis on strange futures is a weakness because power relations may not change within the time frame analyzed and thus the future we end up with is quite familiar. Unlike Dator, I consider familiar futures just as useful and worthwhile as strange futures. If I speculated, for example, that Honolulu will have a 20

mile, elevated commuter rail line by 2030 (a familiar future), that would enable me to begin thinking about a range of scenarios where people will live, work, learn, shop, and play on Oahu. More importantly, it will help me think about new problems and opportunities people visiting and living on Oahu may face. Again, like his use of the four generic futures, I am not saying Dator's emphasis on strange futures is right or wrong (indeed, at times, his ideas on strange futures influence and inspire my readings of political images of the future). I am saying that the future of Futures Studies will be sounder if we use his ideas critically.

Dator's emphasis on strange change is coupled with his rejection of *probable* futures. He points out

there is no such thing as "the most likely future." Indeed, I encourage you to view the idea of a likely, default, or highly probable future with great suspicion--as an assumption that is more likely to be harmful, causing serious misunderstanding, than as the norm from which a few so-called "wild card" futures might emanate. In my understanding, all futures before us are more or less "wild cards". While that which is often thought to be "the most likely future" is indeed among the possible alternatives, it is, in fact, no more likely than many alternatives. (Dator 2003)

Further, he argues a future orientation requires the ability to imagine and forecast many alternative futures. Moreover, these alternative futures should include "profoundly different possibilities based on different assumptions of the way the world works, and of how the trends and events shaping the futures might emerge and fade, swell and shrink, and interact in the coming years" (Dator 2003).

These requirements put the futures oriented politician in a bind. If the politician should envision many strange futures, which ones should they prepare for? Given the contemporary American politician's interest in the future of jobs and the economy, do they, for example, prepare us for worldwide unemployment caused by vast numbers of workers displaced by new technologies? Or do they prepare us for a world of full employment where work is viewed as an individual right and a duty with the government guaranteeing jobs to everybody willing to work? Or should we plan for a cashless (non-monetary) economy or one driven by local currency? Or an economy based on voluntary simplicity? Primitivism? Islamic economic jurisprudence? feminist economics? Aquarian economics? Woodstock Peace economics? Or an economy largely managed by artificial intelligence programs or

robots rather than humans? Or an economy based on bioregional-states rather than nation-states? Or a world without borders where workers can move freely and legally to wherever the best jobs are located? Or an economy driven by products manufactured and energy and resources acquired from outer space? Or an economy based on indigenous governance where land is collectively owned and traditional subsistence techniques are the norm? Or should they prepare us for an extraterrestrial landing and an economy fueled by unspeakable new technology and progress provided by aliens? Here's the problem: there are an infinite number of familiar and strange futures to consider. Following Dator, there is no one correct future to prepare for.

One might argue that the politician should anticipate and prepare for futures that emerge out of a confluence of “events, trends, images, and actions” (Dator 1996). However, even limiting the possibilities to these we still are left with an enormous range of possible futures. Each of the futures posed above, for instance, has some concrete referent in the present. Without a most likely or probable future to prepare for, the future oriented politician is left without a compass or roadmap. Because a number of futures compete with and contradict each other, what one(s) does the future oriented politician promote?

One rejoinder is that the politician should help the community move towards the *preferred* future. But each of the futures above has advocates in the community. There are few, if any, communities where all the individuals and organizations share a single preferred future. When discussing “the defense mechanisms political systems erect to cope with complexity,” political scientist Bruce Shefrin, drawing on Emery’s futures work, suggests that one strategy used is “*image consensus*, the appearance that one image is the collective choice without peer or rival” (Shefrin 1986, 211). Therefore we should be skeptical of any image represented as a single, shared vision of the community such as Youngstown 2010. Because people from wide and varied backgrounds, abilities, and means experience Youngstown differently, it insightful and useful to think of Youngstowns (a city of multiple communities) rather than Youngstown (a city with a single community). Note, this problem is not limited to Youngstown. It characterizes much of the community visioning taking place throughout the United States. Another example comes from *Portland 2030: a vision for the future*. This 60 page document provides a sketch of the ‘official’ preferred future of the City

of Portland, Oregon in the year 2030. Like good futures researchers, the authors identify trends and changes in the coming years that are likely to impact Portland in the next 25 years. After stating their desire to transcend day-to-day problems and create a big picture for Portland's future, the authors discuss the purpose of community visioning:

Community visioning is a powerful tool for managing change. Its primary purpose is to unite the community around common goals. Through the act of visioning, whole communities identify what they love most about their cities, so that those elements can be preserved and enjoyed by future generations. Visioning can also help communities reach agreement on their biggest challenges, how the choices we make might affect our future, and how we can balance these pressures in the face of change. Visioning projects give local government leaders direction on where the community wants to be in the future. (People of Portland, Oregon, 2008)

Rather than criticize the methods and people used in Portland 2030, I will limit my comments to the singular notion of a community here. Like Youngstown, there is no one united Portland. Contrary to the rhetoric in this document, the whole community of Portland did not participate in visioning processes. A narrow and biased sample of individuals and organizations participated and selected and advanced attributes they want continue and preserve for future generations. Although community visioning is a good example of cities acting long-term (and often a sincere and well-intentioned effort to create a better world in the present and future), it is riddled with problems. The 545,000+ people that call Portland, Oregon, home simply do not all love the same things about Portland, nor do they all prefer the same future for Portland. *Therefore any claim to only one preferred future for Youngstown or Portland is an oversimplification and functions more as a strategy to direct social change in a particular way that is likely to maximize the interests of powerful individuals and groups rather than reflect the multiple preferred futures of Youngstown's or Portland's many and varied residents and communities.*

If the preferred futures of Youngstown and Portland were collected in a less reductionist fashion, we would inevitably be left with an inventory of clashing preferences. Again we are brought back to same questions: whose future is politically seeded? And if the future is open and navigable, then who decides and by what right? Is it the young people of Youngstown and Portland? They will, after all, live this future. Is it the senior citizens who have the wisdom to know what is best to pass on to future generations? Is it the middle aged

residents that are likely to pay for many of these changes? Is it the indigenous peoples of Ohio and Oregon? Do the newcomers in Youngstown and Portland have as much say as the long-time locals? Is it people who do not currently live in Youngstown or Portland, but hope to move to Youngstown or Portland by 2030? Is it people who have professional training (lawyers, doctors, scientists, engineers, architects, urban planners, etc.) or ethical specialists (clergy, philosophers, etc.)? If it is all of these people, should they have the same say or proportionate voices? Who decides? We can parse Youngstown and Portland's population a thousand ways. Each separation leads to new questions about who is politically entitled to shape Youngstown and Portland's future. How does the future-oriented politician choose?

A futurist might respond that the politician should pursue futures for Youngstown and Portland that speak to the *general welfare* of the community and future generations (or the future that balances the needs of present generations with the needs of future generations). But who decides what the general welfare of the community and future generations is? Whose vision, whose values, and whose preferred future is pursued (and ignored)? As Shefrin contends, at some point, heterogeneous community preferences are represented in a homogenous way. The visions and values projected into the future are pursued are often those with the means. Consequently, the collective future articulated and pursued in community visioning exercises is often an enhanced mainstream and familiar future.

The mainstream preferred future pursued is encrusted in power relations. Politicians usually pursue the dominant future (the one considered rational and practical in mainstream and official discourse). For many Americans, it is the default future, the first premise vision, the future that appears inevitable, and common sense. It contains shared assumptions that function as a given and thus serve to reinforce, legitimize, and reproduce the existing social and political order. The dominant future takes on the feeling of truth. In the dominant American future, capitalism, private property, individualism, civil rights, democracy, technology, science, free markets, and monogamous heterosexual nuclear families, for example, are presumed to be natural ways to live. It is commonsense that they will continue into the present and future. Given our belief that these institutions will continue into the future, our futures thinking is often exhausted by concern with the extent and distribution of these institutions. Reversing this approach and in a more Foucauldian framework, we can say

a combination of institutions, disciplines, discourses, and names produce a *truth of the future*. This truth of the future cancels out images of the future that don't fit within the official discourse. If a politician were to express a preferred future, say, moving us to New Age economics (an economy based on people achieving a higher consciousness, the universe paying you to be yourself, solving our economic problems by getting in touch with our goodness, and one worldwide bank with one worldwide currency based on spiritual standard, etc.), that politician would likely be considered unfit to govern by the mainstream electorate because it violates the "order of reason" (to borrow a Foucault expression). The discursive formation of economics revolves around material factors, monetary value of goods and services, public exchange (world of paid work), and consumption. It largely does not take in spirituality, happiness, and non-monetary exchanges in the private sphere (world of non-paid work) into account when measuring and assessing well-being and economic progress. The likelihood that large numbers of people socialized to speak and reason about economics in terms of material, public sphere, monetary transactions would find such a future practical is unlikely. *It is not so much that people are unable to go beyond their actual experiences when imagining strange futures because these futures do not serve to benefit them, it is more that it disrupts their notions of what is realistic.* In other words, *the power of the dominant future is not so much its ability to prevent us from imagining alternative futures, but its influence in interpreting those alternatives as impractical or nonsense or utopian.* Let me use the Spell Checker feature in Microsoft Word software to illustrate this point. Using the experiences of the blind, I might construct a different way of speaking and reasoning about the future that focuses on what the future will smell, taste, feel, and sound like. I might end up with generic images of the future such as "Musty, Salty, Cottony, and Loud" rather than "Continuation, Disciplined, Collapse, and Transformational." Instead of talking about the future in terms of foresight (sight being the dominant sense through which the future is conceived, perceived, and represented), I might speak about the future in terms of foreshell, foretaste, foretouch, and forehear. However, just as the dominant future works to render submerged discourses and images of the future unrealistic, the Spell Check feature works to edit different ways of speaking and reasoning about the future by indicating the words *foreshell*, *foretouch*, and *forehear* are spelled incorrectly or are not words at all. Although these words are spelled correctly and just as viable in apprehending the future as the word *foresight*, the Spell Check

works to edit these alternative understandings because it deviates from its simple word inventory.

The properly imagined future is considered practical, realistic, and necessary within the context of the dominant discourse. However, *the call to be realistic conceals the control function that the dominant future performs*. Our representations of what is practical, realistic, and necessary are neither neutral nor objective. Rather, what counts as practical, realistic, and necessary “have been produced in the interest of those with the power to shape reality” (MacKinnon, quoted in Ferguson 1984, 175). Consequently, future-oriented politicians that seek to seed the preferred community future are likely to promote a future that is not based on profoundly different possibilities and vastly different assumptions of the way the present works. The majority of the electorate is likely to prefer an improved present (fixes to our current way of life) rather than something radically new. In *Envision Eugene: A Community Plan for 2030*, for instance, the future of this Oregon city comes about as citizens collaborate in public meetings and answer the following primary questions: “How do we grow? Do we grow in (keep development within existing Urban Growth Boundaries—a regional boundary set in attempt to control urban sprawl)? Do we grow out (expanding beyond the existing Urban Growth Boundary)? What do different growth scenarios look like” (City of Eugene)? After introducing *Envision Eugene* as, “an incredibly important project that will help shape how and where our community will grow over the next 20 years,” Eugene Mayor Kitty Piercy informed Eugenians “we have the opportunity to envision Eugene’s future without preconception, in a way that works for us. When we are done we will have a Eugene-specific urban growth boundary and a new Comprehensive Plan that will serve as a roadmap for future development in our city” (City of Eugene). After framing Eugene’s future within the dominant image and discourse of growth, Mayor Piercy says “we have the opportunity to envision Eugene’s *future without preconception, in a way that works for us.*” However, Eugene’s future seems very much preconceived: *growth*. The community visioning appears to be limited to how and where Eugenians will put the 35,000 new people expected to call Eugene home in the next 20 years. As futures researcher Bertrand de Jouvenel argues, “the mind is by no means inclined to contemplate a large variety of possible futures and tends rather to attach itself to the futurible that appears to be intellectually the most probable or affectively the most desirable” (Jouvenel 1967, 19). Clearly, this is the case here. Further,

who is the *us* that Mayor Piercy speaks of? Echoing the earlier argument made about Youngstown and Portland, in a city of 140,000+ residents there is no *us* (no united, single community) in Eugene. Despite her unshakeable conviction that Eugene will experience growth in the future, can Mayor Piercy be sure that growth, of any sort, is preferred by all Eugeniens? Again, although Eugene 2030 is a nice example of a city reaching out to create a better future by inviting its members to participate in building a better future, this will not, in my view, happen. For those that do participate and contest the growth image or envision futures that offer a radical break with the present, they are likely to be blotted out by the Eugene 2030 visioning process. The final product is likely to paint a picture of a green and sustainable community that features more bicycle riding, public transportation, alternative energies, well-planned communities, and more high-tech employers. In other words, Eugene in 2030 will very much resemble Eugene in 2010. However, a number of problems in Eugene 2010 will be patched. Because Mayor Piercy is subject to the same discursive forces as the other 140,000+ Eugeniens, she too is likely to prefer this enhanced but familiar future. Mayor Piercy and her fellow Eugeniens might feel alien, uncomfortable, and useless in a strange future (say, the collapse of the brick and mortar University of Oregon—Eugene's primary employer—in 2030). As I argued in the first chapter, while the structure of democratic institutions hinder a politician's ability to be future-oriented, the dominant discourse is equally powerful in restricting both the electorate and the politician's ability to take seriously wholly different futures (let alone prefer them).

Dator encourages us to get away from and add to the official representations of the future. Although he argues any useful idea about the futures should appear to be ridiculous, he qualifies this declaration when saying "it is also the case that not every ridiculous idea turns out to be useful, or somehow "correct." Many more end up being permanently ridiculous" (Dator 2009b, 136). He has a related corollary: "there is no harm in supporting what turns out to be nonsense, but there is great harm done in squelching something that turns out to be valuable (Dator 2009b, 136)." Being a supporter and advocate of Dator's work, I am left in a quandry. While I too believe academics should encourage audacious and creative thinking about the future, unlike Dator, I do not agree with the first part of his assertion: "there is no harm in supporting what turns out to be nonsense." There is a trade off (an exchange for one thing in return for another) and an opportunity cost (a cost of foregone

alternatives) for every decision we make, every direction we turn, and every public policy we invest in. Given that politicians do not operate with unlimited resources, they must make choices. As Vermont Governor James Douglas put it, "President Kennedy rightly observed, to govern is to choose" (Douglas 2003). No matter how open and flexible the politician's approach to the futures, their choices will move towards one direction that will offend some and exclude others from realizing their preferred futures. That is not to say that the one direction cannot be resisted or changed. However, an extinguished future does not reignite itself; it emerges in new ways than, but for the politician's choice, it would have. Thus, spending tax money on a future many citizens consider nonsense, say, an emergency defense system capable of destroying earth bound asteroids or comets, comes with social trade-offs and opportunity costs to present and future generations. While Dator's declaration "there is no harm in supporting what turns out to be nonsense" is playful and interesting in a university course or academic publication, it's appropriateness for government policy is a question of another order. The possibility of harm occurring from stupid long-term decisions leads to important questions: How do we judge the merits of rival ridiculous futures? How does a future-oriented public (one recognizing it had an obligation to consider the interests of future generations) hold future-oriented politicians accountable for supporting public policies intended to benefit future generations that prove to be nonsense for those who live in, say, 2400? How do we ensure that our time, taxpayer money, and attention in the present is not wasted on stupid (though well intended) ideas and ineffective policies and programs? Suppose, for instance, politicians heeded futurist Allen Tough's call to prioritize extraterrestrial contact:

Sometime in the future of human civilization, contact or interaction with intelligent life from somewhere else in our galaxy will probably occur. It might occur next year, for instance, or 100 years from now. Our rapidly increasing efforts make contact particularly likely within the next 20 or 30 years. Few events in the entire sweep of human history would be as significant and far reaching, affecting our deepest beliefs about the nature of the universe, our place in it, and what lies ahead for human civilization. Seeking contact and preparing for successful interaction should be one of the top priorities on our civilization's current agenda. (Tough 1991, 87-88)

Should the future-oriented politician make extraterrestrial contact among their top political priorities? Note, University of Hawaii astronomer Nader Haghighpour was excited to share

news of his discovery of an earth-like planet, Gliese 581g, some 20 light years away from earth, that “could contain water and possibly even life” (Nakaso 2010, A1). In contrast to Tough’s call for politicians to make extraterrestrial contact a top priority and Haghhighpour’s hope that the discovery of Gliese 581g will inspire a new generation of astronomers to search for extraterrestrial life, not all agree the search for alien life and the eventual invitation to advanced life would be a good idea or preferable future. British theoretical physicist Stephen Hawking, for example, said “a visit by extraterrestrials to Earth would be like Christopher Columbus arriving in the Americas, which didn’t turn out very well for the Native Americans...Advanced life-forms may be nomads, looking to conquer and colonize” (Associated Press 2010). So does the futures-oriented politician understand and approach aliens as loving or hostile? If we ever contact them, will aliens usher in progress or destruction? Or might they be uninterested in Homo sapiens and spend all of their time with say, koala bears or redwood trees (species they can actually learn something from)? Or might they be galactic tourists who find Earth a bore and just move on? Which position best considers the needs of future generations? If one sides with Tough, should responsible politicians, say, the Mayor of Boise, Idaho, or the Governor of Arkansas, or United States Senators “seek and prepare for successful interaction” with extraterrestrials? Note, when in office in 1976, California Governor Jerry Brown obtained the moniker “Governor Moonbeam” for his “fascination with outer space” and his proposal that “California launch its own space satellite” (McKinley 2010). The term, coined by famed Chicago columnist Mike Royko, stuck with Governor Brown for over 30 years. If one obtains a derogatory title for proposing the launch of a space satellite, how might the public react to politicians that prioritize extraterrestrial contact? From my perspective, the electorate does not simply want politicians to engage in strategic futures thinking, they want them to create better worlds (those with more security and prosperity) as a result. However, as Hawking alerts us, we must consider the possibility that futures thinking and action could create worse worlds, a topic often neglected in calls for politicians to engage in long-term thought and action (the assumption being that long-term thinking leads to problem mitigation at least and preferred futures realization at best).

One response is that rather than anticipate and prepare for particular alternative extraterrestrial-related futures, the politician should develop new institutions or redesign

existing organizations such as NASA to ensure they are capable of rapid response and guidance on exopolitical (the public policy implications of extraterrestrial life) issues. The focus and premium shifts from preparing for particular futures to building flexible institutions (with improvisatory inclinations) enabling society to anticipate alternative futures and grapple with future problems. However, this response largely sidesteps the question because it does not address NASA's institutional priorities. Do we, for example, design a flexible NASA to deal with extraterrestrial contact? Should NASA promote the interests of the United States or the interests of the human species? Should our flexible NASA monitor (which they are already doing) and destroy near earth objects? Should they provide, plan, and conduct space exploration or human settlement of the cosmos? Should they prepare the United States to militarize space, to commercialize space, to establish property rights in space, to deal with the dangers of falling space satellites, to clean mission related debris and space junk, to craft space law and policy, or to enforce international space policy agreements? To say we should prioritize all of these or anything to do with outer-space sidesteps the question because we can't prioritize all aspects of outer-space management. But to what extent is the human future more wedded to outer space than to the ocean and atmosphere on earth? Should the future oriented politician invest more attention, energy, and money in developing a flexible National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) than a more flexible NASA? Or an adaptable US Geological Survey to deal with inner earth problems? Or do we simply make a vague call for all local, state, and federal agencies to strengthen their capacity for foresight and be flexible (ready to provide guidance quickly on infinite future variability)? My point here: even if a politician is futures-oriented, there is no clear and easy way to identify sound future-oriented investments in the present for normal futures, let alone strange futures. Because future-oriented policies have the potential to have little or no benefit to future generations and harm present generations in the process, we need to think carefully about what future-oriented proposals and policies we support.

Generally, the American electorate wants practical, problem-solving, results-oriented politicians (with a dash of practical vision). Dator, quoting Alfred North Whitehead, says "it is the duty of futurists to be dangerous" (Dator 2009b, 136). In other words, "it is the duty of futurists to support and provide an audience for those who have "stupid" ideas in the sure

expectation that some of them will turn out to be revolutionary truths while others will not” (Dator 2009b, 136). While this might be a useful purpose for futurists, it is not, in my view, what the majority of the electorate expects or wants from politicians. Americans want politicians to solve problems. The problems that politicians solve should be practical. *Practical here means rooted in the present but not reduced to the short-term.* The resolution of these problems should lead to increased prosperity and security for those in the present or future or both. It does not mean supporting a wide range of ideas, some of those being stupid, that may or may not materialize. It does not mean providing solutions to problems that don’t exist. Thus, solving problems that don’t yet exist will often be dismissed as impractical. We can turn this into a simple equation: *High Cost + Dubious Value = Impractical.* However, as numerous futures researchers would argue, this equation and reasoning touches on one of their main concerns: the value of advocating and enacting future-oriented policies and behavior is problem avoidance (or at least problem mitigation). We must cultivate the ability to envision problems *before* they exist to ensure optimal maneuverability in problem response. Because many people in the present are unwilling and unable to deal with problems before they exist, politicians (who simply serve and respond) limit their attention to problems that presently exist. Is there no way out of this short-term problem orientation?

Although many in the electorate will dismiss strange futures as nonsense, this does not mean they are unwilling and unable to forego all long-term thinking and change. For instance, older American cities such Youngstown, Detroit, Flint, and Richmond may be more *futures ready* because of the contraction and collapse of their old way of life. To illustrate, while the image of urban farms future has been around for years, it is gaining traction in Detroit now in light of changing material conditions (the collapse of the automobile industry, high unemployment, dwindling population and tax revenues, vacated neighborhoods, abandoned homes, increased cost of providing government services to neighborhoods with low population density, the absence of stores offering fresh fruits and vegetables in low-income, minority neighborhoods, a large supply of workers, a lack of viable economic alternatives, falling home prices—“as of July 2009, the median value of a home in Detroit was \$7100” (Phillips 2009). The increasing likelihood of an urban farming future in older industrial cities such as Detroit illustrates an important point: *people do not envision tomorrow from their images of the future as much*

as they select their images of the future according to changing material conditions. Put simply, images often follow our changing material conditions. Explaining in his novel *The Life of Pi* why animals seek to escape zoos, Yann Martel wrote that “animals don’t escape to somewhere but from something” (Martel 2001, 41). To some extent it is like this for people and futures. It is not so much that people escape to a better future but from an undesirable present. Stated otherwise, it is not so much the hope of a better future as much as dissatisfaction with the present that drives people to new possibilities. And so it is in Detroit and in many of America’s older cities.

As important as images of the future are in helping people anticipate and move towards new futures, they play an even more vital role in conserving the existing social and political order. The dominant image of the future is conservative; it reinforces and projects reality from the vantage point of influential individuals and organizations. It justifies, rationalizes, and legitimates the way the majority of people in society represent the world. It renders competing visions of reality and representations of the future as impractical, ineffective, and naïve. In doing so, it dampens and extinguishes social change.

How then do we explain the emergence of new dominant images of the future? Although I agree with Foucault that human life is discursively mediated, I do not agree with him on the extent to which meaning develops independently of material factors. While he does not dismiss the material world as irrelevant, he does not separate the material and assign it a priority in his explanations of how meaning develops. For Foucault, this approach misses the point that, rather than the material being the originator of meaning, our representations of the material are shaped by a cluster of meanings found in discourse. From his perspective, the issue of discursive versus material is not a matter of whether language guides action, but whether the individual determines the inventory of meaningful actions that surround our representations of the material. For Foucault, the inventory of meaningful actions precedes the individual. In this way, we do not respond to the actual material world as much as we act upon our preexisting representations of it.

Drawing on anthropologist Marvin Harris’s theory of Cultural Materialism, I argue alternative futures (and submerged discourses) are more likely to develop and evolve from marginal to dominant status when a conjunction of infrastructural

(demographic, technological, environment, and ecological) variables change and warrant such a transition (Harris 1979). While Harris did not discuss images of the future, his ideas on the relationship between material conditions and social change have applicability and insight into why some alternative futures gain traction and drive social change and others do not. In short, Harris contends that social change is likely to be propagated and amplified if it is compatible with “the technology and practices employed for expanding and limiting basic subsistence production” (especially food and energy) and “the practices employed for expanding, limiting, and maintaining population size” (Harris 1979, 52).

As I described above with urban farming, the idea of urban farming has existed for decades (it has been part of a submerged discourse that spoke and reasoned about cities as part of nature). When commenting on Detroit’s transformation, urban expert James Hughes, dean of the School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University, said “Things that were unthinkable are now becoming thinkable” (Runk 2010: 26). Unlike Hughes, I do not consider Detroit’s transformation from urban to semi-rural as “unthinkable.” If a future is speakable, it is thinkable. Rather I would describe the image of a Detroit full of fruit tree orchards and vegetable farms as strange and therefore unrealistic to many Detroiters. However, this possibility is gaining traction and beginning to circulate in the mainstream not so much because urban farmers have successfully raised the consciousness of their fellow urban residents and politicians, but because the costs and benefits of urban farming have shifted. A conjunction of demographic, technological, economic, and ecological changes has set in motion a chain of events that makes urban farming a benefit in certain cities. Note, I am not saying that conscious political struggle does not play a role in the promotion of urban farming. As Harris says, “it would be irrational to assert that ideological struggle could not enhance or diminish the probability of systemic changes” (Harris 1979, 72). But drawing on Harris the crucial question for me is to what extent can alternative images and submerged discourses become dominant images and dominant discourses if they are functionally incompatible with the mode of production (“technology of subsistence, techno-environmental relationships, ecosystems, work patterns”) and the mode of reproduction (“demography, mating patterns, fertility, natality, mortality, nurturance of infants, medical control of

demographic patterns, contraception, abortion, infanticide) (Harris 1979, 52)? As Harris might argue, the relationship between the material and our images of the future “does not address the question of how technological inventions and other kinds of creative innovations originate in individuals but rather how such innovations come to assume a material social existence and how they come to exert an influence on social production and social reproduction” (Harris 1979, 59). As our urban farming example illustrates, alternative futures cannot leap from the head or tongue of the innovator and “assume a material social existence unless the appropriate material conditions for their social acceptance and use are also present” (Harris 1979, 59).

In contrast to Harris, Foucault appears to suggest that changes in human meaning cannot be attributed to general material changes. To do so would be to create dualism by separating the subjective (human meaning) from the objective (material factors). In Foucault’s world, the two are fused. Indeed, the material can have no meaning if it is not yet discursive. However, as empathetic as I am to his position here, ultimately, I also find great explanatory power in Harris and Dator’s treatment of the material and ideational as an interactive duality. As Dator says, “when technology changes, behavior changes, and thus, eventually, self- and social consciousness changes” (Dator 2002, 9). And so it is with images of the future and discourse. Note, I am not advocating a mechanical materialist approach to understanding the extent and ways we imagine (and don’t imagine) the futures. Along with Harris and Dator, I stress the *interactive exchange* among the material and ideational. Because discourse precedes and shapes our representations of demographic, technological, economic, and ecological ‘realities’ and problems, it is not simply a passive reflection of these forces. In other words, material changes are preceded and met with discursive reactions of lesser, equal, or greater force. Although the dominant discourse works to stabilize the social system by rendering subversive discourses and alternative images of the future impractical and unrealistic, material changes related to infrastructural matters (subsistence, reproduction, mortality, etc.) make subversive discourses and alternative images more likely to move from the margin to the mainstream. When thinking about the interaction between the material and the discursive, it is important to note that all material changes are not of equal force. Improvements in, say, ice skate blades (a technology linked to recreation, leisure, and sport), are easily assimilated by the dominant discourse rather than, say, running out of fossil

fuels (a resource and technology linked to subsistence production). Running out of fossil fuels is more likely to set in motion a chain of events that compels humans to speak and reason about energy, subsistence practices, food, transportation, and other aspects of everyday life in new ways.

While Foucault's interest in discourse includes particular material events (e.g., global warming, Hurricane Katrina, Gulf Oil Spill) and their relationship to meaning, his absence of interest in the general demographic, technological, environmental, and economic context of discourse formation deprives us of understanding why humans do and don't imagine the future in other ways. When discussing Foucault's notions of discursive formation, Bevir and Rhodes note that he "appears to suggest that discourses develop randomly as products of time and chance" (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 23). Although I can go along with Foucault's idea of time, chance, and randomness in driving discursive formation to a point, we lose explanatory power if we limit the emergence and evolution of discourse and images of the future to chance and political clashes rather than a general connection to material changes. Language and discourse are not autonomous of material changes, they are intimately linked. Indeed, shifts in discursive practice are often rooted in the practical benefits and challenges caused by material changes to individuals and groups. Put otherwise and more specifically for this project, material factors are often the *initial* driver of the ways we speak and reason about the future. Although we can and do learn a great deal about how and why we imagine the future in a framework of discourse (human meaning), it is not the *only* way of understanding how and why we imagine the future. Our interest in human meaning should blend with, rather than blot out, our interest in the recurring material conditions which often give rise (the initial spark) to discursive shifts.

The section's task has been to illustrate that some of the problems inherent being a future-oriented politician. The call to imagine strange futures is not so much a problem caused by the structure of political institutions (the organization of political life—the laws, formal arrangements for representation, decision-making, campaign finance, etc.) but by a cluster of epistemological, discursive, and material factors. Indeed, the point of this section has been to illustrate the barriers to politicians in becoming applied futurists for our society go beyond the structure of our political system. There is no one simple, single-factor which

restrains politicians and electorate from thinking and acting long-term. Therefore it seems unfair to hold politicians (who are shaped and limited by many of the same forces as the electorate) to standards of sophistication and tolerance that we (even many futurists) hardly manage today.

Additionally, I want to emphasize that done well, thinking and acting with a futures-orientation is difficult. Balancing the needs of present generations with the needs of future generations is challenging because the needs of present generations and future generations are complex, ambiguous, and subject to endless readings, interests, and struggle. Often analysts suggest that the mere presence of proxies for future generations such as guardians or courts or constitutional laws will lead to intergenerational justice, or what I call *Panglossian long-termism*. While new political institutions may help us to consider how our lives and choices will impact the lives of future generations, they will not necessarily guide our actions in ways that promote intergenerational justice. Despite their claims to be neutral in representing future generations, guardians are not likely to speak for humankind (or all of animalkind or all of whatever category we consider). Because every guardian's concept and notion of justice, ethics, morality, balance, responsibility, current generation, and future generations is rooted in their time, type of knowledge, epistemology, and discourse, they are unable to objectively represent the interests of *all* future generations. Thus, even if structural changes to promote long-term thinking and intergenerational justice were implemented, we are likely to end up with a political system that represents the needs of *some* future generations (just as our current political system promotes the needs of *some* current individuals and groups). We must remember that long-term thinking is neither neutral nor objective. Further, it is not necessarily altruistic nor will it necessarily lead to a better world. In summary, long-term thought and action is complex and ambiguous. I want to foster an appreciation for that complexity and ambiguity in this project.

Agency Images

As useful as Dator's four generic alternative futures are in helping us identify recurring themes found in images of the future, the model, as Dator admits, has difficulty in accounting for the dizzying array of variation in images. When analyzing political language, Adrian Beard (2000) and Norman Fairclough (1989, 1992) encourage us to

consider agency, who (or what) is being foregrounded and backgrounded. Using Beard and Fairclough's ideas as a guide to create new generic images of the future, I propose we look at how politicians represent the relationship between political agency and our ability to direct the future. Put another way, to what extent do politicians believe we control the future?

After reviewing hundreds of contemporary American political speeches, I propose three new generic images of the future:

Building – People build the future. The future is inside us. The future is what we dream. We have complete agency. The future is the result of our choices and actions. The only thing that limits our future is our imagination and will. The future is like a painting, something we create, or a house, something we build. Building images often focus on *who* decides the future and *how*.

Shaping – People shape the future. The future is partially inside us. We have some agency. The future is, to some extent, a result of our choices and actions. We can somewhat manage the myriad of demographic, technological, economic, and ecological forces that intersect with our lives. The future is like clay, something we can mold and shape.

Reacting – People react to the future. The future is outside of us. We have no agency. The future is the result of “natural forces” or “supernatural entities” that we are unable to control. The future is like weather, something that happens to us.

Whereas Dator's generic images of the future focus on *what the future will be like*, Brier's generic images emphasize *who and how the future will be determined*. Used together, Dator and Brier's generic images offer political scientists a richer account of how Americans often speak about the future. Describing Dator and Brier's images in a more Foucauldian frame, the images (or discourse, if you will) of the future comprises a set meanings and rules—how does a group decide the future, who decides the future, how should it be spoken about (or what is the focus of the future), who is the intended beneficiary—by which it is produced. So, the future is more than a way of classifying

time, or even a way of reproducing, it is tied with power; it is a form of knowledge as well as a temporal experience; and it involves a way of engaging in social life.

The metaphors contained in these contemporary American political speeches “produce a series of building blocks for constructing accounts” of the future (Lyons et al. 1996, 80). Depending on the specific topic discussed, politicians switch among these images and the associated metaphors. The same person may express all three images within the course of the same conversation.

In Brier’s generic images of the future, the Building image is dominant. The idea that the best is yet to come, there is nothing we can’t do, and the future is what we make it, is often connected to aspirations of progress for the city, state, and nation. The image is expressed succinctly by Georgia Governor Sonny Perdue when he said “we have been building the future of Georgia for 275 years now (Perdue 2008). Scottsdale Mayor Mary Manross exemplifies the Building image:

I would like to introduce my remarks tonight with the words of management guru Peter Drucker. He stated, “The best way to predict the future is to create it.” In other words, don’t wait for the future to come to you. Go out and make it happen. That is exactly what we are doing in Scottsdale. Creating the future in a city like ours takes a collective vision, commitment from community leaders and very involved residents and the willingness to persevere through difficult times and tough decisions. (Manross 2005)

Delaware Governor Ruth Ann Minner expressed the Building image this way:

We plant seeds that one day will grow. We water seeds already planted, knowing that they hold future promise

The pressing situations of recycling, growth and flooding are ones that have gone unaddressed for too long, but which I intend to deal with so they are less of a concern for future generations. They are part of my plan to sow the seeds of a better future for Delaware’s environment and people... (Minner 2005)

And South Dakota Governor Mike Rounds put it this way when he shared a story about former South Dakota Governor Peter Norbeck:

Recently, on a radio show, I was asked what was my favorite place in South Dakota. I told them that one of them was Iron Mountain Road in the Black Hills. Many people don’t know that this road and many others were designed by Governor Peter Norbeck, one of South Dakota’s greatest governors and a former

United States Senator. He did such a wonderful job in designing Iron Mountain Road that the Evening Huronite newspaper out of Huron, South Dakota, wrote the Peter Norbeck was the and I quote Leader in the development of a new form of art. In laying out these magnificently beautiful roads, he pioneered the framing of natural scenery for the public. He found great pictures in nature and gave them the world by building roads to them. That's why I and so many others love Iron Mountain Road in the Black Hills. It winds and curves and turns and follows the contours of the land so that you can see some of the most beautiful scenery in the world. You know the road that I am talking about. It's the one with the pigtail bridges. It's the road you can see Mount Rushmore in the distance... through the tunnels carved beneath granite spires. When Governor Norbeck designed it, he wasn't thinking about helping people get from one point to another with the shortest route possible. It's not a straight line. It isn't meandering through either. He made it a window to showcase what for over 70 years produced the word "wow" on the lips of millions of visitors traveling slowly along its path. Instead of encouraging us to ignore the beauty with a short trip, his road designed added substantial value and enjoyment to the trip. He designed more than a road. He designed a beautiful experience for the first travelers on that path and for all the future travelers since then. We have the same kind of choices in business and government. We can do things the cheap way, the simple way, for the short-term and without regard for the future. Or, we can make the extra effort, do the hard work, absorb the criticism and make decisions that will cause a better future. With the 2010 Initiative we and many of the other things we do in government especially the things we do for children we are getting short-term benefit. But, more importantly, is the value we add, the value that we create for a better life tomorrow for our children and all future South Dakotans. That is the unique and wonderful challenge all of us have. (Rounds 2005)

All three accounts emphasize political agency. In each representation, political leaders are actively working to bring about a better future. Rather than sitting around waiting for the future to happen to them, good leaders are building, designing, creating, and growing the future. Sounding like a futures researcher, Mayor Manross encourages the electorate to go out and create Scottsdale's future. For Minner, political agency represented as "sowing the seeds of a better future" for Delaware. Under the guiding hand of the temporally ethical gardener, presumably Governor Minner, Delaware shall grow and prosper. Gardening is an active process requiring regular caretaking such as planting, watering, fertilizing, tilling, weeding, and, one day, reaping the future. Here Governor Minner is an active, nurturing, caretaker, slowly growing a better future for Delaware. In Governor Rounds's story, former Governor Peter Norbeck is represented as a leader, artist, and visionary. His genius led to the creation of a road so beautiful, it has inspired people for over 70 years. Rounds end his story with a long-term moral: when it comes to

the future, don't be cheap. Put another way, do the right thing: find a backbone and build a better life for future generations; think and act long-term. Here again, the politician indicates that the future is the result of our political choices and actions. This view, held by many contemporary scholars and social critics, is so common it is largely unquestioned. However, as Foucault illustrates, the idea that conscious political action influences the direction of the future is a relatively recent notion. When writing about the relationship between dreams and the future in the second century A.D., he shares the following excerpt from Achilles Tatius in *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon*:

Providence sometimes foreshows the future to men in dreams, not so that they may be able to avoid the sufferings fated for them, for they can never get the better of destiny, but in order that they may bear them with more patience when those sufferings come; for when disasters come all together and unexpectedly, they strike the spirit and with so severe and sudden a blow that they overwhelm it; while if they are anticipated, the mind, by dwelling on them beforehand, is able little by little to turn the edge of sorrow. (Tatius quoted in Foucault 1986, 5)

More recently in the United States, the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination indicated that the future was predetermined by God. People's actions didn't determine the future as much as reveal those already selected for heavenly salvation. In other words, while thinking about the future is not new, one of our most basic truths about the future—that we “can create better futures for ourselves and our societies” (Bell 2003: xxxiii)—is a relatively recent idea. As Foucault points out, in the past, the future was understood and approached as foreclosed (a fixed future) rather than open (a malleable future). At best, one could better cope with or dull the pain of undesirable futures, rather than achieve (or avoid) particular futures. The principle of the malleable future is now a truth claim found in institutions and discursive practices. This principle is used widely to justify, rationalize, and legitimize everything from creating better neighborhoods to projecting military power abroad.

Proceeding from this truth claim, contemporary American politicians are compelled to speak of building the future. Imagine the reverse. If the Governor of Texas, for instance, did not beat competing nations or states in luring a desirable nanotechnology company to Texas he or she could not say “it was not Texas's destiny” or “it was not Texas's fate” or “it wasn't meant to be.” Many in the electorate would dismiss a destiny (in terms of providence and fate) argument as ridiculous and point to the governor's incompetence or some other

economic, environmental, or political reason to explain the corporation's choice to locate in another place.

In this way, the Building image speaks through the politician. Like a general inspiring his troops before an epic battle with time, Texas Governor Rick Perry proclaims:

The Texas of a new century must be built on the legacy of centuries past. Texans have always been bold, pioneering and unrestrained in vision – focused on the far horizon. In the skies over Texas 10 days ago, we saw the tragic result that sometimes befalls those who dare to pioneer. But we saw so much more. In the lives of a commander from Amarillo, a pilot from Lubbock, an aeronautical engineer educated in Arlington – in each of the Columbia seven who trained at Johnson Space Center in Houston – we saw a spirit of boldness –... a determination to reach high – to leave old worlds for new – to make a difference for all mankind. Such heroes stir the soul, inspire the imagination, and point our hearts to great pursuits. They also remind us the future belongs to the brave and bold... Let us go forward, together, in a spirit of boldness, a spirit that has defined the many generations of Texans, past and present, a spirit that will once again lead us to a better tomorrow and to that far horizon. (Perry 2003)

Unlike Achilles Tatius's subject, whose engagement is limited to "turning the edge of sorrow" that the future would bring if it was in your fate, Perry's subject *does* the future. Perry's image of the ideal Texan is one who rides out and meets the future head on; they build the future through their brave and bold actions and they overcome obstacles through sheer grit and determination. Perry's image reflects a basic and recurring American story: an individual's hard work and motivation determine success. The policy implications of this exaggerated meritocracy story are wide and varied. In such a story, the poor are poor because they do not work hard and lack adequate intelligence and determination. Social conditions such as inheritance, unequal access to educational opportunities, changes in technology, economic and political policy, the state of the global economy, the distribution of wealth and power, and the number of jobs available (the job market) as well as dozens of other key factors beyond an individual's control are simply dismissed as inconsequential in the classical Building image. In other words, the Building image presumes that all people create the future equally. But the impact of a poor immigrant family from Mexico that only speaks Spanish and that has only had a few years of formal education pales in comparison to that of a wealthy white professional

family in Houston or Scottsdale. In other words, we are not all equally able to conceive, articulate, fund, and direct the projects and programs that will shape the future. Thus, in some cases, the Building image bolsters the existing status quo and works to legitimize a present and a future of inequalities of all sorts. It presumes and pretends that we all equally construct, collectively agree, and benefit from the official future pursued.

But politicians are flexible in their use of agency images of the future. After calling attention to the economic peril the city finds itself in, Detroit Mayor Kenneth Cockrel provides both hope and a warning about political agency and the direction of the future.

We have a choice: We can continue to do business as usual and fail to live within our means as a city government. But doing so means that someone else will likely be appointed to come and make the hard choices for us. This has already happened with our Detroit Public Schools system. Or we can seize control of our own destiny, make the hard choices for ourselves, and secure our future as a city that is controlled by its own citizens rather than by accounts and financial analysts. (Cockrel 2009)

Put simply, if the plain folk of Detroit don't take the future into their hands, someone else will. In Cockrel's image, the absence of action determines the future. Further, this absence of action leads to a future determined by external forces (in this case, other people).

Illustrating the idea that the future is both external to us, something we react to, and subsequently shape, Minnesota Governor Tim Pawlenty said

The future is coming at us faster than it ever has. It's a tidal wave of change. If we don't get on top of it and ride it, it will drown us. We need to prepare Minnesota to take advantage of the change that's coming. (Pawlenty 2004)

For Pawlenty, the future is like a natural disaster (tidal wave) about to happen to us; it is coming at us so fast and hard that it could kill us. Who can relax with this metaphor? No one. We must act now to save Minnesota from a disaster! We must paddle out immediately and ride the tidal wave with Governor Pawlenty, or drown. Over in Delaware, Governor Minner is slowly cultivating the future. Meanwhile in Minnesota, people are scrambling so they don't drown in the furious wall of water (future) approaching them. Although the future is an external force (a tidal wave that Minnesotans

can actually get on top of and ride), with adequate amounts of preparation and planning (presumably under Governor Pawlenty's leadership), Minnesotans can shape the final outcome, or not.

Although politicians recognize the future is can be determined by external factors and subject to chance, they believe, like the typical futures researcher, that concerted human action ultimately is powerful enough to override chance. Governor Linda Lingle expressed this sentiment when she asked: "will we just let change happen to us in the coming years...or will we create what we want to see to that future generations are able to live a good life in Hawaii (Lingle 2007) Alabama Bob Riley Governor put it this way: "our future won't be determined by chance, but by the choices we make in the days and weeks ahead. (B. Riley 2005) And New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson said "our future will not be determined by chance, but rather by choices we make today, and in the days and weeks ahead" (Richardson 2005).

Another illustration showing elements of all three generic images (Building, Shaping, and Reacting) comes in the same speech from California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger when he said:

- (1) What is said to the people is that we are not waiting for politics. We are not waiting for our problems to get worse. We are not waiting for the federal government. We are not waiting period – because the future does not wait.
- (2) I believe that we can lead California into the future.
- (3) Let me close with this thought. We accomplished historic things last year. Let us make this year historic as well. I know that what I have proposed is an ambitious agenda. I heard that last year and I heard the year before that and the year before that. Yes, it's an ambitious agenda, but we must be ambitious to get California to the future. We are addressing needs that have been ignored for decades. This is important work. It is hard, it's heavy work. Yes, I know. What we are doing relates directly to the kind of state this will be in ten or twenty years. But is this not what government should be doing?
- (4) For too long California has just stared at this mountain of the future. We couldn't climb it because our current problems blocked the path. We couldn't climb it because it was politically too steep. We couldn't climb it because we couldn't agree on the route that would take us there. But last year, we made the decision, we took a deep breath and we began our ascent. Working

together we can scale that mountain. We can stand on top of it. And one day we will look down from it and say to ourselves, look at how far we have come, look where we are, look what we have accomplished for the people. Ladies and gentlemen of the legislature, let us continue the climb we began last year. (Schwarzenegger 2007)

In the first statement “the future does not wait,” Schwarzenegger understands the future to be outside of us. It is external. It is a force that acts independently of us. It has its own speed. Thus, we have no agency (we can’t slow it down), we can only react. Because competent leaders are expected to identify and correct situations before they become problems, politicians, politicians must be strategic in their use of Reacting images. They are most often used when a politician is (1) new to office and reacting to problems inherited from the previous administration(s) and (2) reacting to forces and problems they are not responsible for creating such as external natural forces such as a drought. It is vital for a politician to avoid the impression that they lack of foresight (in other words, they should have saw this situation coming and avoided it). If the electorate perceives the politician as inheriting a problem from a previous administration or the situation is beyond their control, the reaction is necessary to demonstrate their responsiveness to problems (e.g., Obama inheriting U.S. troops in Iraq or a fiscal crisis from Bush). In some cases, politicians can claim they are reacting to a situation beyond their control but they are, in effect, using a situation to pursue a long-term goal (e.g., Governor Lingle’s claim she is *reacting* to decreased tax revenues stemming from a sluggish economy—beyond her control— and using this to justify a reduction in state workers and services, a common long-term Republican Party goal articulated by numerous Republican governors and mayors throughout the United States in speeches for well over a decade). Although the governor has tried reducing the size and services offered by the State of Hawaii for years with limited success, the current fiscal crisis provides her with a short-term opportunity to pursue a long-term party goal. Again, in my view, the electorate expects politicians to be competent managers of the short, medium, and long-term future. They expect politicians to anticipate problems in advance and to circumvent them. In addition, they expect politicians to have a vision of opportunities on the horizon and to position the city, state, and nation to take advantage of them. Thus, politicians walk a tightrope when using Reacting images.

In Schwarzenegger's second statement, the use of the words "lead California into the future" and in the third statement "get California into the future" reveals his belief that although the future is external to us, we have some agency in making California a better place (we can shape it). Because the future moves at its own speed, the people cannot wait, they cannot relax, they must do something to make California succeed. In the fourth statement, the words "California has just stared at the mountain of the future" again illustrate his belief that the future is something outside of us. The words "we couldn't climb it" indicate a change in argument, a switch of emphasis to agency. Schwarzenegger contrasts the way Californians dealt with the "mountain of the future" in the past, ineffectively by "staring at it," with how they are doing it now (while he is the leader), effectively by climbing the mountain. As Beard shows, "the negative comes before the positive, so that the stress can be on the positive second part" (Beard 2000, 41).

The metaphor of future as mountain (rather than, say, a hill) creates a sense of the magnitude of the challenge and the leader. The metaphor of mountain climbing conjures images of a long and difficult journey. Great leaders enable people to overcome tremendous obstacles, *mountain* rather than *hill* climbing. Before closing his speech, Schwarzenegger asserts that with the proper amount of unity, will, and leadership (presumably by Governor Schwarzenegger), Californians will climb the mountain of the future. In effect, Californians will enjoy better future with Schwarzenegger as leader. Again, the level of political agency and action in this story is vital to a successful outcome.

Schwarzenegger ends his third statement with the following words: "What we are doing relates directly to the kind of state this will be in ten or twenty years. But is this not what government should be doing?" His rhetorical question here contains an important assertion: government should be thinking and acting with a ten to twenty year time horizon. Again, government is active here – doing the heavy work – required to build a better long-term future.

Governor Schwarzenegger's speech enables us to unpack some of the rhetorical and metaphorical properties of the future which reveal new generic images of the future.

It also shows how a politician can use the language of the future to retain their office. In this context, it is helpful to consider Billig's (1996) claim that an important function of any political talk is the construction of a credible identity and Burke's thesis that 'identification' with the audience is a speaker's most important route to persuasion" (quoted in Augoustinos, Lecouteur, Soyland 2002, 114) . Schwarzenegger does just that, he uses the idea of the future to construct a credible identity and he mobilizes the rhetoric of state unity and links it with the future to identify with Californians.

Conclusion

This chapter has been underpinned by the idea that State of the City and State of the State addresses provide analysts with a source to study and examine images of the future spoken by contemporary American politicians. Politicians often reveal their vision and hopes for the city, state, and nation in these addresses. The future played out in political speeches tells the story of how people and places move through time. By mixing temporal rhetoric and generic images of the future featuring varying levels of political agency, the politician uses the future flexibly to illustrate their competence (a visionary and problem solver) and readiness (one who cares about the people now and into the future) for office.

When analyzing the future found in State of the City and State of the State addresses, it needs to be stressed time and again that the generic images we use to describe and classify these representations both help and hinder us in our work. Using Brier's generic images of the future, for instance, I might conclude that contemporary American politicians are future oriented, but largely towards one way of thinking about the future: that future is the result of our choices and actions. American politicians believe that working together we can *build* better futures for ourselves and our communities. In contrast, using Dator's generic images of the futures I might conclude that contemporary American politicians are future oriented, but largely towards one way of thinking about the future: economic growth and social progress through high technology. Consequently, one sees the benefit and liability of using any generic set of images. They are a way of seeing and not seeing at the same time.

If we believe that short-term politics is the *natural* state of affairs, then we have little hope in creating an alternative system in which long-term politics is just as likely as short-term politics. An understanding of how contemporary American politicians speak about the future may enable us to resist this exclusive short-term reading of politicians and provide useful insights on how and when one can work with a politician to enrich and promote long-term thinking and intergenerational justice in the current political system. Note, I am not suggesting that we abandon the pursuit of modifications to the current political structures or the creation of new ones that enable intergenerational justice, only that we do not limit ourselves to this strategy.

This understanding includes a recognition that the way the politician imagines the future is constrained by the ways the politician speaks about the future, and the way the politician speaks about the future is shaped by power. Thus images of the future contained in State of the City and State of the State addresses both conceal and reveal political power. Often these narratives about the future are tied to a set of economic and technological images that promise a rising standard of living and more convenient and enhanced lifestyle. Although the wisdom of unlimited economic growth is beginning to be questioned more frequently, overall, growth is usually considered good and natural. Technological development, on the other hand, remains a recurring representational element of the future. Technological discourse has effectively colonized the future. In the process of emphasizing economic growth and technological development, individuals and organizations that cannot contribute to these goals are marginalized. Further, constricting the future to economic growth and technological development leads to institutions in the present that must create people tailored to contribute to this dominant future. In this way, the present is colonized by the future. Because the way we talk about the future impacts the present, it becomes important for us to think of new ways to speak about the future so we can create multiple and alternative presents in which more people are visible and considered important.

There are more examples in the State of the State and State of the City speeches than I have included here. After reading numerous instances of long-term politics, one gets the feeling it is inevitable rather than merely possible. And, of course, many more

examples can be found outside of political speeches. Moving beyond the short-term economic development versus long-term environmental preservation frame of long-term politics, the civil union debate contained in Hawaii's House Bill 444 (extending the same rights, benefits, protections, and responsibilities of spouses in marriage to partners in a civil union) provides an example. One starting point for this struggle was Hawaii Court Circuit Judge Chang's 1996 order that the state permit same-sex couples to marry (Goldberg 1996). One could, of course select other starting points. America's earliest sodomy law, for instance, passed in the Virginia Colony in 1610 dictating the death penalty to offenders might be another starting point (Public Agenda 2009). In my view, efforts to oppose HB444 were a manifestation of a 400 year old project to outlaw and punish homosexuality. Both those that supported and those that opposed HB444 were not trying to restrict or confer rights upon gay, lesbians, and transgendered people for the next three to five years (or simply to the next election), but in perpetuity. According to an article in the *Honolulu Star Bulletin*, one participant estimated about 15,000 people attended a rally at the Hawaii State Capitol voicing their opposition to HB444 (Shikina 2010). Through the rational choice analyst's lens, legislators that voted against HB444 were pandering to those that opposed the bill. Conversely, legislators that voted for HB444 were pandering to those that supported the bill. Either way they voted, legislators could be described as being short-term and simply doing what was needed to win reelection. In effect, there is no escape from being described as self-serving and short-term in this treatment. We need to improve explanations which damn politicians as short-termists no matter how they vote. There should be a case made for the possibility of generative and long-term politics. The next chapter explores one of these possibilities: future generations.

CHAPTER 3

IMAGINING FUTURE GENERATIONS

This chapter considers how future generations-related language is used in State of the City and State of the State speeches. Although analysis of Growth and Building images dominated much of the previous chapter, these images do not entirely eradicate or silence other images. Future generations talk is important because it illustrates that politicians sometimes imagine the future in different ways than job creation and economic growth. In some respects, future generations talk represents a fight against the Growth image. Rather than focusing on the future of the economy, future generation talk stresses the value of human relationships and continuity.

The examination of future generations-related speech also indicates that it is context dependent. The same politician might articulate Growth images in one context and future generations talk in another. Note, this does not necessarily mean politicians are insincere or pandering to obtain votes (although this does happen). It means that all of us, including politicians, carry multiple and competing images of the future. Our representations of the future are not always consistent, sometimes in tension, and are often context dependent.

As I argued in the first chapter, the notion of the short-term politician remains, largely, unquestioned within the citadel of conventional academic theory and the mainstream media. From the perspective of the rational choice theorist, future generations have no election value whatsoever. Because future generations don't vote or make campaign contributions, they can't help politicians win elections. Because present generations are only interested in the resolution of issues confined to the here and now, the plight of future generations has no value to them. The rational politician, therefore, has no business investing time, energy, or attention safeguarding the quality of life of future generations. Indeed, the recognition of our responsibilities to future generations, let alone the implementation of such responsibilities, would be meaningless to present generations. But the rational choice theorist stressing this theme is left with one vexing

problem: politicians do speak about future generations and intergenerational justice. To illustrate, Idaho Governor C.L. (Butch) Otter said “States have a unique ability and I believe a responsibility to experiment and make America better for future generations” (Otter 2009). Further, Delaware’s Governor Ruth Ann Minner argued that “we should not borrow from future generations to solve this year’s budget problem” (Minner 2003). San Mateo Mayor Brandt Grotte said we must “address short-term interests without losing sight of the needs of future generations” (Grotte 2009). Adding Native American wisdom and the discursive statement “seventh generation” to the theme, Governor Brian Schweitzer said

the first Montanans, these people of the Great Plains who had lived sustainably on this land for nearly 10,000 years had a notion of leadership. Their leaders, their elders had a notion about protecting the future generations. Every decision made by elders considers the consequences on the seventh generation. As we consider the options that we have before us, let us not forget the future generations and the generations that will follow them. (Schweitzer 2007)

Florida Governor Charlie Crist illustrated the theme through Florida’s environment and the following appeal:

the future is now. From sugar-sand beaches and coral reefs, to crystal clear springs and rivers among lush forests, all with glorious sunrises and amazing sunsets. We must take action in our lifetime to protect these treasures, or future generations will not experience the Florida we know and love. (Crist 2009)

Wyoming Governor Dave Freudenthal said

Each generation should be willing to leave after it more than it finds at its beginning. There would be little left in the world for any of us if the policy had been for one age to exhaust and destroy and leave but little to the succeeding. We owe it to the present, we owe it to the future to heed the admonition that our greatest obligation is to leave more behind after we have been here than was here when we arrived." But what I'm arguing for is a different way of doing business. Because I think what is going on in this country and this state is that people are beginning to wonder about not the decisions we make, but the way that we make them and what it is that turns out to be important to us when we weigh the future and we weigh those decisions. We had this conference in January in Casper in which we decided that, you know, it is the second term, we will go ahead and touch the third rail of Wyoming politics and we will have a conference about planning. And frankly, I expected that we could get a modest attendance, maybe 100, 125. We ended up with 525 people. The room was packed. We had to turn

people away. We had to extend the participation. And the most interesting thing about it was that a lot of people there were not the usual suspects. The usual suspects being you and I and the folks who are always at these things. The second thing that was unusual was the degree of energy people had about thinking about what this state is going to be in the future, thinking about what it is we want for ourselves and for our children. (Freudenthal 2009)

Moving to an example from a State of the City speech, Salt Lake City Mayor Ross C. “Rocky” Anderson said

Great wisdom – and a reminder of our tremendous, sacred responsibility – is reflected in the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy, which declares: “In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations.” Over the last five years in Salt Lake City, enormous progress has been made in creating a city that is livable and sustainable. Sustainability – economically, environmentally, and as it relates to the public health and quality of life – is achieved only when those who propose, advocate for, make, and implement public policy keep in focus the best interests of residents and visitors – now and far into the future... A livable and sustainable city is a just and safe community, with a government that is accountable and accessible to all the people it serves. And, leaders and citizens of a sustainable city conscientiously take into account the impact of their decisions on future generations. Our governance is only as good as our impact on those who come after us... We are in positions of immense public trust, with the responsibility to do what is best, in the short-term and in the long-term, for our City and its people, now and in the future. (Anderson 2005)

In examples like these, politicians speak about future generations. They touch on our interest and responsibility to future generations. Thus the rational choice theorist is left with the following question: If politicians are (re)election focused, and if they simply pander to the interests of a citizenry of self-interested *nowists*, then what possible benefit would they obtain by speaking about the needs and interests of people 25 years or more into the future? Instead of reassessing the value of rational choice theory, a committed rational choice theorist might reassess their notion of value. Specifically, they might craft questions to expand the notion of the political costs and benefits of speaking about future generations. Ultimately, they will have to broaden their notion of what the public values (intergenerational justice) and what they expect from politicians (a responsible government that takes the well-being of future generations into account). Alternatively, they may conclude that rhetoric about future generations and intergenerational justice is

simply a political cost. If so, they will have to (re)think their position on the politician's singular focus on (re)election.

Using Foucault's work as a guide, we can offer a competing explanation: politicians don't speak about future generations, future generations speak through politicians. Put another way, rather than understanding and approaching the discursive statement *future generations* as a rhetorical tool containing costs and benefits for an autonomous politician trying to optimize (re)election results, the name – the classification – the concept – the problem – the meaning – of unborn humans, *future generations*, preexists the politician. The politician merely inherits, utters, and reproduces prescribed subjects rather than creates subjects and their meaning to maximize their insatiable desire for (re)election. Politicians do not own or control the statement *future generations* nor the relationships, responsibilities, and expectations which flow from their use; rather they draw on and speak about what has come before them. Moving from a rational choice to a Foucauldian frame of understanding, the discursive statements *future generations*, *the next seven generations*, (*children*, *grandchildren*, and *great-grandchildren*), invite politicians to conceive of and construct time on the basis of relationships. When politicians speak about future generations they speak about the long-term future, but not in terms of a quantifiable number of years, but as an endless relation and responsibility to children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and the succeeding generations of unborn. In this view, time is not thought of arithmetically, but in terms of caretaking.

Generativity

As discussed in the first chapter, “generativity, can be defined broadly, as a psychological concern with making a lasting contribution to the future, especially future generations” (Petersen 2004, 195). This idea, introduced by psychologist Erik Erikson in his book *Childhood and Society* ([1950] 1993), opens a way for us to speak about the relationship between contemporary politicians and future generations. Rather than simply representing the politician as a selfish individual pursuing the single goal of (re)election, Erikson encourages us to think of politicians as adults at midlife, increasingly aware of

their own mortality and legacy, looking for ways “to give something back” to society.

McAdams and Logan describe an important psychological benefit of generativity:

The prospect of imagining how one’s life will end is not a welcome one for most individuals. The narrative beauty of generativity, however, is that it provides a way of thinking about the end of one’s own life that suggests that the end is *really* not the end. I may die, but my children will live on. My own story may end, but other stories will follow mine, due in part to my own generative efforts. Generativity helps to script how people see the end of their own lives, helping them to construct identities in which endings give birth to new beginnings. (McAdams and Logan 2004, 25)

To suggest that generativity is limited to one’s children is too much. In *Gandhi’s Truth* (1969), Erikson showed that “generativity may be expressed in public political actions as well as in the crucible of the family” (McAdams and Logan 2004, 22). Indeed, generativity finds its way into political speeches. To illustrate, in her Delaware State of the State Address in 2005, Governor Ruth Ann Minner shared the following story:

The inaugural prayer service last week included a story from the Jewish Talmud about a man planting carob trees. A passerby asked the man why he would plant such trees, since they take 70 years to bear fruit. The man said, “When I was born into this world, I found many carob trees planted by my father and grandfather. Just as they planted trees for me, I am planting trees for my children and grandchildren so they will be able to eat the fruit of these trees”. My goal this year and for the next four years is to sow seeds that will bear fruit and continue to improve the lives of Delawareans long after all of us are gone. (Minner 2005)

After introducing the book *A Lasting Legacy*, Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee provides another example of a generativity story when he said:

I have a good friend who lives down in Arkansas County, near DeWitt, George Dunklin Jr. Many of you perhaps know George. George is a farmer. He has a vast farming operation and also operates a hunting lodge over there. George is doing something remarkable. He is perhaps one of the most committed conservationists I’ve ever known. And he is determined that the land he takes care of and has inherited will be left in better shape even than he found it. Because of the flooding of timber there on his place, some of the hardwoods are dying out. George has taken it upon himself to spend enormous amounts of money to plant thousands of hardwood trees, trees that quite frankly he will never live long enough to enjoy. He will long be passed before those trees provide him with a level of shade or food for the wildlife, the very purposes for which he is planting and growing them. But there is a sense of responsibility. He knows those things in his care are being lost to deterioration and wear, and he needs to make sure there is something

for those who will be his grandchildren and even his great-grandchildren. In the same way, it is incumbent upon us here today to make sure that we plant not just for the next election, or even the next session, but clearly for the next generation. (Huckabee 2005)

In these stories, the long-term future is acknowledged and a politics of intergenerational justice and fairness is highlighted and stressed. In these stories, the politician preaches individual and collective responsibility for the well being of future generations. In these stories and through the conceptual framework of future generations discourse, it is through empathy and caring for our posterity that present generations find identify, value, and meaning.

Further, this *we have responsibilities to future generations* rhetoric is “intended precisely to assert that this issue has only one side” (Edelman 1998, 18). Each politician speaks as if caretaking for future generations is a deeply embedded cultural value. Extending Edelman’s argument about the pervasive use of the image of the child as the symbol of the future to future generations, we can say that “the image of the future generation coercively shapes the structure within which the “political” itself can be thought” (Edelman 1998, 19). In other words, what would it mean to take the other side of this argument? How would one argue against intergenerational justice? Framed as it is, you are either for or against future generations. Thus, any counterargument appears morally bankrupt. In this view, future generations become the only and unquestioned emblem and purpose of the future. Again, drawing on Edelman, the insistence that we think of future generations leads us back to the politics of reproduction, heterosexual reproduction that is. For Edelman, the way politicians speak about future generations coercively structures and limits those who wish to stand “outside the cycles of reproduction” (those who believe the meaning of the future is more than or different from procreating) (Edelman 1998, 29) In this way, future generations talk is tied up with meaning and power because it “affirms a social order” (an order centered in the dominant heterosexual view that there must be a baby to be a future) (Edelman 1998, 19). Simultaneously, and in stark contrast, rather than linking the future to reproduction, a recent international survey about how people think about the future revealed that “one half of the sample believes that humankind will become extinct within 500-1000 years”

(Tonn, Hemrick, and Conrad 2006, 828). If one does not believe that humankind has a future, then why should one care much about future generations? Put another way, if future generations have no real existence then a politics based on future generations has no meaning. Why should one be locked into way of understanding and approaching the future largely in terms of our responsibilities to and the needs of people that may not exist? My point here, like Edelman's with children, the enunciative position of future generations discourse is hidden (grounded in an order that privileges heterosexuality and reproduction – and carbon based (flesh and blood) human life). So when is it feasible for politicians to talk about the long-term future? One answer: when it promotes the reproduction of society and the dominant social order. Calling for intergenerational justice assumes an indefinite future fueled by a never ending process of heterosexual reproduction.

Imagine the opposite. Imagine a politician that says humankind will only survive for another 200 years so live it up and use all the natural resources you can now for you will have no posterity. How would the idea of no posterity impact humans? This theme, the end of posterity, has been touched on in numerous novels and films including Arthur Clarke's *Childhood's End* and Neville Shute's *On the Beach*. Both stories carry an Eriksonian theme. The adult characters are, as Erikson argues, dependent on the children (not vice versa). In Clarke's novel, the evolution and integration of the children into the Overmind, an interstellar hive mind of sorts, and in Shute's novel, the end of humanity due to nuclear war, drive the remaining adults into a state of depression, meaninglessness, and, in extreme cases, suicide. From my perspective, we would experience something similar in life to fiction if this scenario materialized. Erikson writes "mature man needs to be needed, and maturity needs guidance as well as encouragement from what has been produced and must be taken care of. Generativity, then, is primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (E. Erikson [1950] 1993, 266-267). For all the talk of short-term politics, short-term capitalism, and the selective biological (Darwinian) advantages of short-term action throughout our evolutionary history, in my view, "sometimes the short-term just ain't enough." In other words, exclusively short-term accounts of human behavior are inadequate to explain the diversity of temporal perceptions our species displays. One of the manifestations of our long-term perception

of time is, as Erikson argues, a psychological need for a relationship with our progeny and future generations. The insistence of scholarship and criticism on our short-term nature blinds us to the numerous and varied instances of long-term caretaking, stewardship, and the desire to create a fair and just world beyond our own time. Again, I argue these long-term needs find their way into our political institutions and sometimes result in long-term action.

When discussing constructions of the political, Michael Shapiro introduces Jacques Rancière's notion that "politics begins when those who have no share begin to have one" (quoted in Shapiro 2001, 93). If, as Dator maintains, "the future can and MUST be ignored by elected officials," then future generations have no share and voice in the political order (Dator 1998). The politician (or political scientist), like Dator, that does speak about future generations, therefore, "introduces a new form of political qualification" within the political order (Shapiro 2001, 93). From this perspective, politicians (and political scientists) that use future generations discourse should be applauded for their speech rather than condemned for their inability to implement the rhetorical principles articulated. These principles provide a sense of hope for a better and just future.

Who Benefits?

Before proceeding, we can—and should—point out an important difference between the way some American politicians use the term future generations and the way some futurists use the term. As Erik Erikson's son Kai Erikson points out

Generativity speaks of a concern for and a commitment to future generations at several levels of abstraction: (a) one's own offspring; (b) younger members of the community, or nationality, or any other social grouping to which one sees itself as belonging; and (c) the species itself. (K. Erikson 2004, 54-55)

He goes on to say that:

In English, when one speaks about "the next generation," one is usually referring to the young of a particular community or nation or people. It is important to keep in mind, then, that looking out for the welfare of a specified class of young people—Muslims, Jews, Japanese, Americans—is different from, and can be

contrary to, looking out for the interests of the species in general. (K.Erikson 2004, 55)

For many politicians, future generations mean any succeeding generation. Often this means the electorate's children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Christopher Stone touches on this line of reasoning:

There is an impressive body of theoretical and empirical literature, much of it generated by analyses of taxation and public finance, indicating that each generation's empathy for its own immediate successors—its children—provides something like an “infinite horizon.” I save and exercise my political voice to conserve key resources in order to improve the legacy of my daughters, who will save for their children, and so on. (C. Stone 1996, 66)

In this view, the infinite horizon is good and useful because it provides a perpetual representation system for future generations. In contrast, Kim and Dator contend that we must distinguish between our children and grandchildren and the species in general. Kim and Dator write

Many people think of their own children and grandchildren—or at least of their own biological descendants—when they think of “future generations.” But this may not be the best meaning of this term. Being mindful of and helping provide for the needs of your own descendants is relatively easy—though not exactly duck soup either, as the children of parents with maxed out credit cards, one hundred year mortgages, and other malingered debts well know. But it is very difficult—indeed, perhaps impossible—for humans to care sufficiently for the unborn they will never see, never know, and who are not their own descendants. And yet that is precisely what the term “future generations” may need to signify: not our descendants; not even others children who we can come to see and know, but people we will never know, and who can never thank us for caring for them, or bring us to task for failing to do so. (Kim and Dator 1999)

In doing so, Dator seeks a fundamental political change from a personal lineage viewpoint to a species and planetary viewpoint. As hopeful as I am that we can achieve Dator's ethically enhanced electorate and politician, it may be “a basic strategic political error because the universalist appeal is, properly speaking, Utopian” (Dobson 2000, 146).

One tempting response to my charge of utopianism above is a version of “any innovative or useful idea was ridiculed when first suggested.” However, if we stop to ponder this generic response further we will find it is not accurate (many useful ideas

were embraced quickly when first suggested), does not address the substance of the argument (the extent to which humans can suspend dividing and classificatory practices), and is matched by the related and equally insightful corollary "many stupid ideas were flattered and praised when first suggested." The desire to improve and protect the conditions of life for *every* member of society in the future, without distinction of relation, time horizon, city, state, nation, gender, race, class, ethnicity, religion, culture, species, planet, and so forth, is challenging because of the human inclination to divide and classify the world. In other words, although people are capable of expanding and contracting their time horizons, they are not, in my view, capable of foregoing classification and division of present and future generations. Even if we create new political institutions such as an a Guardian for Future Generations (Agius and Busuttil 1994; C. Stone 1996), a Court for Future Generations, a Futures Congress (Tonn 1996), a People's Tribune (Sasaki 2004), an Ombudsman for Future Generations (Javor 2006), or a Commission for Future Generations in the Knesset (Shoham and Lamay 2006) that are better able to balance the needs of present generations with the needs of future generations, they will still have to grapple with several central questions: "for whom (or what) should they speak?; which future generation is their principle?; what official functions should they serve?; where should they be situated?; who should serve as representative?; what should their objectives be?" (Stone 1996, 66-77). Whatever the answers to these questions, they will inevitably require the separation of people (and other beings) in space and time. These divisions, often implicit in our representations, are the stuff of politics. Although our classifications and divisions of present and future generations may change over time, our interest and need to classify and divide them is likely to remain with us. As Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star put it, "to classify is human" (Bowker and Star 1999, 1). Further, they argue "for any individual or group situation, classifications and standards give advantage or they give suffering" (Bowker and Star 1999, 6). Stated otherwise, classifications and divisions provide the foundation upon which we justify, rationalize, and legitimate inequality. Erik and Kai Erikson touched on the human tendency to engage in pseudospeciation, "the division of the human species according to worthiness, with some groups being viewed as composed of less-than-human members and other as valued authentic human beings" (de St. Aubin,

McAdams, and Kim 2004, 268). From my perspective, politicians will use (and be used by) classifications and divisions established by influential groups to promote the interests of *select* individuals and groups in the future. Nothing in this statement of the human interest and need to classify and divide present generations and future generations indicates that politicians and the electorate are unable to widen their in-group or embrace more flexible classifications of present and future generations (for whom and what they speak). Indeed I am confident that our current classifications and divisions of present generations and future generations will change over time. However, to accord people with a degree of plasticity in classification and division is not to reverse or abandon the process itself. The practice of creating, sustaining, and legitimating inequalities (thus the need for classification and division) is likely to remain, to some extent, an ongoing behavior in human societies. Hence this tendency to classify and divide is likely to hamper the politician's ability to act universally (for all people and beings). From my perspective, politicians are likely to focus on the members of their in-group (this is not limited to influential pressure groups or political action committees or affluent campaign donors). Therefore we should strive to widen the notion of their in-group and the flexibility of their classifications. My point of contention with some futurists and popular representations is that the widening and flexibility can, to some degree, happen in the existing political structures.

There are some instances in which contemporary American politicians already have, rhetorically, a wide in-group. Seattle Mayor Greg Nickels's, for instance, touches on Kim and Dator's call for a planetary consciousness. Although a longer futures-related extract of Nickels's speech can be found in the appendix, an excerpt reveals "As strong as Seattle is today, there is a threat that not only clouds the future of this city, but the future of the entire planet -- global warming pollution from the burning of fossil fuels" (Nickels 2007). Not content to speak and reason about global warming as Seattle's problem, Nickels goes on to understand and approach climate change "as a 'pivotal moment for mankind'" (Nickels 2007). He connects Seattle's future to the planet's future when saying "how we build our cities may well determine the fate of our planet" (Nickels 2007). When saying "In the age of global warming, the choices we make on a wide range of issues, from education and housing to public safety and transportation, don't just affect

the quality of life in our city; they affect the future of life on our planet,” Nickels encourages Seattlites individually and collectively to consider the ways they contribute to climate change and global warming for all.

Although Mayor Nickels’s appeal does contain some self-interested regional benefits for long-term action, his rhetorical goal is planetary health. In contrast, South Dakota Governor Mike Rounds provides an example of select long-term benefit (to a smaller and targeted population of people – South Dakotans) when he said:

Some people have been saying that the 2008 legislature should take large amounts of money out of the Dakota Cement Trust Fund, the Health Care Trust Fund, and the Education Enhancement Trust Fund and give all of that to local schools. The voters of South Dakota spoke clearly in a special election on April 10, 2001, that three large windfall amounts of money must be put into those three trust accounts so that the interest could be used to help the current generation and all of the future generations of South Dakotans forever. By votes of 78 percent and 72 percent, they created the three trust funds and made it very difficult to reduce the principle in each of those trust funds. Both of these vote percentages are higher than any vote percentage ever received by any governor in the history of South Dakota. So, the people have spoken very clearly on this. The trust funds are more popular than any governor in our history. (Rounds 2009)

These excerpts illustrate an important point made in the first chapter: it is feasible for politicians to speak about the long-term when they show long-term action is good for both current and future generations. In Nickels’s case, after pointing to how global warming leads to shortages of drinking water, electricity production problems, depleted fish stocks, and malnourished forests in Seattle’s present, he calls upon Seattleites to reduce greenhouse gases to solve these current problems as well as future planetary problems (and he throws in a dash of Smart Growth). In Rounds’s case, he points to how the electorate voted to preserve trust accounts for the present and future generations (all “South Dakotans forever”). Although not as global in scope as Nickel’s case (the whole planet), the principal is similar: the reduction of greenhouse gases and the trust accounts benefit people in both the short and long-term. For Nickels, everyone. For Rounds, South Dakotans. Rounds’s example of a targeted benefit (to individuals or groups we identify with) appears to be the more common than Nickels’s planetary consciousness (individuals and groups we will never know).

Open Space

The topic of open space and the preservation of a unique sense of place is a recurring theme and link between present and future generations. In these cases, the politician usually means the electorate's own children and grandchildren when describing future generations. Using a broader definition of future generations, Colorado Governor Bill Owens introduces this theme:

We've added more open space. Through Great Outdoors Colorado, we've invested more than \$72 million, increasing open space by more than 400,000 acres since 1999. We've preserved more land and wildlife habitat for future generations than at any time in our history. (Owens 2006)

Considering that 28 million visitors spent \$9.8 billion in 2007 in tourism related expenditures in Colorado, much of it revolving around national parks, hiking, and outdoor adventure activities (Alonzi and Sullivan 2008), adding more open space in Colorado amounts to adding to the inventory of a successful product. While it may help future generations, it also helps present generations. Another longer example from Georgia's Sonny Perdue illustrates the theme of creating more open space and protecting a unique sense of place with a narrower definition of future generations (the electorate's children and grandchildren) when he said:

There's a theme you've probably heard me mention once or twice over the last four years – stewardship. And it's something I'll continue to talk about over the next four years – because it was ingrained in me from boyhood. It's a word that embodies why we choose the path of public service. It's about taking care of our resources and laying the groundwork for the 21st century. I know most of you in this chamber have experienced the emotion of having a child, grandchild, niece or nephew brought into this world. And I believe you've felt that deep, natural desire to make the world a better place for them, for your family. There's a Native American saying that I think sums it up: We do not inherit the earth from our ancestors, we borrow it from our children. Two years ago, we took a confident step toward managing Georgia's resources for the future when we implemented the Land Conservation Act. That act defined bipartisanship, with support on both sides of the aisle, as well as from business and environmental groups across the state. Well, this year, I want to do more to keep Georgia pristine and beautiful for our grandchildren. We started by creating a \$100 million program in 2005, and this year I am recommending we commit \$50 million more to preserve our lands for the enjoyment of generations to come. Land like the Paulding Forest. Our distinguished Speaker has advocated the conservation of this land for a long

time. It's something he's passionate about – and he's not alone. If we don't act now, we may never...ever get the chance again. Another integral part of protecting Georgia's resources is keeping them pristine for use by our citizens and visitors from around the world. We have a long-standing tradition of hunting and fishing in our state, and last year, voters preserved that right in our constitution. Each year residents and tourists spend nearly \$600 million on fishing alone, for a total economic impact of more than \$1.5 billion. But we can do even better. We will turn Georgia into a fisherman's paradise. That's why I am proposing a \$19 million investment for an initiative we call *Go Fish Georgia*. (Perdue 2007)

Perdue draws on the notion of *stewardship*, a broad moral to protect Georgia's natural resources for near and remote future generations. He argues Georgians should spend millions of taxpayer's dollars to preserve open space to both aid Georgia's current hunting and fishing industry and so our children and grandchildren can enjoy these special places.

When speaking about the need to protect and preserve the environment for the future, Tennessee Governor Phil Bredesen uses a narrower definition of future generations:

the Cumberland Plateau ... is one of the most beautiful and biologically diverse places on the planet, and yet it is being clear cut, vast tracts of land owned by timber companies are on the market, and in many cases are being bought by speculators from out of state. Nothing good can come of this. I am proposing two initiatives. First, the establishment of a public-private foundation, perhaps called the Cumberland Plateau Foundation, that can move quickly, can collaborate with other organizations, and preserve these lands for the future. Second, I have placed in the budget \$10 million of one-time money to start the process. This initial investment on our part will leverage a great many private and federal dollars as well, and will allow us to take the first steps in preserving this unique and beautiful part of Tennessee. I propose to begin with the Cumberland Plateau, but I want to expand the vision in the years ahead to other areas as well, areas like the Mississippi River Corridor, the Appalachians, the river valleys and others. Outdoor spaces are important to our people's health, they are important to the preservation of our heritage, and to creating jobs and attracting people who will create jobs. My dream is that a generation from now, if we are diligent, our children and grandchildren will have hundreds of thousands of acres protected for their use, for hiking, picnicking and hunting and fishing and just for enjoying with their own families the beauty of God's creation here in Tennessee. (Bredesen 2005)

Bredesen speaks about preserving the Cumberland Plateau for our children and grandchildren. Presumably he intends on preserving it for many generations. However, because enough time numbs the electorate, it is prudent to speak in terms of time that people can relate to and motivates them to take action. By speaking of our children and grandchildren he shows the present and the future are not mutually exclusive (both will enjoy benefit through its protection).

And Rhode Island Governor Lincoln Almond said

If you ask ... any Rhode Islander why they enjoy living here, one of their top reasons is our natural heritage—our parks, beaches and open space. We've grown up in a state where a drive to the ocean is just 20 minutes away and a beautiful park is right around the corner. That's the Rhode Island our parents have come to know and love. That's the Rhode Island that we've enjoyed exploring with our children and grandchildren are discovering today. That's the Rhode Island that we want to pass down to generations to come. A Rhode Island where families can bike on paths that are near the bay and green fields. We know that open space is precious so let's safeguard it. Let's enact the 50 million dollar bond issue I have proposed to achieve our goal of preserving 35 thousand acres in the next decade. While I have proposed this bond issue, the Nature Conservancy is already doing its part. This vital organization is raising 45 million dollars to preserve open space in our state. Just think of what our combined efforts will mean for our future. We want our state to grow smart. That's why I will be signing an Executive Order to establish a Growth Council to ensure that our economic development enhances our environment. (Almond 2000)

Like Perdue and Bredesen, Almond calls upon Rhode Islanders to preserve open space to advantage both present and future generations. Because open space is one of the defining features of place, preserving and passing it to future generations is a recurring hope.

Again, like Erikson, I contend that people want to leave a place more beautiful and more livable than they inherited. Our legacy, what we leave behind, is a source of meaning for the politician and the electorate. Wisconsin Governor Scott McCallum put it this way:

William Shakespeare said, "These trees shall be my books." And I say, "Our actions shall be our legacy." Let's work hard to be proud of what we leave behind. Let's be mindful of the fact that the legacy we make for ourselves though word and deed will shape what our children, our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren will think of what we did with our time – and with our lives. (McCallum 2001)

Despite repeated charges of not caring about the future, I believe many politicians do care about the future of their city, state, and nation. Moreover, some care about how they are remembered. Thus framing intergenerational requests in a way that promote the politician's honorable place in the future may be effective in promoting long-term legislation. If politicians are generative and have a desire for a positive legacy, the best time to approach them with intergenerational requests may be in their last year(s) of a term limit. Freed from the need to raise money for future elections, politicians may be in a better position to take action on behalf of remote future generations. Additionally, politicians in the senior part of their political careers or those running largely uncontested elections may be more receptive to appeals to intergenerational justice.

Before criticizing my belief in the generative politician and the notion of legacy readiness, we must ask what are the alternatives? Is it that politicians don't care about the future? Or is it politicians care about the future, but the political structures they work in prevent them from taking any action on behalf of the future? Either way, there is no point in working with politicians because they are either unwilling or unable to act on behalf of future generations. Another possibility: build new political structures that better balance the needs of present generations with the needs of future generations. However, this is likely to take a long time and time is not, as many scientists argue, on the side of future generations. Thus finding ways to work within the existing political system in the short-term while imagining and articulating alternative political structures in the long-term seems a preferable strategy to expand the amount and type of future-oriented political policies and behavior. Therefore it is incumbent upon those who claim intergenerational justice is important to find ways to bring more of it about in the existing political system. The first way to do this is to resist the idea that it is impossible to do so.

Time Horizon

Kim and Dator have pointed out some of the complexities of thinking about and speaking about future generations. As they put it

by future generations do we mean all human generations for all time to come?
Surely different future generations will have different, and perhaps competing, if

not actually mutually-exclusive needs and desires. Can we assess and respond fairly to them all? Or should we restrict our concerns for, say, the next 100 years, and be mindful only of the unborn generations who will live in the 21st Century? And is our obligation only, or primarily to future humans? Do we have any obligation to the life around humans. (Kim and Dator 1999)

Politicians call for the electorate to consider needs of future generations in a variety of time horizons. For example, Arizona Governor Janet Napolitano said

As we turn to the future, we cannot look only to the next election cycle or the next fiscal year. Rather, we will do our best work when we keep our eyes on the coming decades. Every decision we make should be grounded in its impact on the next generation and beyond. This is how we will create the new Arizona of the 21st Century. This is how we will turn the disappointment we have inherited into a legacy we are proud to pass on. (Napolitano 2003)

City of Charleston Mayor Joseph P. Riley said

For most of the Lowcountry's existence up until now growth and its consumption of undeveloped land continued somewhat on its own without substantial community direction. The pace was slow; its results seemed rather obvious and reasonable. But times have changed dramatically. We are in a period of extraordinary growth and it is our duty and responsibility as a community to have the emotional and intellectual energy to together decide what our community should look like 50 years from now and beyond. That is not going to happen automatically. We need a major community paradigm shift. When we had slow if not anemic growth we took what came along. If we continue to do that now with our powerful pace of growth, we will have lost control. A lot of community participation and work has gone into the concepts of developing urban growth boundaries, that is, community decisions about where urban and suburban growth will occur and what regions will remain rural – green spaces. This is an important community decision because it is one way of preserving our environment 50 or 250 years from now. Without urban growth boundaries eventually our creeks and watersheds will be ruined for we will have overburdened our coastal environment and lost the natural nature and beauty of the Lowcountry. We must not let that happen. It is increasingly clear that we have the responsibility of coming together as a region to help plan our future. If each city or county in a metropolitan area acts independently of each other, then 50 and 100 years from now those that live here will be paying the price. We must come together, cities and counties, and try to develop a unified vision of how we allow for economic growth and expansion but together preserve the physical beauty and healthy environment of this region. If we don't do this and if we don't stick to our community planning decisions, will we be giving future generations the ills of uncontrolled growth, dangerous highways, traffic congestion, reduction of air quality, unremarkable once scenic highways, and more. (J. Riley 2004)

Wichita Mayor Bob Night remarked

As our community works to restore and strengthen our economy... we must realize the delicate link between the economy and the environment. Without a clean and plentiful water supply...none of us can survive much less thrive. We must all realize that putting short-term profits ahead of protecting our water supplies is a business formula, which will wreck the economy and lead to disaster. The City of Wichita recognizes its responsibility to be a good steward of the natural resources its citizens use and as a community we accept our obligation to preserve and protect those natural resources. One example of this commitment to the environment is the Cowskin Creek Water Quality Reclamation Facility. It is an award-winning national model for state-of-the-art waste water treatment facilities...a facility which not only protects the environment...but offers citizens educational and recreational opportunities. The most urgent project is the Equus Beds Recharge Project. The City of Wichita...with strong support from the state and federal governments...is undertaking this groundbreaking approach to guarantee a clean...safe water supply for 500 thousand people. The Equus Beds Recharge Project will protect the aquifer from pollution and replenish it with fresh...treated water from the Little Arkansas River...giving us a reliable water supply for the next 50 years. (Night 2003)

When discussing his vision for Tucson in 2020, Tuscon Mayor Robert E. Walkup commented that “we must manage our resources wisely and have the regional systems in place—transportation, government, and water—that will ensure Tucson’s sustainability for hundreds of years” (Walkup 2005).

For Napolitano, the time horizon is decades; for Riley and Night, 50 to 100 years; and for Walkup hundreds of years. For some, such as Dean, Huckabee’s, Minner’s, and Perdue’s excerpts above, the time horizon switches from years to generations: children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. In short, contemporary American politicians do not provide one answer to Dator’s question on the extent of the time horizon we should consider when assessing and responding to the needs of future generations.

Scope of Interest

Our inability to represent all interests applies to the present no less than the future. Indeed, applied to present generations, Dator’s criteria would translate to “it is difficult—indeed, perhaps impossible—for humans to care sufficiently for the living they will never see, never know, and who are not their own relatives. And yet that is precisely

what the term “present generations” may need to signify: not our relatives; not even others who we can come to see and know, but people we will never know, and who can never thank us for caring for them, or bring us to task for failing to do so.” But who among us truly thinks globally about present generations? What politician can represent, speak for, care for, or envelope the interests of all of humanity and nature in the present? Does the inability to do so mean that it is impossible for politicians to be present-oriented? Moreover, because the structure of institutions politicians find themselves in gives more weight to some interests in the present than others, do we then deny the existence of present-oriented public philosophy and behavior?

When arguing that it is impossible for legislators to be future oriented, Dator argues it is because “the future doesn’t vote and the future doesn’t have political action committees, so anybody who worries about the future too much is going to out” (quoted in Griffith 2005: 9). To some extent this is true, but the story is more nuanced and complex. While the future does not vote, the future does have interest groups such as the World Wildlife Federation, the National Resources Defense Council, and dozens of other groups that act as a proxy for *select* long-term interests. Further, the majority of people alive now neither vote nor have political action committees. Could—should—we then say that because they don’t vote or have political action committees it is impossible for legislators to be present oriented?

Regardless of whether one uses a Foucauldian or a rational choice frame, the presence of future generations discourse and rhetoric in State of the State and State of the City speeches suggests that the electorate does not automatically discount intergenerational justice (or that politicians are not exclusively (re)election focused). This provides me with hope that public sector policy-makers can, within the existing political structure, treat future generations in an equitable manner and be (re)elected.

The Gendered Nature of the Future

The politicians selected here have little to say about women and future generations. However, much of what they have to say about future generations is linked to caretaking and therefore highly relevant to women, the custodians of caretaking in

contemporary U.S. culture. As I discussed in the first chapter, de Certeau argues that “each new time provides a place for a discourse,” a new way of speaking about time and the future (de Certeau 2000, 25). In her study on the intersection of gender and the politics of time, Professor of Politics Valerie Bryson argues that

the dominant model of time in contemporary capitalist societies is the linear, goal-oriented, commodified time of the clock: time that can be individually owned, bought, sold, invested, spent or wasted, and that can be measured as a series of discrete activities. In this model, time is money, profitability requires long hours and/or the intensification of work time and we are constantly looking to clearly identifiable outcomes. (Bryson 2007, 121)

Bryson links this way of understanding time to men. In effect, she argues privileging exchange value (market) economics leads to “male temporal norms.” Arising from this narrow conception of economics, the logic of economic growth and progress comes to dominate the way we think about time in general and the future in particular. Briefly, the future is thought of in terms of security and prosperity. Within this context, one perceives and treats time and the future as a resource that can be used to increase one’s positional advantage. The future becomes a tactical tool that becomes indistinguishable from money, commodities, and power. This time culture, largely created by men, functions to dominate and exploit women’s caretaking labor for the benefit of men. Under such a social system, women’s caretaking is undervalued. When they are paid for caretaking, it tends to be low-wage and low-benefit work outside of the home. Such an understanding strengthens the economic dependency that binds women to men. This patriarchal orientation to time carries over from economics to our images of the future. Bryson argues

the feminist concept of patriarchy can usefully highlight such oppression by showing that apparently separate experiences are part of an interconnected whole, in which apparently trivial incidents and issues are connected to wider patterns of power and control that they both reflect and sustain, and in which the prioritizing of men’s interests and perspectives is so ubiquitous that it becomes invisible. (Bryson 2007, 60)

And when writing about *women’s time*, Bryson concludes:

Women do not all share a common temporal consciousness based in either biology or social experience, and feminist analysis does not indicate that we can

talk about women's time if this is defined simply in opposition to men's. As with the public/private dichotomy with which it is intertwined, the contrasts and conflicts between clock and process, individual and relational, linear and cyclical and men's and 'women's time' are not absolute; rather they are interactive elements and aspects of an infinitely complex whole. Nevertheless, feminist analysis indicates both that women's socially ascribed caring roles and, to a lesser extent, their physical role as reproducers, are linked to a range of temporal perceptions and logics very different from those that drive the labour market. In this limited sense, it is meaningful to talk about 'women's time'. This label also helps make the connection between the suppression of women's 'different temporality' and their subordinate status in a society in which value is defined in monetary terms, thereby linking campaigns around time to other dimensions of inequality and resistance. (Bryson 2007, 142)

By extension and expansion, if we can talk about "women's time" it is meaningful to talk about a *women's future*. Conceived of in such a way, the tension between short-term and long-term political action is one between men and women before it is a struggle between present and future. Speaking about the future in terms of privileged male temporal perceptions "is political because it is bound up in relations of dominance and subordination" (Ferguson 1984, 165). In a male dominated society, the language of the future helps to constitute the meaning of men and women in the future as well as the present. It reproduces, reinforces, and hides male privilege. It naturalizes a future that stresses the needs of capitalism, technology, market economics, economic growth, large public work projects, individual achievement, and individual rights and in doing so ties together the present and the future. Corn and Horrigan tap this theme when writing "future visions are overwhelmingly determined and defined by males and their marvelous machines" (Corn and Horrigan 1984, 21, 23). What remains silent and unthought in such a perspective are the female temporal perceptions based on a private and ongoing connection and relation to people in the present and future. Consequently, future generations discourse provides the means to not only speak about temporal justice, but also to resist the hidden privileges of male political power in the present and future.

If, as Kathy Ferguson contends, caretaking is one of the typical experiences of women as a social group (Ferguson 1984), a rational choice theorist might respond that future generations discourse offers politicians a way to persuade voters that they are ethical and moral caretakers. More strategically, future generations discourse may enable

politicians to attract more female voters. By creating an impression of connection and caretaking, the politician seems likeable, trustworthy, nurturing, and moral. Given that there are more female voters than male voters in the United States (United States Census Bureau 2009b), it makes sense to use future generations rhetoric. Political consultant Dr. Frank Luntz declares

the vast majority of Americans don't vote based on particular issues at all. The fabled issue voter is a rare specimen indeed, and "agrees with me on the issues" is inevitably one of the least important candidate attributes in determining public support. Americans, by and large, decide who to vote for based on the candidates attributes—personality, image, authenticity, vibe. The media is still in denial about this, and every time I have advanced the notion at press events that issues don't matter that much, the print reporters who cover politics rush to defend a more intellectual perception of what elections are all about. To them, accepting the fact that image matters more than policy would be accepting the fact that what people see through their television matters more than what they read in the newspaper. The reason why issues and ideology are less significant is simply that most Americans don't know the substance behind the issues... (Luntz, 2007, 198-199)

Following Luntz, the rational choice theorist could argue the rhetoric is what matters not the policy. To win votes, the politician has to talk the talk rather than walk the talk. Through this lens, future generations are primarily a political instrument rather than a moral one. Again, drawing on Luntz, one can say that future generations are "linguistically valuable because it is a principle that Americans want" (Luntz 2007, 208). In particular, a principal that may make more women voters feel comfortable with a politician because as Mary O'Brien asserts "women share a reproductive consciousness of continuity" and Frieda Forman contends that they have a "generative temporality" (quoted in Bryson 2007, 124-125).

In other words, "because caretaking constitutes a social practice in which women engage more than men" (Ferguson 1984, 175); it carries a way of relating to the world that is consistent with and parallels the call for caring in future generations discourse. Therefore, politicians that choose to foreground intergenerational justice may have an emotional appeal to many women. I am not making a dualistic argument between men and women in their comfort level with politicians that use future generations discourse, but rather a quantitative—matter of degree—argument. As Tonn, Hemrick, and Conrad

have shown in their survey of how people think about the future, women agree more than men that humanity should actively plan for the future (Tonn, Hemick, Conrad 200, 821). Although future generations discourse may have more traction with women, this is not the same as saying it will appeal to all women or be meaningless to men. My point, all things being equal, women may be attracted to a politician that uses future generations discourse more than men. So when is it necessary and feasible for a politician to speak about long-term issues? One answer: when a politician wants to make a connection with women voters.

Beyond the (re)election benefit to the politician, future generations discourse enables the politician to resist the hegemony of growth discourse. Understanding and approaching the future in terms of caretaking rather than the needs of the economy enables us to provide alternatives to the dominant way of representing the future. As one philosopher put it,

holding a newborn baby, one's thoughts are drawn toward the horizon of the future. One considers the possibilities latent within this small wonder who cannot even conceive of them yet. As there is a difference between hope and assurance however, a parent may feel fear as well as joy contemplating the future possibilities of the new child. (Billings 2004, 130)

The responsibilities of caretaking, a submerged and undervalued experience done largely by women, can affect the way we understand and approach the future. The caretaker's time horizon may be longer. This expanded horizon results in paying greater attention to the issues affecting the new and near generation and the remote future generations. By pursuing conversations with and listening to caretakers, as well as participating in the cyclical and repetitive chores of the caretaker, we can contribute to the inventory of alternative perspectives that argue it is possible for politicians to make more future-oriented deliberations and decisions. Additionally, by considering the caretaker's experience, we make the work required to make men's interests appear the natural way to think of time and the future more visible.

Conclusion

Despite repeated calls for economic growth and technological progress in State of the City and State of the State addresses, generativity impulses and discursive statements lead the politician back to the plight of future generations. If I were a physicist, I would say future generations discourse provides sufficient escape velocity from the gravitational pull of dominant discourses of economic growth and technological development. Future generation discourse offers the politician a way to speak about and think about the future and time on the basis of relationships and caretaking rather than economic growth and technological development. However, it continues to operate within a conservative rather than a transformational framework, the emphasis is on protecting the city, state, or nation's inheritance so that it can be passed to new generations. While it does not encourage revolutionary thinking or call for radical reform, future generations discourse in contemporary American political speeches calls for a politics of recognition for those in the future who have no voice to have one.

In the next chapter, I explore elements of generative politics in the debates surrounding the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). ANWR is instructive because it highlights the problems of speaking about future generations as a single, closed, and uniform category (as is often the case). Instead the repeated appeal to future generations by different people in different ways illustrates it is a site of political struggle.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANWR: A CASE STUDY IN POLITICAL FUTURES

In the previous chapters, I looked broadly about how contemporary American politicians speak and reason about the future by analyzing the rhetoric found in State-of-the-State and State-of-the-City addresses. In this chapter, I examine the futures-related language surrounding a particular long-term issue, the struggle to control the future of the Coastal Plain of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR) in Alaska.

ANWR is an American political soap opera rivaling the drama found in any daytime television series. To illustrate, in one of the great emotional outbursts on the Senate Floor, Alaska Senator Stevens, an ardent oil drilling supporter, argued that the Coastal Plain of ANWR is not a wilderness. He screamed at his colleagues: “Anyone who comes to the floor and says this is wilderness is a liar. Anyone who tries to pretend that somehow or another we are violating the law is a liar. If it was back in the old days, I would challenge them to a duel. I am up to my ears in what I have been hearing about this that is absolutely untrue.”² For over 40 years (long-term in itself), a colorful cast of characters including oil companies, indigenous people, eccentric and cranky senators, the residents of Alaska, the Canadian government, environmental groups, American labor unions, U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, and even wider range of individual and organizations have struggled to open the area for oil and gas development or to protect the Refuge from development. With ANWR we move full circle from what appears to be a clear cut and simple case of protecting the environment for future generations to uncertainty about who and what is being protected and what the ethical long-term vote is.

If temporal politics can be divided into two impulses—the desire to exploit the natural environment for short-term economic gain on the one hand and to preserve it for future generations for moral purposes on the other—then ANWR is a classic example of this struggle. However, ANWR goes beyond this dualistic representation of temporal

² 148 Cong. Rec. S4606 (daily ed. April 16, 2002)

politics and provides a glimpse of what Shapiro, when writing about the political process, describes as “contests over alternative understandings” that lead to a “separation of the world into kinds of space” (Shapiro 1989, 12). Depending on the individual or group, ANWR’s space has been described as “federal lands,” a “sacred ground,” a “homeland,” a “wildlife range,” a “job growth zone,” an “area of national security,” a “wilderness,” a “national monument,” an “Eden,” a “hell,” “America’s Serengeti,” “Izhik Gwats’an Gwandii Goodlit,” among other things. ANWR has been categorized and recategorized in an ongoing struggle to define the type of space it is. This categorization is important because it is likely to be a determining factor in ANWR’s future.

Why ANWR?

Drawing on the theoretical principles of cultural materialism (Harris 1979, 46-76), I believe the way a society produces and consumes energy is an important factor driving social change. In other words, I do not believe all parts of a sociocultural system are equally determinative in directing the future; I assign strategic priority to how a society captures and directs energy (among other demographic, technological, environmental, and economic factors). The way a society harnesses energy greatly influences the general character and unfolding of social and political processes. The disappearance of fossil fuels, for example, would set in motion a chain of events which would lead to major demographic, technological, economic, and environmental (and discursive) changes throughout society. Or, say, the development of cold fusion technology providing limitless amounts of cheap energy from seawater has the potential to radically alter the living conditions of billions of people and change the character and influence of countless institutions. Or, say, transportation powered by lithium energy, (used in batteries to power electric cars rather than gasoline. According to Richard Brill, professor of Science at Honolulu Community College, such a change “would severely shift the focus of resource development and environmental impact and would rearrange geopolitics. The focus of America’s energy policy could shift away from OPEC pipelines in the Middle East toward lithium brine pools in South America as pristine and hard to reach wilderness areas become industrialized, ...creating new environmental problems” (a future Southern ANWR of sorts) (Brill 2010). As I stated in the previous chapter, discourse precedes,

competes, and complements technological change. Although discourse can achieve a degree of autonomy from technological change, I believe technology and discourse are intimately linked and constantly intersecting and influencing each other. Nevertheless, I believe technological change is the more predominant driver of major social change and discourse more often than not used to postpone, delay, or block change (despite its potential to do just the opposite).

Discussing the importance of ANWR, Senator Burns argued “we are talking about a policy we can shape to take us into the future. We are not only dealing with the acute situation we find ourselves in today, but where we want to be in 20, 30, 40, or 50 years from now.”³ And, in the words of Senator Landrieu, ANWR is “a major point in the debate on the future of this Nation and in what our energy policy is going to look like...”⁴ Hence the need arises for studying and examining the long-term political aspects of ANWR because it has the potential to shape the future of social life in the United States.

Background

Because my project focuses on select futures-related rhetoric surrounding ANWR by contemporary American politicians, like the second chapter, my time frame is between 2000 and 2010. Thus, I will not be providing a comprehensive history of ANWR. Basic information about ANWR can be found in the Congressional Research Service Report RL31278⁵ and at the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service website: <http://arctic.fws.gov/>. A legislative history of ANWR can be found in the Congressional Research Services Report RL33523.⁶ A timeline for ANWR can be found at the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service’s Web page at <http://arctic.fws.gov/timeline.htm>.

³ 148 Cong. Rec.S2789 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

⁴ 148 Cong Rec S2794 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

⁵ Congressional Research Service. *Arctic National Wildlife Refuge: Background and Issues* (RL31278 May 15, 2003), by M. Lynne Corn.

⁶ Congressional Research Service. *Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR): Controversies for the 109th Congress* (RL33523 July 7, 2006), by M. Lynne Corn, Bernard A. Gelb, and Pamela Baldwin.

In the northeast corner of Alaska, adjacent to the northwest corner of Canada, lies the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (See Figure 1). Established in 1960 by U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower, ANWR stretches from Alaska’s Prudhoe Bay eastward 200 miles to the Canadian border. In 1980, Congress doubled the size of ANWR to its present 19.2 million acres. Converting these acres to miles, ANWR is 30,600 square miles, about the size of the state of South Carolina.

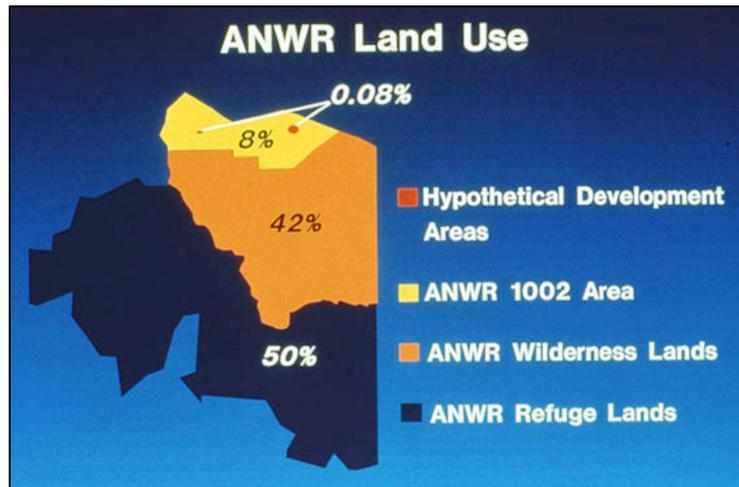
Figure 1: Locating ANWR Map



Source: <http://anwrnow.org/>

Congress classified ANWR land in the following three ways: (1) 8.5 million acres are wilderness classifications in perpetuity, (2) 9 million acres are put into a refuge, and (3) 1.5 million acres are coastal plain (See Figure 2). The Coastal Plain, also known as the 1002 Area, comprises 8% of ANWR.

Figure 2: ANWR Land Use Map



Source: http://www.uiowa.edu/~c07w180d/maps/map_ANWR.html#

Known as America's Serengeti, ANWR provides habitat for caribou, polar bears, musk oxen, grizzly bears, wolves, golden eagles, and migratory birds. Described by some in Congress as "Eden," ANWR is largely an untouched arctic ecosystem and a symbol of pristine wilderness for many environmentalists.

Given that much of the debate on oil drilling refers to the "Coastal Plain" or "1002 Area" of ANWR, a brief look at the history of the 1002 Area is useful. According to the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service,

In December 1980, Congress enacted the Alaska National Interest Lands Conservation Act (ANILCA). ANILCA designated most of the original Arctic National Wildlife Range as Wilderness except for approximately 1.5 million acres on the Refuge's coastal plain. Section 1002 of ANILCA required that studies be performed to provide information to Congress. These mandated studies included a comprehensive inventory and assessment of fish and wildlife resources, an analysis of the potential impacts of oil and gas exploration and development on those resources, and a delineation of the extent and the amount of potential petroleum resources. Because this Congressionally designed part of the Refuge coastal plain was addressed in Section 1002 of ANILCA, it is now referred to as the "1002 Area." (United States Fish & Wildlife Service 2008)

Using information from the U.S. Geological Survey, Robert H. Nelson, a Senior Fellow at the Independent Institute and Professor of Environmental Policy in the School of Public Policy at the University of Maryland, estimates that at (2010) prices, ANWR contained "about \$800 billion in oil revenue" (Nelson 2010). Further, he writes that "after production and transportation costs are accounted for, the net ANWR oil "profit" would likely exceed \$500 billion. This net revenue would be divided in some fashion among oil companies, the state of Alaska and the federal government. A reasonable estimate is that the federal share would exceed \$250 billion" (Nelson 2010). Although ANWR oil would likely take seven to ten years before it reached American consumers, jobs creation would begin immediately. Thousands of people would be required to develop the infrastructure to move ANWR oil, the largest single untapped source of American oil. In short, opening the 1002 Area of ANWR to oil drilling provides short-term benefits to numerous individuals and organizations.

Structural Prohibitions or Enablers?

Because the struggle to develop versus preserve ANWR-related areas has gone on for over 40 years, ANWR complicates assertions that long-term politics are structurally prohibited. If “the pressures and needs of the present always overwhelm...the future” (Kim and Dator 1999), then how do we explain the successful opposition to oil drilling and immediate short-term economic gain in ANWR for 40+ years? The assertion that futures-related politics are structurally prohibited contains an important assumption: politicians that vote to oppose short-term economic gain in ANWR will not be reelected. However, even a cursory review of the actual ANWR-related votes (since the 96th Congress in 1980, the House of Representatives has voted on energy development within ANWR 17 times and the Senate 15 times⁷), reveals that a large number of politicians that voted against short-term economic gain (oil drilling) were reelected. To illustrate, every politician (Cantwell, Capps, Collins, Kerry, Kohl, Lautenberg, Leahy, Lieberman, and Reid) listed in this chapter that argued to preserve ANWR for future generations voted to forego short-term economic gain and was reelected after casting these votes. In the context of this argument, it makes no difference whether the motivation to preserve ANWR for future generations was sincere or strategic or important to their constituency or party or not. The point of my argument here is that ANWR illustrates that voting on behalf of future generations is not structurally prohibited. The point is not to show that long-term voting is easy, common, or penalty-free. However, it does happen and studying examples of it, like ANWR, might reveal something useful that can be applied in other situations.

Beyond the vote, ANWR reveals the complexity and complication often lacking in much analysis of temporal politics. To illustrate, temporal institutionalists argue that constitutions, rules, procedures, and government organizational structures prevent future-oriented decision making. However, what they overlook is the potential for rules and

⁷ Congressional Research Service. *Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR): Legislative Actions Through the 110th Congress, First Session* (RL32838 January 10, 2008) by Anne Gillis, M. Lynne Corn, and Beth A. Roberts.

procedures to promote future-oriented decision making. One such procedure is the filibuster. According to the United States Senate glossary, “filibuster is an informal term for any attempt to block or delay Senate action on a bill or other matter by debating it at length, by offering numerous procedural motions, or by any other delaying or obstructive actions” (United States Senate 2010). At times, the mere threat of a filibuster can lead to compromise or bill modification. Filibusters can be used to advance future-oriented policies. Discussing the use of the filibuster to prevent oil drilling in ANWR, Oliver Leavitt, chairman of the board of directors of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation and an ardent oil drilling lobbyist, said “we couldn’t get it passed in the Senate for a long time because of the threat of the filibuster” (Shogren 2005). For example, using a filibuster, senators opposing oil drilling in ANWR blocked a provision in a defense bill that enabled oil drilling in ANWR. In a 56-44 vote,⁸ senators promoting oil drilling were unable to get the 60 votes required (Senate Rule XXII) to overcome the filibuster. Although the defense bill eventually passed, it did so after a modification that stripped the ANWR provision.

Another tool that can aid future-oriented decision making: the presidential veto. The presidential veto enables the president to reject bills passed by the Senate or the House of Representatives. Although it is not within the time frame of my project, in 1995, the FY1996 budget reconciliation bill (H.R. 2491) passed in both the Senate and the House. H.R. 2491 contained a provision enabling oil drilling in ANWR. In December 1995, President Clinton vetoed H.R. 2491. According to Gillis et al. (2006), “President Clinton cited the ANWR sections as one of his reasons for the veto. Sharing his frustration with the inability to open ANWR to drilling, Alaska Representative Young said “I have been trying to do this for 15 years, actually 25 years. Passed it 12 times. President Clinton, by the way, vetoed it.”⁹ Echoing Young’s frustration with the long-term battle to open ANWR to oil drilling, Senator Stevens said “We have tried for 24 years–24 years–to have Congress approve that [oil and gas exploration and development in the

⁸ 109 Cong. Rec. S14233 (daily ed. December 21, 2005).

⁹ 152 Cong. Rec. H3248 (daily ed. May 25, 2006).

1002 area].”¹⁰ And “for 24 years we have tried to carry out the commitments made by Senators Tsongas and Jackson that this area would be explored. For 24 years, there have been devices used by the other side to prevent it.”¹¹ The filibuster and the presidential veto are two of the devices that Stevens refers to.

If future-oriented decision making is impossible in the structure of democratic political systems, why isn't the United States drilling in ANWR? Despite the short-term benefit to oil companies, unions, American workers, the United States Treasury, and a constellation of other individuals and organizations, why were Representative Young and Senator Stevens unsuccessful in opening ANWR to drilling? As Stevens and Young suggest, the battle to open ANWR to oil drilling is long-term in itself. The temporal institutionalist must concede there is something in the rules, procedures, and government structures preventing present-oriented decision making. Stated otherwise, there is something in the rules, procedures, and government structures which can be used to promote long-term decision making. Two of those tools include the filibuster and presidential veto.

Whose Long-Term?

Through one lens, ANWR is a simple debate: the short-term interests of drilling for oil versus the long-term interests of preserving nature. However, the situation is more complex because competing individuals and groups often claim they are doing what is best for the present and the future. Labor unions argued that the large number of jobs produced by oil drilling in ANWR was best for the future of the American workers; environmentalists contended that preserving and extending ANWR's wilderness designation was the best for future generations; some senators asserted that relying on U.S. produced oil in ANWR was best for American's long-term national security while others thought our continued reliance on oil the worst thing one could do for America's long-term national security; some indigenous peoples claimed that oil development would enable them to remain in their homelands and to prosper while others declared it

¹⁰ 151 Cong. Rec. S2713 (daily ed. March 15, 2005).

¹¹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2782 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

would ruin their traditional subsistence practices and destroy their culture. My inability to pinpoint the *real* long-term argument in the ANWR debate was echoed in my research on the construction of a permanent repository for nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain in Nevada. When I initially considered a specific long-term political struggle to study for this dissertation, I considered the disposal of nuclear waste. Given the United States Department of Energy's determination to locate a suitable site to protect the health and safety of the public from dangerous nuclear waste to 10,000 years into the future (Department of Energy 2002), I thought I couldn't find a more clear-cut long-term struggle than the disposal of nuclear waste. However, after reviewing numerous Yucca Mountain-related documents, there was no clear guardian for the future in this debate. After 20 years of review and billions of dollars in research on the suitability of a permanent repository at Yucca Mountain, both advocates and opponents drew upon "this is best for future generations" arguments. In the context of climate change, the use of nuclear reactors to supply U.S. electricity needs has complicated the argument that nuclear energy use poses a greater risk to future generations than electricity generated from oil or coal. Advocates and opponents of storing nuclear waste at Yucca Mountain also disagreed if centralized storage in Nevada (requiring the movement of nuclear waste across the nation's highways and lakes and thereby increasing the likelihood of accidents and acts of terrorism during transport) posed greater risks to present and future generations than distributed storage (requiring a different set of security challenges to prevent acts of terrorism as well as a variety of other health and safety concerns). This lack of straightforward future orientation and identity is present in ANWR as well as other long-term struggles (e.g., abortion, climate change, health care reform, immigration reform, gay marriage, etc.). In each of these cases we see how different future generation stories emerge and are taken up by interest groups as part of their political program. Who speaks for the future? All and none.

The struggle for the 'genuine' long-term and ethical social purpose takes place within competing interest group claims. The use of an objective framework to make value judgments (Bell 1997b, 67-111) or identify preferable futures (Bell 1997b, 113-170) fails to help me because, ultimately, they require me to treat concepts such as equality, justice, freedom, cooperation, health, loyalty, mutual care, solidarity, rights, security,

balance, and peace, among other concepts, in an unqualified manner. The assumption in Bell's use of universal human values framework to create better futures is that everyone understands, agrees, and values these concepts equally and applies them consistently. The ANWR struggle, in contrast, offers a glimpse into different understandings of meaning. The concepts of justice, fairness, and security are not agreed upon, not valued in the same way, and not applied consistently. When considering the way out of competing interest claims in a democracy, I.G. Barbour suggests we develop a "common social purpose" (quoted in Achterberg 1993, 85). However, my reading of long-term political struggles indicates that we are unable to develop *common* social purposes. Professor of Politics Takeshi Sasaki touches on this problem and its application to future generations: "I want to stress how difficult it is for people to think of present policies from a standpoint of future generations when it is not possible to determine the public interest even of the generations participating in politics today" (1994, 97). After reading and reflecting on ANWR, I concur with Sasaki. Indeed, I take it a step further. I do not know the *common* purpose, *public* interest, or *best* future for ANWR because there is no common social purpose, public interest, or best future to know, rather a series of struggles to define the common purpose, public interest, and best future. This absence of common purpose, public interest, and best future adds to the complication and complexity of long-term political analysis. However, as in the ANWR case, typical analysis treats the preservation of natural resources for future generations as the authentic long-term approach. Development, on the other hand, is almost always classified and represented as short-term. ANWR helps us rethink this classical depiction and inject nuance into our conversation of long-term politics.

Cost Benefit Analysis

Political power, as Foucault would have us believe, is a process of predisposing people to understand and speak about the world in particular ways. From this angle, power can be thought of as a conceptual and perceptual screen. This power is tied to a way of speaking about things that regulates and normalizes individuals. After reading and reflecting on hundreds of pages of ANWR-related debate in the U.S. Congress, I believe a powerful organizing principle that regulates and normalizes members of the U.S.

Congress (as well as myself) is speaking about ANWR in terms of cost/benefit analysis. As Ferguson and Turnbull might put it, cost benefit analysis is “hidden in plain sight.” It is “a paradox of visibility and invisibility, of the available and the hidden” (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, xiii). Regardless of their image of the future or their position on oil drilling, many members of Congress used cost-benefit analysis and projections (although not always calling it that) in explaining, justifying, rationalizing, and legitimating their position. To illustrate, in his argument to prevent oil drilling in ANWR, Senator Kerry argued

The United States only has 3 percent of the world’s oil reserves. Nothing we could do in Alaska will affect the long-term security of the United States. The only thing that will do is to recognize we need to move to alternative, renewable, different forms of fuel. The effort of the Senate should not be to destroy a wilderness area. The effort of the Senate ought to be to accelerate that research and development in America. Because with 3 percent of the oil reserves of the world in your hands, including Alaska, you can’t drill your way out of American’s predicament, you have to invent your way out of it. And this is not what this bill seeks to do. It is a drilling solution. It is a drilling solution with extraordinarily negative consequences. The fact is, the price of oil will not drop. The price of energy will not drop. And one of the reasons why is that China with its 1.2 billion people, and India with 1-plus billion people, are all increasing their cars on the roads, increasing their development. That is raising the demand curve to a point that nothing the United States does is going to accelerate our production of oil sufficiently to have an impact.¹²

In contrast, oil drilling supporter Senator Thune, for instance, said:

Below the frozen tundra is the single largest and most promising onshore oil reserve in America—somewhere between 6 billion and 16 billion barrels of oil. The average of that would be 10 billion barrels. How much is that? A million barrels a day that we could add to our production in this country. That is 5 percent of what we use—20 million barrels a day in the United States. We get 10 million barrels a day today from outside the United States. This should lessen our dependence on foreign sources of energy. Put another way, it could power the State of South Dakota for 499 years.¹³

Kerry’s moral position to preserve ANWR wilderness for future generations is grounded in a cost-benefit analysis. The bottom-line, for Kerry among others arguing to preserve

¹² 151 Cong. Rec. S2770 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

¹³ 151 Cong. Rec. S2773 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

ANWR for future generations, is that ANWR doesn't contain enough oil to supply the U.S.'s future energy needs. Further, it keeps the U.S. dependent on foreign oil. In Kerry's view, the bigger payoff is the creation of alternative energy technologies in the United States to supply the U.S.'s future energy needs. In contrast, Thune justifies oil drilling because there is enough oil to supply future energy needs. As one can see, the identification of costs and benefits is rarely simple or straightforward. The calculation is linked to interests and representations and therefore subject to ongoing political argument.

While the senators argued over the amount of oil in ANWR and the significance of that amount, what is important here is that the political management of the future is debated and decided within in a cost-benefit framework. This orientation pushes us to conceptualize the future as an economic problem and to speak about it like an economist. If one's frame of reference is economic, one imposes a monetary metric, uses a quantitative framework, or speaks of tradeoffs in one's treatment of the future (economic discourse). If the future is rendered thinkable and manageable in a cost-benefit analysis, one governs by calculation. In this case, if the benefits exceed the costs, oil drilling in ANWR is sound public policy and a preferable future. On the flip side, if the costs exceed the benefits, then we should forego oil drilling in ANWR. This process of calculation provides a conceptual architecture for a futures accounting.

The concern I want to raise here is not the problem of formulating the future as an economic problem, but of its reflexive and privileged status. Often our reflex to formulate problems in this way is hidden, we do it habitually because it appears so natural. Indeed, it appears difficult for many members of Congress to speak about the future outside of a cost-benefit analysis of some sort. Even those members of Congress that use a different discourse to speak about ANWR compulsively draw upon cost-benefit analysis in some form. Although the economic language and tools through which the future comes to be understood provides a conceptual foundation for different images of the future, it has a high degree of congruence and transferability to the image it is designed to promote, Growth futures. Cost-benefit analysis does not contest or challenge existing political categories our boundaries, indeed, it typically reinforces them. At best, it calls for a

reshuffling of resources within the existing social order and therefore implicitly assumes that the future will be similar to the present (hence it assumes continuation). Although cost-benefit analysis has the potential to fuel radical futures, it is often not used in such a way. In the case of ANWR, we do not see cost-benefit analysis used to overturn the status quo, but it is, at times, used to protect the rights of future generations.

Growth Future

In his four major generic images of the future, Dator describes a Continuation image as one of continued economic growth (Dator 2002, 8). As I described earlier, I refer to Continuation images as Growth images. Growth images of the future are characterized by visions of continuing affluence, expanding opportunities, and an ever-growing and ever-enriching economy. The foundation of Growth images is an ever-expanding number of jobs. The future of ANWR is frequently spoken about within the context of a Growth image and as a jobs creation issue. Senator Domenici articulates this image well when he said:

First, in the United States these days, we are all wondering what is happening to American jobs. How come everything is going overseas? How come the American working man, the American construction worker who used to make good money—how come there is not enough work in that field? How come big construction projects are not being done here anymore? ...If you develop ANWR, the United States of America, ... will produce 128,000 manufacturing jobs; mining, including oil—all high paying jobs—84,000; ... 225,000 in various trade activities; the service industry, 145,000; construction per se, 135,000; and then a combination of finance, real estate, and others, ... The total is 736,000 jobs.¹⁴

... I beg the Senate to once and for all do the right thing regarding our future. Say no to sending more of our resources overseas. Say no to fewer jobs for the American people for the future. Say yes to the unions of the United States that represent these workers who are here en masse, begging us to pass this so they will have jobs. Say yes to American business that is frightened about our competitive future, and say at least we are going to take one step forward, not another step toward complacency, toward not caring about our future...¹⁵

¹⁴ 151 Cong. Rec. S12152 (daily ed. November 2, 2005).

¹⁵ 151 Cong. Rec. S12153 (daily ed. November 2, 2005).

Sharing this Growth image of the future, Senator Allen provided the following reason to open ANWR to oil drilling: “Jobs will be created. Hundreds of thousands of jobs in everything from manufacturing, mining, trade, services, construction, and others.”¹⁶

Representative Cole argued

Opening up ANWR, according to the mean estimate, would make available 10.4 billion barrels of oil for domestic consumption. That is more than the proven reserves in all of Texas. The resulting economic activity will create as many as 250,000 new jobs. As an additional benefit, royalties and corporate taxes in the amount of \$111 billion would flow to the Federal Government over 30 years, a modest but real improvement...¹⁷

In like manner, Senator Murkowski said:

look what it could mean to individual States: To my colleague from Washington, 12,000 jobs in Washington State; 80,000 jobs in California; 48,000 jobs in New York State; Pennsylvania gets 34,000; Florida, 34,000; Arkansas, 5,500. These are jobs associated with the activity that will go up north. This is one of the reasons we have support across the country for opening ANWR, a small portion of the Coastal Plain, to oil exploration and development. People see the economic opportunity for them in States that are thousands of miles away.¹⁸

By speaking about the future largely as an economic problem, ANWR is proposed as a solution, largely in terms of job creation for working class people. ANWR’s use here becomes strategic for the politician. When those who decide ANWR’s future do so within a Growth image, there are no seemingly legitimate alternatives in Dator’s generic images of the future to effectively oppose their power or authority to do so. Recalling Edelman’s work on queer opposition to the politics of reproduction, just as “the image of the child coercively shapes the structures within which the “political” itself can be thought” (L. Edelman 1998, 19), the image of the American worker coercively shapes the structures within which the political (and the future) can be thought in these excerpts. Domenici’s plea indicates there is only one right future—to protect and produce American jobs by supporting oil drilling—illustrates this point. Given this rhetoric, what politician would *not*

¹⁶ 151 Cong. Rec. S2771 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

¹⁷ 152 Cong. Rec. H3241 (daily ed. May 25, 2006).

¹⁸ (151 Cong. Rec. S12156 (daily rec. November 2, 2005).

fight for the American worker? Again, drawing on Edelman, “how does one take the other side within a political framework that compulsively returns” to the number of jobs as the privileged indicator of a just and healthy future” (L. Edelman 1998, 19)? What would it mean for a Senator to argue to forego oil drilling and move American jobs overseas? After reading hundreds of pages of ANWR-related debate, I saw no examples of such arguments.

Rather than taking on the jobs argument head on, we see members of Congress that pursue discursive redirections. Speaking on the Senate floor, Washington Senator Cantwell, a spirited opponent of drilling and a co-sponsor of an amendment to strike the language out of the federal budget recognizing revenue from oil drilling in ANWR, said:

To remind my colleagues, we established this refuge because we believed in protecting the wildlife that existed there—the porcupine caribou herd, the polar bears, grizzly bears, wolves, sheep, falcons, migratory birds as shown in this picture. We wanted to fulfill our international fish and wildlife treaty obligations. Also, we wanted to provide subsistence for local residents and we wanted to ensure water quality and necessary water quantity within the refuge. These pictures from the refuge show a delicate coastline area in the northern parts of our country. The purpose of designating and protecting the wildlife refuge was because of its unique nature. One of the Episcopalian bishops from Alaska who was here yesterday spoke about the refuge as actual sacred ground and the fact that the preservation of it means so much to many Alaskans as it does to many people throughout America.¹⁹

For Cantwell, ANWR is a symbol for wilderness. As such it deserves preservation and the wildlife protection. Cantwell does not speak about jobs. Indeed she moves from an economic conceptualization of ANWR to a spiritual one by including the bishop’s comments about the refuge as *actual sacred ground*. In response to Senator Cantwell, Alaska Senator Stevens pointed out ANWR’s importance to economic growth to Senator Cantwell’s constituents in the Washington’s Puget Sound community, when he commented

The development of Prudhoe Bay has contributed more than \$1.6 billion to the Washington economy. And ANWR alone is estimated to create over 12,000 new jobs in Washington State alone, in addition to the revenues it will generate. None of these benefits will take place if the Senator’s amendment is allowed to pass.

¹⁹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2768 (March 16, 2005).

Not only are decreasing oil output and declining revenues affecting the health of Washington, its major businesses are feeling the heat, particularly in the aviation industry. The rise in fuel prices is greatly impacting Washington's aviation industry...High energy prices prevent job creation in the transportation sector. The Air Transportation Association estimates that for every dollar increase in the price of fuel, they could fund almost 5,300 airline jobs. That should be worrisome to a person who represents the area of the aerospace industry of this country and wants to deny us access to this oil.²⁰

Given the short-term incentives to Washington's economy that Stevens lists above, Cantwell's opposition to oil drilling here appears irrational if she is simply motivated by reelection. Thus the temporal institutionalist must concede that Cantwell is not simply motivated by reelection or that a substantial number of her constituents are long-term (public) minded citizens (see Cantwell's response on page 197). Either way, the possibility for long-term politics opens. However, the important point for this exchange between Stevens and Cantwell is the compulsive return to the Growth future. It provides the base from which most conversations about the future take place. Members of Congress that choose to provide alternative images are almost always pulled back to a jobs frame and Growth image and called to respond to it in some fashion.

Thinking About Future Generations

Emmanuel Agius, Dean of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Malta, voices a common concern and recurring theme throughout intergenerational justice literature:

future generations are inherently disadvantaged since they are "mute," having no representatives among the present generation, and so their interests are often neglected in present socio-economic and political planning. They cannot plea or bargain for reciprocal treatment since they have no voice and nothing they do will affect us. (Agius 1994b, 60-61)

However, the ANWR debate shows that contemporary American politicians do, at times, consider the needs of future generations in their deliberations and voting. Indeed, numerous senators argue they do not support oil drilling in ANWR precisely because of the interests of future generations. This concern is illustrated in the *Congressional Record*. In Senator Reid's words:

²⁰ 151 Cong. Rec. S2781 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

I believe we have a moral responsibility to save wild places such as the Arctic Refuge for future generations. Our national park, wildlife refuge, and wilderness systems are a living legacy for all Americans, present and future, and are widely envied and emulated around the world. The Arctic Refuge is one of the greatest treasures in the world and should be protected”²¹

Representative Capps said: “we have a moral responsibility to save wild places like the arctic refuge for future generations, and that is why our country has remained committed to its protection for nearly 50 years.”²² In like manner to the ethicist and theologian Emmanuel Agius, Reid and Capps not only argue on behalf of future generations, they link morality to it. The flip side of their argument: it is immoral to simply consider the short-term interests. In a similar vein, Senator Lieberman concluded:

What lesson does it teach the generations that come after us if we go ahead with this terrible mistake of drilling in the Arctic Refuge? That we, as Americans, did not value our national heritage? That we did not conserve it for future generations of Americans? That we sold it for, essentially, effectively, the equivalent of a barrel of oil. The ethic of conservation tells us it is not only sentimentally difficult to part with beautiful wilderness, it is practically unwise, because in doing so we deny future generations a priceless piece of our common culture.²³

And, showing disdain for short-term thinking, Lieberman argued,

The mark of greatness in a generation lies not just in what it builds for itself, but also in what it preserves the generations to come. Drilling in the Arctic for some short-term convenience in our time, will shortchange the legacy we should be building for the time of our children.²⁴

Like Senator Reid and Representative Capps, Senator Lieberman believes that we have obligations to future generations. For Reid, Capps, and Lieberman, social justice requires

²¹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2777 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

²² 152 Cong. Rec. H3250 (daily ed. May 25, 2006).

²³ 148 Cong. Rec. S2783 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

²⁴ 151 Cong. Rec. S12155 (daily ed. November 2, 2005).

that Congress implement this principle. All draw upon future generations discourse to contest oil drilling.

Tracing the history of a position is an established rhetorical strategy used to demonstrate that the politician's argument flows from wise men and cherished traditions. To do this, members of Congress often draw upon the wisdom of previous U.S. presidents and revered historical icons during their presentations on the floor. Senator Collins illustrates this strategy:

President Teddy Roosevelt once stated: "I recognize the right and duty of this generation to develop and use our natural resources, but I do not recognize the right to waste them, or to rob by wasteful use, the generations that come after us." That is sound counsel. Americans have a right to develop our energy resources, but not to waste them...Drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge today, would be akin to wasting resources that should rightfully be there for future generations. We must embrace an ethic of stewardship of our most treasured national resources.

And, again, Senator Collins said:

In his parting words from the Oval Office, President Dwight Eisenhower—who first set aside the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge—told the Nation: "As we peer into society's future, we must avoid the impulse to live only for today, plundering for our own ease and convenience, the precious resources of tomorrow." I call upon my colleagues to leave intact the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Let us instead develop a balanced energy policy that protects our environment, improves efficiency, and develops our renewable resources.²⁵

Justifying his vote to oppose oil drilling, Senator Lautenberg made the following appeal to the Senate:

when President Eisenhower designated this special place as a Wildlife Refuge, our nation made a promise to future generations. We promised that some places on earth would always remain unspoiled by the hand of man. Let's not break that promise. Let's not sell our children's birthright for a few barrels of oil. Instead, let's develop a real energy strategy for the 21st Century—a strategy that uses oil more efficiently, and employs American know-how to harness new sources of energy. ...The American people know

²⁵ 151 Cong. Rec. S2778 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

what is at stake. My office has received 15,000 messages this week urging the Senate not to despoil the Arctic Refuge.²⁶

Before reflexively dismissing these statements of concern for future generations as mere rhetoric or political posturing, please note these politicians voted to oppose oil drilling on the Coastal Plain of ANWR, some multiple times. Far from the short-term caricature, these politicians are making similar arguments and using similar language to scholars and ethicists calling for concern for future generations.

For those that insist on translating long-term politics into short-term benefits, one can always find a (re)election imperative. For example, the Gallup company, an organization that specializes in surveys and polls, reported that a Zogby telephone poll conducted between 13 December and 15 December 2004 found that 55% of the 1,203 likely voters surveyed opposed drilling for oil in ANWR (Moore 2005). Senator Lautenberg indicated widespread opposition to oil drilling from his constituents when said on the floor of the Senate: *my office has received 15,000 messages this week urging the Senate not to despoil the Arctic Refuge*. Vermont Senator Leahy reported “I can certainly tell you that Vermonters do not want to see this special place developed. In Vermont, we cherish the natural resources of our state. We cherish the special resources of this country—Yellowstone, Acadia, the Grand Canyon. I would put the Arctic Refuge on the same level as these national treasures.”²⁷ Speaking on the Senate floor, Washington Senator Cantwell said

I point out that today a Gallup poll was released that shows where the American people are. We are divided in the Senate, but the American public is consistent in its concern about and interest in conservation. In fact, Americans by a 2-to-1 margin say the United States should emphasize greater conservation over existing energy supplies, rather than production of oil, gas, coal, or other supplies. Now, that is what the American public wants. That is certainly what people in the State of Washington want. This is certainly what that the people in the Puget Sound want. I say that because I think they are like many Americans in that they want to reduce CO₂ emissions. They want to do something about global warming. They want to do something about diversifying our national energy supply. We have great companies in my state that are adding to the Washington economy, and they

²⁶ 151 Cong. Rec. S2779 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

²⁷ 151 Cong. Rec. S2776 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

want to diversify into various energy technologies that will help us in the future. So, no, the majority of Washingtonians do not want to see drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. They want to see it protected. In fact, it is the one thing I think they feel most strongly about; that is, they want to lead the way on a new energy economy and show that we can have higher CAFÉ standards, produce alternative fuels, make a dent in our gasoline use by blending it with ethanol, and get energy conservation plans moving.²⁸

Lautenberg, Leahy, and Cantwell indicate that the majority of their constituents are opposed to oil drilling in ANWR. When discussing politics in industrialized countries, Professor of Politics Takeshi Sasaki makes a distinction between *responsive* and *responsible* politics. By responsive, he means “short-term multiple interests.” By responsible, he means “long-term common interests.” He argues that politics in industrialized countries is dominated by responsive politics. Responsive politicians must “pay attention to, and satisfy, the demands of the constituents...Even though it is not possible that every demand by every voter will be satisfied by each representative, elected officials are expected to be attentive and responsive to the needs of a majority of their constituents” (Sasaki 1994, 96). Following Sasaki, the reason politicians vote to oppose drilling in ANWR is responsiveness to the majority of their constituents (for reelection purposes) rather than concern for the plight of future generations for their own sake.

In Sasaki’s treatment, politicians are reflexively responsive. Leaving aside the belief of millions of Americans that their elected politicians are anything but responsive, Sasaki’s treatment has several problems. First, he assumes politicians do not have or pursue their own policy goals. Although I agree with Sasaki in a Foucauldian sense, politicians select policy goals within predefined discourse rather than creating ‘their own’ (autonomous) policy goals, I do not agree with Sasaki within the dominant framework of talking about politics. Recalling Jacobs and Shapiro’s work described in the 1st Chapter, I argue politicians often advance ‘their own’ policy goals rather than merely respond to public opinion (Jacobs and Shapiro 2000, xii). They work towards enacting their desired policies and preferred futures. As Dator argues, “images of the future differ between individuals, cultures, men and women, social classes, and age groups” (Dator 2002, 8).

²⁸ 151 Cong. Rec. S2787 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

Politicians do not check their race, gender, class, age, nationality, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, and the other factors that shape their images of the future at the Congressional door, they bring them to the Congressional floor. Speaking on the floor, Senator Lieberman, for instance, revealed that his religious beliefs played a role in the way he understands and approaches ANWR:

I come to this debate with a long history here, as other Members of the Senate have as well. This was one of the reasons I ran for the Senate. I was troubled by the plans to drill for oil in the Arctic refuge. It was an issue in my 1988 campaign. I have been battling this ever since. Why does it matter so much to me?... This all begins, for me, with the beginning—with the Bible and the instructions God gave to Adam and Eve that they should both work and guard the Garden of Eden, which is to say that they should develop and cultivate it but also protect it, because we are here for a short time. The Psalms tell us that the Earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof. You have a responsibility to protect the beauty of nature that has been given to us for the generations that will follow us—to work and to guard.²⁹

Lieberman indicates his religious beliefs shaped his position on ANWR *before* arriving in the Senate. Indeed, he claims preventing oil drilling in ANWR was one of the reasons he ran for the Senate. From this angle, Lieberman is hooking ANWR to his existing beliefs instead of responding to the electorate. As Jacobs and Shapiro would point out, Lieberman is pursuing his own policy goals. Thus, Sasaki's analysis that one merely responds to the electorate is not wrong as much as exaggerated. Although Lieberman does, at times, respond to the electorate, he doesn't merely respond. In this case, he stands in for the electorate. He is not simply conserving ANWR to get some votes or to comply with a party whip; he is protecting ANWR because it is consistent with his understanding of the world. His understanding of ANWR is shaped by the discourse of Judaism. As Foucault would remind us, Lieberman's "own policy goals" are never outside the discursive complexes that make them possible. However to deny that politicians can escape from discursive complexes is not deny that they can "act creatively for their own reasons that make sense to them" (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 32). Acting creatively can sometimes mean acting responsibly rather than responsively. There must be spaces for politicians to decide when to stand in for rather than merely represent the

²⁹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2783 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

electorate. Unlike Sasaki, I argue there must be spaces for politicians to act responsibly towards future generations for reasons that make sense to them.

Another element of Sasaki's argument we should consider is his monolithic representation of the politician's constituents. In short, the politician's constituents are exclusively present-oriented. Politicians respond to these temporally myopic and ethically shallow people and we end up with responsive rather than responsible results. If that is the case, however, why would politicians motivated by nothing but reelection speak about the relationship between ANWR and our responsibility to future generations? It makes no sense if one believes the electorate is merely a "raucous cacophony of present interests" (Kim and Dator 1999). However, if one opens to the possibility that politicians are not simply motivated by reelection, it begins to make sense. From this angle, politicians pursue their own future generation-related policies regardless of what the electorate thinks. Or they pursue their own policy goals thinking the majority of their constituents are apathetic or ignorant of a particular issue and will not hold them accountable on this issue come election time. Another possibility: the electorate is not composed of exclusively selfish (present-oriented) individuals and organizations. If the electorate is conceptualized as a raucous cacophony of mixed temporal interests (rather than exclusively present-interests), it makes sense. Politicians speak about future generations and ANWR because they are responding to what some in the electorate want. Even if one argues that the politician's rhetoric about the plight of abstract future generations is insincere and 'truly' just an action to acquire reelection support, one must concede that a large number of a politician's constituents consider the needs of future generations selectively.

Like Agius, Sasaki largely dismisses this possibility of the long-term citizen. As I argued in the 1st Chapter, groups such as the Natural Resources Defense Council, Sierra Club, World Wildlife Fund, Rainforest Action Network regularly engage in long-term lobbying to preserve the environment for present and future generations. To illustrate, when discussing President George W. Bush's plans to open ANWR to drilling, Guber and Bosso report,

registered lobbyists representing the National Audubon Society and the National Wildlife Federation, among others, worked with their largely Democratic allies to shape a legislative blocking strategy even before the administration's proposal went to Capitol Hill. NRDC (National Resources Defense Council) lawyers led the legal effort to open up the records of every task force in the hopes that evidence of industry dominance over the process might provide a public backlash. Staff at the Wilderness Society and other organizations mined federal records for data and reports to counter the administration's public arguments about the extent of proven reserves and the possible impacts of drilling on the preserve's ecosystem. (Guber and Bosso 2007, 37-38)

Lamenting the fund-raising capability of environmental groups and their ability to influence Congress on ANWR, Senator Stevens complained that "environmental groups are currently raising \$9.5 million a day, \$3.5 billion a year." Moreover, he said "...I am appalled that so many people in the Senate rely on them as presenting facts. They do not present facts. They present positions and look for arguments to support them." And, addressing a complaint by his constituents, Stevens also said:

Most environmental groups are 501(c)(3)'s, which means they can receive tax-deductible contributions but can spend only a small portion on lobbying. The spending limit varies. But in many cases, it ranges from 12.5 percent to 20 percent--and cannot exceed \$1 million.

A handful of others, such as the Sierra Club and Greenpeace, are 501(c)(4)'s, which means their contributions are not tax-deductible but they can spend what they want on lobbying. Based on its federal tax return for 2000, the Alaska Wilderness League does not run afoul of spending limits on lobbying. On that return, the League reported spending \$81,283 to influence legislation, well under its legally allowable limit of \$130,623.

The essence of the ... complaint is that the League spends most of its money on lobbying but disguises it as education and science. As evidence, they cite League letter-writing and phone campaigns targeting federal lawmakers in several states, testimony before Congress and League-sponsored "junkets" for members of congress to the Arctic refuge.³⁰

If these reports are accurate, Agius's assertion that *future generations are "mute," having no representatives among the present generation* is exaggerated. In other words, hiring lobbyists and lawyers, raising money, writing letters, phoning politicians, and paying for

³⁰ 148 Cong. Rec. S2814 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

Congressional travel to ANWR (among other activities) is not *muteness*. Indeed, these activities provide future generations with a voice exceeding numerous groups in the present. At times, environmental groups raise money and spend it in a variety of ways to influence Congress and the American public on behalf of future generations. Despite Aguis's assertion, future generations do, at times, have representatives. Thus supporting the long-term policies these environmental groups promote can sometimes increase a politician's chances for reelection.

Like many scholars, Sasaki treats responsive and responsible politics as if they are a dichotomy. The debate over ANWR complicates (rather than invalidates) this argument. According to Lautenberg, Leahy, and Cantwell, the majority of their constituents are opposed to oil drilling in ANWR. Sasaki's responsive versus responsible politics binary does not help us account for situations, such as ANWR, when the majority of voters support responsible politics. Although other polls (Moore 2005) suggest that the majority of Americans support drilling, the point is, at times, vast numbers of voters agree with and support politicians like Senator Kohl who said

I oppose drilling for oil and as in ANWR because of the irreparable damage that would be done to its fragile ecosystem that is inhabited by 45 species of land and marine mammals. I do not believe short-term economic considerations should take precedence over permanent damage to the environment.³¹

An alternative way of thinking about Senator Kohl's remarks and responsive politics in general is in the opposite direction of Sasaki's claim. Sasaki conceptualizes political response as a one-way street (politician responding to electorate). However, politicians do not merely reflect their constituent's interests. Sometimes it is the politician that provides the electorate with a vision, a preferred future, or an ethical future and the electorate responds. At times, the electorate responds to the politician. Put another way, political response is a two-way street (electorate to politician and politician to electorate). Using already established scripts for relating future generations to ANWR, the politician can make a powerful appeal to present generations to make sacrifices on behalf of future

³¹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2779 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

generations. Sasaki's representation of the politician and responsive politics fails to consider the possibility that the politician shapes and channels their constituents.

Those convinced there is a short-term motivation behind every long-term political act will also find comfort and reinforcement in the argument that opposition to oil drilling in ANWR has less to do with intergenerational justice than protecting the aesthetic and economic interests of present generations. California Senator Boxer makes this point:

Given that there is only about 6 months of oil in the Arctic Refuge and that the oil companies do not want to go there, what is this really all about? I believe it is really about establishing a precedent for opening up other areas around the country to oil drilling. That means off the coast of California, the Carolinas, and Florida. That means in our national parks, the Rocky Mountains, and out wetlands. Ever since the Senate voted to pave the way for oil drilling in the Refuge back in March, this is exactly what we have seen—repeated attempts to allow drilling in areas previously off limits. If we can open an area as pristine, as unique, and as precious as the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, what couldn't be opened up? And so I say to my colleagues, watch out: your backyard may be next.³²

And Florida Representative Hastings makes a similar claim:

I know this bill is not as much about Alaska as it is about Florida and California's outer continental shelf... This bill is simply trying to get the nose under the tent and using that approach. It has been widely reported, without much argument, that opening up ANWR to oil drilling is simply a political ploy to opening the door to areas that allegedly have more promise...³³

As Boxer and Hastings suggest, perhaps the ANWR debate is about oil drilling in areas outside of Alaska. Thus their opposition to oil drilling is less about the interests of future generations and their right to enjoy pristine places and more about the Not-In-My-Backyard concerns of present generations. As such, they are largely trolling for reelection support back home (although one could argue they are being future-oriented by identifying possible future hazards not yet on their constituent's radar). My point, if one is convinced that there is no such thing as future-oriented politics or generativity, one can always explain away any instance

³² 151 Cong. Rec. S12171 (daily ed November 2, 2005).

³³ 152 Cong. Rec. H3237 (daily ed. May 25, 2006).

of it or find some hidden short-term incentive and selfish meaning behind every act of kindness or caring. But one does so at great conceptual expense: openness to the possibility that people care about future generations and that they have the capacity to enact those concerns in the current political system.

National Environmentalism versus Global Environmentalism

A repeated problem in this project is determining the ‘real’ long-term position or ‘public’ or ‘common’ position. Those arguing for oil drilling (economic development) in ANWR are reflexively described as taking a short-term position. Articulating this sentiment in a debate on energy policy, Senator Murray said

We have not addressed the long-term problems. Instead, we wait until there is a crisis, and then we are stuck at looking at bad, short-term fixes like drilling in ANWR. We have not dealt with our long-term dependence on oil. We have not invested enough in renewable energy. We have not diversified our energy resources, and we have not put enough financial incentives behind conservation. The responsible way to address our energy problems is to focus on the long-term solutions like reducing our need for oil and investing in clean and renewable energy sources. Unfortunately, much of this bill continues to largely endorse the past practices of short-term fixes that do not address many of the real long-term problems. Today we are being asked to damage a sensitive ecosystem and spoil one of our national treasures for the sake of oil production. We cannot drill our way out of energy problems. That is a fact. I ask my colleagues: At what point do we say “enough is enough”? Today we are being asked to allow the President to authorize exploration in a critical wildlife refuge. Where will we and future generations be asked to drill tomorrow? To get out of these short-term traps, we need to invest in long-term solutions, such as diversifying our energy sources.³⁴

Sounding like a futurist, Senator Murray laments short-term political fixes and calls for long-term solutions. However she does not address the American appetite for energy. Although she calls for Americans *to reduce our need for oil*, she immediately couples this with a simultaneous call for *investment in clean and renewable energy sources*. She focuses her attention on energy supply instead of energy demand. Rather than compelling Americans to conserve petroleum by purchasing smaller homes, living closer to work,

³⁴ 148 Cong. Rec. S2801 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

using mass transit rather than individual cars, foregoing airline travel, reducing or eliminating meat consumption, using fewer plastics and other products made from oil, she wants Americans to develop new technologies that enable them to maintain the same energy intense lifestyle. In effect and by analogy, her long-term solution does not require Americans to give up drugs, only to switch the drug of their addiction.

In addition to not calling for a radical overhaul of the American lifestyle, Senator Murray does not account for the transition time or complexities required to move from an economy and lifestyle fueled by oil to an economy and lifestyle fueled by clean alternative energies. Investing in alternative energies is simply one step in a long and arduous process to change the American energy infrastructure. Political scientist Paul Pierson points out how “path dependencies” can stymie change. Pierson argues that “once a particular path gets established, ... self reinforcing processes make reversals very difficult” (Pierson 2004, 10). Drawing on this idea, the United States has an established oil path dependency. It will take far more than an investment in alternative energy to change the technological infrastructure and political institutions that support and profit from oil use. From an engineering angle, new technologies require substantial development time and create a new set of technological and political problems often unanticipated by their creators. Senator Domenici, for instance, lists some problems that have complicated the transition to alternative energies that could, as some politicians opposing drilling in ANWR argue, replace the 1 million barrels of oil a day estimated to be produced from ANWR:

I want to talk about what 1 million barrels of oil a day means compared to a renewable source of energy such as wind production. For those that say we ought to do more renewables like wind, to make sure we do things in an environmentally sound way, here is the evidence. One million barrels of oil a day is the equivalent to 24,000 megawatts of powerplant production per day. That equals 24 powerplants, which in turn equals 92,500 windmills. The anticipated production from ANWR would be the equivalent of 5,781 square miles of windmills, the combined size of the States of Rhode Island and Connecticut. And 70 percent of the surface of the State of Massachusetts would be covered with windmills in order to equal 1 million barrels a day in electric generating capacity.³⁵

³⁵ 151 Cong. Rec. S2786 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

While one can dispute Domenici's numbers or argue that technological advances in the production of wind generated power may change them, one should not argue that new technologies often create new and unanticipated problems. To illustrate, the automobile was heralded at its emergence as a clean technology that would save us from the environmental problems caused by horse-drawn transportation (large amounts of horse manure, horse urine, and horse carcasses in the streets of American city streets). As we know now, the automobile reduced these problems, but it also caused a daunting number of new problems. Despite the call for long-term politics, Murray fails to foresee the problems of developing renewable energy. Further, she does not discuss the feasibility of replacing oil technology with alternative energy technology. In effect, she provides the American electorate with a classic American approach to the future: faith in a better tomorrow through technology. Historian Joseph J. Corn refers to this belief as "the fallacy of the technological fix" (Corn 1986, 219). For Murray, among others in Congress, diversifying our energy sources and the development of new technologies will bring about changes, but these changes will essentially be a continuation of old values (consumption, albeit cleaner consumption, and growth) rather than new ones such as voluntary simplicity (wanting and living with less) or primitivism (returning to a better and more moral pre-industrial way of life). Ultimately, for Murray, and many of her colleagues, we can solve social and political problems through better technology.

Senator Kerry, an opponent of drilling in ANWR and an advocate of investment in alternative and renewable energies, argued "we are going to be dependent on oil still for 30 to 50 years."³⁶ If Kerry's estimate is accurate, where will the oil come from for the next 30 to 50 years? Even if the United States reduces oil demand, some will have to come from foreign sources. Recognizing this, Senator Bunning raised the following concern:

many environmentalists fail to see that if we do not begin oil production in ANWR, foreign oil companies will take up the slack and drill in places such as the Middle East where environmental regulations are much less restrictive than

³⁶ 148 Cong. Rec. S2769 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

ours. Opening ANWR could actually be more environmentally sound than the alternatives.³⁷

Similarly, Senator Landrieu contended that drilling in ANWR

is the right thing to do for our environment... When we drill and extract resources in America, we can do it in the most environmentally sensitive way in the world. Why? Because we have the strictest rules and regulations. Even the former executive of the Sierra Club agrees, and he is on the record saying that by pushing production out of America, all we are doing is damaging the world's environment. We have the best rules and the best laws. We have a free press and the ability, to punish those who pollute the environment. That does not happen in other parts of the world, places without the same confidence in the law that we can have here in the United States. So the pro-environmental position—and I mean this sincerely—is to drill and explore and extract the resources where we can watch it, where we can control it and where we can make sure it is done correctly.³⁸

In the same spirit, Senator Murkowski argued

I suggest that we need to be global environmentalists. If we are not taking the oil from ANWR, we will still need it from elsewhere. If we do not take it in an area where we know we are going to monitor it and do it correctly, it will come to us from across the water, from Russia, from Venezuela, from Africa, where they did not care for their environment. To use the phrase of some on the other side, think globally but act locally. This is a perfect example of where we need to do just that.³⁹

Expressing his commitment to the environment and calling for drilling in ANWR, Representative Bishop said:

we are faced with the choice of whether we have more of our energy production done overseas or whether to have more of it done in the United States. This choice has real consequences. We can have more oil production occur here where it is done under the most stringent environmental regulations in the world, using the most sophisticated technology, or we can have more oil production done overseas where, in the many cases, far weaker environmental conditions prevail. True

³⁷ 151 Cong. Rec. S2780 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

³⁸ 148 Cong. Rec. S2795 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

³⁹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2715 (daily ed. March 15, 2005).

environmentalists think globally, not nationally. On this basis, we should produce as much energy as possible in the well-regulated confines of our own country.⁴⁰

So, who has the ‘true’ long-term position? Is it Murray’s call for investment in clean and renewable technologies and opposition to drilling in ANWR? Or is it Murkowski’s and Bishop’s plea for us to be *global environmentalists*? Like Murray, Bunning, Murkowski, Landrieu, and Bishop all support investment in clean and renewable energy. However, unlike Murray, they consider the extent of environmental regulations associated with oil production during the transition from oil to alternative energy. The argument that the United States should obtain more of its oil in ANWR because of the stricter environmental regulations required in its production complicates the black and white argument that drilling for oil in ANWR is the short-term position. Is it better for the planet to experience frequent and large oil production spills off the coast or in Africa or smaller production spills in ANWR? Which option presents the greatest environmental threat to the planet? Further, is it more ethical for present generations of Africans to suffer the results of these oil spills so present generations of Americans can enjoy cheap oil or future generations of Americans can enjoy pristine wilderness in ANWR?

Environmental editor John Vidal of the *The Observer* reports “with 606 oilfields, the Niger delta supplies 40% of all the crude the United States imports and is the world capital of oil pollution. (Vidal 2010). Although it is impossible to know how much oil is spilled in the Niger delta each year, because companies and governments keep that secret, Vidal writes

two major independent investigations over the past four years suggest that as much is spilled at sea, in the swamps and on land every year as has been lost in the Gulf of Mexico so far. One report compiled by WWF UK, the World Conservation Union and representatives from the Nigerian federal government and the Nigerian Conservation Foundation, calculated in 2006 that up to 1.5m tons of oil – 50 times the pollution unleashed in the Exxon Valdez tanker disaster in Alaska – has been spilled in the delta over the past half century. (Vidal 2010)

These spills destroy people’s livelihoods and environments. Commenting on the damage caused by a recent spill, Chief Promise, village leader of the Otuegwe people, said “We

⁴⁰ 152 Cong. Rec. H3241 (daily ed. May 25, 2006).

lost our net, huts, and fishing pots. This is where we fished and farmed. We have lost our forest. We told Shell of the spill within days, but they did nothing for six months” (Vidal 2010). Faced with more oil spilled every year than was lost in the wrecked British Petroleum’s Deepwater Horizon rig in the Gulf of Mexico (a media sensation in 2010), Williams Mkpka, a community leader in Ibeno, remarked “Oil companies do not value our life; they want us to all die. In the past two years, we have experienced 10 oil spills and fisherman can no longer sustain their families” (Vidal 2010). And discussing the differences in response between protecting the Louisiana shoreline from pollution and the Nigerian environment writer Ben Ikari, a member of the Ogoni people, said “lawmakers do not care and people must live with pollution daily. The situation is now worse than it was 30 years ago. Nothing is changing. When I see the efforts that are being made in the US I feel a great sense of sadness at the double standards. What they do in the US or in Europe is very different” (Vidal 2010). Lack of concern among many Americans about the plight of people living in other countries that suffer from the effects of oil production used to maintain American lifestyles extends to the ANWR debate. From this angle, foregoing oil drilling in ANWR so future generations of Americans can enjoy pristine wilderness contributes to more demand for oil in places such as Africa with few environmental regulations. This in turn leads to the further degradation of the livelihoods and the environment in Africa. *In other words, if the United States chooses to forego drilling in ANWR, present and future generations of Africans will suffer to a greater extent so future generations of Americans can enjoy pristine wilderness.* This illustrates a point made in the first chapter (see page 11), *future generations are not a single entity.* When we speak about future generations monolithically we run the risk of losing sight of long-term politics. Repeating a point made in the first chapter by Sohail Inayatullah, “future generations thinking is not transparent, it is problematic. The question often not asked is whose future generations” (Inayatullah 2005.)? This is indeed the case here. Thinking temporally, ANWR politics reveals multiple struggles in time (present Americans versus present Africans, present Americans versus future Americans, future Americans versus future Africans, among others).

Unquestionably, oil drilling in ANWR has the potential to damage the environment and jeopardize its preservation for future generations. Nevertheless, its

many negative effects may be less severe than drilling abroad. As some politicians argue, environmental pollution cannot be controlled without an approach that extends across countries. Through this lens, a vote to drill in ANWR is a long-term vote because it considers the broader costs of drilling for oil in other parts of the world. As Sasaki argues, “we must realize that many issues to be handled by, or on behalf of, future generations are more or less global in character...” (Sasaki 1994, 99). Again, my point here is not to endorse a position or a particular policy direction, but to help us rethink the simple and reflexive practice of classifying and criticizing politicians and all politics as short-term. Sometimes what appears to be a short-term position may, upon greater inspection, be long-term.

National Security

For many members of Congress, ANWR is spoken about as national security issue. Within a national security frame, the United States must reduce its dependence on foreign oil or remain forever vulnerable to the whims and interests of rogue politicians and corrupt regimes. An underlying condition and recurring theme supporting national security talk: “the world is a dangerous place” (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 80). Senator Landrieu, for instance, mixes the overdependence on foreign oil and the dangerous world themes:

let me quote from a person we all respect—both Democrats and Republicans—Richard Holbrooke, whom we all know well. I would say there would be no disagreement in this Chamber that this man is an expert in international relations and national security policy. I will read what he said in February this year: Our greatest single failure over the last 25 years—...was our failure to reduce our dependence on foreign oil—which would have reduced the leverage of Saudi Arabia. Why does he say this? Because of headlines such as these: “Suicide Bomber Kills 6 as Powell’s Talks Begin,” “Chavez Reclaims Power in Venezuela, “Powell Meets Arafat, Makes Little Progress.”⁴¹

For Landrieu, the world is uncertain, unstable, and dangerous. Dropping names like Arafat and Chavez, the Senator evokes unpredictability, irrationality, and political wildness. Pointing to suicide bombings, the Senator reminds Americans of the constant

⁴¹ 148 Cong. Rec. S2795 (daily ed. S2795).

threat of violence. Without much effort required, she is able to connect a wildlife refuge in a remote area of Alaska to rogue politicians and violence thousands of miles away. In this view of national security, ANWR is less a pristine wilderness full of wild animals and more a political and economic shield in a dangerous world.

When representing ANWR as a national security issue, members of Congress often make it intelligible within a Building image of the future or a Reacting image of the future. The primary concern in these representations is *who* decides the future. For example, Senator Breaux said: “We do not control our destiny; we do not control our future, as long as we rely on people who fix prices to provide this country with the ingredients we need to be strong and secure and prosperous nation.”⁴² In like manner, Senator Gregg argued:

On a larger scale, development of ANWR could reduce America’s dependence on foreign oil. Currently, the United States imports 57 percent of our oil supply. By 2020, experts project that this country could be importing up to 65 percent of our oil supply. This reliance on foreign oil jeopardizes our national security and makes our economy susceptible to the frequent and recurring crises that occur around the world. As we have experienced over the last few weeks, we cannot afford to rely on rogue nations like Iraq for oil, a resource vital to the economy and security of our country. Dependence on foreign sources of oil holds Americans hostage, by exposing the United States to every crisis within every nation we depend on for oil.⁴³

For the student of temporal politics, Congress’s reason to exist is to control the future. Breaux and Gregg’s excerpts point to a primary fear among many in Congress: *losing control of the future*. In Gregg’s gloss, one that loses control of the future is *held hostage*. Flipped around, one that controls the future is free. Bound within national security discourse, losing control of the future can mean anything from losing the American way of life to losing American children on the battlefield. For example, Senator Murkowski stated:

We have had the veterans saying they would much rather see us open ANWR than send American men and women to foreign soil to fight a war over oil. A

⁴² 148 Cong. Rec. S2765 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

⁴³ 148 Cong. Rec. S2883 (daily ed. April 18, 2002).

former Senator in this body, Mark Hetfield, made that statement several times. He said: I will vote for opening ANWR any day rather than sending another American soldier overseas to fight a war over oil on foreign soil.⁴⁴

In similar spirit, Representative Hall remarked:

I think is about time we start to think about our children, our grandchildren, and our great grandchildren. You know, to say that we shouldn't drill on ANWR because it will ruin little ANWR, 19 million acres, if we drill on 2,000 small acres, that is an insult to the American people's intelligence. And it is a threat to every youngster that is in the seventh grade on up, that they might have to fight a war for energy. This country will fight for energy. We will send them overseas for energy if we have to.⁴⁵

Drawing on Donna Haraway's work, Ferguson and Turnbull point out that "national security discourse deploys a particular kind of knowledge, a tactical view of the world, a problematic of "strategic control at deep levels" (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 79). This is indeed the case with ANWR. National security discourse (protecting Americans from a dangerous and volatile world) and economic discourse (producing jobs and lower gasoline prices) are often weaved together. In Senator Burns's words, "...energy security is economic security is national security"⁴⁶ When war talk is added to the mix, ANWR is represented as an indispensable geopolitical resource in waging war. Discussing an amendment to open ANWR to oil drilling, Senator Murkowski said:

We are at war now... Developing our own resources is just as important as it was in World War II. We need oil to transport our families, but we also need it to transport our troops, and we are going to need it in the future. The reality is that air power and naval power cannot function without oil. In spite of what we create around here, you do not fly out of Washington D.C, on hot air. The Navy no longer uses sails; it is oil. While the public can generalize about alternative energy sources, the world—and the United States—moves on oil. We wish we had another alternative, but we do not. In the meantime, the Third World developing countries are going to require more oil, and so this Nation becomes more vulnerable unless we are committed to reduce our dependence on imported oil. Some would hint that wind power is viable as an alternative to oil. As I said before, you are not

⁴⁴ 148 Cong. Rec. S2699 (daily ed. April 16, 2002).

⁴⁵ 152 Cong. Rec. H3251 (daily ed. May 25, 2006).

⁴⁶ 148 Cong. Rec. S2789 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

going to be able to move troops on wind power or solar power. You are going to need oil...Oil is a weapon of war.⁴⁷

Murkowski links ANWR to military objectives. Because the United States controls ANWR, it provides a sense of certainty and predictability necessary for oil production for war readiness. Through this lens of national security, *ANWR is a thing to use* to help the United States compete on the battlefield and in business instead of being seen and valued as place for future generations, or a place for wildlife, or a sacred place, or a home for indigenous people. In this way, national security discourse conceals possibilities.

Interestingly and in contrast to Murkowski's argument in 2002, the United States Armed Forces are experimenting with moving troops on alternative fuels. Indeed, according to Secretary of the Navy Ray Mabus, the U.S. Navy, for example, has the five ambitious energy plans:

Target 1 – By 2020, half of their total energy consumption, ashore and afloat, will come from alternative sources.

Target 2 – By 2020, we will make half of our installations, we will make half our installations net-zero energy consumers, using solar, wind, ocean and geothermal power generated on base.

Target 3 – By 2016, the Navy will sail the Great Green Fleet, a carrier strike groups composed of nuclear ships, hybrid electric ships running fuel.

Target 4 – By 2015, the Department of the Navy will cut in half the amount of petroleum we use in our commercial vehicle fleet through phased adoption of hybrid, electric and flex fuel vehicles.

Target 5 – Effective immediately, the Navy and the Marine Corps will change the way contracts are awarded. Industry will be held contractually accountable for meeting energy efficiency targets. (Longstaff 2010)

Taken together, the U.S. Navy's five targets produce a scenario not envisioned by Murkowski: the Armed Forces may be a catalyst in reducing the need to use oil throughout society (rather than the reason we need to drill in ANWR). Secretary of the Navy Mabus and retired Army General Steve Anderson argue the pursuit of energy efficiency by the U.S. Armed Forces has the potential to widen the scope of alternative energy use throughout society at large by reducing the price of alternative energy and by

⁴⁷ 148 Cong. Rec. S2698 (daily ed. April 16, 2002).

providing an infrastructure for alternative energy (National Public Radio 2010). Because “the Department of Defense is the nation’s largest single energy consumer, accounting for 2.0 percent of U.S. energy consumption” (Longstaff 2010), the Department of Defense is uniquely positioned to bring about changes in the economy of energy production and use.

Although Congress’s role in representing ANWR as a national security issue is pervasive, the notion of what national security means is not universally shared. For example, quoting retired vice admiral of the Navy James E. Service, Senator Durbin declared

National security means more than protecting our people, our cities and our sovereignty. It also means protecting the wild places that make our nation special. Drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge... just doesn’t make good sense or good policy.⁴⁸

In addition to competing conceptualizations of national security, not all members of Congress agree that drilling in ANWR will make the United States more secure. Senator Kerry, for instance, said:

The question of American dependency on oil is legitimately a concern of the United States. But it is not addressed by drilling in ANWR... If ANWR is important to the energy national security of the United States because it would affect how much oil might be available or how much oil we are importing, then CAFE standards are a far better response to national security... If you put CAFE standards in place ... you would get 1 million barrels saved in a decade, and that would grow in a decade, and that would grow exponentially. In ANWR, as you drill, you lose the oil. You reach a point of peak production, and then it starts to go down. But if you put CAFE standards in place, it grows and grows through the years. So in fact, CAFÉ standards result in three times the savings of ANWR. ...CAFÉ standards is as much a national security issue for the United States as the question of whether or not we will drill in ANWR.⁴⁹

Expressing dissent that oil drilling in ANWR promotes American national security, Senator Cantwell commented:

⁴⁸ 148 Cong. Rec. S2789 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

⁴⁹ 148 Cong. Rec. S2768 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

Rather than drilling in ANWR, I believe our task is to craft a balanced policy that will permanently strengthen our national security and energy independence. We need an energy policy that endows American with a strong independent 21st century energy system by recognizing fuel diversity, energy efficiency, the great asset that distributed generation will create in the future, and environmentally sound domestic production as a permanent solution to our Nation's enduring energy needs... The only way to permanently ensure our Nation's security is to look beyond 19th Century policies that continue our country's reliance on extraction and combustion of fossil fuels. Now is the time to launch the transition to a new 21st century system of distributed generation based on renewable energy sources and environmentally responsible fuel cells. Imagine today if a significant portion of American homes and businesses produced their electricity from these renewables... I agree our national security depends in part on the United States becoming less dependent on foreign energy resources, and that we must develop more domestic supplies and a better balance of renewable energy that will make us less dependent on nonrenewable fossil fuels. It would be a mistake to look at this ANWR debate in only one way, and not to invest in our country's new sources of energy. Therefore, I cannot support this amendment, and I urge my colleagues to oppose it in the name of national security, to move ahead onto new energy sources and a 21st century energy policy.⁵⁰

The ANWR debate provides an example of how national security discourse is mobilized by different groups in different ways to achieve their policy goals. For example, Cantwell and Kerry's reference to national security calls for a different means of achieving safety and stability for Americans, one that is accomplished through the production of alternative, renewable and cleaner sources of energy coupled with conservation instead of oil drilling in ANWR. Sounding like futurist Ira Rohter (Rohter 1992, 252-268), Cantwell envisions a 21st century energy system that relies on multiple energy sources. Cantwell's conceptualization of national security proposes the United States reduce "Our dependence not just on foreign oil, but our overdependence on oil itself."⁵¹ In contrast, Landrieu, Gregg, and Murkowski draw on national security discourse and arrive at a different conclusion: the way to protect U.S. interests is to drill in ANWR. While they too support a movement to alternative energy, they argue the U.S. still must have oil during the transition to cleaner and renewable energies. As they sometimes argue,

⁵⁰ 148 Cong. Rec. S2794 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

⁵¹ 148 Cong. Rec. S2794 (April 17, 2002).

it is not an either-or choice, the United States must be active on many fronts (develop cleaner and renewable energies, conserve oil, and find new sources of oil) to reduce dependence on foreign countries for energy.

The extent to which oil drilling will (or will not) protect U.S. interests is not important to me here as much as the use of national security discourse by those that support and those that oppose drilling in ANWR. As much as national security discourse conceals the possibilities of thinking about ANWR outside of U.S. strategic political and economic interests, people are somewhat free to modify discursive meanings. As Bevir and Rhodes argue, “different people adopt different beliefs and perform different actions against the background of the same social structure... Individuals can reason creatively in ways that are not fixed, nor even strictly limited by, the social contexts or discourses in which they exist” (Bevir and Rhodes 2003, 32). We see an example of this here. While national security discourse acts on each of the senators, they have a degree of agency. They are able to work with and bend national security discourse for their own reasons (to support drilling or oppose it). However, despite these differences, both those that use national security discourse to support drilling in ANWR and those that use it to oppose drilling share two common images of the future: Growth images and Building images. Both sides envision a strong United States with a growing economy. Both sides envision a world where the United States controls and builds its future.

Like much argument in this debate, the national security aspect is transtemporal. Members of Congress speaking about ANWR in a national security frame are not simply trying to keep the United States safe for the next three to five years or up to the next election, they hope to protect the interests of the United States in perpetuity. As Ferguson and Turnbull argue “national security discourse goes on forever because, depending on its self-constitution vis-à-vis “danger,” it is obsessed with establishing and protecting boundaries that can never be finally fixed” (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 82). Put another way, protecting the United States is a full-time job and long-range issue because it can never be temporally fixed. National security discourse provides a way of speaking about

the future that escapes arithmetic boundaries. National security discourse creates and promotes a kind of time that is thought about more like a task (keeping the United States safe) rather than a discrete mathematical unit (number of years).

Indigenous Futures

An important consideration in the ANWR debate is the position of Native Alaskans. There are 230 Indian tribes and tribal villages in the State of Alaska. Only one, however, the Kaktovikmiut, the people of Kaktovik, principally Inupiat (often referred to as Eskimo), live within the boundaries of ANWR. The Inupiat own 92,160 acres of the 19.6 million acre refuge. Their homeland extends from the continental divide in the Brooks Range (a mountain range) to about 100 kilometers offshore in the Arctic Ocean. The Inupiat live in a village of about 230 people called Kaktovik on ANWR's Coastal Plain (in the 1002 Area), the location of the proposed oil drilling. The Inupiat living in Kaktovik largely subsist on whale, seal, and inland animals including caribou. The Inupiat are part of Inuit culture.

Despite attempts to simplify and summarize the Inupiat position on oil drilling in ANWR, there is no one static, coherent, and unified position. To illustrate, claiming to "represent the views and interests of more than 7,500 Inupiat Eskimo shareholders who live in eight remote villages on Alaska's North Slope," Brenda Itta Lee, an Inupiat and Member of the Board of Directors of Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, testified to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee that "the Inupiat people want the opportunity to have the economic benefit of developing our private lands at Kaktovik Village." Moreover, "we also believe that the public land area of the Coastal Plain should be developed for its highest and best use - - oil and gas. This will benefit the American public and all Native people in Alaska" (Federal News Service 2000). This position was echoed in Fenton Rexford's, the president of Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation, letter to Senators Daschle and Lott:

The people of Kaktovik, Alaska—Kaktovikmiut—are the only residents within the entire 19.6 million acres of the federally recognized boundaries of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). Kaktovikmiut ask for your help in

fulfilling our destiny as Inupiat Eskimos and Americans. We ask that you support reopening the Coastal Plain of ANWR to energy exploration.⁵²

Reacting to these statements, among others, Alaska Senator Murkowski argued that the Senate should open ANWR's Coastal Plain to oil drilling because "the Eskimo people, the residents of the Coastal Plain...support it"⁵³ Indeed, according to Murkowski, the Eskimos "feel very strongly about supporting this because it improves their lives and improves opportunities for their children, including educational opportunities."⁵⁴

Introducing the Inupiat situation to his colleagues in Congress, Senator Murkowski said:

This is a picture of the village meeting house in Kaktovik... Those are happy Eskimo kids who dream about a better life. They dream about having running water and sewer lines. Let me show you a honey bucket. Many Members dismiss this, suggesting this is a Third World situation, not something that occurs in the United States. It does occur. It occurs in my State of Alaska. I will share it. It is not the most pleasant sight in the world, but it represents a reality, the reality of a people who want a better lifestyle and jobs and opportunities associated with oil development.⁵⁵

Murkowski's representation of the Inupiat's position is straightforward: the Inupiat have a singular, instrumental, and economic conceptualization of oil drilling on ANWR's Coastal Plain. Through the lens of a Growth image, oil drilling is the path to a better future (rather than a subsistence way of life which can provide food but no toilets). Oil drilling provides the Inupiat with a long-term tax base to pay for crucial public services and provides jobs. Brenda Itta Lee and Senator Murkowski illustrate Sasaki's contention that "progress means that living generations should be laying the stepping stones for future generations" (Sasaki 1994, 98). Through this lens, the call for oil drilling is not simply viewed as a way to employ current Inupiat (or get some quick cash), but also done with interest in the fortune of future Inupiat. As I described in the first chapter, this is an example of transtemporal concerns (action taken with the intention of benefitting both current and future generations).

⁵² 148 Cong. Rec. S2786 (daily ed. April 17, 2002).

⁵³ 148 Cong. Rec. S2701 (daily ed. April 16, 2002).

⁵⁴ 148 Cong. Rec. S2697 (daily ed. April 16, 2002).

⁵⁵ 148 Cong. Rec. S2697 (daily ed. April 16, 2002).

Murkowski's representation of Inupiat's politically homogenous support is typical of those in Congress that advocate oil drilling. However, Senators who oppose oil drilling on the Coastal Plain problematize the depiction of unified Inupiat support for oil drilling. Connecticut Senator Lieberman, for example, responding to Alaska Senator Steven's claim that Alaskan Native people in general, and the Inupiat people in particular, support oil drilling on the coastal plain, offered the Senate a letter from Kaktovik resident Mary Margaret Brower opposing oil drilling in the 1002 Area. Offering a voice of resistance to the "Natives support drilling" chorus, Brower wrote:

The people are realizing that ANWR may only bring temporary employment & revenue, for there may be no oil found in ANWR. Which will leave for our future generation the further despoilment of the land & subsistence lifestyle of the Inupiaq, if ANWR is opened up for oil development. Some no longer agree with the Government, the "for profit firms," or anyone's idea of trading the subsistence lands that the Inupiaq depend on for any amount of oil or revenue. We feel that it's not worth all in the long run for the future generations of the Inupiaq. Our investment is in keeping the last remaining 5% of our land intact for our future generation to continue our subsistence & traditional way of life. Because hunting and the relationship to the land are of profound cultural and spiritual importance to the Inuit of the North Slope. The meaning of life for most Inupiaq is still found in land and our subsistence life-style. Hunting off the land provides a link to the past and a cultural identity. It is valued for its contribution to independence, self-esteem, respect from others, psychological well-being, and healthy lifestyle. "Going out on the land" is a means of spiritual renewal and a method of re-establishing the ancient connection to the land that has sustained Inupiaq for thousands of years. A sense of personal pride and fulfillment is gained from providing food from the land for family and sharing with others in accordance with age-old tradition.⁵⁶

Writing to the Senate in a different letter, Kaktovik resident Robert added to this sentiment:

Before this it could be said and often was that we wanted all that oil money. You are now facing a group of people who are saying that no amount of money is worth exchanging our culture for. However, this goes, future generations of Inupiat can look back and say, those people who signed tried to do the right thing. Somehow, I feel that it will be important for them to know that someone cared.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ 151 Cong. Rec. S2784 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

⁵⁷ 151 Cong. Rec. S2783 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

Brower and Thompson's letters can be used to undermine Murkowski's representation of the happy, unified, and static community of Kaktovik. In contrast to Lee and Rexford's support for oil drilling, Brower and Thompson oppose drilling. Brower and Thompson are concerned that oil drilling will destroy Inupiat culture. Whereas Lee and Rexford speak of the benefits of modern and monetized jobs in the future, Brower speaks of the loss of *the profound cultural and spiritual importance* of hunting and the relationship to the land. While Lee shares Brower and Thompson's concern for the perpetuation of the Inupiat's subsistence lifestyle, she argues that after thirty years of experience and observation on Alaska's North Slope that a "quality environment and healthy stocks of fish and wildlife are compatible with responsible oil development" (Federal News Service 2000). While there is no one Inupiat view, the official (if there is such a thing) Inupiat view attempts to escape the oil development versus environmental preservation frame. Having us believe there is a definitive unity among the Inupiat, The People of Kaktovik introduce the idea of a "third path":

Outsiders constantly ask us if we are "for" or against oil development. These are outsider positions, commitments by outside interests, to be for or against whatever the industry does. Neither makes any sense to us and we reject them both. How can anybody be for or against something that remains to be defined? Surely oil development is yet to be defined here, its impact on us yet unclear. Nobody else knows and neither do we. Instead we choose a third path, our own, one that makes sense to us.

The third path, the one we choose, is to be responsible, as we have always been, for the well being of our people and the well being of this country to which we are attached. We expect to control what is done here and how it is done. We also expect to be accountable for our decisions. This is our country, and we cannot allow anyone to come here who would damage it. We shall not permit the country to be harmed nor will we permit our use of it or responsibility for it to be questioned or restricted. Our position is that there will be no damages to our country nor to us but instead that we will control and gain from whatever activity we permit here.

Others talk about the impact of oil development, as if it were a given, as if it might be anticipated and measured and somehow mitigated. Some say there will be no significant impact. Some say the impacts will be massive, overwhelming, and disastrous. We do not see the world, our country, or our responsibilities in such simplistic and polarized terms. Instead, we seek to find a politically, economically, and ecologically sensible balance in the mix of forces that bear on

us, and to do that so we protect our people and the lands and water that are essential to us.

We understand this country far better than other people can, what it can stand and what it cannot stand. Our nerves reach out into it. We can offer a special service to those others whose job it is to see that the country is not harmed. We want to participate in that process, to have both responsibility and authority over the way things proceed here, to be fully involved in the planning, the permitting, the monitoring, and the control of any industrial activity or any other activity here. (People of Kaktovik 2010, 3-4)

The third path emphasizes the notion of Inupiat control over their future. Written by a people who have called this place home for thousands of years and who intend living in this place forever, the People of Kaktovik want to determine if and how oil drilling should occur. Here the focus of the debate begins to shift from development to self-determination. Illustrating this shift in his explanation on why he voted to open the Coastal Plain to oil drilling is Hawaii Senator Akaka:

For me, this vote is not a vote just about preservation of the environment versus development. It is a vote about the self-determination of an indigenous people and their homeland. The Inupiat, who live within the boundaries of the coastal plain, are a people with strong cultural values, and are deeply in touch with their environment and everything that lives there. It is the Inupiat who have been the caretakers of the Arctic region for thousands of years.

To some of my colleagues, the debate about ANWR is about energy. To others, it is about the environment. To me ANWR is really about whether or not the indigenous people who are directly impacted have a voice about the use of their lands. The Inupiat know every mile, every curve in the landscape of the coastal plain, and every animal that must survive there, for their own survival depends on this. They have the greatest incentive of anyone to preserve their environment, including the plants and animals that live on the coastal plain, in order to maintain their way of life...

My colleagues, I do not live on the coastal plain. For that reason, I trust the wisdom and knowledge of those who have lived and cared for the land there for many, many generations.

I will vote to provide the Inupiat with the opportunity to provide for themselves and their future generations... For me, this is an issue about economic self-determination. This issue is about allowing those who have lived on the coastal plain and cared for the coastal plain for many, many generations, to do what they believe is right with their lands.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ 151 Cong. Rec. S2780 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

In this excerpt, Akaka challenges the dominant way of speaking about the ANWR debate. Rather than speaking about ANWR in terms of short-term economic development, long-term environmental preservation, the transcendent needs of abstract future generations, or the national security interests of the United States, Akaka disturbs the unity of the American people and future generations by speaking about ANWR in terms of a particular tribe's (Inupiat) rights and future generations. In doing so, he reveals the complication and complexity of analyzing long-term politics. In the classic short-term versus long-term frame, Akaka's vote to open the Coastal Plain for oil drilling would be classified as a short-term vote (prioritizing short-term economic growth—resource degradation—over long-term environmental preservation). Consequently, he would be charged with discounting future generations. However, if one abandons the short-term economic growth versus long-term environmental preservation frame, Akaka's vote is future oriented. His call for Inupiat self-determination is a call to enable the Inupiat to be responsible for their future. Rather than focusing on *what* will happen on ANWR's Coastal Plain, Akaka turns his attention to *who* will decide what happens on ANWR's Coastal Plain. In other words, if we use a different barometer to conceptualize a politician's future-orientation, we get a different reading on their behavior. By focusing on Inupiat self-determination rather than oil drilling, Akaka's vote to empower the Inupiat to decide the future of the 1002 Area in ANWR is less about discounting future generations than caretaking for future generations, Inupiat future generations that is. Akaka does not challenge the state's territorial dominance by evoking the long history of Inupiat presence in what is now called ANWR, but he does indicate this history coupled with their knowledge of the Coastal Plain gives them the right to decide the future.

Discussing why natural resources should be controlled locally and by indigenous peoples, Hawaiian Native leader and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask contends that

biodiversity is guaranteed through human diversity. No one knows how better to care for Hawaii, our island home, than those of us who have lived here for thousands of years. On the other side of the world from us, no people understand the desert better than those who inhabit her. And so and on and so on, throughout the magnificently varied places of the earth. Forest people know the forest; mountain people know the mountains. (Trask 1999, 59)

And so it is for Akaka with the Inupiat. Convinced that no one knows how to better care

for ANWR's Coastal Plain than the Inupiat who have lived there for thousands of years, Akaka's vote, from his perspective, enables them to do that. The essence of Akaka's position is that if Congress empowers the Inupiat to manage oil development on the Coastal Plain, they will ensure that is done in a way that will preserve traditional subsistence lifestyles for present and future generations. In addition to introducing self-determination as a new conceptual lens to understand and approach the ANWR debate, the point here is that Akaka invokes long-term history to build the long-term future when he argues the Senate should allow *"those who have lived on the coastal plain and cared for the coastal plain for many, many generations, to do what they believe is right with their lands."* Rather than treating ANWR land and natural resource management as if it were a photographic snapshot taken by a multinational oil company, Akaka speaks as if oil development is one frame in a long movie directed by the Inupiat. If one accepts his reasoning, his vote to open ANWR's Coastal Plain to oil drilling is a long-term vote. Therefore, treating Akaka's vote as merely another example of a politician voting short-term is inadequate and, ultimately, dismissive of Inupiat land rights.

Yet scholars insisting the needs of the present always overwhelm the future can describe Akaka's vote as a short-term politics as usual. They might, for example, point out that the Center for Responsive Politics, a nonpartisan research group based in Washington D.C. that tracks money in politics, listed the Seafarers International Union and the International Longshoremen's Association among Senator Akaka's top five contributors in the 2005 to 2010 cycle of fundraising (Center for Responsive Politics 2011b). Pointing to reasons why the Coastal Plain of ANWR should be open to oil drilling, the Seafarers International Union quoted United States Representative Don Young (Alaska): "If we get ANWR, we will have, in fact, developed more merchant marine jobs than any other time in the last 25 years, ever since we built the pipeline" (Seafarers International Union 2003). Considering both the Seafarers International Union and the International Longshoremen's Association are large unions of maritime workers in North America, it is consistent with their short-term economic interests to drill for oil on ANWR's Coastal Plain. This, rather than Inupiat self-determination, is Akaka's 'true' motivation (pandering to the maritime unions to obtain campaign contributions) for voting to open drilling in ANWR.

While an analyst could dismiss Akaka's call for Inupiat self-determination as divergent rhetoric, I am not so certain. Senator Akaka is, according to his Web site, "America's first Senator of Native Hawaiian ancestry..." (Akaka 2010). His indigenous heritage coupled with his years of service on the Committee on Indian Affairs, in my view, makes him more empathetic and responsive to indigenous interests and perspectives such as self-sufficiency, self-governance, and self-determination. Yet I can't disentangle the extent his vote promotes a preferable future and self-determination for the Inupiat from the degree his vote supports the short-term interests of maritime workers. As economist Erhun Kula puts it "individuals have dual and inconsistent time preference maps: one map representing the selfish side of our characters and the other responsible citizens" (Kula 1997, 18). Thus, for me, Akaka is promoting both short and long-term interests with his vote. The important point and concern for political temporal analysis: when a politician's behavior is ambiguous, such as the extent to which Akaka's vote is short-term or long-term, the analyst is likely to apply their preexisting belief, "politicians discount future generations," to the situation and interpret Akaka's behavior as consistent with their preexisting idea. In this way, the analyst only sees what they want to see. If one already believes politicians vote short-term, they will interpret Akaka's vote as short-term, emphasizing the economic benefit to maritime workers and oil companies rather than the political agency it offers the Inupiat to control their future. Evidence to the contrary is ignored or dismissed as meaningless or diversionary from the 'true' motivation or purpose. Consequently, political behavior is typically classified and represented in a linear and binary way (short or long term) rather than transtemporal (a blend of short/medium/long-term interests) or a wholly different way of speaking about time (such as self-determination – or *who* decides the future).

Following Senator Akaka, Senator Inouye, Hawaii's other senator and one of the few Democrats that voted to open ANWR's Coastal Plain to oil drilling, said he "...received hundreds of letters, telephone calls, emails, most of them condemning drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge."⁵⁹ Yet Senator Inouye voted to open ANWR's 1002 Area to oil drilling. How do we account for this? First, given the

⁵⁹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2772 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

conventional idea that the present has little, or no, concern for the future, Senator Inouye should not have received any calls condemning drilling. Moreover, the National Resource Defense Council, a group dedicated to environmental preservation, reinforced Inouye's claim here when pointing out "Congress Received hundreds of thousands of emails, faxes and phone calls from citizens opposed to drilling in the Arctic Refuge (National Resource Defense Council 2008). In addition, New Jersey Senator Lautenberg reported "...my office has received 15,000 messages this week urging the Senate not to despoil the Arctic Refuge."⁶⁰ Again, this is peculiar behavior for a public dominated by selfish, short-term economic interests. However, if one believes, like I do, that healthy adults are generative, that they are concerned about the well-being of those who follow them, it is not so peculiar at all.

Despite my belief in generativity, rational choice analysts might treat Inouye's claim that the majority of communication to his office on this issue urged him to forego oil drilling (and thus preserve ANWR for future generations) differently. If a politician is supposed to serve and respond to the electorate, why would Inouye defy the majority? A rational choice analyst might argue that while the majority of citizens contacting Inouye's office condemned drilling, the majority of people in Hawaii were supportive, apathetic, or ignorant of oil drilling on ANWR's Coastal Plain. Stated otherwise, those contacting Inouye were a biased sample of Hawaii's voters and not representative of the population at large. Thus a vote for oil drilling did not conflict with the majority of Hawaii's electorate.

Alternatively, a rational choice analyst might offer a crude material explanation: in 2005, eight percent of the oil from Prudhoe Bay went to the State of Hawaii.⁶¹ Because it is likely to remain cheaper to ship oil from Alaska to Hawaii than many other U.S. states or internationally, Hawaii is likely to be a beneficiary of ANWR oil. Thus Inouye, like Akaka, is voting to drill on ANWR's Coastal Plain to pursue Hawaii's short-term economic self-interest, cheap oil. Convinced of the impossibility of intergenerational

⁶⁰ 151 Cong. Rec. S2779 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

⁶¹ 151 Cong. Rec. S12157 (daily ed. November 2, 2005).

equity in contemporary political institutions, the crude short-termist might also charge Inouye with pandering to the interests of some of his top industry supporters (pro-Israel and sea transport group political action committees) in the 2005 to 2010 election cycle (Center for Responsive Politics 2011a). As discussed above in Senator Akaka's case, the sea transport industry hopes to open the ANWR Coastal Plain to oil drilling because they will gain jobs. Given that some ANWR oil is likely to go to Israel, a number of American Jewish organizations, *Americans for a Safe Israel* for instance, have supported oil drilling on ANWR's Coastal Plain.⁶² Put another way, the politician's interests are best served by responding to a minority of constituents that can make large campaign contributions rather than to the majority of voters.

However, if we take Inouye at his word, his reason for opening ANWR's Coastal Plain has more to do with *responding* to the interests of the indigenous people of Alaska. In Inouye's words,

there are 230 Indian tribes and tribal villages in the State of Alaska—230. One tribe is against it, the Gwich'in tribe. For the past 15 years I was the chairman of the Indian Affairs Committee. My mandate from my colleagues was that we should listen to the Indians. Mr. President, 229 tribes said yes, we want it. One tribe said no...I hope my colleagues will give this opportunity to the people of Alaska. When 229 out of 230 tribes tell me they want it, I am ready to respond.⁶³

On the one hand, Senator Inouye should be applauded because he is, as temporal institutionalists argue, paying attention to, and satisfying, the demands of his constituents. On the other hand and through a different prism, despite the appearance of his support, he, like Senator Akaka, promotes oil drilling within a framework of colonial objectives. To illustrate, neither Senator Akaka nor Senator Inouye are likely to support a foreign nation-like understanding of Inupiat self-determination. Although they support Inupiat self-determination to drill for oil, they are not likely to support unregulated Inupiat commerce. If the Inupiat drill for oil, neither Akaka nor

⁶² 147 Cong. Rec. S12289 (daily ed. December 3, 2001).

⁶³ 151 Cong. Rec. S2772 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

Inouye are likely to support the Inupiat's right to self-determine what nations to sell it to. Nor are they likely to support the Inupiat withholding all of the profits from the U.S. Treasury or the State of Alaska. Through a Foucauldian lens, Inouye and Akaka's support hides the interests of power. While both Akaka and Inouye appear to be *responding* to Native Alaskans, they are doing so only within the discursively and historically prescribed notions of *self-determination*. In other words, the conditions of response are bound by U.S. interests in controlling indigenous people's futures. Within these confines, the Inupiat are only able to self-determine what reinforces the interests of the colonial government and society. So, although Akaka and Inouye are responding, an important political question becomes who or what are they actually responding to? Are they responding to the 230 Native Alaskan tribes supposedly promoting oil drilling? Or, if we take a step back, are they responding to those who have had the power to shape the way they speak about ANWR and the 230 Native Alaskan tribes? Stated otherwise, are they responding to those who have defined the conditions of possibility? As Alfred argues, "indigenous people are respected by the state only to the degree that they adopt mainstream values, attitudes, and behaviors" (Alfred 1999, 118).

Note, I believe both Akaka and Inouye are sincere in their efforts to serve and respond to Native Alaskans. As discursively mediated beings, however, they are largely unaware of their imaginary restrictions. In other words, this is not a conscious process. Neither Akaka nor Inouye are sitting in some back room with lobbyists and oil companies strategizing about how to cheat the Gwich'in" or speak to them in a way that simply reinforces the needs of the colonial government and society. When drawing upon the inventory of discursive statements available (in this case, *self-determination*), the force pushing both Akaka and Inouye is far more subtle and hidden than blatant and visible. The discourse they use (or, if you prefer, uses them) pushes them to formulate the problem and propose possible solutions in historically prescribed ways. Again, and the important point worth repeating, the grounds upon which Akaka and Inouye imagine the future was largely determined before they ever spoke to Native Alaskans about whether or not they support oil drilling in ANWR. Those linguistic and imaginary grounds upon which they (Akaka,

Inouye, and Native Alaskans) imagine the future are not neutral; they promote a particular way of talking about ANWR (oilization, temporalization, self-determination, economic growth, national security, jobs, costs and benefits, rights, etc.) that benefit individuals and groups differently. In addition to the discursive pushes to speak about ANWR in a particular way, as we see in the next paragraph, the U.S. has created a material incentive for Native Alaskans living far removed from ANWR to support oil drilling (which works as a strategy to promote short-term economic growth rather than long-term preservation because the consequences of economic growth are not suffered equally by all the indigenous groups making the decision).

Alaska Land Claims Settlement Act

Given that the majority of Alaska's 230 tribes do not live on ANWR's Coastal Plain, why should they care whether or not oil drilling is permitted there? Alaska Senator Steven's shares a reason:

I don't think most people understand that because of the situation in terms of the Alaska Land Claims Settlement Act, when one region gets money from natural resources, it must share with the other 11 regions. The 7(i) concept is the most unique concept in America. That is why all of the Natives in Alaska have an interest in ANWR. If the Natives of the North Slope get money—and they will—from this development, they must share that with the other 11 regions...People don't realize that the petroleum industry has been able to coexist with wildlife in the Arctic, and it really has the support of the Natives who live in that area. Thirty-three percent of unemployed Alaskans are Natives. Twenty percent of Alaskan Natives have incomes below the poverty line. Development of ANWR holds the potential to improve their situation.⁶⁴

So, according to Stevens, every Native Alaskan "...would use a portion of the revenues to finance schools, water systems, and health clinics while pursuing their way of life."⁶⁵ Presumably, what Stevens means by "pursuing their way of life" is a subsistence lifestyle. On the one hand, Stevens's promotion of oil drilling can be spoken of as short-term because it enables short-term economic and job growth. On the other hand,

⁶⁴ 151 Cong. Rec. S2781 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

⁶⁵ 151 Cong. Rec. S2782 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

Stevens's promotion of oil drilling can be described as long-term because he envisions an ANWR Coastal Plain populated with Inupiat living a subsistence lifestyle for years to come. He believes modern economic growth and traditional subsistence lifestyles can energize and reinforce each other. By providing badly needed jobs and a tax base, the Inupiat can stay on their native lands rather than having to move to Anchorage, Seattle, or Minneapolis to pursue an urban lifestyle. As Steven's says "thirty-three percent of unemployed Alaskans are Natives. Twenty percent of Alaskan Natives have incomes below the poverty line." The Native Alaskan experience parallels the Native American Indian experience. According to an article in *Indian Country*, "jobs and education opportunities and out-marriage continue to attract Natives to urban areas and away from tribal lands" (Indian Country Today 2005). However, the same article also states that urban Indians "remain connected by relations and cultural identification to their tribal homelands. These linkages are obvious in the reservation-bound migration unleashed any time jobs and services become more available in the home territories." Thus jobs provided by oil drilling might enable more Inupiat to stay on or return to their homeland. If one believes the Inupiat must live on their homeland to maintain their culture over long periods of time, Stevens's vote to drill might enable more Inupiat to stay on their native lands, practice their traditional culture, and pass their traditional culture to future generations of Inupiat. Through this lens, keeping ANWR's Coastal Plain Inupiat is future-oriented.

In contrast to Stevens's positive depiction of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) as a tool to bring about distributive and social justice, economist Gary C. Anders gloss on the ANCSA is not so rosy. Passed by the U.S. Congress in 1971, ANCSA required the establishment of corporations to receive the \$962.5 million and 44 million acres of land settlement from the United States (Anders 1992, 85). As Anders notes, the 12 instate regional corporations that formed were effectively the tribes of Alaska Natives (Eskimos, Indians, and Aleuts). Because the leaders of these Native corporations (created by government fiat) often "lack familiarity with the corporate model and white business practices," Anders worries that bad business decisions coupled with the possible sale of stock belonging

to Natives could lead to the loss of ownership of the lands Natives received in ANCSA (Anders 1992, 93).

Sketching the economic and cultural impacts of ANCSA, Anders argues that Native Alaskans reliance on snowmobiles, boats, outboard motors, and modern houses, increases their need for energy. This in turn requires them to buy energy. Purchasing energy requires cash. “The expansion of the cash economy,” Anders contends, “results in Alaska Natives becoming locked into a system of dependency and internal colonialism” (Anders 1992, 94). Drawing on Stephen Ferrey’s article “Selling Energy to the Eskimos” appearing in *The Nation*, Anders emphasizes that while energy is abundant in Alaska, it is “shockingly expensive for rural villagers” (electricity, for example, “ranges 10 to 15 times the average cost for a typical American city...”). Fuel oil, which must be transported in during the summer months on barges or flown in during the winter should supplies run short costs up to 6 times the Anchorage price” (Anders 1992, 94). The need to buy energy, among other things, compels Native Alaskan men living in rural areas to move to urban areas to find work. This move splits families, alters traditional work patterns, and promotes individualism and competition. Considering the long-term impact of ANCSA, Anders argues that it has not promoted economic equity among Native Alaskans. Indeed, it has undermined traditional values, impaired subsistence economies, and, in the long-run, could lead to the loss of indigenous ownership of lands or to their environmental degradation. In contrast to Stevens’s treatment of ANCSA as a tool to bring about justice for Natives, Anders concludes “there is little prospect that the majority of rural Natives will benefit substantially from the land claims” (Anders 1992: 95).

Writing seven years after Anders’s publication, Kahnawake (Mohawk) scholar Taiaiake Alfred shares and raises Anders’s concerns. Alfred contends that ANCSA “extinguished the indigenous people’s aboriginal title and rights to over 90 percent of their territories” (Alfred 1999, 116). He describes ANCSA and the resulting village-level corporations and “so-called governments that strictly follow a corporate model (community members are shareholders and the primary

responsibility of the government to make profits)” as a “sickening example of the co-optation of the elite Native leadership and the forced assimilation of indigenous people into an exploitative system that fundamentally disrespects their culture and values” (Alfred 1999, 117). For both Anders and Alfred, ANCSA is little more than “a land grab and blatant effort to make Native Alaskans conform to a white model of societal, government, and economic organization” (Alfred 1999, 117). Contrasting sharply with Anders and Alfred, Senator Stevens describes ANCSA as an important tool in keeping Alaskan Natives in their homeland. However, Stevens does not report that the United States federal government now owns 60 percent and the State of Alaska now owns 30 percent of unsurrendered Native Alaskan territory as a result of ANCSA. For Anders and Alfred, ANCSA is a tool that impoverishes Native Alaskans and leads to land loss and cultural destruction.

Introducing the Gwich'in

Several of Anders and Alfred's concerns are voiced by the Gwich'in tribe. As Senator Inouye's excerpt above reports, of the 230 Indian tribes and tribal villages in Alaska, only one tribe is against drilling for oil in ANWR, the Gwich'in tribe.⁶⁶ Just who are the Gwich'in and why do they oppose oil drilling on ANWR's Coastal Plain? The Gwich'in Indians live in northeastern Alaska and northwestern Canada. Archaeological evidence indicates the Gwich'in have occupied this general area for 20,000+ years. In 2005, there were approximately 7,000 to 9,000 Gwich'in people, about 800 of those living in Alaska. The closest Gwich'in settlement to ANWR is Arctic Village, about 150 miles of uninhabited area from ANWR's Coastal Plain. Although the Gwich'in do not officially live within ANWR's borders, their primary food source, the Porcupine Caribou Herd (named so because they cross the Porcupine River), often migrates to and gives birth to the next generation of caribou on ANWR's Coastal Plain, the 1002 Area in particular. Fearing reduced caribou calf survival rates due to the roads, machinery, and general ecological disruption caused by oil drilling operations, the Gwich'ins have opposed drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR. The potential to damage the Porcupine

⁶⁶ 151 Cong. Rec. S2772 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

Caribou Herd's calving grounds could result in a shortage of subsistence food as well as a break in their spiritual connection with the herd. Because of the importance of the 1002 Area to the Gwich'in people, they refer to it as *Izhik Gwats'an Gwandii Goodlit*, "The Sacred Place Where All Life Begins."

When comparing the Gwich'in's position on oil drilling in ANWR's Coastal Plain with the Inupiat's, it is useful to evoke to Michael Shapiro's insights on political processes.

Political processes are ... contests over alternative understandings (often implicit) immanent in the representational practices that implicate the actions and objects one recognizes and the various spaces—leisure, work, political, private, public—within which persons and things take on their identities. Although it tends to operate implicitly, the separation of the world into kinds of space is perhaps the most significant kind of practice for establishing the systems of intelligibility within which understandings ... are forged. (Shapiro 1989, 12)

Through Shapiro's lens, ANWR can be thought of as a "contest over alternative understandings." Shapiro argues that analysts should pay careful attention to the representational practices used in political contests. In particular, scholars should focus on the "actions and objects" in which people take on their identity. Turning to Gwich'in identity, Gwich'in elder Jonathan Solomon said "it is our belief the future of the Gwich'in people and the future of the Caribou are the same" (Gwich'in Steering Committee, Episcopal Church and Wilson 2005, 9). Put another way, "damage to the herd would endanger the very identity of the Gwich'in as a people" (Gwich'in Steering Committee, Episcopal Church and Wilson 2005, 20). The Gwich'in Steering Committee's publication *A Moral Choice for the United States: The Human Rights Implications for the Gwich'in of Drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge* features a photograph of young Gwich'in hunters. The photo appears on a page that features the caption: "The young are taught to handle the kill with great care and respect, and to give proper thanks to the Creator for the gift. This teaches the young men of their responsibility to the tribe as a provider." The photo and caption work together to promote the idea that Gwich'in culture is reproduced through teaching caribou hunting to the young. In this conception of identity, the Gwich'in and the caribou are one. The people

become Gwich'in through their relationship to the caribou. Pollution of and ecological disruption to the Coastal Plain would destroy both the Gwich'in and the caribou.

Following Shapiro's suggestion to pay attention to the representational practices used in political contests, the Gwich'in refer to the 1002 Area as *Izhik Gwats'an Gwandii Goodlit*, "The Sacred Place Where All Life Begins." Drawing on international law, the Gwich'in Steering Committee depicts the Coastal Plain of ANWR as a sacred place, a feminized area characterized by birth, and a tribe-neutral territory. They speak about the use of the Coastal Plain through collective tropes in the discourse of human rights and caretaking. In their call to protect the "Sacred Place Where All Life Begins" and the Porcupine Caribou Herd from damage that would result from oil drilling in ANWR's Coastal Plain, the Gwich'in Steering Committee, quoting the International Indian Treaty Council, concludes: "It would be comparable to the historically genocidal acts that brought the Plains buffalo to the brink of extinction, and violated the very heart of the Plains Tribes' ancestral way of life" (Gwich'in Steering Committee, Episcopal Church and Wilson 2005, 23). Through the Gwich'in frame, the long-term issue is spoken about as a cultural survival issue. Through the official Inupiat frame, the long-term struggle is conceptualized as a land rights and political rights issue.

Who Decides – The Genuine Native

If the future is open and navigable, then who decides and by what right? Because oil drilling is prohibited in congressionally designated wilderness areas, the Gwich'in argue Congress must declare the Coastal Plain a wilderness. Indeed, from the Gwich'in perspective, their survival depends on it. Drawing on international law, the Gwich'in Steering Committee represents the Coastal Plain of ANWR as a sacred space, a tribe-neutral territory. The official Inupiat representation, on the other hand, uses sovereignty discourse which foregrounds self-determination and the proprietary nature of the Coastal Plain. For the vice-mayor of the City of Kaktovik George Tagarook, the 1002 Area is Inupiat territory rather than a commonly owned area with jointly managed resources. Indeed, he describes intrusions by foreigners on Inupiat lands as *invasions* (see below). The ability to determine how Inupiat lands will be used is crucial for Tagarook. In his view, the Inupiat—not the U.S. Congress, nor the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service, nor the

Gwich'in, nor environmental groups, nor Alaskans or Americans at large—should determine how Inupiat lands are used. Through the official Inupiat frame, the long-term struggle is primarily one of land and political rights.

Tagarook articulates and reinforces the land rights theme described above and introduces the notion of the *genuine native* in rationalizing Inupiat control over the Coastal Plain:

When Sarah James, a Gwich'in spokesperson now using that alien language, signed the lease agreement years ago for oil and gas exploration within the Gwich'in homelands, we did not think to question the wisdom of her decision. It was their homelands to do with as they pleased. When they speak of their sacred lands, the calving grounds of the Porcupine Caribou Herd, which just happen to be our homelands and far removed from theirs, we know we are hearing alien words spoken for somebody else. For no Gwich'in would ever make that incredible mistake. The Gwich'in do not live in or near the coastal plain or anywhere in the 19.6 million-acre refuge, but many Americans believe otherwise.

The ANWR issue has nothing to do with environmental protection or with caribou. It is about land; it is about imperialism, about taking the lands and waters of someone else and making them your own. Native people don't do that. We are tightly attached to our own land and have no interest in taking land from other people. That is the meaning of being Native, of being so much a part of our homelands that other places are of little interest to us.

For the record, the Porcupine Caribou Herd calved again this year in Canada among the oil rigs Ottawa has set up there in what they like to call a national park. For the record the herd is being devastated by hunters along the Dempster Highway under the watchful eye of the Canadian Wildlife Service. National environmental groups, their Gwich'in allies and members of the media have created a false reality of this issue, and those of us with any real knowledge of the coastal plain are left stunned, confused and defensive. We stand to be hopelessly defeated by ruthless liars.

The invasion of our homelands began when some perhaps well-meaning but surely ill-informed ladies in Fairbanks persuaded Washington to declare our homelands a wildlife range. That was long before the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, before there was any action to resolve the true ownership of these lands. It was while we remained the sole owners of our lands. And we were not even consulted, not even made aware that people from someplace else had moved in, at least on some paper in some distant place.

Then things got worse. Step by insidious step, outsiders pushed us aside, set up rules that made it harder and harder for us to use our lands and waters. The worst thing they have done is to declare part of our homelands wilderness. Not only is

that a massive insult to say that places where we are have no people, as if we do not even exist, but also the management rules for such places make it impossible for us to continue to use them. Now they want the entire coastal plain made wilderness. That is code for finally removing us from our homelands. That is code for genocide.

We passionately oppose attempts to expand wilderness designations to our remaining homelands. We suffer not from pollution or harm brought here by the oil and gas industry. It has so far been one of the least disruptive and most positive forces ever to invade Alaska's Arctic shores. We suffer from the pollution of lies spread far and wide to advance an agenda we do not understand, and from the disrespect shown our positive, progressive people. (Tagarook 2010)

By invoking indigenous cultural ways of understanding and approaching land, Tagarook resists Gwich'in explanations on why the 1002 Area should be declared wilderness.

Indeed he goes beyond this and describes the Gwich'in claims to the 1002 Area as unintelligible to indigenous people (*We are tightly attached to our own land and have no interest in taking land from other people. That is the meaning of being Native, of being so much a part of our homelands that other places are of little interest to us*). Through this lens, the Gwich'in call for wilderness designation is *alien*. In effect, Tagarook contends that the Gwich'in appeal for a wilderness designation on Inupiat lands is not authentically a Gwich'in sentiment because the basis for such a position is not rooted in Native value systems. In Tagarook's view, genuine Native Alaskans are tied to their lands, not somebody else's. Thus the Gwich'in position is a foreign one that, in the end, results in land grab by foreigners. Tagarook rationalizes the extinguishment of Gwich'in claims to shape the future of the Coastal Plain by using classifications (authentic versus inauthentic natives).

Reading Alfred's work, one wonders if it is Tagarook rather than the Gwich'in that are applying alien categories and concepts to Native lands. Writing about native political elites, Alfred says "most of those who possess authority delegated by the Canadian or United States government are less leaders...than tools of the state...Some are simply blind to the reality of their co-optation" (Alfred 1999, 31-32). Is Tagarook an example of this? Is Brenda Itta Lee, the Inupiat and Member of the Board of Directors of Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, mentioned earlier in this chapter? Is Fenton Rexford, president of Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation? In other words, are the

advocates of Inupiat directed oil drilling in official positions of power simply dupes of the colonial state? Are they now complicit in undermining, dividing, and assimilating the Inupiat? Are these ‘official leaders’ speaking about rights, costs and benefits, economic development, taxes, schools, and public education actually the ones using *alien* (capitalist ways of partitioning experience) categories? Alternatively, is Sarah James, the unofficial Gwich’in spokesperson Tagarook refers to above, a genuine indigenous leader working to serve the people in ways grounded in traditional (authentic) values? Although I am unable to answer these questions (and as a white settler living in Hawaii, I don’t feel it is appropriate for me to do so), it seems to me that indigenous people that brand George Tagarook, Fenton Rexford, and Brenda Ita Lee as dupes applying alien categories suggest that there is a timeless way of being indigenous (see more on this subject below). In other words, if you believe you can balance economic development with environmental preservation, you are naïve, mistaken, complicitous, or destructive. This line of reasoning strikes me as indigenous-on-indigenous cultural imperialism. If members of the Inupiat want to change, then other indigenous people telling them they can’t change or that they are no longer genuinely indigenous, or destructive if they do, is anchored in a timeless and romantic way of thinking about the indigenous experience. This is important because seeing the Inupiat or Gwich’in as timeless impacts the way we think (or don’t think) about their future. Deborah Stone’s argument that policy making is a “constant struggle over criteria for classification, the boundaries of categories, and the definition of ideals that guide the way people behave” resonates here in the struggle to define an authentic indigenous leader (D. Stone 1997,11).

The battle to identify the ‘authentic indigenous position’ and in turn the legitimate indigenous future has been played out numerous times in the U.S. Senate. Claiming they are acting on behalf of Alaska’s indigenous people, Senators Akaka and Inouye voted to open oil drilling. Countering this position, Washington Senator Cantwell provided the Senate a resolution by the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) of the United States opposing oil drilling in ANWR’s 1002 Area.⁶⁷ As Senator Cantwell told the

⁶⁷ 151 Cong. Rec. S2782 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

Senate, “we have heard about tribes in Alaska. I want to point out to my colleagues that the National Congress of American Indians, an organization representing more than 500 tribes across the country, have opposed drilling in the wildlife refuge, and that certainly is what we are talking about—a debate of national significance.”⁶⁸ The NCAI proposal offers an alternative to Akaka and Inouye’s way of speaking about whom should control the future of ANWR. In contrast to Akaka and Inouye’s vision of local indigenous direction motivated by tribal interests, Cantwell uses a competing set of indigenous claims to shift the focus to a national direction guided by universal indigenous interests. Although the NCAI proposal speaks on behalf of numerous Native Alaskan tribes (the Gwich’in, Inupiat, Tlingit, Athabaskan, and Saint Lawrence Island Native Peoples), the NCAI informs the Senate that they are *the oldest and largest national organization of American Indian and Alaska Native tribal governments*. By describing their organization as “the oldest” the NCAI informs the Senate that they are an established, trusted, and respected institution. By saying they are “the largest organization of American Indian and Alaska Indian and Alaska Native tribal governments,” the NCAI is implying that it is the voice of and true representative of American Indians and Alaskan Natives. Senator Cantwell reinforces this idea when pointing out the NCAI “represents more than 500 tribes across the country.” The strategic deployment of this organization description is meant to legitimize and authorize the NCAI’s position and blunt Senator Stevens’s claim that Alaskan Natives “...overwhelmingly support development in ANWR because they know they can balance stewardship and conservation with the development.”⁶⁹ With the exception of the 92,000 acres of Kaktovik Inupiat Corporation’s privately held land, the NCAI calls the government of the United States to reject any proposals to open oil drilling in ANWR’s 1002 Area. The NCAI proposal describes Native Alaskan and Native American concerns that multinational corporate oil drilling on ANWR’s Coastal Plain will cause environmental damage that threatens indigenous people’s health, safety, lands, and culture. So, who represents the Native Alaskans? Is it Senator Akaka from Hawaii? Senator Stevens from Alaska? Senator Cantwell from Washington? The NCAI? Native

⁶⁸ 151 Cong. Rec. S2783 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

⁶⁹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2782 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

Corporations? Tribal government? Indigenous scholars and activists? Respected Native leaders (with no official authority)?

Returning to the question who decides the future, Nevada Senator Reid, like Senator Cantwell, believes that the ANWR's future should not be determined exclusively by the local, indigenous people. Unlike Senator Akaka and Inouye that, ostensibly, leave the future to the Natives, Senator Reid thinks ANWR's future should be decided by the people of the United States. Reid said:

Eighty-seven percent of the land in State of Nevada is owned by the Federal Government. What does that mean? It means that 87 percent is as much yours as it is mine... I recognize that federal lands are as much yours as they are mine. That is the same as the ANWR wilderness. That land is as much mine as it is the Senator from Alaska.⁷⁰

Senator Reid does not think Native Alaskans should be given any special privilege or priority in deciding ANWR's future. Indeed, in his view, the land is his as much as theirs. In this way of thinking it is the U.S. government—the Senate, the House, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service—who should decide ANWR's future rather than an exclusive group of Native Alaskans. Thus Reid's position deals a blow to Native sovereignty. For Reid, ANWR exists as a treasure for future generations. As such, it can operate as an alibi for U.S. government encroachment and can serve to dilute or extinguish Native sovereignty and land rights. Because the land is as much his as theirs, Reid is able to sever age-old indigenous links to land.

Drilling proponent Mississippi Senator Lott said

This is an issue supported by an overwhelming number of people in that State. It is supported by the Native Americans in that State. This is the right thing to do from their standpoint. I do not understand why Senators from Massachusetts and Washington and Maine are trying to dictate what should happen in this area in production that we need as a country.⁷¹

In contrast to Reid, Lott contends Alaskans (white and indigenous) should decide the future of the Coastal Plain, particularly if this future supports the economic interests of

⁷⁰ 148 Cong. Rec. S2696 (daily ed. April 16, 2002).

⁷¹ 151 Cong. Rec. S2775 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

the United States. Indeed he questions the legitimacy of outside interference in another place's future when saying *I do not understand why Senators from Massachusetts and Washington and Maine are trying to dictate what should happen in this area*. For Lott, there is a link between place and future. People occupying a particular place should be the ones to direct that place's future.

As I argued earlier, contests over ANWR's future are not limited to *what* will happen. They are also contests over *who* should decide. For the Gwich'in Steering Committee, the United States Congress should decide. For Tagarook, the Inupiat should decide. For Cantwell, ANWR is a national indigenous issue and warrants the intervention of the National Congress of American Indians. For Reid, the people of the United States should decide. For Lott, Alaskans should decide. The answer to *who decides* is important factor in determining *what unfolds*. For instance, in the Gwich'in representation of the future, drilling in *Izhik Gwats'an Gwandii Goodlit*, "The Sacred Place Where All Life Begins." leads to Gwich'in genocide. In Tagarook's representation, declaring Inupiat lands a wilderness area leads to Inupiat genocide. In effect, one tribe's survival is another tribe's genocide.

Both the Inupiat and the Gwich'in claim to be speaking for future generations. Both are engaged in a contest of intergenerational transmission. This clash, among others, illustrates a dark side of generativity rarely discussed in conversations about long-term politics, which usually lament the absence of long-term politics rather than generative struggles among competing groups. As de St. Aubin, McAdams, and Kim put it, "many assume that generativity is exclusively about the intergenerational transmission of life-affirming modes. But it is often the case that one's legacy is a destructive one. Further some forms of generativity appear to benefit one group but not others—perhaps even being detrimental to some" (de St. Aubin, McAdams, and Kim 2004, 268). In no uncertain terms, Tagarook's narrative indicates that policies enabling Gwich'in generativity will inflict harm on the Inupiat. Indeed, they will result in Inupiat genocide.

In the ANWR debate, the Inupiat use of sovereignty discourse clashes and competes with the Gwich'in cultural survival discourse. Although each discourse pushes us to understand and approach the issue in different ways, they both touch on

economics. When considering each other's stance, both sides represent the other as selfish, destructive, inauthentic, unethical, and short-term. To help us find a way out of this deep forest of competing claims, Taiiaki Alfred provides us with a framework based on indigenous justice to consider this question:

The only position on development compatible with a traditional frame of mind is a balanced one, committed at once to using the land in ways that respect the spiritual and cultural connection indigenous peoples have with it and to managing the process so as to ensure a primary benefit for its natural indigenous stewards. The primary goals of an indigenous economy are to sustain the earth and to ensure the well-being of the people. (Alfred 1999, 62)

However, Alfred's framework neither helps me nor qualifies me to decide whether it is the Inupiat or the Gwich'in position that better respects indigenous notions of justice. His framework is not useful in helping me decide whether enabling the Inupiat to control oil drilling is the *balance* he speaks of or shutting down drilling all together. Because oil drilling would take place on their homelands, does letting the Inupiat decide if and how oil drilling is done trump the Gwich'in claim for spiritual and cultural connection to the 1002 Area? Moreover, can we simply dismiss the Inupiat claim that they will be responsible stewards of their homelands and care for the caribous and other animals they depend on? If they are responsible stewards, will they sustain the earth and ensure the well-being of the people? What does *sustain* mean? What does *well-being* mean? What does *respect* mean? What does *primary benefit* mean? What does *manage* mean? What does *balance* mean? Even if Alfred operationalized these terms, they would be subject to an ongoing series of contests over their 'true' meaning.

Despite the guidance of numerous authors that have focused on the problem of justice for indigenous peoples (Alfred 1999; Barker 2005; Corntassel 2008; Ivison, Patton and Sanders 2000; Kymlicka 2009; Smith 2005; Trask 1999; Tully 1995), I remain uncertain what 'true' justice is and the best thing to do for the future(s) is. This is not to say that the authors are not useful in critiquing justice-related arguments or thinking about the future. However, and ultimately, like Alfred, each author calls for policymaking to rest on some unqualified abstract notion of

balance, reasonable, respect, security, well-being, justice, equity, efficiency, liberty, stewardship, history, etc. Recalling Deborah Stone's gloss on the political process, behind every policy issue "*lurks a contest over conflicting, though equally, plausible, conceptions of the same abstract goal or value*" (D. Stone 1997, 12). Applied to the ANWR debate, I see validity in both the Inupiat and Gwich'in position, among others. This is not the same as saying that I don't have a position on ANWR. Nor does it mean I find every argument about ANWR equally valuable in promoting intergenerational justice. What it means is that my position is not necessarily more just or better for future generations than someone with a different position. And, more importantly, my goal in this project is to provide a richer account of long-term politics rather than an operations manual for intergenerational justice (there are already dozens of books and articles that provide such an orientation, none though, in my opinion, have led to a significant social transformation or radical breakthrough in achieving intergenerational justice). Although I feel richer personally as a result of reading these arguments and better able to empathize with divergent positions, in the end, I am left with a series of competing claims rather than certainty about how to proceed.

Despite numerous representations of ANWR as pristine wilderness, it has been has been populated by Native Alaskans for thousands of years. ANWR has not and is not empty of human life and interests. The Inupiat as well as the Gwich'in have long depended on the Coastal Plain for subsistence before the oilization and temporalization of ANWR. They will continue to struggle with each other as well as government at different levels, oil companies, environmental groups, and other individuals, organizations, and discourses over the future of the 1002 Area. The question of who should decide ANWR's future remains an open one that will continue to be the subject of political tension in the future.

The Timeless Indian

Recalling and extending Said's work in *Orientalism*, the ways in which we understand people has implications for the futures we imagine for them. Numerous politicians speaking about the Inupiat and the Gwich'in in the *Congressional Record*

have only observed them from afar, and as Said might argue, from above. Just as the interests of the Orientalist are hidden, so are those of our politicians. Deborah Root, a teacher of art history and postcolonial theory, writes, “*passivity* and *timelessness* are notions that have been utilized to characterize nearly all societies outside of the Western tradition” (Root 1996, 37). As Root points out, representations of culture as frozen in time have political implications. In addition to making indigenous people appear inferior and static, “it ignores what change means in a colonial situation.” In particular it “overlooks the extent to which Western consumerist culture and economic structures systematically weaken land-based economies” (Root 1996, 38). Utah Senator Bennett, a supporter of oil drilling in ANWR, offers an example of this notion of timelessness when describing his interactions with Natives when visiting Alaska:

There was one Gwich’in Indian almost in tears as he pled with us, do not disrupt our subsistence living culture that has gone back 1,000 years. We live on the caribou and the whale. We don’t need the oil. We live on the caribou and the whale. I thought, if you really want the subsistence living culture, it goes back 1,000 years, we can give it to you by cutting down the shipment of diesel fuel that goes to your village, that provides you with heat and power during the wintertime.⁷²

And further,

I didn’t respond to this particular Indian, tell me about your subsistence living culture, because I didn’t want to embarrass him, but I knew that this means getting on a snowmobile and going after the caribou with rifles. I thought the caribou would much rather have oil engineers giving them some shelter from the mosquitoes rather than this kind of human intervention into their lives.⁷³

For Bennett, the oil taken from unsundered Native Alaskan lands is now his to give back to the primitive, oil dependent Indians. In doing this, Bennett ignores the history of Native colonization in Alaska and the underlying land and mineral rights issues enabling the United States and the State of Alaska to possess and control Native Alaskan land and resources. Further, he flips the notion of timelessness on the Gwich’in when saying *if you*

⁷² 151 Cong. Rec. S2709 (daily ed. March 15, 2005).

⁷³ 151 Cong. Rec. S2709 (daily ed. March 15, 2005).

really want the subsistence living culture, it goes back 1,000 years, we can give it to you by cutting down the shipment of diesel fuel that goes to your village. Leaving aside the moral calculus of a politician that would consider cutting off oil shipments to teach the natives a lesson, Bennett implicitly suggests that the Gwich'in using modern Western technology (rather than their own 1,000 year old technology) are no longer authentic subsistence hunters and thus no longer genuine indigenous people. From Bennett's perspective, because Indians are timeless, they must use primitive technologies. If they use snowmobiles, guns, and modern homes, they are no longer genuinely indigenous (and thus lose their land and resource rights). One wonders if Senator Bennett would have similar thoughts about white Alaskans. During an ANWR debate, Senator Lautenberg, for instance, told senators about a family impacted by the Exxon Valdez oil spill: "Several Alaskan families visited my office last year to their story. One old fisherman said, "My grandson will never get to fish for herring. We've been fishing for herring for three generations in my family. But since this spill, there is no more herring."⁷⁴ One wonders if Senator Bennett would say something like this to white Alaskan fisherman: *if you really want the commercial fishing culture, going back three generations, we can give it to you by cutting down the shipment of diesel fuel that goes to your town to provide you with heat and power during the wintertime.* Or something such as *"I didn't respond to this particular white fisherman, tell me about your fishing culture, because I didn't want to embarrass him, but I knew that this means getting in a gas powered boat with a GIS navigational system and going after the herring with modern trawling technologies. I thought the herring would much rather have oil engineers protecting them from seabirds and sea otters rather than this kind of intervention in their lives.* Implicit in Bennett's account, whereas natives are stuck in time (rather than a culture transformed by Western contact with remnants of their earlier culture remaining), whites are technologically dynamic and therefore superior. White Alaskans are therefore inherently more qualified to guide change and determine ANWR's future than a small group of crying, whining, and inauthentic Indians that use and benefit from Western technology

⁷⁴ 151 Cong. Rec. S2779 (daily ed. March 16, 2005).

but do not know and will not pay the price required to use modern technologies (drilling for oil in their homelands).

In addition to using the notion of timelessness to disqualify the Gwich'in from determining ANWR's future, Bennett's argument presumes that all people consume energy equally. By ignoring the differences in energy consumption of middle class Americans, in, say, suburban Salt Lake City (the home of many of his constituents), that heat and air condition large homes, consume foods from all over the world, commute in individual cars an hour one-way to work, travel to foreign countries by airplane on vacation, and use an enormous amount of consumer products made from oil to that of a poor Gwich'in family that lives a subsistence lifestyle in rural Alaska, Bennett pretends as if the Gwich'in need the oil just as much as the suburban Salt Lake City family. However it is the suburban Salt Lake City family that needs the oil more to sustain their energy lavish lifestyle than the Gwich'in. And it is the suburban Salt Lake City family that disproportionately benefits from a political and economic system that controls unsundered Native Alaskan land and resources. In a remarkable act of discursive contortionism, however, Senator Bennett speaks in terms of *giving* the Gwich'in oil (rather than *taking* it from indigenous lands). Moreover, by erasing the history of the United States and the State of Alaska's intervention in and occupation of Native Alaskan lands, Bennett speaks about Gwich'in dependence on modern homes, heating systems, snowmobiles, and rifles as if it just happened without any agent being held responsible and any land grab taking place. The Gwich'in have lived in Alaska thousands of years before the emergence of snowmobiles, rifles, and modern homes in a way that sustained biological life in the Arctic. It is both arrogant and disingenuous for Bennett to suggest the Gwich'in need modern technologies to get by in the future. Further, if Bennett limits his attention to the use of and benefit of heated homes rather than, say, alcohol, he implicitly suggests the Gwich'in have simply benefitted rather than also suffered from Western technologies. Finally, critical reflection on the supposedly beneficial technologies such as snowmobiles and rifles might reveal that they have brought some unwanted and harmful changes to Gwich'in culture and well-being. Again, the main point here is that Native Alaskans do not consume energy equally as many of Bennett's constituents nor do they benefit equally from the use of modern technologies.

Ultimately, the notion of timelessness Indians here is used to disqualify the Gwich'in from deciding their future. It is not for Bennett to decide how the Gwich'in should (or should not) change. What seems important to me is that the Gwich'in decide what change is compatible with and integrated into their culture and future rather than Bennett. Highlighting the consequences of the timeless Indian is Jacob Adams, an Inupiat that is president of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation, one of the Fortune 500 companies:

I love my life in the Arctic. But it is harsh, expensive and, for many, short. My people want decent homes, electricity, and education. We do not want to be undisturbed. Undisturbed means abandoned. It means sod huts and deprivation. By locking up ANWR, the Inupiat people are asked to become museum pieces, not a dynamic and living culture. We are asked to suffer the burdens of locking up our lands forever as if we were in a zoo or on display for the rich tourists who can afford to travel to our remote part of Alaska. This is not acceptable.⁷⁵

Adams's statement serves as a powerful illustration of Root's critique of the timeless Indian. Adams links the notion of timelessness (*the Inupiat people are asked to become museum pieces, not a dynamic and living culture*) with an effective land grab (*suffer the burdens of locking up our lands forever*) and commodification of the Inupiat people and culture (*as if we were in a zoo or on display for the rich tourists who can afford to travel to our remote part of Alaska*). From Adams's perspective, this locking up of Inupiat lands forever is being advanced by politicians that would declare the Coastal Plain of ANWR a wilderness area and prioritize the interest of abstract future generations over the Inupiat in the present and future. Many of these politicians appear to feel no obligation to the people who have occupied the place for thousands of years. In their well meaning attempt to save ANWR for future generations, politicians making such arguments often skirt issues of land rights, legal agreements, and cultural survival issues.

One mark of political power is the ability to impose a representation, not appearing to be a point of view, in order to shape the future. Even those in Congress that depict Native Alaskans as generative actors fighting to assure the well-being of

⁷⁵ 148 Cong. Rec. S2702 (daily ed. April 16, 2002).

future generations of their tribe by making the Gwich'in resistance to oil drilling or the Inupiat struggle for self-determination a subject, are, as Said argues in *Orientalism*, "limited in their imagery, assumptions, and intentions" (Said 1979, 202). Extending Said's work, the indigenous are framed by a set of representations that can be put to political use. In the minds of many in Congress, the indigenous can drill for oil or be subsistence hunters. We see no other alternative futures for Native Alaskans in the pages of the *Congressional Record*. Even the growth images of the future proposed, economic growth by oil drilling, are limited in their imagination. We do not see, say, the development of an Arctic Technological Park to employ the Inupiat children that want to put their valuable Western educations, paid for by oil royalties, to work. Note, I'm not arguing the Inupiat want or should have a technological park, my point is there are no alternative futures spoken about when it comes to timeless natives. Again, extending Said's work, our imagination is confined by the notion of an enduring indigenous reality and an opposing conception of Western dynamism.

Despite the appearance of congressional support, both those members of Congress that support and oppose oil drilling do so within a framework of colonial objectives rather than merely serving and responding to the majority of their indigenous constituents interests. As Alfred argues, "indigenous people are respected by the state only to the degree that they adopt mainstream values, attitudes, and behaviors" (Alfred 1999, 118). Even those in Congress, such as Senator Akaka and Senator Inouye, supporting Inupiat self-determination do so in a restrictive colonial way. To illustrate, Akaka is not likely to support a foreign nation-like understanding of Inupiat self-determination. Although he supports Inupiat self-determination to drill for oil, he is not likely to support unregulated Inupiat commerce. If the Inupiat drill for oil, they will not be able to self-determine what nations they sell it to. Nor will the Inupiat be able to keep all the profits. As sympathetic and well-intentioned as Akaka and Inouye are to the interests of the Native Alaskans, their political imagination is restricted by the structures of U.S. colonialism. Although we see calls for the indigenous to control their future, we do not see linked calls in Congress for greater Native Alaskan sovereignty. Thus the future that Native Alaskans will be

able to build will be confined by the boundaries of the United States Constitution and interests of the nation-State.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have taken a critical look at the political struggle in the present behind the future of ANWR. As I showed in my discussion, despite the prospect of short-term economic development, so far, the Coastal Plain has been preserved for future generations. Thus, using the classic barometer of long-term politics, environmental preservation, ANWR provides evidence and hope that future-oriented behavior is not structurally prohibited by the political system.

In this chapter, I also pointed out that ANWR complicates our notion of long-term politics. I called into question what is meant by *long-term* in the first place. Is the long-term position preserving wilderness in ANWR for future generations? Or is the long-term position drilling in ANWR so present and future generations of Africans don't suffer as much from pollution caused by oil drilling in Africa? Is the long-term position enabling the Inupiat to manage oil drilling on their homelands or the Gwich'in to prevent oil drilling so they can continue a traditional subsistence lifestyle? Is the long-term position letting all Alaskans (settlers and indigenous) decide ANWR's future or just Native Alaskans? Is the long-term position letting Alaskans (locals) decide or the United States Congress (outsiders) decide? Is the long-term position letting the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, a federal agency within the Department of the Interior (outsider scientists and bureaucrats), decide ANWR's future based on the needs of present and future generations of animals or the United States Congress, an elected body of political representatives focusing primarily on human needs? By calling into question what we mean by *long-term* in the first place, a critical and nuanced analysis of ANWR reveals that long-term politics is more than simply environmental preservation.

Despite the appeal of the title and surface argument behind books such as *Our Common Future* (Worldwide Commission on Environment and Development 1987), the struggle over ANWR's future suggests there is anything but a *common* future. Because

people neither benefit nor pay equally in any of the proposed futures for ANWR, one cannot truly speak of a *common* future or universally shared ANWR experience. Thus any universal ethical appeal to preserve ANWR, or any other environment or resource, for future generations inevitably conceals the interests of some. In the ANWR case, for instance, present and future generations of Africans never make it or disappear from the morality radar-screen. Given the overwhelming majority of Africans ignored in the ANWR debate are black and poor, race and class power relations are hidden in race-neutral and class-neutral generational language. Nevertheless when members of the U.S. House and Senate and U.S. environmentalists speak about preserving wilderness in ANWR, they implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, speak about saving ANWR for future generations of Americans (or caribou), Africans be damned or ignored. In short, the ethical high ground is not so high because it is implicitly framed by race and class power relations as well as nationalism.

Because each long-term issue has a unique history, I make no claim that my ANWR analysis can be generalized and applied to all long-term struggles. However, the general principle that power relations cannot be separated from our images of the future can be applied generally. Hence, the need for more critical and nuanced analyses of the future.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

In *Looking Ahead* I have sought to complicate an overly simplistic view of long-term politics. After having a conversation about the points of entry and opportunities for long-term politics in Chapter 1, I examined the ways contemporary American politicians think and speak about the future in the remaining chapters. By analyzing images of the future contained in State of the City and State of the State addresses, I have complicated the assertion that politicians do not think long-term (20 years or more into the future) or beyond the next election cycle when preparing or considering legislation and providing plans and visions to their constituencies. By studying congressional testimony on ANWR-related votes, I have problematized the claim that politicians do not consider the plight of future generations. Following the lead of Michel Foucault and others who have focused on the relationship between power and knowledge, I have shown that power and knowledge shape how politicians do (and do not) think and speak about the future. Drawing on James Dator's generic images of the future, I have shown how Growth images provide a conceptual and perceptual filter and form a backdrop for what politicians anticipate and consider realistic (and unrealistic) in their visions of tomorrow.

This project assumes the way politicians speak about the future shapes the ideas and beliefs of the people who listen. Because politicians direct public resources and write public policy, they have greater opportunities to influence the future than many other individuals and organizations. Thus studying the future that politicians speak about can help social scientists consider possible futures that might unfold. While politicians may not build the capacity for citizens to imagine a rich range of possible futures, they do provide citizens with a window to some significant events and trends happening in their city, state, country, and world that could influence the future. To illustrate, politicians often speak about the future of work. Albany Mayor Jennings, for example, spoke about building a nanotechnology center, New Mexico Governor Richards revealed his intent to create a spaceport, Wisconsin Governor Thompson discussed the development of biotechnology industry, Los Angeles Mayor Villaraigosa and New York Mayor

Bloomberg talked about the emergence of green jobs. Although select, these emerging technologies, trends, and industries may be important drivers in the city and state's economy in the long-term future.

Regardless of whether or not these industries actually materialize or employ the number of people hoped for, these images offer insight into how politicians think (and don't) about the future. State of City and State of the State addresses are replete with calls to plan and prepare for the next big job creating industries. Often, they implicitly contain what J. Teaford (1990) describes as "messianic mayors," mayors that will save the city, or in the case of this project, mayors and governors that will save the city and state's future. As I noted in Chapter 2, Mayor Gordon said it is the mayor's job to "paint a picture of the future" and Mayor Gonzales asserted it is the "mayor's job to stretch the community's imagination," "to think about more than just what seems possible today." Because mayors and governors sometimes vision their city or state's future in State of the City and State of the State speeches, they are good places to find what and how politicians think about the future.

Using Dator's generic images of the future to classify the visions found in these speeches, politicians often thought and talked about growing the economy, a Continuation or Growth image. Dator's generic images of the future encourage the analyst to conceptualize the future as a *noun, the thing it becomes*. The analyst might, for instance, imagine the United States filled with senior citizens, or more Spanish speaking residents, or Georgia as a nanotechnology center attracting members of the creative class from international locations, or Michigan with a revived automobile industry with labor provided mainly by robots, or Phoenix a water-short city on the verge of environmental collapse. The focus is on what emerges.

In contrast, when analyzing the same representations using Brier's generic images of the future, politicians often thought and spoke about the future as something they created, a Building image. Brier's generic images of the future encourage the analyst to conceptualize the future as a *verb, a political process and contest*. Through this lens, politicians spend the majority of their time talking about how they and the community will build the future. The analyst concentrates on who decides Michigan's, Georgia's, or

Phoenix's future (e.g. corporations or the public, rich or poor, men or women, young or old, locals or outsiders, U.S. Federal Government or local or state government, human actions or God(s) and nonhuman factors, etc.) and how (vote, courts, regulatory agencies, market forces, survey, community visioning, specialized or institutional knowledge, lived experiences, cultural claims, environmental factors, supernatural forces, etc.). The center of attention becomes the struggle among competing individuals, groups, institutions, and nonhuman factors. Used together, Dator and Brier's generic images of the future help the scholar achieve a richer understanding of long-term politics and futures meaning making.

Historian Howard Zinn argued that "writing history is always a matter of taking sides" (Zinn 2007, 11). To help critique history, Zinn encouraged readers to identify "the point of view" the historian writes from (Zinn 2007, 11). The point of view shapes the representation of the past. Zinn's insights about writing history are equally instructive for those studying images of the future. Following Zinn, a futures researcher should ask whose point of view is the future told from? When "picking and choosing" among events, trends, or emerging technologies, "which ones does the politician put into his or her image, which ones do they leave out, and which ones to place at the center of the story" (Zinn 2007, 11)? These choices shape the ideas and beliefs of the listener.

Given the average American family's interest in and need to work, it is not surprising that work becomes the center of the politician's future. Thus, on the surface, a view of the future that places work at the center of the story appears written from the view of ordinary people. However, a more critical reading of these images indicates that the point of view of many average people is actually excluded from these images. If the future of work is imagined as a growing collection of publically subsidized science-related and high technology-related businesses (e.g., biotechnology, nanotechnology, space technology, information technology, medical technology, alternative energy technology), it is imagined from the point of view of the Establishment – an ensemble of highly educated, urban, middle and upper class (primarily male and white) citizens, Capitalist business leaders, university administrators, the United States Armed Forces, along with other individuals and organizations with nationalistic interests). This imagined

future is spoken about as if it were a common future, a future that all prefer and will equally benefit from. On closer inspection, though, this future is not for everyone. By minimizing or ignoring the future of work from the point of view of, say, the poor, the blind, the Socialists, the peace activists, the hippies, the feminists, the environmentalists, the indigenous, the labor unions, the public workers, the blue collar workers, the farmers, the immigrant workers, the artists, the athletes, the caretakers, the Neo-Luddites, the fishers, the subsistence hunters, the full employment advocates, the livable wage activists, the end-of-work prophets, and the infinite variety of categories and sub-categories of people that make up a community, politicians seem to be saying there is only one way to think about the future of work (growing the number of high-technology and science-related companies employing an elite group of employees with advanced college degrees primarily in science, technology, engineering, and math-related fields).

Focusing the future on elite jobs hides the laborers behind the high technology jobs. Who, for example, will mine the raw minerals for the astronaut's rocket? Who will slaughter the cow and pick the fruits found in the astronaut's lunch while they are in training? Who will transport the food from slaughterhouse and farm to the astronaut's training grounds? Who will prepare the astronaut's meals while they are in training? Who will clean NASA's and the New Mexico Spaceport's offices? Who will watch the astronaut's children? Behind every good astronaut there is good support laborer. What will the future be like for the support laborers behind the biotechnology, nanotechnology, alternative energy, and space jobs? Will they be unionized? What, if any, benefits will they have? Where will they live? Will they have to commute long distances to poorly paid and dangerous jobs? Who will watch their children while they are supporting the high tech workers? Will the support laborer's children go to the same schools as the biotechnologist's children? By making the elite jobs the center of their image, politicians lead us away from thinking about the workers behind the high technology jobs. And by making work the center of their image, politicians lead us away from thinking about the future in, say, terms of civil rights, justice, equality, decency, love, kindness, sympathy, mating patterns, caretaking, the nurturance of infants, universal access to food, housing, health care, education, transportation, etc., particularly for marginalized peoples.

The constant repetition of Growth images in political speeches legitimizes and naturalizes economic ways of speaking about the future. This in turn leads to the idea that business gets to decide the future because business is responsible for economic growth and job creation. In this view, the imagined future is largely what happens to the city, state, and nation's economy as well as the health of corporate profits and the general conditions for business. The primary actors in this future are business leaders and politicians. Educational institutions and leaders take a secondary role in preparing future workers. In other words, the future now equals business interests.

The U.S. military is the silent partner in this view of the future. Although there is no mention of the military in these images, the military will likely benefit from an economy that subsidizes and focuses on biotechnology, nanotechnology, space technology, information technology, and energy technology development rather than, say, an Amish image of the future characterized by peace, simple technologies, locally grown food, and farmers markets. As Ferguson and Turnbull argue, this "silence hides out in the open" (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 58). If the future is largely spoken about in terms of economic growth and jobs creation, the military does not appear to have agency in the promotion of the very industries that lead to advances in weapon development. If the future is spoken about in terms of space tourism rather than space weaponry or stain-resistant clothes rather than nanotechnology weapons, the military is "rendered invisible and unaccountable" (Ferguson and Turnbull 1999, 64).

To see the invisible military interests hidden in the language of economic expansion and job creation, we should heed Zinn's call to include futures from the perspective of the "factory workers, the people of color, the women, and the children" (Zinn 2007,11). They make the future, too. However, they are either ignored or end up a playing a supporting role in futures that serves the interests of business or military leaders. Because images of the future are defined by what lies outside them as much as what lies within, futures researchers should, as Zinn argues, make efforts to collect the direct perspectives of those lying outside the image (or those playing a supporting role in someone else's image). These alternative images are likely to invite us to question the legitimacy and naturalized appearance of the Growth future.

Using Dator's generic images of the future, the Growth image is the dominant image of the future. Indeed, one could easily succumb to the idea that politicians believe there are two dualistic visions of the future: economic growth or economic stagnation, economic progress or economic decline. However, even if one remains committed to using Dator's generic images of the future to analyze political speeches, one can identify hybrid subcategories to his generic images. In Chapter 2, Colorado Governor Owens, New Jersey Governor McGreevey, and Miami Mayor Diaz, for instance, speak about "Smart Growth." Although the Smart Growth image discusses the problems associated with unregulated economic growth, ultimately, it returns to the idea of a future characterized by economic expansion (albeit regulated growth). Yet the image still pulls the reader to consider the dangers of growth.

Another emerging image that touches on the notion of growth is its opposite, the Shrinkage image. In Chapter 2, Youngstown Mayor Williams and Detroit Mayor Bing envision a future where their cities must shrink to survive. Rather than encouraging the electorate to think of the future in terms of business as usual, both mayors assert there is no return to the past in Youngstown or Detroit. Both mayors speak of a thinned out work force and the near extinction of the American factory worker in their cities. Despite the alternative orientation of this image, it is still prompted by and responding to the dominant Growth image. The Shrinkage image of the future is known primarily by what it is not: economic expansion. While the focus of this future is not economic growth fueled by a single, large manufacturing company, the identity of the good mayor remains tied to the recruitment of new industries and the creation of jobs. Thus, one committed to Dator's generic images of the future could argue the image is ultimately rooted in and descended from the Growth image. However, unlike the Growth image, the goal of microeconomic expansion in the Shrinkage image is not the continuation of a traditional way of life and the flourishing of the city, but dramatic economic and demographic decline and the survival of the city. As long as global competition makes it increasingly difficult for American factory workers to remain employed or said to be a factor in the downward mobility of American workers, I anticipate an increasing frequency of Shrinkage images coming out of America's rust belt cities. Alternatively, if the United States (particularly the non-Union American South) becomes "the new China," a

“destination of choice when European companies want to get the job done cheap,” then we are likely to see new variations of Dator’s Growth image (Meyerson 2011, A12) emerge in political speeches.

Discussions about economic expansion in the future are often linked to images of the future of education. The recurring problem and concern: how to change education to make the city, state, and nation’s students (workers) globally competitive. In Chapter 2, Governor Sanford provides an example of this tactical way of speaking about the future of education as a form of economic warfare to be waged against hordes of Chinese and Indian people. This coupling of education and security themes results in an image of the ideal student and citizen: an economic soldier armed with the necessary scientific, technological, engineering, and mathematical skills to do battle in an increasingly competitive world. Examination of this images leaves the analyst feeling as if the children of South Carolina are engaged in a neo-Darwinian or Hobbesian struggle in which their state and country is pitted against all others in an ongoing economic contest. The idea of education for intellectual, spiritual, ecological, physical, moral, or cooperative purposes is largely absent in these images of the future. Ultimately, Sanford’s appeal for South Carolinians to change their educational system through a combination of market reforms (rather than political forms) and school choice seems less transformational than nationalistic (the economic and security interests of South Carolina and the United States must always come first and are substituted for the many and varied needs of individual children). The future of education is largely linked to positioning the state to maintain economic dominance.

When looking ahead to the future of education, among other topics, contemporary American politicians illustrate Corn’s argument, covered in Chapter 2, of the recurring vision of a *technological fix*. Put another way, technology (rather than politics) fixes social problems. Governor Heineman’s vision of the Nebraska Virtual High School, for instance, illustrates his belief that increased offerings in computer learning can decrease drug use and gang activity. In this view of the future, Heineman largely ignores the links within and between gender, race, class, educational success, drug use, and gang activity. He imagines a future where problems of economic insecurity, downward mobility, lack

of opportunity for the poor, lack of parental involvement, and alienation can be reduced or remedied through information technology. His technological fix largely neglects issues of school funding equity as well as other social and political factors which motivate students to learn and lead to substantive educational achievement. Mayor Gordon too provides an example of technological fix when imagining a future where working parents use remote surveillance technologies to monitor their children instead of, say, an economy supporting a secure middle-class so that one parent can remain at home to care for children or more flexible work-life policies.

But to say that politicians spend a significant amount of time speaking about economic expansion and education in their images of the future does not mean it is the only thing they speak about. There are escapes. To illustrate, in Chapter 2, Mayor Gordon envisions a new in urbanism consisting of rejuvenated and thriving neighborhoods in the long-term future. These representations of the future are nostalgic expressing both a longing for and return to old social values. Mayor Gordon's story from his childhood illustrates the loss of the neighborhood "grapevine" and the consequences—the failure to monitor and discipline children. From this angle, Gordon's image, like those of other mayors throughout the United States, may be less of prediction about the future and more of a reflection of their present-day hopes and fears. The contemporary feeling of lost community and broken social ties becomes a problem requiring a fix in the future. Again, following Rose and Miller in Chapter 2, "government is a problematizing activity." The future is often spoken about in the context of problems the community will face. In the face of uncontrolled sprawl and development, for example, Mayor Diaz, Governor Owens, and Governor McGreevey too envisioned greener, livable cities with a restored community life featuring local jobs, mixed-use neighborhoods, pedestrian-friendly design, and affordable access to excellent mass transit. Others such as Governor Almond spoke about the need to preserve Rhode Island's remaining open spaces to ensure that Rhode Island's unique sense of place was passed to younger generations. His vision of passing a unique sense of place is coupled to his hope that older generations of Rhode Islanders will pass down a traditional way of life. Almond sees the transmission of Rhode Island's unique sense of place and culture as an important problem for older generations of Rhode Islanders to work out.

A point made in Chapter 1 is that some issues that appear short-term are actually transtemporal. In other words, some issues defy the dualistic classification (short-term versus long-term). Some issues are simultaneously short-term, medium-term, long-term, and other term. Civil rights issues illustrate this theme. A recent example is found in New York Governor Andrew Cuomo's 2011 State of the State Address when he said "We believe in justice for all, then let's pass the marriage equality this year once and for all" (Cuomo 2011). Cuomo's vision of a New York that allows same-sex matrimony is not limited to the end of his term in office. Cuomo is thinking well beyond his time in office and attempting to mold social policy in perpetuity (in the short-term, the next one to five years; in the medium term, the next six to nineteen years; and in the long-term, the next 20 or more years into the future). Moving beyond an arithmetic way of speaking about the future, Cuomo is speaking about the future in terms of rights, the progress of the law, and of justice. Cuomo's support of same-sex marriage invites us to broaden our notion of what a long-term issue is, that is, beyond the classic economic development versus environmental preservation frame. Images of justice are often simultaneously present and future-oriented.

As I contended in Chapter 2, politicians do not limit their imagination to *what* will happen in the future. Politicians also talk about how the future will come into being. In other words, they speak about the relationship between political agency and the ability to direct the future. The most frequent agency-related image in State of the City and State of the State speeches is Building the future. In the Building image, there is a direct relationship between the political agency and the ability to direct the future. Stated otherwise, communities control their future. Here, the politician and community work together to author their future. As we saw in Chapter 2, Governor Richardson told New Mexicans, "our future will not be determined by chance, but rather by choices we make today." Mayor Manross stated it this way: "the best way to predict the future is to create it." In this image, the future the community imagines is the future that will be. Sounding like a cross between a personal futures trainer and cheerleader, politicians encourage citizens that *they can do it!* All one needs is, as Mayor Manross puts it in Chapter 2, is "commitment from community leaders and very involved residents and the willingness to persevere through difficult times and tough decisions." From this angle, the good

politician inspires the community to grab the bull (or, in this case, the future) by the horns. Good politicians do not sit around and wait for the future to arrive, they force it. As Governor Perry said, “the future belongs to the brave and bold” (Perry 2003). This notion of *creating the future* has become a truth that is incorporated in contemporary scholarly, popular, and political writing. Just as Americans can overcome obstacles, achieve success, and improve their individual future with hard work and perseverance, Americans can improve their collective future and achieve success in similar fashion.

Like any prevailing meaning about the future, it is not without cracks. As I discussed in Chapter 2, some politicians speak as if the future is outside of us, but the community still has some ability to control or shape it. Governor Pawlenty provided an example: “The future is coming at us faster than it ever has. It’s a tidal wave of change. If we don’t get on top of it and ride it, it will drown us. We need to prepare Minnesota to take advantage of the change that’s coming.” Although Pawlenty represents the future as an external force when he says it is “coming at us,” or something that one can “get on top of and ride,” ultimately, he believes Minnesotans can interact with these external forces and bring about a better future. The alternative, do nothing and be “drowned” by the approaching “tidal wave of change.” In other words, political inaction will lead to an undesirable and deterministic outcome. For Pawlenty and others that share the Shaping image, agency remains an important factor when representing the community’s relationship to the future. However, unlike the Building image, the community is not totally free to bring about any future it can imagine. The future imagined is one prompted by problems (e.g., finding money to pay for future social services; preparing students for a 21st Century workplace; responding to global competition, rival political parties, and hostile countries and organizations, etc.). The emphasis here is how agency can mitigate problems and bring about better futures.

When analyzing Building and Shaping images of the future I am reminded of Distinguished Professor of Psychology Richard K. Wagner’s analysis of intelligence and stupidity among business managers. He concluded that

Managers succumb to the illusion of control. The illusion of control refers to an overestimation of the potency of one’s actions. By planning for the future,

managers may come to believe that they have more control over future outcomes that they in fact have, and to underestimate the importance of factors such as luck and economic conditions, over which they have no control. (R. Wagner 2002, 48)

Wagner's insight about business managers has equal value for politicians. Like managers, politicians often represent the future as if they can control or shape it. However, complex changes wrought by nonhuman factors are often beyond the control of political actions.

The least frequent agency-related image appearing in State of the City and State of the State addresses, the Reacting image, touches on the politician's inability to control the future. In these representations, the politician speaks of their limitations in solving problems. For instance, when reflecting on a flood that took place in Valdosta, Georgia, Valdosta Mayor John Fretti said "the City continues the necessary steps to prepare against future flooding to the best of our abilities. A community should always be ready for any natural disaster in response to rescue and recovery; however, there is only so much a community can do to prevent an act of God from creating harm" (Fretti 2010). Despite Valdosta's best efforts, Mayor Fretti acknowledges that agency is not the decisive factor determining future of floods in Valdosta. If global warming continues, natural disasters increase, global competition erodes American living standards, global disease outbreaks spread, deficits remain untamed, health care costs skyrocket, tax revenues to pay for public services decline, social safety nets fail, and a constellation of other social problems remain unsolved and for an increasing number of Americans, we can expect more Reaction images as politicians and the electorate come to believe that political agency does not remedy social problems.

The growth of Reaction images would be a fundamental change in the good politician's identity. Rather than leading the electorate to believe that the future will be better because of the choices we make and the actions we take, the politician returns to Achilles Tatius's approach to the future found in *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* layed out in Chapter 2. The good politician helps the electorate bear the sufferings the future will bring with more patience. In an increasingly pessimistic, poor, and besieged America, the politician "turns the edge of sorrow" rather than solves problems, builds preferred futures, and brings about justice. In this future, an increasing number of common folk reject the idea that individual or collective political actions make

a difference in determining the future. In this scenario, the politician moves from futures cheerleader (an optimistic rational problem solver capable of licking any problem and making things better) to futures grief counselor (hugging victims and expressing sorrow and sympathy for an increasing number of injuries and losses) or futures therapist (treating people who have lost their job, their city, their home, their livelihood, their social services, their way of life, etc.). If so, this would represent a significant shift in the American politician's identity and view of the future.

The Reaction image returns us to Polak's concern noted in Chapter 1, negative images of the future lead to social decline and stagnation. Drawing on Polak's notion of negative images, the politician's imagination of the future is increasingly dominated by fear (negativity) of some kind. Fear of economic stagnation. Fear of falling behind competitive nations. Fear of being overwhelmed by illegal immigrants. Fear of being attacked by terrorists. Fear of relying on foreign nations for energy. Fear of pollution. Fear of not paying for social services. And, in the case of Reaction images, fear of losing control of the future. A crucial question arises in a political landscape marked by increasing numbers of Reaction images: to what extent will politicians and the electorate advance justice, resist injustice, or struggle for preferred futures if they do not believe they can control or shape the future? My reading of Polak's work suggests they will be less likely to do so. Indeed, Reaction images have the potential to reduce or extinguish the willingness and ability of many to bring about preferred and just futures. Further, if they become the norm, they run the risk of diminishing the politician and electorate's ability to distinguish the difference between what is and what is not under human control.

Despite the many short-term pressures and rewards for acting on behalf of present day interests, politicians speak about the welfare of future generations. For some politicians, the welfare of future generations provides meaning for their time in office. When doing this, politicians move from speaking about the future as a problem to speaking about the future in terms of the present generation's moral responsibilities to future generations. As I have shown in Chapter 3, Seattle Mayor Nickels, for instance, dedicated the first page of his 2007 State of the City Address to share what the City of Seattle is doing to combat global warming to protect the future of the city and the planet

from global warming pollution caused by the burning of fossil fuels. In another example, Mayor Anderson appealed to the residents of Salt Lake City to consider the impact of their decisions on the next seven generations. Further, he contended that Salt Lake City should forego short-term economic development in favor of the long-term preservation of open space and the unique character of Salt Lake City. The intergenerational justice theme (the present has a moral responsibility to consider the needs of future generations) is a commonly recurring element in State of the City and State of the State speeches.

As I pointed out in Chapter 4, the struggle to preserve ANWR's Coastal Plain or open it to oil drilling illustrates Foucault's insight that there is no single discourse on the future, but instead a number of competing discourses and groups which produce alternative understandings of ANWR's future. While some legislators such as Senator Cantwell, Senator Lieberman, and Senator Kerry spoke passionately about preserving wilderness in ANWR for future generations, others such as Senator Stevens, Senator Murkowski, and Senator Domenici spoke with equal vigor about the need to drill for oil on ANWR's Coastal Plain to ensure a secure future and prosperity for the American worker. While numerous senators spoke of ANWR in terms of environmental or economic discourse, others such as Senator Gregg and Representative Hall spoke about the ANWR debate using national security discourse. Yet others including Senator Akaka discursively reoriented the ANWR debate to the self determination of indigenous people. Simultaneously, indigenous community members such as Sarah James talked about the ANWR Coastal Plain as a sacred place to the Gwich'in while others such as George Tagarook spoke about it in terms of Inupiat homelands and sovereignty. Through James's sacred place discourse, oil drilling in the Coastal Plain of ANWR is a catastrophe for Gwich'in subsistence hunters, but at the same time, through Tagarook's self-determination discourse, oil drilling is a preferable future for the Inupiat. And herein lies one of the recurring problems throughout this work: who decides the future and by what right? Again, ANWR illustrates Foucault's point that there is no single authoritative discourse to speak about the future. Further, there is no single person or group that is the center of meaning for the future.

While Dator does not set the politician free to think of ANWR's future in terms of anything that can be imagined, he encourages them to help the electorate envision ANWR's future in novel and multiple ways. Further, he urges politicians to assist the electorate in considering how our policies and choices in the present will impact future generations. Using this framework, politicians get a mixed score in the ANWR case. On the one hand, politicians did not do an effective job in helping electorate imagine multiple and strange futures for ANWR. As we saw in Chapter 3, even though Senators Akaka, Cantwell, Inouye, Murkowski, and Stevens repeatedly called to help Native Alaskans build a preferred future, these futures were always imagined within a colonial relation of power. By imagining ANWR's future in terms of economic growth, national security, land claims, or property rights, politicians reproduced the dominant North American representations of the present and future rather than Native Alaskan practices, beliefs, and values.

Paul Nadasdy (2003) touches on this problem in his discussion of Kluane hunters, an aboriginal people in the Southwest Yukon, when interacting with the Canadian state. Drawing on Foucault's power/knowledge ideas, Nadasdy argues that the bureaucratic context and language of wildlife management is a form of structural power that makes certain thoughts more likely than others. By compelling the Kluane to speak about wildlife in the language of biology instead of their traditional indigenous culture, Canadian government workers subtly rather than blatantly assimilate the Kluane in the nation state and colonize their future. Similar principles are at work in the ANWR debates. Aboriginal people are often required to argue about preferable futures for ANWR within the confines of Western property law, wildlife biology, job creation, or national security.

This is not to say aboriginal peoples, or any minority group, "are helpless before the irresistible power of the state actors" (Nadasdy 2003, 269). Like Nadasdy, I believe that even though some Native Alaskans speak about the future of ANWR from within the dominant North American traditions, this does not mean they are incapable of imagining beyond this framework. As Nadasdy argues, First Nation people must speak using the language and knowledge of the state to be taken seriously by official state agents, that is,

to influence the direction of state policy. However, this does not necessarily “nullify or replace” (Nadasy 2003, 143) their ability to imagine and shape the state’s preferred future using their own life experiences and aboriginal culture. We saw in Chapter 4 that some members of the Kaktovik community, such as Mary Margaret Brower, articulated the dominant economic growth image of the future while simultaneously resisting it with an alternative image grounded in traditional Kluane culture (knowledge, assumptions, values, and practices): a subsistence image.

This same reasoning applies to politicians. Like aboriginal people and minority and fringe groups, contemporary American politicians are able to imagine beyond the dominant representation of the future. However, my review of the State of the City, State of the State, and ANWR discussions, indicates that they rarely do so in these addresses. As I pointed out in Chapter 4, the production of ANWR’s future is an inherently political process and, more often than not, politicians and large numbers of the electorate foreclose possibilities because they regard them as unrealistic, impractical, naïve, and childish. This reflexive imaginative foreclosure (or self-censorship) is not so much caused by political structures (constitutions, rules, procedures, and the formal organizations of government) or self-interest (economic gain or reelection), but a result of speaking about the future that privileges select rationalities. This reflexive imaginative foreclosure underscores one of Foucault’s important insights: knowledge and power are inseparable (power/knowledge). We imagine the future within discursive frames, grounded in knowledge and inseparable from power. By shaping what is realistic to imagine, certain images are rendered unrealistic. This does not mean that politicians are unable to imagine strange futures, only that they will likely dismiss them as unfeasible.

That said, however, strange futures are more likely to evolve into feasible futures when material conditions change. The movement to implement urban farming in Detroit, spotlighted in Chapter 2, would have appeared laughable, odd, and unrealistic, say, 40 years ago when Detroit was an icon of industrial strength. However, a downsized automobile industry, decreased population, vacated land, and devalued real estate (among other material changes) have made Detroit Mayor Bing’s increasing calls to implement urban farming sound reasonable. Drawing on a combination Marvin Harris’s ideas on

cultural materialism and Dator's on technology-driven social change, I argued unrealistic futures are more likely to become conceptualized as realistic futures because of new and changing demographic, technological, economic, and environmental conditions. Unlike Foucault, I argue in Chapter 2 that changes in discourse are not primarily random but linked to material changes. While I agree with Foucault that there is a random element to discursive change, and that the analyst should not fall victim to dualistic representations of the material and discursive, his followers can enrich and strengthen his ideas by examining and articulating the relationship within and between discursive change, material change, and social change (as well as social stability). This includes study of the use of discourse to amplify and facilitate (as well as to resist and block) social changes set in motion by material changes.

The politician's reluctance to speak of strange or radical futures does not mean that there is nothing new to learn about the future in their speeches. Take, for instance, 2010 Honolulu Mayoral Candidate Panos Prevedouros's vision of a "nuclear plant on an offshore floating platform" (Mizutani 2010). Even though Prevedouros did not propose strange, radical, or transformational social and political change in Honolulu, the possibility of a floating nuclear plant off Honolulu's shores had major implications for Hawaii's present and future. Knowledge of this possible future not only enables academics to perform analyses of images of the future, but it also provides citizens with a basis to affirm or reject a particular vision of the future. Again, even though this image does not invite the citizenry to see the social and political world anew, it is useful to examine and discuss because it helps voters determine the prime beneficiaries of this future as well as the risks and dangers in this possible future.

Similarly, although politicians did not provide a rich array of possible futures for ANWR, that does not mean there is nothing to learn about ANWR's possible futures in their speeches. We saw in Chapter 4 how Senators Cantwell, Lieberman, and Kerry among others not only spoke passionately on behalf of future generations, they voted to prohibit oil drilling and forego short-term economic benefit in ANWR. All were reelected, along with dozens of others in the House and Senate, to their positions after their appeal and votes to leave ANWR undisturbed for future generations. Two of those

Senators (Obama and Biden) were later elected president and vice president of the United States. The important point is that long-term voting is not structurally prohibited in the current political system. The ANWR case illustrates that it is possible to speak and vote on behalf of future generations and win reelection. As Bryson argues, “politicians have to balance their own understanding of what is needed against their wish to win the next election, and the interests of powerful economic groups against the perceived interests of the electorate” (Bryson 2007, 174). The ANWR debate illustrates that these factors sometimes combine and align in such a way to provide an opportunity for future-oriented debate and policy.

In Chapter 1 I introduced psychologist Erik Erikson’s idea of generativity. For Erikson, generativity was a stage in the human life cycle (usually occurring at mid-life) where concern for the well being of future generations developed and became a motivating force in an individual’s behavior. Drawing on Erikson’s notion of generativity, the notion that the electorate (largely middle aged) would penalize the politician for long-term voting appears strange. If large numbers of the electorate actually care about the well being of future generations, they will not necessarily punish the politician that votes on behalf of future generations. As Senator Cantwell, Senator Leahy, Senator Lautenberg, and Senator Inouye’s testified, large numbers of their constituents opposed oil drilling in ANWR. Given that a mere “1600-3000 people, mostly hunters and fishermen, visit ANWR each year” (Cohn 2011), few of their constituents will ever journey to ANWR. Why should they? According to Cohn, “there are no landing strips for airplanes, no facilities for visitors, and no marked trails to follow. Only one gravel road leads into the refuge. Refuge visitors often face cold, wet weather, even in the summer, and risk running into bears and other dangers” (Cohn 2011). Who then, beyond a small group of hunters, fishermen, and indigenous people, in the present benefits from prohibiting oil drilling in ANWR? Thus, it seems intuitively reasonable that ANWR’s appeal to those in the present opposing oil drilling is generative in nature. It is the idea of passing on something sublime, wild, and valuable to future generations that motivates some citizens and politicians to forego short-term economic benefits.

However, as I argued in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, generative appeals should be evaluated critically. No generative appeal can escape power relations. There is always some element of power (e.g., race, class, gender, species, national, etc.) in every call to consider the plight of future generations. Unfortunately, these power relations are often hidden. Despite the surface appearance of generational neutrality, preserving ANWR for future generations (of Americans), for instance, may mean that present and future generations of Africans suffer more from more environmentally lax oil production so a small elite group of people in the future can experience sublime beauty. The struggle over ANWR's future and the plight of future generations take place within and between the intersections of race, class, gender, and national power relations.

In *Looking Ahead* I have sought to complicate an overly simplistic view of the absence of long-term politics. As I said in Chapter 1, the notion that politicians do not think beyond the next election is overstated. In addition to academic representations of the short-term politician, the mainstream media abounds with similar portrayals. To illustrate, remarking on the disappointment of the 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference, commonly known as the Copenhagen Summit, to produce a meaningful agreement on carbon emissions, an article in the *First Post* declared:

With the failure of Copenhagen apparent, there is a growing feeling that expecting politicians to act beyond short-term political self-interest is itself poor thinking. Lester Brown, president of the Washington-based Earth Policy Institute, says, our politicians are simply not up to the task. They are obsolete. They take too long to negotiate and ratify. In this case, the game may be over by then. (Helmre 2009)

In a reversal of the usual argument, business leaders, who purportedly push politicians to act short-term in order to maximize their profits, expressed their discontent in the article at politicians for not establishing clear emission reduction targets enabling them to act long-term and reduce carbon emissions to slow global warming. If, as the article contends, politicians are unwilling or unable to act beyond short-term political interest, then working with politicians to bring about intergenerational justice is a waste of time.

If politicians are obsolete and one of the causes of intergenerational injustice, who does the intergenerational activist work with to bring about justice for future generations? What institutions and organizations does the intergenerational activist align with

conceptually and strategically? The Catholic Church? The International Workers Party? The World Artists Association? Earth First!? The World Wildlife Federation? The Transhuman Extropy Institute? The Global Deaf Connection? The World Association of Young Scientists? The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association? The Long-Now Foundation? The Mars Society? The World Bank Group? Google or Microsoft Corporation? The International Olympic Committee? All of these groups speak for the future. While I sympathize with some of their universal ethical appeals on behalf of future generations, I do not believe one of them is capable of making a conceptually and strategically disinterested argument about the plight and needs of future generations.

Alternatively, does the intergenerational activist eschew these organizations and focus on transforming their own lifestyle (changing their individual behavior in daily life) to bring about a sustainable society and intergenerational justice? If so, this invites the question: to what extent is bringing about intergenerational justice and preferred futures principally a collective political affair? Or is it more an individual economic and political choice, a result of our purchasing decisions and daily lifestyle choices?

A critic, such as Professor of Humanities Ernest Partridge, might sidestep the question of who is best positioned to bring about intergenerational justice and respond that “we must adopt policies that advantage both us and the future” (Partridge 1994, 276). My problem with Partridge is his over-simplification of the concepts of *we*, *us*, *future*, and *advantage*. Because *we* and *us* can be parsed multiple ways (race, gender, class, ethnicity, nationality, religion, age, cohort, species, sexual orientation, political orientation, philosophical orientation, etc), there is no group listed in the paragraph above that represents one *we* or *us*. Without a singular *we* or *us*, no individual or group can claim to speak for future generations in a truly authentic or universal way. Further, because future generations do not yet exist, their supposed representatives in the present are continually inventing them. This process of inventing future generations and standing in for them is grounded in the inventor’s knowledge which is linked to political power. Thus we end up with a vision and understanding of future generations that reflects the needs of those who have the power to shape our knowledge and versions of reality.

When questioning the “legitimacy and desirability of international criminal justice and of world government,” political philosopher Chantal Delsol argues “it should be opposed because it undermines politics and, more generally, human diversity, both of which must be preserved” (Delsol 2008, 7). Delsol is not arguing about the impossibility of establishing an international justice mechanism but its potential for harm and injury. Similarly, I believe that new government structures (e.g., Court of Future Generations, an Ombudsperson, a Guardian, etc) can be created to promote intergenerational justice but that the decisions and policies flowing from these new bodies will not necessarily be diverse or just (a subject largely ignored by those imagining and urging their creation). Indeed, new branches of government designed to promote futuristic government have the potential to harm (as well as benefit) both the present and future. To illustrate, say politicians pass legislation decreasing fresh water use in 2011 so people in 2311 have access to fresh water. However, are we certain humans will require fresh water 300 years from now? Let me engage in the American tradition of technological fix. Might biotechnologists reengineer humans, plants, and animals in say, 2150, so they require little or no water? Or might DNA be altered enabling humans to drink sea water or polluted water? Or might chemists change water itself so it has greater efficiency (a few drops will do what a few gallons used to)? Or might nanotechnologists develop microscopic tools enabling cheap and easy water desalination or engineers create machines offering simple and inexpensive water extraction from the air (or other sources)? Or might meteorological engineers be able to control the weather so every part of the Earth receives adequate rainfall? Or might extraterrestrials make contact, as Allen Tough argues in the 2nd Chapter, and provide Earthlings with a technology that makes fresh water abundant? In summary, what appears to be a need for future generations in the 21st Century (access to abundant, clean, and fresh water), may not be a need or concern at all for people (or whatever they evolve into) in the 24th Century. If, however, politicians recommend conserving and preserving fresh water in the 21st Century so the water needs of future generations are taken into account, someone in the present (or near future) suffers from decreased use; that someone, in my view, is more likely to be poor than rich. My concern is echoed by sociologist Tony Fitzpatrick: “the problem with

future generationism is that it focuses upon generalizable human interests and neglects distributional conflicts between rich and poor” (Fitzpatrick 2002, 45).

Returning to Villacorta’s argument in the 1st Chapter, maybe “the best way to create a better world for future generations is to improve the conditions of the young generations who are now living with us” and not require decreased consumption of water. Put another way, focusing on the present and the near-term future in our decision making may be the most appropriate way to act ethically and responsibly towards future generations. My point here is not that the water preservation policy in the 21st Century is right or wrong, but that we can’t necessarily assume that futures-oriented government and policy will act in a futures-oriented way or do more good than harm.

There are those who will argue that I am making a fuss over nothing. If humans, animals, and plants are bioengineered to have different water needs in the future, for instance, politicians (if they still exist) can, at that point, recommend new public policies about water consumption to reflect the new reality. However, my concern is what happens to people, particularly the poor and marginalized in the present and near-term future required to consume less water to realize intergenerational justice. *Whatever future the community envisions and prepares for, not all people will pay or benefit from it equally.* I am assuming that the poor in the present (and the future) will be required to make disproportionate sacrifices to bring about someone else’s (a richer person’s) understanding of intergenerational justice. *Because the concept of future generations can be used oppressively in the present, we should think about who and what is being served by using the language of future generations.* Note, I am not arguing that we should dismiss arguments to consider the needs of future generations, only that we think critically about ethical appeals to bring about intergenerational justice.

If, as Dator argues, the future will be characterized by “perpetual change and novelty” (Dator 2007), Dator-inspired politicians will find themselves in a difficult position when trying to act ethically and responsibly towards future generations. If the future is likely to be novel, how does the politician identify the needs of future generations in a world that may be radically different than the present? Currently, appeals to act ethically and responsibly to future generations are often linked to sustainability

discourse. Sustainability discourse is linked to assumptions of economic scarcity. Through the lens of sustainability discourse, acting ethically and responsibly towards future generations requires the present to use resources in way that does not impair the future's ability to use the same resources. In doing so, *sustainability arguments invite us to think of continuity rather than novelty*. The politician hoping to achieve intergenerational justice, may, for example, call for decreased water use in 2011 precisely because they assume the *continued* need for humans, plants, and animals to use water in the future in 2311. Although the human need to consume water may change dramatically in 300 years, calls to act ethically and responsibly towards future generations usually means *conserving* nonrenewable resources or *preserving* something of natural, cultural, or fiscal value for future generations. Economically speaking, the long-term future may be characterized by abundance or some completely new state of being (something beyond the dichotomy of scarcity and abundance). However, *moral pleas to consider the needs of future generations largely assume continued economic scarcity rather than abundance or some new state of being* (something beyond the duality of scarcity and abundance).

Conservationists and preservationists encourage us to think of the future through the lens of the past. It is their goal and struggle to ensure that things go on in a certain state. I am not arguing this is wrong, misguided, or undesirable, but drawing on Dator's work, politicians must consider complexity, change, and novelty to govern futuristically. *There is often a tension between acting responsibly and ethically (conserving, preserving, and restoring) and acting futuristically (changing, adapting, and transforming)*. My concern is that the more complex and novel the future becomes, the less future-oriented government becomes. In a world of uncertainty, the past becomes the safest bet. As a result, *the more complex and novel the future, the future envisioned by the conservationist and preservationist comes to dominate our notions of acting ethically and responsibly towards future generations*. Here I echo Delsol's concern about undermining politics and human diversity. *Acting responsibly and ethically towards future generations is more than conserving, preserving, and restoring*. Putting future generations in an advantageous or effective position to survive and thrive might, for example, include supporting outer space exploration or transhuman evolution or civil rights legislation or safety standards or poverty reduction or any of a thousand different activities that have

little or nothing to do with conserving, preserving, or restoring. However, as the contest over ANWR's future indicates, although numerous individual and organizations used a variety of long-term arguments to promote their preferred future, the majority of appeals to act responsibly and ethically towards future generations called for conserving and preserving ANWR so it could be passed to future generations.

Whatever collective futures are pursued, I believe they will include politicians to some extent. Rather than arguing long-term politics and intergenerational justice are structurally prohibited, I encourage intergenerational justice activists to identify the possibilities for long-term thought and action in the current political structure while working to imagine and urge new branches of government that may lead to more future-oriented government. As I have repeated throughout this work, I hope those envisioning new branches of futures-oriented government will not simply assume that the mere presence of these new institutions will necessarily lead to intergenerational justice (just as current structures of government do not necessarily lead to intragenerational justice).

In *Looking Ahead*, I have focused on the capacity for long-term thinking and action in the current political structure. By exploring the ways in which politicians imagine the future and speak about future generations, I hope to have problematized the claim that politicians do not think beyond the next election. I do not claim to have written a comprehensive inventory of how contemporary American politicians think about the future. My goal has been to complicate an overly simplistic view of long-term politics and contribute to a discussion about the possibilities of more future-oriented government in the current political structure. Ultimately, I hope have enriched the reader's ability to think politically about the future.

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APPENDIX FUTURE EXCERPTS

Dean, Howard. 2000. Vermont State of the State Address.

.... We must build our vision for the next 100 years with every act we do in this Legislature. The Vermont of 2100 ought to be a place where the lakes still shine; where family farms still form the backbone of our character; where our towns and cities are still distinct, with a strong sense of community; where our schools provide a world-class education, financed fairly so we afford equal opportunities to every child in every town.

One hundred years ago, Gov. Edward Smith stood at this podium and urged lawmakers to legislate for the 20th Century, building a structure of greatness that would exceed the dreams of their forbearers. Today we begin to build a vision that shapes the dreams of our children and our grandchildren.

One hundred years ago, lawmakers approved an 8-cent statewide property tax to equalize the education of every child in Vermont. Today, we commit to making sure that principle of equity is sustained.

One hundred years ago, lawmakers authorized towns to provide free hospital beds for those who could not afford health care. Today, while the rate of uninsured Americans climbs nationally, we in Vermont commit to our system that guarantees nearly every child has access to health care. **EVERY CHILD HAS ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE.** As long as I am governor, we will never go back.

One hundred years ago, the Legislature banned the sale of cigarettes to minors. Today we continue our work to combat this poison and those who push it, a poison that kills roughly one-thousand Vermonters annually -- causing more deaths than car crashes, AIDS, alcohol, homicides, illegal drugs, suicides and fires combined.

One hundred years ago, lawmakers approved pay for the First Infantry of Vermont, volunteers who fought in the war with Spain. Today I will ask you to help honor the Vermont veterans who fought in World War II.

One hundred years ago, lawmakers brought transportation policy into the 20th Century by revoking a requirement that someone -- holding a lantern -- walk ahead of steam vehicles on the road at night to warn the horse and buggy traffic. This year I will ask the Legislature to spend \$325 million to preserve and maintain the 3,200 miles of paved roadway and bridges, support our 120,000 statewide rail passengers and the 3 million tons of freight which trains carry each year.

One hundred years ago, lawmakers granted women the right to serve as town clerks and school superintendents. Today, I ask this Legislature -- comprised of men AND women -- for help in preparing our schools and our communities for the new opportunities offered by Vermont's increasing ethnic diversity.

I am again asking the Legislature to help fund the Coming Home Foundation, which will increase the higher education aspiration rate and leadership potential of students who are Vermonters of color. I also ask the Legislature to continue to fund diversity training grants for our teachers.

This is the year that we must make every effort to comply with the new Supreme Court ruling, which confirms that all Vermonters -- including gay and lesbian Vermonters -- are to have equal benefits under the law. We were the first state to outlaw slavery in 1777, and we will remain in the forefront of the struggle for equal justice under the law.

In the last 100 years, Vermonters survived a statewide flood; built an interstate highway that brought the outside world to our doorstep; fought to save our family farms; and created a ski industry that turned the long Vermont winters to our advantage. Now we must turn our vision to the coming Century.

Change is accelerating beyond our imagination. In 1992 there were 50 web sites on the Internet; today there are 50 million. Today 10-year-olds can easily find their way around the Internet.

Thomas Friedman, in his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, wrote: "Think about it: thanks to the Internet, we now have a common, global postal system ... we now have a common global shopping center ... we now have a common global library ... and we have a common global university."

Our markets will increasingly be oceans away -- places like Argentina and China; we in Vermont will buy and sell via a worldwide network of satellite-directed technology.

Vermonters in the year 2100 will have more job options that pay higher wages -- jobs based on communications, services and financial management. Our major engines of tourism will be four season resorts, but our small bed and breakfasts will have a much higher occupancy rate because of their ability to market over the Internet. Our population will double, perhaps even triple, as Americans seek a better quality of life and leave our suburbs and cities. And while our population climbs, I hope that we will have a smaller number of prisoners in our jails thanks to programs like Success By Six and Reparative Justice, for which I ask your continued support.

We ought to heed the wise advice of British Ambassador Bryce, who -- overcome by the beauty of the state's natural landscape during a visit in 1910 -- urged Vermonters to "preserve the purity of your streams and your lakes ... and keep open the summits of your mountains." I am proud that today we have more than one million acres of land conserved; and over the last 30 years it has become possible again to swim in almost every mile of the Connecticut River as it courses along the Vermont border.

Today 19 percent of our land is conserved with either easements or public ownership; I hope that by 2100 that figure will be 30 percent.

I hope the quality and efficiency of our health care system will remain, but that it will be available to all Vermonters and to all Americans.

Our tax structure will be different in the coming Century. Because it is nearly impossible for states to tax Internet commerce, the various states' sales tax across the nation will gradually disappear to be replaced by a federal sales tax. It is likely that the gas and tobacco taxes will not be significant sources of revenue since neither of these products will be widely used 100 years from now. And I suspect we will still rely heavily on the property tax to fund education.

The coming Century requires us to rethink the integration of our educational system. We cannot afford to be constrained by the vision of schools as kindergarten through 12th grade. The future requires a wider lens that sees education as preschool through college, post-college, and life-long learning opportunities.

Higher education will change the most, with technical education both at the secondary and post-secondary level assuming a far more important role than it does today. Gone will be our reliance on the classroom, replaced in many cases by instruction over the Internet and other distance learning technology. In the coming Century, a student in Brattleboro will learn physics with classmates from England, Israel and Taiwan -- thanks to technology we cannot imagine today.

By the year 2100, utilities will have long since been restructured and we will be buying our electricity at a cost which will be much more in line with the national rate. Ironically, for a state which has had so much trouble bringing hydro power from Canada, Vermont will rely even more on renewable energy than we do today to provide electricity not only for our homes and our factories, but for our electric and hybrid automobiles. By 2100, only the state archivist will have heard of Vermont Yankee.

Perhaps most strikingly, our population will look much different than it does today. While in the United States as a whole, Americans of non-European descent will outnumber Americans of European descent, that will not be true here. Nonetheless, we will be a much more diverse state and with some foresight and planning, a state which avoids much of the racial and ethnic tensions which have plagued other areas in the country.

We should look to our next generation for guidance in building the respect needed to foster our growing diversity. At this summer's Governor's youth summit, Burlington High School student Hussain Karim said, "Stereotyping comes from adults as well as students. Usually it hurts more when it comes from adults than teens. If adults are stereotyping teens, how will the teens feel? They will feel like they're nothing. I believe respect is everything. If you have respect for yourself and others, why would you feel the need to bully someone else?"

From Columbine, Colorado to Conyers, Georgia, the entire nation needs to listen to these words.

There is much more to be done to become the state that I hope Vermont will be in the year 2100. But the danger today is that we do too much too fast -- that the programs we have initiated will not be sustainable without our careful attention in the year 2000.

It is the nature of man to both seek and fear change simultaneously. Great periods of

change have often been followed in human history by great periods of reaction and turning away from change...

We begin this Century with a need to consolidate our gains. This year we build the foundation for the next hundred years and for the future beyond that. It's a future that Tom Friedman predicts will be made up of microchips and markets. But, he adds, it will also include "men and women and all their peculiar habits, traditions, longings and unpredictable aspirations." The world will increasingly become "the interaction between what is as new as an Internet web site and what is as old as a gnarled olive tree on the banks of the River Jordan."

Vermont's olive tree is our values -- our land, our sense of practicality and frugality, our enshrinement of justice and compassion in our Vermont Constitution. As we patiently build the foundation for the new millennium, I ask you to cling tightly to the values we have held so closely for the past centuries...

Gordon, Phil. 2004. Phoenix State of the City Address.

... In thirty years, I see a Phoenix with beautiful tree lined streets stretching across neighborhoods, where electric light rail runs cleanly from Ahwatukee to Anthem -- and connects all valley cities one to the other. I see a Phoenix where children can play safely in their own front yards, and their school yards.

I see a Phoenix where immigration issues were long ago resolved. Where a boiling pot became, once again, a melting pot -- as our forefathers envisioned.

In 2034, I see a Phoenix with a vital and vibrant downtown -- a city that blends old and new alike with tolerance, compassion, and pride. Where today's new creative class is about ready to retire -- and wants to live in the very same downtown where they worked for 30 years. There are university students becoming the next entrepreneurs, doctors, scientists and educators -- they *come* here from the four corners of the globe and they *stay* here to keep Phoenix a thriving and bountiful community -- a national beacon of opportunity and a global center of knowledge.

I see a Phoenix with shaded pedestrian pathways -- and people sitting on their front porch benches talking to each other and living a quality of life that too many cities gave up on... too many years ago. And I see people strolling through the many art galleries and museums that our city wisely invested in, knowing that a city without culture has no soul.

In 2034, I see a Phoenix with downtown hotels that were begun in 2004 -- filled to capacity with business conventioners, sports fans on hand to watch yet another World Series -- and proud mom's and dads from all over the country visiting ASU's Capital City Campus on Parents' Day.

I see young families celebrating their very first home -- in Maryvale, where children play without fear, where the neighborhood schools are touted among the best in the nation, and where parents feel they've found the perfect place to begin their American Dream.

And I see grandparents walking to the neighborhood grocery – where they are greeted by name -- and living in neighborhoods that offer safety, security and companionship. I see a city where no one has to choose between food and shelter, because in 2004, people made good, solid choices to bring high wage jobs and opportunity to Phoenix.

That's the future I see. That's the City I want. That's the Phoenix we can all have.

It is my job to paint that picture for you. It's our collective job to make that picture come to life. No Mayor needs to stand up here to tell you where we've been. You *know* where we've been. Instead, I'm going to show you where we're going.

My grandfather used to say to me, "If you want something bad enough, go after it and don't hold back – or you'll walk away with nothing." You were right Grandpa Jake -- and I'm not holding back. ...

This is going to be much different. It's going to be about directing the energy of this community and this valley, with tomorrow in mind. This speech is not the "State of the City". This speech is about taking risk. About being unafraid. About facing the future. About capturing the momentum. This speech is "The Future of the City".

Right now, these remarks are being broadcast on the internet. The relatives back home could be tuning in. Troops in Iraq could be listening. For sure my speech coach is watching – and cringing. My point is, in these amazing times, you don't even have to *be* here, *to be here*.

You can do business with Intel and live in Boston. You can edit newsletters for APS, and live in Japan. But we don't want that for Phoenix. That's what happened in cities we've already raced ahead of.

We want people to live here. To work here. To prosper here. Translated... we want the creative class and the new economy to move into the 'hood. But we also want it to live, work and play in the 'hood. That requires Phoenix to become the most livable city in the country. And it requires all of us to think outside the box. I want us to be innovative where we were once conservative. I want us to embrace new ideas and to think BIG. I'm thinking big. You have to think big as well – as a community and as a city. We've been cautious and taken slow, deliberate steps to get where we are. And that was fine – then. But times and technology call for a quickening in decision-making and in action, to get what we want... and what we need.

And what we need to get us to the next level – is "The creative class". The creative class is not an age group. Not generation X. Not gender specific. Not just PhD's and Rocket Scientists. It's blue collar, white collar and NO collar. It's the high-rise architect and the person who washes its windows. It's an attitude. It's the future. It's now. IT'S YOU. If we want to be on the register of great cities, we have to welcome, attract and embrace the new knowledge economy. It's the next revolution of innovative ideas and discovery. If we blink – we will miss this opportunity – forever. Philadelphia blinked. Detroit blinked.

But OUR eyes are wide open.

And our ability to attract the creative class lies in the advancement of technology, education and the resulting prospect of high wage jobs. We have a low unemployment rate – that’s absolutely true – but we also have a low median income rate to go with it. If we don’t embrace a knowledge economy, we’ll end up another “has-been boom town”.

One hundred years ago, we farmed cotton and grew citrus.

Fifty years ago, a demand created an unprecedented construction boom -- and our economy thrived with the addition of aerospace and semiconductor industries.

We reinvented ourselves with each passing generation. And like the mythical Phoenix Bird, it’s again time for us to soar to new heights.

And the timing for us is serendipitous. We are in the technology age -- with so much more opportunity to grasp. In this day and age, it’s all about sunshine and skilled minds. Forget the rust belt -- give us the sun belt. We can harness the solar power, now let’s centralize the brain power.

I want to encourage all of you – and all of Phoenix -- to think out of the box. Think BIG. Think entrepreneurial. I want you to talk to me about your ideas – no matter what you do, who you are – or what your level of education is. Everyone has ideas. So folks – show this community your energy. Don’t be afraid to be controversial. And always know that *this* Mayor is your partner. City employee, student, or bank teller – it doesn’t matter to me who you are or what you do, I’ll back and support anyone who is thinking big, out of the box, and for the good of our city.

Be adventurous. Take risks: if you’re successful, we all win, if you lose, we will all be wiser -- and we will all benefit from your courage. The failure is in **not trying**. Robert Kennedy said, “Only those who dare to fail greatly can ever achieve greatly.”

So let us embolden this community to move forward. Let us empower our citizens to take interest *and* action in this city -- for themselves and for every generation to follow.

To make bold progress, we must take bold steps. It would be tragic if the next Big Idea never happens because the person with the big idea rattling around in their head is afraid to share it with others. Afraid to be laughed at. Afraid to fail. Don’t get me wrong, failure should never be the goal, but if it’s never a possibility we’re not thinking big enough. If you are afraid to reach for the stars, you’ll never walk on the moon.

The Milken Institute just released a study that ranks Arizona 17th in technology and science. **Arizona underperforms** in all key areas: Human Capital Investment, technology concentration, scientific workforce and risk capital and infrastructure. In our own region, we even trail New Mexico.

This is not a number we want to promote, or a position we want to be in. Being SEVENTEENTH is thinking big. Being seventeenth won’t help us bring the future to Phoenix.

I'll tell you what will though -- Education. And I thank the Governor and legislature for their commitment to all-day Kindergarten

In Phoenix, **I'M** launching a new high school program, a series of performance high schools, located in our neighborhoods, downtown and throughout the community. These schools are designed to train students for today's jobs in banking, nursing, teaching, and public safety. These schools put students **ON** the job and **IN** touch with the fast-paced world they're about to enter. We're getting them ready for any future path they want to take. Without leaving the city and without taking their talent to other places.

When ASU opens its Capitol Center campus, you will see a transformation take place on a scale we can only begin to imagine. With more students, deans and faculty than Notre Dame, we've grabbed our biggest brass ring in a decade – and are on the road to becoming the knowledge center of the country. I have to thank Councilman Stanton, the Education Subcommittee, Debbie Dillon, the Phoenix Union High School District, The Maricopa County Community College District, The University of Arizona and NAU for their vision, their contributions, their Big ideas.

Already, Councilman Greg Stanton and his subcommittee are bringing the University of Arizona Health Sciences downtown. But you wanna think big? What if we could partner with the Maricopa County Hospital Board to build a new hospital right beside the health center? What if we could create a true bioscience epicenter by bringing the U of A and the County hospital to the same neighborhood as TGEN, the Phoenix Bio Campus and the ASU College of nursing? And as long we're thinking **BIG**, how about a *second* University of Arizona Medical School?

I'll tell you what else will propel us to the top of the Global marketplace: our ability to work together as **one** region, **eight** municipalities and **four million** energetic, forward thinking, people. What Neil Peirce calls a Citistate.

A *Citistate* is neither one government, nor divergent interests with competing governments. A true *Citistate* is defined by regional cooperation and shared goals for the future – and that *very much* describes our Valley. With no clear geographic boundaries, we are competing -- as a region -- for opportunities. And we're competing not against each other, but against other regional areas like the Silicon Valley or Dallas-Fort Worth or Boston, Massachusetts.

Scottsdale's economy is our economy. Our success is Mesa's success. If this city fails, the valley fails. A true, cohesive, cooperative *CITISTATE* is our prescription for success. And we're getting there.

Not too long ago, Tempe and Phoenix were at war over Sky Harbor. And do you remember the Scottsdale Road mall wars? You'll be happy to know that's all changed. Today we're together. We're creating the most livable communities in the valley -- and have the cooperative spirit of every City and town in the Valley as we move past the obstacles of the past.

In my very first days in office, we demonstrated what can be accomplished when we *think* big and *act* big as one region -- with shared prosperity as our goal. We came

together at the State Legislature and made certain our transportation needs were heard -- and were met. I have never seen the leaders of this valley act in such a spirited and cooperative manner -- utterly selfless and completely forward thinking. That moment in time should serve as a template for many more moments to come.

In that spirit, I'm asking every mayor, city and town council in this Valley to join me in putting a screeching halt to "subsidizing and incentivizing" seven dollar an hour jobs, with millions of taxpayer dollars. Not a unilateral assault, but a bilateral agreement to move toward a more prosperous valley. How do we justify these upside down spending sprees in order to save our tax base? It's destructive. It's short sighted. Why do we need to pay to put a big box in any part of this valley? They're going to build where the demand is and I say "close the public checkbook and let the market dictate where development goes."

HOLD UP YOUR LETTER -- I've signed and sent this letter of intent to every Mayor -- to cease taxpayer subsidies for retail development in Phoenix -- but only if they sign it too and agree to do the same. If a development doesn't bring the jobs of the future to our city, I'm not paying for it. Nobody should. I'm proposing we implement this proposal on January 1 of next year. Once we agree that the philosophy works -- and it does -- then we mayors can step back and let the managers work out the details -- without jeopardizing anything that any city has in the works. Now that's regional cooperation AND shared revenue!

We're bringing the jobs of the new economy to the Valley -- through innovative choices in education, lifestyle and in securing the economies of the future. And we'll attract the next generation of commerce and prosperity by creating a new environment that welcomes tomorrow's entrepreneurial spirit today -- and brings new risk-takers to town.

Entrepreneurs dominate the most rapidly growing segments of our economy. Young, high-growth firms require large amounts of outside capital. They are responsible for the jobs of the future.

And entrepreneurs have always utilized, with great success, investment capital. The investment capital industry has largely focused its sights on a few key regions - Boston and Silicon Valley, and more recently, Austin, New York, Denver, and Seattle. Let's change that. Expanding our entrepreneurial environment in Phoenix depends, in part, on the availability of investment capital. If we are determined to become the Knowledge Capital of the globe -- and I say that *must* be our goal -- then getting there tomorrow is in the dollars of today. *The investment capital industry must come of age right here -- in the Phoenix desert.*

So I want to create a Knowledge Economy Capital Fund specifically for the kinds of industry we seek. And I'll do it the same way we formed TGEN -- with public, private and non-profit resources.

Investment capital is critical to growing the new businesses that will drive the "new, knowledge economy." Finding ways to nurture the culture of entrepreneurs, and the

capital that feeds them, is a top priority. You'll see this come together in six months – as Councilman Stanton has assured me that he and his new Knowledge Based Economy subcommittee will make it happen.

You know why I am so focused on Phoenix emerging as the center of the knowledge economy? Because this creative class thinks big. This creative class take risks. And this creative class has no fear of failure. Far from being quiet financiers, these new entrepreneurs foster growth in companies through their involvement in the management, strategic marketing and planning of their companies. For the past twenty years, it's been the entrepreneurs who nurtured the growth of America's high technology and scientific research communities. It is undeniable that their efforts resulted in significant job creation, economic growth and international competitiveness. Companies such as Digital, Apple, Intel, Microsoft and Google are famous examples of companies that were originally perceived as out-of-the-box, high-risk businesses.

Let's face it, if you're gonna sit in a meeting and, with a straight face, propose delivering anything in the world – to any *place* in the world -- by the next business day (and through Memphis for goodness sake) – you can't be afraid to be laughed at by a sea of three-piece suits. You can't be afraid to fail. If you are – then the world “absolutely, positively” is denied the Big Idea of Federal Express.

I have always looked to the future. But now I'm asking, “where are *you* looking?” If it isn't to at least the year 2034, you need to look further. The future belongs to all of us. And it's our collective responsibility to make sure it's worth getting to.

A few weeks ago, Jack Harris took the reins of the Phoenix Police Department. He will lead this department to a level unequaled in this country. Why? Because he thinks Big. He has innovative ideas and a new way of conducting the business of public safety. He has my full support to take this department to where we need to be in this day and age. At the very top.

And our police department is already the finest in the country. They care about our safety and risk their own each time they put on the uniform, clip on the badge and respond to our calls for help. They make big sacrifices. They make a big difference. And we'll see that they have what it takes to do their jobs -- safely and efficiently.

Logically, as a city that is rapidly embracing technology and is rapidly embracing the new knowledge economy, how we fight crime and protect the public safety simply *must* come up to technology code – so to speak. No other application of technology trumps this one.

How can it possibly be, in an age that allows us to search over four-and-a-quarter Billion web pages in .13 seconds – how can it possibly be that it takes anywhere from 45 minutes to three hours *each shift* for a patrol officer to file a police report? For crying out loud, I can order a car over the internet in less time. Criminals often have better technology than the Officers who pursue them. And if you're not outraged by that, you're not paying attention.

Can anyone accept that it takes 83,000 times longer to file a police report than to “Google” Janet Jackson's Super Bowl “wardrobe malfunction”? Well I don't accept it.

Because fixing that system is the absolute equivalent of adding 200 officers to our force. That's a good use of technology – none better. And we're getting it done right now.

In this post 911 world, keeping up with ongoing security needs is not an option. It's a priority. But how can we meet this profound obligation without breaking the backs and emptying the pocket books of the citizens we serve? Good question. Well I'll tell you right now how we're NOT going to do it -- we're NOT cutting the public safety budget. In fact, as this city grows, and the needs of the people grow, so will our budget. It's simple math that makes profound sense.

Thirty years ago, we told people to call the police when their neighbor's dog was barking. But not any more. Now we want you to talk to your neighbor, not the police. Forty years ago we started moving people from their front yards into their backyards. Now of course, we want people to get out of their backyards and spend more time in front. That's what this bench is all about for goodness sake

Everyone knows what a pendulum does -- swings. And in Phoenix, we've got 'em swingin' all over the place.

Decades ago, we decided that some of the jobs that were previously held by sworn police officers should be transferred to civilian employees. Why should the person who issues parking tickets on Washington Street, for example, be a fully trained officer? That was the thinking then – and then, it made sense. But nine eleven created a whole new world – and gave us the immediate need to rethink yesterday's assumptions. And today, I say that pendulum needs to swing back with a vengeance. We need every trained eye we can get – and the more training the better. You hope the person issuing parking tickets, or guarding the water plant, never has to respond to a terrorist event. But if the situation, God forbid, ever arises, he or she may be in the best position to thwart the event or the first person who is able to respond to it. Either way, we want that person to be as prepared as humanly possible.

I don't want to hire any more ticket writers or security guards. I want to hire Police Officers – and to better train the ticket writers and security guards we already have. I want officers who are trained, mobile, multi tasking and flexible. Officers who can perform any job rotation that we need – from investigating bank fraud to patrolling public events. I want to create our own version of "Special Services". Officers who can respond at a moments notice if, or more realistically, when a crisis of nine eleven proportion confronts us. I HOPE and PRAY we'll never need them. But in my heart, I know that we might.

If we do have to face terrorism here, let's have the best trained people available and ready for the job of homeland security. This has to be done right, done well and without any corners cut. The first time. If we are a terrorist target, there won't be a next time. The threat is very real, and so is my intention to implement, right now, our own Homeland Security Bureau.

I know some may think these ideas won't work. And maybe they're right. But we aren't going to know until we put the experts to the task of figuring it all out. I want action. Not talk. And I want your ideas.

But if I'm asking *you* to take risks with Big ideas – and not be afraid of what others will say – then I ought to be willing to do the same. Well, I've been mulling about an idea for a while that I want to share with you now. I don't have to tell you we have a severe drug problem in our schools. Our children, as young as five years old, are being exposed to marijuana, crystal meth, ecstasy. They are experimenting with toxic household products. I'm the father of a child heading into Kindergarten. Frankly, I'm afraid of sending our son, Jake, out in this environment today.

Now to some, this idea I have may be controversial. I've thought about this a lot, and I'm willing to publicly suggest it: "in-school drug testing". Not for criminal purposes. Not for your child's "permanent record". Not to notify the police.

To notify the parents.

To me, knowing my child is NOT on drugs is well worth the challenge to get there. I believe that most parents, just like me, would rather know in school, than at the ER or the morgue. Please think about this with me. I want to hear your concerns, your comments. I want to figure out how we can make this – or something like it – work.

Now, let's take this whole crime discussion and apply it to the future of Phoenix. If we want that new creative class. And if we want that 21st century workforce. And if we want to be in front of this wave of new opportunity – then we have got to stop talking and start moving. We can put the infrastructure in place for the sought after creative class: we can build the campus, we can open cafés, dog parks, hotels and restaurants. But if we can't beat back crime, opportunity will not come. If we have no high wage jobs, no one will stay. If we cannot educate and keep students for those jobs, no one will succeed.

And as for the people here already... artists, neighbors and businesses ...eventually, they will all be gone as well because life will not flourish in a neighborhood where crime is the landlord. Our future hangs on the decisions we make today to rid ourselves, our city, from the scourge of crime and to commit ourselves to the City we want to create.

Chief Harris, Councilman Siebert and I meet every week to discuss the ways and means of taking our technology not just to the *next* level in this war on crime, but to the *highest* level. This city deserves the best. Our citizens deserve the best. Not the easiest, the best. Not the cheapest, the best. Ease and cost will not limit our efforts. No matter what the cost, financial or political, let us find a way to get the job done.

So pull up a bench and stay awhile. We have a five year plan. It's in the book. It's comprehensive. It's measurable. It's doable, and it will get done.

Public safety, yes, is obviously the top priority of this City's government. But a city must also be a place where people can LIVE. Not just earn a living, but be culturally tempted, physically welcomed, visually pleased. A city must have entertainment, arts, recreation, education and community.

A city needs real neighborhoods.

It always has been, and will always be, neighborhoods that tie us together in the human way. Can it be possible to keep our neighborhoods “people friendly” and at the same time high tech hardwire them for the future? Oh Yeah. Every neighborhood could be on their own “friends and family intranet”. Not the *internet*, but their own neighborhood net. Imagine having instant messaging to alert people who is in their neighborhood, where their children are and who is with them. What if we had a neighborhood cam where everyone could tune in and monitor the activity on their street? Not BIG BROTHER. YOU. To check in on the kids, without being obtrusive. It’s just an idea -- but one I have been thinking about a great deal. Heck, ADOT’s had one for years checking out traffic on the freeways. And the moms and dads at City Hall can watch their own children in day care – and you’re watching it now.

We’re starting to reinvigorate our Blockwatch Programs. We’ve launched our front porch bench initiative. It will help us BENCH CRIME, but it will also help you become a part of the fabric of an authentic neighborhood. A place we remember from when we were kids. A place where neighbors looked out for one another and where children were under the protective eye of the entire block. I know I couldn’t do anything wrong without the grapevine kicking in. From the time I “Messed up” to the time I ran in the back door to the kitchen, my mom was off the phone and saying “Philip B Gordon! Mrs. Smith just called...” That was the high technology of the times, (and I’ll bet the internet still doesn’t work as well).

This new century will bring that grapevine back. Bigger and better than ever. We will use technology to keep the City’s neighborhoods informed. And we can be out front with all of our neighbors keeping them in the loop of what we learn on that information highway. And you what? We’ll have every neighborhood intranet wired by the year 2020. You can bet on that.

The Front Porch Bench Initiative has taken off – and been so much more successful than I had imagined. We’ve had over 5,000 requests for benches since the inception of this program six weeks ago. In fact, we’ve moved phase 2 from January 2005 to May 18, 2004 – and I’m announcing it right now.

The next phase is called *Front Porch Bench Neighborhoods*. And we’re going to designate neighborhoods that are “all benched” with a new street sign – kind of like the blue historic signs – but “bench crime” signs. Already we’ve had numerous inquiries from potential corporate sponsors.

One of our neighborhoods is right on the edge of a complete transformation – our downtown. We all have a vision of downtown: A diverse population, opportunity for everyone, an infusion of the new creative class, and a 21st century workforce -- we’re coming of age, and the actions we condone and the processes we implement will foretell how we will be remembered by future generations. Will we be known as visionaries? Or will we be known as the careless inheritors of a great city that rested on the laurels of our predecessors?

We’re VISIONARIES, make no mistake about it.

Our city is representative of the creative class. And it makes sense that our downtown should be representative of the creative class *and* the business class, the resident class, the recreation class, the education class. It should embrace different peoples, different cultures, different religions, different interests. It should be and it will be all of that, and more.

And this downtown will belong to all of us.

But I think we all can agree that every great City has a great Town Square. Sometimes it features a courthouse, sometimes a park or a fountain. What we have is Patriots' Park – and I want to bulldoze it.

London has Big Ben. Paris has the Eiffel Tower. Seattle has the Space Needle. San Antonio has the River Walk. St. Louis has the Gateway Arch. Washington DC has too many defining icons to mention. What about Phoenix?

I mean no disrespect to those who designed and developed the current park. But as our downtown area has developed around it, Patriots' Park is no longer adequate for Phoenix. The canopies were meant for projecting laser shows – but there are no lasers. The grass and other foliage are limited due to watering restrictions – water leaks into the multi-level parking structure below the park. It simply lacks the sparkle and excitement we need in our Town Square.

Through a series of plaques and flags, it does a nice job of honoring Phoenix patriots and our Sister Cities. But as a vibrant park, it's a bust.

Bring in the bulldozers.

I don't know what it should look like. But it ought not look like it does. I will be asking the fertile and imaginative minds of Arizona State University students (who soon will have a renewed stake in Copper Square) to propose several designs for us to consider. City employees, local artists, downtown businesses and Phoenix residents are free to submit ideas of their own.

Let's find our defining amenity. Let's build something special.

Do you know what else we need? Shaded pedestrian pathways linked throughout the city – a two-legged version of Central's shaded bridal path– so that we can all get out and about whether we live downtown, work here or just want to enjoy the amenities we already have. Beats driving everywhere.

I am the eternal optimist, but let me assure you, I am also a realist. I know that some people resist change and progress. They fear the unknown and lack a confidence that is shared by those who embrace change and look toward the future. Especially in times where major change must occur, where history is being written by the progress of a generation. Every era has their Doubting Thomas'. So I say those doubters – “Yes, risk taking is inherently failure-prone. Otherwise, it would be called sure-thing-taking and everyone would be doing it.”

We're at a point where we have to fight for positive change, and to help educate those who would keep this City from moving forward. They are timid. They are also shortsighted. They are probably the very same people who want to stop the transit tax, the hotel and sky harbor. And every city in the Valley has its fair share of the naysayers. It was, frankly, a historic day when all municipalities of this valley came together in full blown regional cooperation and passed the ½ cent tax for our transit needs. And our downtown hotel? To have the kind of class act that is both a destination and a good business decision, a downtown hotel is the order of the day. Conventions, tourism, local commerce... we need this amenity. Don't let this good work be undone by squeaky wheels. We've come too far and this is far too important.

Be assured, I'm your partner. In business, recreation, education, neighborhoods. I can help show you the future of this city. I need you to help us get there. As your Mayor,

History books are where you will find what we've I'm excited about the future of Phoenix and I welcome you to the fifth largest city in the country. You've helped us get this far. And I can tell you, it's only gonna get better. accomplished. Today, you saw a picture of the future. And I can't wait for us to get there.

Hoeven, John. 2005 North Dakota State of the State Address.

... Our country's economic growth over the last 50 years has been fueled by new and emerging technologies. The jobs of the old production economy have been replaced with the careers of the new technology-based economy. Our competition is not just regional or national, but global.

Economists now predict that 75 percent of the S&P Fortune 500 companies in the year 2020 will be comprised of companies that don't even exist today.

North Dakota must come to the table as a player and full participant. Ready to do what it takes to prosper in the next generation. Ready to take advantage of the new opportunities.

So the question I ask today is: "When is it our time? When will we rise to our true potential? When is it North Dakota's turn to help lead the country's developing economy? When will we have the strength and the will to do what must be done to truly build the future of this great state?"

To realize the true potential of our state, we must invest in our priorities - priorities that will help us build the best business climate in America.

That starts with education - both K-12 and higher education.

In an information age, in a technology-based global economy, we must have the most productive and best-educated workforce.

To paraphrase the great British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli, "Upon the Education of the people of this country, the fate of this country depends."

Education is critical not only to each one of us individually, but also to build the economic vitality of our state.

To provide our children access to the best education and educators possible, we have proposed increasing funding for elementary and secondary education by more than \$75 million over the next four years.

This investment will provide further compensation increases for teachers, funding for joint power agreements to help maintain educational quality, and supplemental payments to help foster greater funding equity among our school districts.

It also means increased funding for technical education to equip our youth with the increasingly complex skills they will need in North Dakota's growing, and more diverse, economy.

The funding we have committed to education in North Dakota is substantial, but the truly significant point here can't be measured in dollars and cents.

If we're going to create the best business climate to create higher paying jobs and retain our young people, we're going to have to build a workforce prepared for the opportunities of the future. That means the best schools and the brightest teachers educating the best and brightest students.

Furthermore, our commitment to education must extend beyond K-12 schools. That is why we have proposed an increase of nearly \$29 million for higher education. This investment will help keep college tuition affordable for all families.

But higher education is not only a training ground for life - it is also an engine of growth for our entire state.

Virtually every business I talk to either has a link or is looking to develop one with our universities. That includes research and development for new products and services, on-going education and workforce training, and access to an exceptional quality of life.

To truly build the best business environment, we must link our campuses to the private sector. Our Centers of Excellence program will do just that.

Centers of Excellence are partnerships between higher education and business to create new, good paying jobs.

These hubs of research and technology commercialize their work into products and services, and they provide a nucleus for business clusters across our state.

They represent a significant force for economic growth - not only in North Dakota, but also across America.

Centers of Excellence have been the engines of dynamic economic activity in North Carolina, Texas, Massachusetts, California, and Minnesota.

The state of Utah, which is a relatively small state like North Dakota, has a Centers of

Excellence program. Their research universities have produced the Jarvik artificial heart and CD-ROM technology.

Our own Centers of Excellence program has already begun to yield impressive results.

The NDSU Technology Park has leveraged state, federal and private industry partnerships to commercialize new products in electronic controls and nanochips with companies like Phoenix International and Alien Technology. Phoenix International alone employs more than 500 people; 200 of them are engineers, and the company is making the most advanced electronic controls for heavy equipment worldwide.

At UND, the Aerospace program, the Center for Innovation, and the Energy and Environmental Research Center are working with dozens of companies across North Dakota to create new products, new services, and new enterprises - meaning new careers for North Dakotans. In fact, the Princeton Review just ranked UND 14th on its list of the 25 most entrepreneurial campuses in the country, ahead of Stanford and many other outstanding universities. And our other campuses are participating too.

At Valley City State University, Eagle Creek Software just announced they will be locating in the Rural Technology Center. This Minnesota-based company is expanding there to utilize the high speed Internet connections and hire students trained at Valley City in computer software support and development.

In the Nesson Valley near Williston, NDSU has partnered with Williston State College, Montana State University, and the North Dakota Ag Extension Service to develop a research facility for crops under irrigation, vital to bringing more value-added ag processing to the region.

The reality is, we have just begun and there is much more we can do.

To capitalize on the potential for economic growth, states around the country are investing in Centers of Excellence with their universities.

In Connecticut and Oregon, business and government leaders are developing Centers of Excellence for advanced manufacturing, the life sciences, information technology, and other critical and emerging business clusters. Texas is seeking \$300 million to expand their program and California just approved \$900 million to fund biotechnology being developed jointly by the campuses and companies in their state.

The high quality jobs and careers of the future will be cultivated in these types of programs.

I say - let's develop those careers right here - in North Dakota.

That is why we have proposed expanding our Centers of Excellence initiative as a \$50 million program. Further, we will leverage our state's investment on a 2 to 1 basis, with private sector and federal dollars, to make \$150 million available for these dynamic enterprises.

This leveraging effect will also draw more investment dollars into North Dakota. Like the

Renaissance Zone program, which has been successful across our state - from Fargo to Watford City - the payback is a growing economy and more careers in North Dakota.

The expansion of the Centers of Excellence program is included in a comprehensive package of economic development legislation forwarded by House Majority Leader Rick Berg and the interim legislative committee on economic development. Their proposed legislation is the product of the Legislature's statewide Business Congress authorized last session.

In addition to Centers of Excellence, the legislation includes a range of initiatives that invest in our people and our future. These include more venture capital and investment tax credits for small business to support the kinds of entrepreneurial activities that produce new wealth and new opportunities for our people.

The legislation also establishes a North Dakota American Indian Business Development Office to help develop more Native American enterprises, both on and off the reservations.

To make real progress in North Dakota we need to tap the skills, talents, and energies of all of our people, including our native peoples. The success in recent years of native businesses like Laducer & Associates in Mandan, and Mandaree Enterprises on the Three Affiliated Tribes Reservation are models of what can be achieved.

The bill also creates a procurement information Web site, where potential vendors of products and services can find opportunities to secure state business. Our goal, always, is to help North Dakota businesses. This site will make it easier for our business community to know what the state's needs are and how best to compete for contracts.

And it establishes a "Business Hotline" that will provide prospective companies both in North Dakota and elsewhere with practical information about our state's outstanding business climate.

Finally, all economic development is local, and the state Commerce Department is there to support our communities in their development efforts. To further that effort, the legislation establishes a training program for local economic developers throughout the state.

The initiatives outlined in this legislation represent a shared agenda of the executive and legislative branches, and we must work together for the good of North Dakota to make it happen.

And to ensure that North Dakota's investment in economic development continues to pay the dividends our citizens deserve and expect, we are also advancing legislation to provide greater accountability. Our proposal includes requirements for written business agreements, job creation, wage reporting, and clawback provisions if goals are not met.

We can reach our potential, but to do so, we must reach within ourselves. We must summon the strength, the will, and the faith to move forward ...to be bold...to invest in our future. We must, for the sake of all North Dakotans, say, "Our time is now!"

Another bold initiative, one critical to realizing our potential in energy development, is the creation of a transmission authority.

America has a rapidly growing appetite for energy. North Dakota has the means to feed that demand with environmentally friendly, domestic energy. We have hundreds of years of supply of coal and limitless potential from wind.

Our single greatest challenge is the ability to move power to markets outside North Dakota.

A transmission authority could jump start that process and expedite the kinds of large investments we need to expand our current transmission capacity. Increased capacity is essential if we hope to build new coal-based power plants and develop wind farms across North Dakota.

This session, we will advance a bill to establish a North Dakota Transmission Authority within the state Industrial Commission to promote investments in new transmission lines across North Dakota and beyond.

The authority would serve as a catalyst for new investment, and provide low cost financing to help North Dakota's generation be competitive with local generation in surrounding states.

It would also serve as a partner to investors, providing access to public sector financing not available otherwise, and helping to develop right-of-way for new transmission.

But the reality is, our opportunity for growth from energy development extends far beyond just the wind farms and power plants themselves. Envision, if you will, industrial parks developed around our power plants - accessing our low cost energy and available water resources for value-added processing or manufacturing.

We are, in fact, bringing two of our targeted industries together - energy and value-added agriculture - to create new opportunity.

Today, a group of entrepreneurs is nearing its goal for a new \$78 million ethanol plant in Richardton. Last month, they began preparing the site for the project.

This 50 million gallon-per-year plant will employ 36 people, and use 18 million bushels of corn each year, with 133,000 tons of North Dakota lignite as boiler fuel.

In short, we will be using a North Dakota fossil fuel to help turn North Dakota corn into a renewable fuel that can be used across the country. That's good for the rural community of Richardton, good for our farmers, good for our lignite industry, and good for our country.

As we work to develop our energy industry, we also must recognize that agriculture will always be fundamental to our economic base. To strengthen that base, we must continue to build opportunity in both production agriculture and value-added agriculture for our farmers and ranchers.

That's why we have worked hard to open markets around the world for North Dakota's farmers and ranchers.

We have opened doors for wheat, barley, peas, lentils, alfalfa, and other commodities in Cuba, China, Taiwan, and Japan, and we will continue to forge ahead in these and other markets through our expanded North Dakota Trade Office.

We have also worked hard over the past year - and will continue that effort - to make sure our producers have a level playing field in the world market - whether it's for beef, wheat, sugar beets, or any of our other high quality commodities.

We will continue to work hard to ensure that the railroads serving North Dakota treat us fairly in their pricing and shipping practices. To that end, we have earmarked nearly \$1 million in our executive budget to pursue our rail rate case with the Surface Transportation Board.

And we will continue to build on the comprehensive programs we have developed for value-added agriculture, like ethanol and biodiesel, to generate more income and employment opportunities for our producers and rural communities.

North Dakota and America owe a great deal to the men and women who work the land and ensure that our foods are safe, affordable, and of a quality unequalled anywhere in the world. Our farmers and ranchers produce the very best in food, fuel, and fiber - and we must put forth our very best to support them.

My friends and fellow North Dakotans, the point is this: If we are to fully participate in the economy of tomorrow, we must do all of these things today.

If we want the jobs of the future in North Dakota - if we want to raise a generation of farmer entrepreneurs, software developers, mechanical engineers, biologists, agronomists, chemists, and other highly paid professionals - and if we want them to live and work in North Dakota - then we must commit to creating those careers here in North Dakota.

What is the alternative? The alternative is to lag behind the country in wages and good jobs.

The alternative is to place an ever-increasing tax burden on an increasingly older population.

The alternative is the out-migration of our best and brightest - to continue to provide our youth with an outstanding education at one of North Dakota's 11 first-rate universities - and then send them elsewhere - to contribute to the prosperity of Minneapolis or Denver, or to Utah, Connecticut, Oregon, or Texas. Our commitment to education, Centers of Excellence, the Business Congress initiatives, a Transmission Authority, energy, and agriculture is critical for North Dakota to create an environment of opportunity - to further grow and diversify our economy, to give our people the standard of living and quality of life they deserve.

But to take advantage of these opportunities, we must have the vision and the courage to do what is necessary to succeed. We must believe in the people of our state and give them the tools to realize their true potential. We must rise to the challenge. We must answer the question: "When is our time?" with the resounding answer: "Our time is now."...

Lingle, Linda. 2009. Hawaii State of the State Address.

... The annual State of the State Address is a time-honored tradition in states all across our great nation.

It is a time to take stock of where we are as a state, to recognize a few successes, and to lay out a clear roadmap for our future.

In this sense, it is a fairly typical speech.

But this has not been a typical year. We are facing a time like no other in our state's history.

And 2009 will be one of the most challenging years in our nation's history as we confront one of the severest economic crises we have ever faced.

The daunting task we face in the months ahead is making some very difficult decisions in order to address our immediate fiscal problems.

These are not decisions that any of us want to make, but they are decisions that must be made.

They are the same kinds of decisions being made across our state by individuals, families, businesses and organizations as they too confront a near-term future with substantially fewer financial resources, and a high degree of uncertainty.

I'm an optimist by nature...and as Winston Churchill said, "An optimist sees the opportunity in every difficulty."

So, I come before you today with a clear understanding of the enormity of what we face in the near term, but still enthusiastic about planning for our future together and optimistic about Hawai'i in the 21st century.

Together we will meet both our near-term and long-term obligations by making those decisions necessary to navigate through the turbulence of the current fiscal crisis and achieve our preferred future.

That future includes energy independence, increased food self-sufficiency, and a 21st-century infrastructure that supports existing and emerging industries.

Our future also includes a well-cared for environment that increases recreational opportunities across the state.

We cannot afford to merely hunker down and muddle through the next year or two.

This is a time for us to work together to address the immediate reality, while searching for those opportunities that will enable us to emerge from this situation stronger than ever.

This dual effort will take patience and courage because there will be those who want to ignore reality and continue spending at current levels.

And others who only want to deal with our immediate revenue shortfall while deferring any talk of the future.

Either approach would leave us far short of meeting our duty to the people of Hawai'i – a duty both to live within our means and position ourselves for a brighter future...

As we face this historic challenge, it is easy to forget how much success we have enjoyed in recent years.

I want to review the solid progress we have made in several areas, including home ownership and helping those most in need.

Since May of 2006 we have built nine new emergency shelters and transitional housing projects that provide safe and clean places to live for many who previously could only find a night's rest in our parks, beaches, doorways or in their cars.

Nearly 2,800 people, including hundreds of children, have received not only safe shelter, but social services and an outpouring of community support to help them transition from homelessness to self-sufficiency.

It took many people to achieve so much in just two-and-a-half short years. I want to thank our entire community for embracing and helping those who had lost all hope.

In an attempt to address a completely different kind of housing need, we're all aware of the success the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands has had.

They've awarded more land to their beneficiaries than at any time in the history of the trust, and we all enjoy seeing families who have waited for decades finally receiving their homesteads.

But there's a much larger DHHL story that will be fully revealed in the years ahead.

It is the story of a native Hawaiian agency that has chosen to meet its fiduciary duty to its beneficiaries by leading in a way that benefits the larger community of Hawai'i.

Whether it's their pivotal role in the \$110 million Kroc Center, development of the future DeBartolo regional mall, kick-starting the infrastructure UH West O'ahu needed in order to move forward, or being the first state department to move its entire O'ahu operation to the Second City of Kapolei, DHHL has chosen to lead.

We now look to them as an important and integral part of our economic recovery, and as an example of how to develop desirable communities.

They are even blazing their own trail in our state's efforts to achieve energy independence

and provide a clean energy future for the generations that will follow.

Few could have envisioned six years ago the heights to which DHHL and the Hawaiian Homes Commission would soar.

I believe their well-recognized success has been achieved partly because of how they contributed to the broader community.

DHHL is not just about building homes, it is about building great communities.

And they have succeeded because they have demanded more of themselves and their beneficiaries.

The bottom line is that they have chosen to lead, not follow...and what a joy it has been to watch their transformation and ongoing journey.

I want to personally thank the DHHL staff and those who have served on the Hawaiian Homes Commission for showing us all what great things can be achieved when you recognize we are all part of one 'ohana.

An important part of that 'ohana is Hawai'i's keiki, especially those who are most vulnerable.

Two remarkable trends have occurred in Hawai'i's child welfare system since 2005.

The first is a 50 percent decline in the number of children in state care, to just 1,500 children, which is the lowest number since 1993.

At the same time, Hawai'i's child re-abuse rate also dropped by half to just 3.1 percent, which is one of the lowest re-abuse rates in the United States.

These positive trends were the result of a fundamental shift in the state's approach to child welfare.

The Department of Human Services previously removed children from the custody of their biological parents at a rate four times higher than the national average, with no improvement in safety outcomes.

Today, DHS, and its community partners, uses a comprehensive assessment system to carefully weigh the risk factors in a child's family environment, and ensure that they receive much-needed social services...

No matter how noteworthy these and other achievements may be, recent reductions in revenue forecasts mean that they and other worthy programs will take a back seat to our more immediate need to balance the budget.

Today's struggling economy has created a deep hole in our budget that we need to dig out of this session.

The Council on Revenues has never in its history lowered its projections by so much in such a short period of time.

Over the past eight months, the Council has reduced its general fund revenue projection by \$1.4 billion.

This downward projection reflects an unprecedented decline in tourism, construction, business activity, and consumer demand brought about by national and international events beyond our control.

These events – including sub-prime lending, frozen credit markets and volatile oil and other commodity prices – will impact us for at least the next couple of years.

Climbing our way out of this hole won't be easy.

It won't be quick.

It won't be without pain; but it will be done.

The pain that will be felt by individuals and organizations both in and out of government will cause some to search for a specific reason or person to blame.

When a recently retired couple watches the value of its 401K drop dramatically...or a family struggles to make the mortgage payment now that their work hours have been cut back...or a social service agency faces the need to lay off employees because the government reduces the purchase of a service contract they were counting on...it is natural to want to understand why this is happening, and to hold someone accountable.

But we must refrain from playing the blame game because we know this downturn was not caused by any of us.

And we know we had been making good decisions in recent years to create a brighter future for Hawai'i's people by lowering taxes, increasing science and math education, moving toward energy independence, and preserving more of our natural and cultural resources.

We also know that we are all in this together, and it is only by sticking together that we will be able to deal effectively with the immediate fiscal crisis and strengthen our economy in the long run.

We will need a mixture of courage, compassion, and collaboration to cope with the unprecedented budget gap we face.

Collaboration doesn't mean we will see all issues the same way, it means that for the sake of Hawai'i's future, we must acknowledge our predicament and find an acceptable way to move ourselves forward.

In order to do this, we must start by accepting the fact that in this new economic and fiscal environment, there is simply no possible way to continue operating and spending the way we have.

Although I am extremely optimistic about Hawai'i's long-term prospects, I am not going to sugarcoat the immediate challenge we face.

In order to maintain the public's confidence and trust, we must be open and honest about the

nature and magnitude of what we are facing.

The reality is that we will have to make some unpopular choices that will reduce some services and cause others to be delivered in a different way.

Not because we want to, but because we can't afford business as usual.

A number of projects will likely be delayed, curtailed, or possibly eliminated.

Not because we want to, but because we can't afford business as usual.

We will have to ask government employees, like those who work in the private sector, to accept some reduction in wages and benefits.

Not because we want to, but because we can't afford business as usual.

Some who currently enjoy special tax credits, exemptions and deductions will see them reduced or eliminated.

Not because we want to, but because we can't afford business as usual.

This is a time of shared sacrifice when everyone must be willing to give up something.

This is a time when we must rely on each other, because no one is coming to rescue us.

We must also keep in mind that the economy will likely continue to soften in the near-term, perhaps causing the Council on Revenues to further reduce projections at its March meeting and then again in May after the budget is adopted.

We are not alone in facing this new reality and near-term uncertainty.

Families and businesses across the country and throughout our state have had to come to terms with this same situation.

But we should also recognize that the difficulty we face is temporary.

Our nation will regain its economic footing, and so will Hawai'i.

How fast we recover here at home will depend to some degree on the decisions we make during this session.

Our solutions need to be decisive enough to address our immediate situation, but just as important, must prepare the way for our future.

Short-term solutions that merely defer the hard choices to those who will follow us are just as bad as no solutions at all.

We can't meet our responsibility by kicking the can down the road.

We must make meaningful choices now that address the reality we face today while laying the foundation for a better future.

That better future is one that transitions us from an economy over-reliant on land development to one that is innovation-driven and relies on the capacity of our people.

A key area where we must bring innovation to bear is ending our over-reliance on imported foreign oil.

Oil pollutes the environment, it sucks billions of dollars out of our economy, and leaves us dependent on the goodwill of foreign countries and companies for our very survival.

We remain today the most oil-dependent state in America, but we have made great strides over the past few years.

Today windmills hum atop Kaheawa Ridge on Maui delivering clean, plentiful power and displacing the need to import 220,000 barrels of foreign oil each year.

On Lana‘i, a 10-acre solar farm now provides 30 percent of the island’s peak power needs.

A geothermal project on the Big Island that currently provides power for 30,000 homes is in discussions to increase its output by 50 percent.

And on O‘ahu, engineers are already figuring out where we will be plugging in the electric cars coming to dealer showrooms in the near future.

Last year we entered into a unique partnership with the federal Department of Energy called the Hawai‘i Clean Energy Initiative or HCEI.

It established the goal of a 70 percent clean energy economy by 2030.

HCEI experts from government, national labs, our military, utilities, universities and the private sector have recommended specific actions to achieve the 70 percent clean energy goal through indigenous renewable resources and energy conservation.

My administration and legislators will introduce several bills based on these HCEI recommendations.

These changes will significantly increase energy efficiency in our commercial buildings and residences, give consumers more control over their energy costs, transition us to alternative fuel vehicles, such as electric cars, and ban new fossil fuel power plants in Hawai‘i.

When adopted, these proposals will form the basis for Hawai‘i’s transformation to one of the world’s first economies based primarily on clean energy.

Implementing these policy changes will require a large measure of collaboration as we will need public funding, assistance from county governments, conservation by citizens, and investment by the business community.

To successfully transition to a clean energy economy, we will need the involvement of our entire community, alignment of our efforts, and a continual focus on our objectives.

I expect there will be a fair amount of spirited debate about the specific energy choices we should make, but if we recognize that we cannot go back to where we were, then I believe

the choices are clear.

We can either work together toward a clean energy future or continue to operate in a business-as-usual fashion that will leave Hawai'i vulnerable to the vagaries of world oil prices and the whims of foreign countries and companies.

As the world's most isolated set of islands and our nation's most oil-dependent state, a clean energy future is no longer simply a desire of environmentalists, it is an absolute necessity for our long-term economic survival.

This energy transformation is something we owe to future generations, and something they have a right to expect.

They have a right to expect energy security.

They have the right to expect stable and lower energy costs, and a cleaner environment.

They have the right to expect higher-paying, green-collar jobs that come with a thriving new energy sector.

And they have the right to expect us to stop sending up to \$7 billion a year out of Hawai'i to buy foreign oil, instead of keeping most of it here at home, to circulate in our economy.

Over the past 12 months, remarkable progress has been made toward achieving a secure energy future for our state, and we are being hailed as a national model because of our effort.

We must remain steadfast in our pursuit of energy independence and security, regardless of fluctuating oil prices.

Another area in which we must decrease our over-reliance on outside sources of supply is the food we eat.

We import 85 percent of everything we consume.

We need to take action now to increase Hawai'i's food self-sufficiency and strengthen and preserve agriculture for future generations as required by our State Constitution.

We must increase our efforts to protect the best agricultural lands from development.

And, we must strengthen our commitment to provide affordable water for agriculture.

Increasing our food self-sufficiency will contribute to the state's economic recovery by keeping more of our money here at home.

If we replace just 10 percent of the food we currently import, it would create more than \$300 million in economic activity, generate \$6 million in taxes, and create 2,300 new jobs.

I will be asking state agencies such as schools, prisons and hospitals to take the lead by purchasing locally grown fruits, vegetables, poultry, eggs and meat.

Under new rules, Hawai‘i farmers will receive a 15 percent price preference when placing their bids for state purchases.

If we each make an effort to buy more locally produced food we will be contributing to our economic recovery, helping Hawai‘i farmers lower their unit costs, and protecting our open spaces.

Agriculture keeps Hawai‘i green, it recharges our aquifers and promotes a healthy lifestyle and good nutrition for families.

It also diversifies our economy and supports small businesses and rural communities.

Another requirement for a strong and innovative economy is an advanced communications infrastructure that will serve as the backbone for connecting us to the global economy.

This 21st century infrastructure is essential to creating the kind of high-paying jobs we are striving for in the coming years.

The communications infrastructure we have in place today barely meets our current needs.

We need to be planning for tomorrow’s needs.

We shouldn’t be limited in our thinking to believe that what we have in place today is acceptable.

We need to dream about tomorrow, and begin now to lay the groundwork for getting there.

We need a communications infrastructure that will allow us to achieve competitive advancements in the areas of: education, health care diagnosis and treatment, public safety, research and innovation, civic participation, creative media, e-government, and the foundation for overall economic development.

We have been working with the Legislature’s Broadband Task Force to craft a bill that recognizes the convergence of technologies that are used to provide voice, data and video services through wireline, wireless, cable and satellite communication.

The bill consolidates regulation and advocacy of communication services under one agency, a new Hawai‘i Communications Commission, in order to make attainable the latest communications services at the earliest possible time.

The Commission will not increase the size of government.

It will be funded from existing fees, and will focus on achieving specific goals, including: creating broadband access on a competitive basis at reduced prices...streamlining the permitting process...and providing access to businesses and residents by 2012 at prices and speeds that will make us a world leader and a place that will attract investment, while empowering our residents with enhanced communications capability.

This exciting, high-tech proposal couldn’t have moved forward without the hard work over the last two years of the Broadband Task Force, and I applaud the Legislature for the foresight shown in establishing it.

Although I have been discussing ideas that will position us well for the future, I think you would agree that the problem that bothers residents the most today is the everyday annoyance of sitting in traffic.

Sitting in a seemingly endless line of cars, burning expensive fuel, missing an appointment or your child's soccer game, is not the way any of us want to spend our time.

The status quo has become intolerable, so we have joined with legislators in proposing a six-year, multi-island, Highways Modernization Plan to address known traffic problems with proven solutions.

This plan is intended to save lives...save time...and save money.

The program combines road building, highway and bridge safety improvements, anti-congestion traffic management, and a pavement maintenance program, in addition to safety legislation and increased public outreach and education.

The bulk of the near-term projects will be started using existing funds and anticipated federal fiscal stimulus funding.

The longer-term projects will be paid for by increases in highway-related taxes and fees that would be triggered at a future date if steady job growth indicates that our economy is growing again.

In other words, we will have a plan in place that is ready to go to construction when our economic situation improves.

This innovative recommendation to tie future increases to measurable economic results in order to address a long-festering problem is the kind of creative approach being used by departments and agencies throughout government.

I have challenged every one of our departments to find new and creative ways to improve our quality of life in these tough economic and fiscal times.

The Department of Land and Natural Resources has risen to this challenge, and developed a comprehensive proposal to renew our state parks, small boat harbors and trails as well as the very way we care for these precious places – a true “Recreational Renaissance” that will benefit all residents and visitors.

The heart of the plan is \$240 million in capital improvements over five years for both land- and ocean-based recreation.

The Department will fund this innovative plan by dedicating rents from some existing commercial properties to pay debt service, and developing now-vacant industrial and commercial lands that will fulfill the high demand for light industrial spaces in areas suitable for those uses.

Additional funding to support maintenance and operations will be generated from leases and concessions in parks and harbors combined with a small entry fee paid by visitors at a limited number of high-destination parks.

The plan's final piece is the development of new land and ocean recreational opportunities through a public-private partnership to develop the long-proposed Ke'ehi Lagoon Triangle adjacent to Lagoon Drive in Honolulu.

This centerpiece initiative will include 119 acres of light industrial space as a long-term source of revenue, coupled with new marina slips, canoe club storage and practice areas, boat ramps, storage and dry docks, beach parks and picnic areas.

I want to thank the staff at DLNR, DBEDT and Budget and Finance who developed this creative and comprehensive proposal which creates brand new, non-tax revenues and a better way of managing and caring for our recreational, natural and cultural resources.

It's sure not business as usual at DLNR!

Working together, we can set the stage for this long-overdue "Recreational Renaissance" that will provide residents and visitors across our state with new and better recreational areas that are well-maintained, secure and enriching.

I am especially enthused about working with the Legislature on this and other proposals as a colleague rather than an adversary.

I will do more than reach across the aisle; I will walk across the aisle, and my door will always be wide open to you.

Our collaboration will demonstrate to the people of Hawai'i that when history called on us to do so, we rose to the occasion.

I firmly believe that only by working together can we produce the kind of significant results that will enable us to exit this temporary downturn, and to position our economy for a stronger and more sustainable future.

Before concluding I want to take a moment to speak about the case pending before the United States Supreme Court involving the issue of ceded lands.

The issue involved in this case is not whether ceded lands should or should not be sold.

Rather the issue involves the fundamental question of whether the State of Hawai'i has clear title to the land transferred to us by the federal government at the time of statehood.

The roots of this case date back to a decision made by former Governor Waihe'e in the 1980s to sell certain ceded lands on Maui and Hawai'i for the construction of affordable housing.

It was a decision he believed was in the best interest of all the people of Hawai'i.

It is a decision that former Governor Cayetano defended in court because he believed it was in the best interest of all the people of Hawai'i to do so.

And it is a decision that we are appealing to the United States Supreme Court because I believe it is in the best interest of all the people of Hawai'i.

Acting in the best interest of all the people is the same standard I applied when supporting the Akaka Bill, fighting to protect federal programs benefiting native Hawaiians, or expediting Hawaiian Homestead leases.

And I will continue to advocate for these issues in the coming years just as passionately as I have in years past.

I call upon all who cherish what is the essence of Hawai'i to come together with a willingness to understand and respect the nature of this case and its importance to the future of our state.

Our current fiscal crisis and the ceded lands issue arise during the same year that we commemorate our 50th anniversary as a state...

But it is more importantly a time to remind ourselves that regardless of the short-term decisions we must make in this moment of economic difficulty, we should remain firmly anchored on the sure footing of Hawai'i's rich culture, diverse heritage and sometimes complicated history...

When the curtain comes down on our time on this stage, I want our collective legacy to win reviews as a story of pulling together for the good of all rather than being written off as a cast of characters who was each acting in their own one-man show.

If we deal decisively with the current crisis while keeping our eyes open to the opportunities that these kinds of challenging times create, then the people of Hawai'i will conclude that we have lived up to our obligation.

Nickels, Greg. 2007. Seattle State of the City Address.

... As strong as Seattle is today, there is a threat that not only clouds the future of this city, but the future of the entire planet -- global warming pollution from the burning of fossil fuels.

We know our climate is changing. We can see it in the declining snow pack and retreating glaciers right here in the Pacific Northwest. For us, the threat is clear. A warming planet means less snowfall in our mountains. And we need snowfall to provide clean pure water to drink, to power our homes and businesses, to fill the streams and rivers for salmon and to nourish our forests.

Here in Seattle, we have pledged to do something about this threat. On February 16, 2005 the day the Kyoto Protocol became law in 141 other countries -- but not the United States -- I pledged that Seattle would meet the greenhouse gas reduction goals of the Protocol. Knowing if we had pursued this goal alone -- to reduce emissions by 680,000 tons by 2012 -- it would have been a purely symbolic gesture, I challenged mayors across the country to sign the U.S. Mayor's Climate Protection Agreement and join Seattle in taking action. But today, I'm proud to report that 418 mayors from across this nation have signed the agreement and stand with us.

Together, we represent all 50 states and nearly 61 million Americans. That is larger in population than Italy, and about the size of the United Kingdom and France. Thanks to a vision of what was possible and a determination to achieve it, a symbolic act has become an engine for real change. I want to thank everyone who has supported this important effort. That is the Seattle Spirit.

Already, a climate of change is taking place in our city.

Through Bridging the Gap and Transit Now, we will make it easier to get around the city by bike, on foot and in transit. We have earned a reputation as America's Green Building Capitol. This summer we will launch a public education campaign to show people how to reduce their global warming pollution at home, at work and on the road. Together we are making a difference for the future of our planet.

But this is just a small start. To truly turn the tides on climate change, we will need to commit to reducing our greenhouse gas emissions even more -- 80 percent by 2050.

Some might say it's impossible. But in Seattle, we see the possibilities and are determined to achieve them.

This is a pivotal moment for mankind. Today, for the first time in human history, more than half of the world's population lives in cities. As engines of the world's economy cities are responsible for two-thirds of the greenhouse gas emissions worldwide.

Some might look at that and conclude that cities are the problem. I look at it and conclude that cities are the solution. And so in Seattle we say to the country and the world, as President Kennedy did 41 years ago: Ask not what the climate will do for you, but what together we can do to protect the climate.

By all accounts, the Puget Sound Region is going to continue to grow. An estimated 1.6 million more people will call this area home by 2040. If we take the steps now to shape this growth, our urban centers will be enriched with a diversity of new jobs, opportunities and people. But if we rely on the status quo, the tide of growth can destroy the very spirit that makes our area such a great place to live.

The choice before us today is simple: do we grow smart and address the problems we face, or do we grow worse and resign ourselves to a more troublesome and warmer future?

It is incumbent on us, today, to choose the right path and build a great city.

To do that, we need to change the way we think about the challenges confronting our community -- we need to have a vision of what is possible and a determination to achieve it. In the age of global warming, the choices we make on a wide range of issues, from education and housing to public safety and transportation, don't just affect the quality of life in our city; they affect the future of life on our planet. How we build our cities may well determine the fate of our planet...

Shaheen, Jeanne. 2001. New Hampshire State of the State Address.

... We meet today for the first inauguration of the 21st century. More than ever, we see ourselves at the dawning of new times -- new challenges and new opportunities. More than ever, we look to the future -- with optimism, to be sure, but also marveling that the world seems to be changing at a faster and faster pace.

One hundred years ago, at the beginning of the 20th century, after taking the same solemn oath of office I have just taken, Governor Chester Jordan stood in this room and said New Hampshire was on the "threshold of a century that promises beyond what we can think or ask."

In 1901, nearly as many New Hampshire workers were employed in agriculture as in manufacturing. Virtually every road in the state was unpaved; most people still traveled by horse and buggy. There were more harness makers than electricians. And in that much-different world, women could not vote.

The greatest challenge facing New Hampshire's future, Governor Jordan said, was excessive and unrestrained timber cutting. In his words, "our forests are fast becoming despoiled, their scenic beauties marred and destroyed, the public health endangered," and the state's agriculture, tourism, and even lumber industry threatened with ruin. Without action, he warned, New Hampshire's forests were headed toward extinction.

The efforts begun in 1901 to preserve our forests, efforts continuing to this day, have been a remarkable success. Despite the dramatic population increases of the last century, New Hampshire's forests have re-grown to cover eighty-five percent of our land, almost as much as when the first settlers arrived here more than 300 years ago.

In many ways, the New Hampshire of 1901 seems unrecognizable to us today. But consider it from another perspective. Sitting in this hall today is Elizabeth McLaughlin of Concord. She is 101 years old. She was alive in 1901 -- back when women couldn't vote, when automobiles were a curiosity, and when the prospect of a New Hampshire barren of trees seemed a real possibility. All the changes between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 21st century have taken place within her one, single lifetime. New Hampshire at the dawn of the 21st century has certainly changed from the New Hampshire of 100 years ago or even five years ago.

When the kindergartners from Rochester were born, New Hampshire had never elected a woman Governor. No woman had ever served on the State Supreme Court or as Speaker of the House. There was no state law honoring Martin Luther King. New Hampshire ranked 50th in state aid to education. And in their hometown of Rochester there was no public school kindergarten.

New Hampshire's economy has also changed. Today, we are one of the leading "New Economy" states. We rank second in the nation in the percentage of our workforce employed in high-technology jobs. With one of the highest rates of growth in international trade, New Hampshire businesses are competing -- and winning -- all around the world.

New Hampshire companies are leading the way in innovation. In Portsmouth, Wastech International is developing a sophisticated new technology that will safely treat the wastewater produced by ships, preserving our precious oceans. In Wilton, Advanced Energy is designing innovative electronics that will allow us to better harness the power of the sun to meet our future energy needs. And in West Lebanon, Mii Technologies has developed a new way of making machine parts -- an invention that TIME magazine says could revolutionize 21st century manufacturing the way the cotton gin revolutionized 19th century farming.

Once again, we stand on the "threshold of a century that promises beyond what we can think or ask." But one thing is certain: New Hampshire must keep adapting to a fast-changing and increasingly global economy, or we will fall behind.

The new economy of the 21st century is run on brainpower, not horsepower. In this economy, success is built on ideas, innovation and information -- and the foundation for this new economy is education.

In the last few years, by almost every measure, the growth of the New Hampshire economy has been breathtaking. Today, the major limit to our continued growth is a shortage of skilled workers. We will not be able to meet the needs of New Hampshire business in the 21st century by importing workers. Instead, we must focus our efforts on improving the skills of our students and our existing workforce. We must ensure that our children, no matter where they live, have the skills and education to allow them to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by this high-tech, global economy. And that means we must make the commitment and the investment necessary to improve our schools. If New Hampshire's economy is to prosper; if New Hampshire's children are to succeed; if New Hampshire's future is to be bright and secure -- then we must recognize that improving education is the single most important issue we face. Nothing else that we do here will have a greater impact on New Hampshire's success or failure in this new century.

The equation is really quite simple: how well we educate our students will determine New Hampshire's future -- our quality of life, the economic security of our families, the success of our businesses, and the opportunities available to our children.

But while that equation is simple, meeting its challenge is not.

In four years, we have come a long way -- dramatically increasing state aid to education, cutting in half the number of communities without public kindergarten, wiring ninety-eight percent of our schools to the Internet -- but our greatest challenge -- a permanent school funding law -- is still before us; and we must meet that challenge this year.

This will not be easy. No one appreciates that more than I do. Resolving school funding will require each of us to be honest with ourselves and the people of New Hampshire about what is required by the Claremont II decision. The State must pay for the cost of an adequate education for every child in New Hampshire. It's that simple and that difficult. We must face up to this obligation and we must acknowledge that we cannot meet it without change.

Throughout my four years as Governor, I have been heartened by the support for improving schools voiced by members of the state's business community. Long before Claremont II, the Business and Industry Association in 1991 published a report on education that stated, "We recognize that business has needs only education can meet. We depend on education to provide us with involved citizens, knowledgeable consumers, intelligent workers and competent family members.... We see an investment in education as the best investment in our future." We see an investment in education as the best investment in our future. That's as true today in 2001 as it was in 1991. Indeed, it's even more true.

Now is the time we must make that investment in education a reality, not merely a promise. And we must choose how we are going to pay for that investment. We need to recognize that there is no easy choice, and that "none of the above" is not an option.

Putting off the hard choices until next year or a future legislature will not make this challenge go away or make it any easier to resolve. It will only make it more difficult. Make no mistake: enacting a permanent solution must be our overriding priority this year in this session of this legislature. Without a permanent solution this year, the state's bond ratings and strong fiscal position will be jeopardized. But even more important, without a permanent solution, New Hampshire's public schools -- and therefore our prosperity -- will be threatened.

As you know, for the last eight months, a blue ribbon commission of economists and financial experts has been analyzing different revenue options. I asked for this independent, non-partisan study because we need to move forward and make decisions with hard facts and objective analysis.

This blue ribbon commission has only recently completed its work and its report will be released next week. I want to thank former Dartmouth College President David McLaughlin and all the men and women who, in true New Hampshire tradition, volunteered so much time and effort for this important study. I will be relying on their work when I make my proposal in the next few weeks charting a new, secure course for funding education. I am ready to meet this challenge. I will propose a solution, but it will require all of us -- in the Senate, in the House, and in the Executive -- in the business community and education community -- Democrats, Republicans, and Independents working together and putting aside partisanship to get this job done.

The people of New Hampshire expect no less from us. In the past election, they made a clear -- some would say historic -- choice. They want this issue solved. They are tired of the old debates driven by slogans and unyielding ideology. They want results, and they expect all of us to keep an open mind as we seek to do what's best for our state. The people of New Hampshire made clear they will not go back to a system of unequal schools, based on a 19th century system of funding. They want to move forward into the 21st century with 21st century schools.

The people of New Hampshire also understand that funding alone will not give us excellent schools. We must set high standards for our schools and hold them accountable for meeting those standards. We have debated school accountability for three years. This

year we must act.

We must also improve educational opportunities for our youngest children. Four years ago, we took a giant step forward when we gave communities an incentive to start public kindergartens. Now we must extend our kindergarten construction program and make sure that every five-year-old in New Hampshire has the opportunity to attend public kindergarten.

But we must move beyond kindergarten. Recent brain research shows us that the first few years of a child's life are crucial. The learning environment children experience in their earliest years has a decisive and long-term impact on their development. Yet those early years receive the least attention from policymakers and the least amount of public investment. That must change. That is why in the coming weeks I will propose an early learning initiative to help ensure the best start possible for our children.

The skilled jobs of the new economy require higher education. If we are going to meet the demands of business for skilled workers, we must strengthen our public institutions of higher education. Fifty percent of New Hampshire's college-bound high school graduates leave the state, and many of them never come back. We must reverse this brain drain. We must continue investing in our university system and community technical colleges.

Let us pledge today that we will not let the people of New Hampshire down. Let us agree that in the coming months we will turn our greatest challenge -- our greatest responsibility -- into our greatest opportunity. Let us set New Hampshire on a secure course that will provide every child with the best possible education. That is our overriding obligation.

But there are other issues we must face in the 21st century.

We must make sure we give every child in New Hampshire a healthy start. It is the right thing to do, because parents should never have to hesitate about whether they can afford to take a sick child to the doctor. But it is also the smart thing to do. Children's health care is a great investment. The simple truth is healthy children do better in school. And it costs the state and our health care system less to provide preventive health care than to hospitalize children or treat them in emergency rooms. We have already established an innovative Children's Health Insurance Program, which in two years has provided almost 12,000 previously uninsured children with health coverage. But as successful as the program is, we should not be satisfied until virtually every eligible child in the state is enrolled and receiving quality health care. We can achieve this goal in the next two years, and we should.

Just as we owe our children a healthy start, we owe our seniors a healthy and dignified retirement. Many of our seniors live on the financial edge. They struggle to pay for the medications they need to stay healthy. We must do everything we can as a State both to lower the cost of prescription drugs and to help seniors to stay in their homes for as long as possible.

After the events of the past year, those of us in the Executive and Legislative branches of government will be remiss if we do not work together this session to make the changes

necessary to restore public confidence in our judiciary. We will only succeed if our purpose is to strengthen the judiciary. We will fail if we act from a desire to punish. We must be wise enough to distinguish between making the judiciary more accountable to the public, as it should be, and making it more vulnerable to political passions, which it should never be.

All of us who hold elected positions must remember the full responsibility that comes with those offices. Every day, the men and women in our police and fire departments put their lives at risk for the people of New Hampshire. In the last few years -- even in the last few weeks -- we have been reminded of the sacrifices that the police and firefighters stand ready to make on our behalf. In return, here's what we owe them: As elected officials, we owe them not just the passage of good laws. We owe them our respect. In everything we say and do, let that message be clear. In this Statehouse, we honor our citizens in uniform -- and we will not condone those who do not.

Finally, we must continue to make sure that New Hampshire's quality of life and natural and historic resources are protected for the new century. The beauty of our forests and rivers and lakes, the richness of our culture and history -- that is our legacy from previous generations, and we must do all we can to preserve them for future generations. Last year, with the passage of the Land and Community Heritage Investment Program, we took an important step in this direction. This year we must continue and strengthen that investment.

And we also must act to better manage the growth that has come with our economic prosperity. We must protect the character and diversity of New Hampshire's landscape from the creeping threat of sprawl. If we do not, we put at risk the very quality of place that is the foundation of our economic success and the very reason so many of us call New Hampshire our home.

We enter this new century facing what sometimes may seem to be overwhelming challenges and immovable obstacles to progress. But in the days to come, if you get discouraged or tempted to give up on the hard work of seeking new solutions to difficult problems -- then just remember the bright, expectant faces of the kindergartners from Rochester and the way their hopeful voices lifted us all on this day. They are living, breathing proof that what we do in this historic building profoundly affects the lives of real people.

One hundred years from now, when a new governor and a new legislature begin the 22nd century, perhaps some of today's kindergartners will be sitting in this chamber, just as Elizabeth McLaughlin is today. Let us remember that the 21st century is their century, a century sure to be filled with astounding changes -- changes we cannot even imagine; changes far more profound and breathtaking than the changes of the last 100 years. It will be their century, but it is up to us, in the decisions we will soon be called upon to make, to prepare them -- and New Hampshire -- for the future they deserve.

Let us proceed with the work we have been elected to do inspired by that vision.