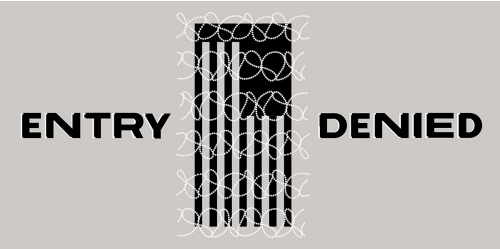

Entry Denied: How We Got Here
Episode One

Alex Aleinikoff [00:08]: Hello, and welcome to Entry Denied, a podcast about immigration in the United States in the era of Donald Trump. I'm Alex Aleinikoff and I'm Director of the Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility at The New School in New York.

Deborah Amos [00:22]: And I'm Deb Amos. I'm a journalist with National Public Radio, and I report on migration. Over the course of this series, we're going to look at a wide range of Trump policies, a ban on visas to people from a number of predominantly Muslim countries, a deal with Mexico to enforce the Southern border.

Aleinikoff [00:40]: And we'll do a deep dive on the asylum system too, because the Trump policies have gutted the US asylum system and dramatically reduced refugee admissions. And we have an episode on the Trump administration's harsh policies toward child migrants and another on immigration restrictions adopted in response to the COVID pandemic.

[1:00] The Trump policies have had a major impact on the US immigration system, but perhaps even more importantly, they've had dramatic impacts for immigrants and their communities. And, and you'll hear those voices in this series as well.

Amos [01:15]: Let's just stop for a minute and talk about what we're doing here. Both of us are interested in migration. Alex, why did you want to do this?

Aleinikoff [01:24]: Well, we've seen so many changes under the Trump administration to our immigration system that it has been almost impossible to keep up with them all. And they have changed fundamental parts of the system, of who can come in, how they come in, how they're treated once they're here. And I hadn't seen a complete, uh, description, a comprehensive discussion of what those policies have been and what their impacts had been, and I thought that meant that you and I could put together some interesting conversations with people who've been in the thick of this and, and who know a lot about it. What about you, Deb?

Amos [01:59]: So, I am interested in this idea that this country goes through these cycles. We're known as a melting pot of an immigrant community, an immigrant society. And then every once in a while, the country wants the door shut. And this appears to be one of those moments that the Trump Administration is the instrument for shutting that door. So, my interest is to look at how they did it, how they began to close the door, close the borders, to outsiders coming to the United States.

Aleinikoff [02:28]: And of course, that's why we've chosen the title "Entry Denied" because that, that really is the theme that runs through so many of these episodes, about ways people who previously could come to the country, were welcome to come to the country, no longer can.

[[music break]]

[02:49] In this episode of Entry Denied, we go way back to before Donald Trump had even announced his candidacy for president.

Amos [02:57]: And we're going to ask "How did immigration become so central to the Trump campaign?" You know, until Trump raised it, it really wasn't a top issue for any of the Republican candidates. Where did it come from and why did it catch on fire?

Aleinikoff [03:11]: To get answers to these questions, we talked with Michael Shear and Julie Hirschfeld Davis, two New York Times reporters who literally wrote the book on Trump and immigration. It's a gripping insider account called Border Wars: Inside Trump's Assault on Immigration.

Amos [03:31]: I'm going to start with you, Michael. And, and the question is this: immigration has been central to the Trump presidency. He made that clear on the day he declared he was running. He came down the escalator inside Trump tower and he said about Mexicans, they bring drugs, [*audio clip: They're bringing drugs*] they bring crime, [*audio clip: They're bringing crime*] they're rapists [*audio clip: They're rapists*]. It was a stunning statement to begin a presidency, but you write that the political focus on immigration comes long before - at a dinner in 2013. Tell us about that dinner.

Michael Shear [04:04]: Right. Three men meet at a dinner – it's at the house of Steve Bannon, who later would go on to become the chairman of the President's campaign and ultimately a Chief Strategist in the White House for a time. Uh, it's at his townhouse on Capitol Hill that they call the Breitbart Embassy, which was a reference to the media organization that he used to run. And along with him is Jeff Sessions, who was then a Senator from Alabama, very conservative Republican Senator, and Steven Miller, who at the time worked for Jeff Sessions on Capitol Hill, and you know, later would go on to become one of President Trump's top advisors. Jeff Sessions, of course, becomes Attorney General.

[04:42] At the time they meet for dinner, and they're really griping because at the moment it's January of 2013, President Barack Obama has just been reelected. The Republicans are back on their heels. There had sort of been a consensus view in the establishment Republican Party that one of the reasons that Mitt Romney had lost to Barack Obama was because they hadn't reached out effectively to minority communities, especially Hispanics, that the message had been wrong, and they needed to do to broaden the message.

[05:10] And the three men at that dinner - Bannon, Miller and Sessions - commiserated with each other saying that they thought that that was exactly backwards, that the reason that Mitt Romney had lost was not because they hadn't done enough appeal to Hispanics, but rather because they hadn't done enough to appeal to disaffected white voters and conservative white voters. And that if they could find somebody for the next go around who could really claim the mantle of appealing to that constituency and to do it on a platform that would include really aggressive anti-immigrant language and thinking that they could really take back the White House.

Aleinikoff [05:49]: And then how do they link up with Trump and persuade him to adopt this hardline approach?

Julie Hirschfeld Davis [05:54]: I think at the time they weren't talking about Donald Trump. They'd mentioned Lou Dobbs, the Fox News host, and they, you know, they had a bunch of sort of far-fetched ideas for who the right person would be, but they didn't have Trump necessarily in mind. But Donald Trump was kind of flirting at the margins of politics. He had been criticizing and sniping at Mitt Romney from the sidelines during the 2012 campaign. He had begun to talk about this birther theory that he had that Barack Obama was actually not born in the United States and was not legitimate to be president for that reason. And he had been talking with his own advisors - business advisors, but his associates - about, you know, what if he got into politics.

[06:39] He started going around the country giving speeches and talking about what his vision was for the kind of country that he wanted to see. And pretty quickly his advisors rounded up some polling information, and basically concluded that this whole birther theme, this idea of Barack Obama not being a legitimate president, really uh, was an appealing one for a certain segment of the country that was not being spoken to, that was not really engaged in politics as much as they thought they could be. And they felt like if Trump could have a message that would talk to these people, that would address their concerns, that he might actually be able to have a pretty good core constituency to launch a political campaign.

[07:30] As he began to schedule some of these events and speeches around the country, his advisors - Roger Stone, Sam Nunberg - were basically putting it to him that he should really go hard on immigration. He ultimately goes to speak at a conservative political event. And Steve Bannon - sitting in the back - hears his riff on immigration and he's talking about a wall and he's talking about, you know, we don't need these people and these are people who are taking your jobs. And many people in the room, many Republicans were, you know, taken aback and clutching their pearls. And Steve Bannon is sitting there thinking, 'This is our guy. This is going to be the person who can take this message and make this case to voters.'

Aleinikoff [08:19]: The wall and the fact that Mexico would pay for it became a signature part of any Trump campaign speech at this time. How did he come to the idea of the wall?

Davis [08:29]: The wall was initially an idea that Trump's advisors had as a way for him to remember to talk about immigration. Sort of a construct that they thought up, uh, as a way that he could weave this theme into his campaign message and that would make sense as a motif for him. He was associated with real estate developing. He loved to talk about building things big and beautiful and better than anyone else. So, they felt that this would really play to his public image and his political message. Very quickly it became clear as he would bring this up at some of these initial speeches before he announced his candidacy, that the crowds that he was speaking to all across the country really ate it up. And if you've watched Donald Trump over the last several years, or even before he became president the thing that Trump loves the most is the energy of a crowd, to sort of whip up a frenzy in a crowd.

[[Clip – Trump leads chant: 'Build the Wall.']]

[09:33] This message of, 'we have got to build a wall. We've got to protect ourselves. We got to keep people out' was just energizing for his audiences. He became kind of addicted to this feedback loop of he would bring up the wall that would launch him into this sort of diatribe against immigration and he would have a very easily identifiable image to give people of what his vision was for the country and they would really respond.

Amos [10:02]: Let's fast forward to another issue that becomes a signature in the campaign. Trump made headlines in a speech that was described in Slate as 'Trump Declares War on Muslims'. And he says he's going to stop Muslims from coming into the country. Where does that come from? Michael.

Shear [10:19]: So, this comes from Trump's really deciding to seize on the terror incidents that had happened in San Bernardino and that had happened in Paris. It dovetailed with, what really was one of kind of the central tenants of his anti-immigration rhetoric, which was fear and linking the fear of immigrants to terrorism. That would, of course, become a central theme later when he comes into the White House and he starts instituting a travel ban right away in the first week. But at the time he raises the idea of a ban, the idea of, you know, we have to keep people out for security reasons, and uses those incidents to kind of whip up the frenzy.

[11:05] President Obama at the time was trying to kind of deal with the issue of the terrorism without whipping up a xenophobic frenzy in the country. And Donald Trump is doing exactly the opposite because to him, both from a political perspective that helps energize his base, but it also fits with what he had always decided, which was that these two issues were linked. Security and immigration in his mind were always one issue.

Amos [11:30]: Trump's rhetoric was specifically about Muslims. Those statements came back to him when his so-called Muslim ban was challenged in court. Was there anyone in the campaign that was advising him that there was some danger in using this kind of language?

Davis [11:45]: Well, interestingly enough, there was nobody actually inside the campaign who pushed back, but there was a group of Republicans - sort of outside advisors - who recoiled in horror and realized that this was going too far both for the party, and just sort of practically speaking. They knew that the Republican party did not want to be associated with this kind of approach.

[12:07] They ultimately called in Rudy Giuliani, who was sort of informally advising candidate Trump, to sit down and figure out, okay, if we were to try to put in place a policy that would restrict people coming from these parts of the world, that's not a Muslim ban, that's an actual policy that we could get support for and that wouldn't be on the basis of a religion, but would be sort of what the candidate at the time was saying was a security rubric for actually making the American people more safe. What would that look like? And so, they wrote an entire memo for Candidate Trump about extreme vetting, and 'you don't want a Muslim ban, you want this other thing.'

[12:50] I mean, that was the initial underpinning for what ultimately was the travel ban. And because they decided to apply it to these seven predominantly Muslim countries, it looked very much like a Muslim ban. But the idea was how can we reorient Trump so that he's not talking about it in this divisive way, but he's talking about, you know, something that's going to bolster security and make the American people safer.

Shear [13:15]: One of the interesting things about that whole episode was the way in which Trump's rhetoric and his policies, were intertwined. You know, both President Trump and some of the central political advisors, like Bannon and Miller, understood that the heightened rhetoric, the things that President Trump was willing to say about Hispanics, about Muslims that other politicians never would say was central to his political survival.

[13:47] You know, Miller had a phrase that he would derisively call the 'Apology-Retreat Cycle,' which he would apply to most Republican politicians, in that they would somehow say something that would be perceived as negative about an immigrant and then they would use that to get elected but then immediately retreat and apologize and never sort of follow through on the harsher rhetoric. But Bannon also was convinced that if, if a person like Trump could break that cycle and simply speak the things out loud that politicians normally weren't willing to say that he could be successful.

Aleinikoff [14:21]: In September of 2016, getting pretty close to the end of the presidential campaign, Candidate Trump gives a speech in Phoenix, which lays out in some detail his actual substantive agenda on immigration reform. Can you describe the speech and what he argued should be the central policies going forward if he's elected?

Davis [14:43]: Yeah, so this speech was supposed to be an attempt to take all of the rhetoric, all the messages that he had been putting out there on immigration on the campaign trail, and, and really organize it into a policy agenda that he could sort of promise to people that he would pursue if he was elected president. So, they scheduled

this speech in Phoenix, Arizona to sort of lay out that whole agenda. But something happened a couple of weeks before that up-ended all of their plans.

[15:10] And that was that in a private meeting with some Hispanic Evangelical leaders, Candidate Trump had said something suggesting that, maybe he would consider giving legal status to some undocumented people once he had become president. Because they had been, they'd raised concerns with him and about the way he's talking about rounding people up and deporting them. And he said, well, you know, it might not be that absolute, it might be that some people could stay and get legal status. And one of these pastors gave an interview and revealed that and it became a big problem for Candidate Trump.

[15:44] And it's a real dilemma for him because he's trying to figure out how to be consistent with what his message has been - which is that immigration is bad and illegal immigrants are bad - and this thing that he said that he doesn't want to totally walk back. There's a plane ride where he's talking with Jeff Sessions about what should he say? And he gets kind of snitty with Jeff Sessions and, and Sessions says, 'Don't yell at me, like, you dug your hole. You know, you created this issue. So, like, you, you gotta figure out what you want to say.'

[16:12] And so basically what he arrives at is that he'll still talk about that he's going to have a 'Deportation Force,' but he says that the 'Deportation Force' is going to focus first on criminals.

[[Clip: Trump's Phoenix speech – "We will begin moving them out Day One. My first hour in office, those people are gone. They're gone."]]

[16:35] And he doesn't really say what he's going to do about the rest of the undocumented people in this country--the vast majority of undocumented people in this country who are not criminals. But he makes this clear distinction that he's going to focus first on deporting criminals.

[16:49] But then he talks about that he wants an end to what he calls "catch and release".

[[Clip: Trump's Phoenix speech - "We are going to end catch and release. . .. Under my administration, anyone who illegally crosses the border will be detained until they are removed out of our country and back to the country from which they came."]]

[17:11] This is the policy by which people can come across the border, come into the United States. They're detained, and then in many, if not most cases, they are released while they await a court date for adjudication of their claim.

[17:24] He talks about zero tolerance at the border when it comes to prosecuting people who come across.

[[Clip: Trump's Phoenix speech – "Zero tolerance for criminal aliens, zero, zero, zero. They don't come in here, they don't come in here."]]

[17:40] He talks about, about ending DACA, uh, what he calls Obama's illegal executive amnesties. And what he means by that is this program that President Obama created that allowed undocumented immigrants who were brought to the United States as children by their parents to stay and get legal status and work in the United States.

[18:01] He talks about cutting funding for sanctuary cities.

[[Clip: Trump's Phoenix speech – "We will end the sanctuary cities that have resulted in so many needless deaths."]]

These are cities that refuse to cooperate with federal immigration authorities when they want to hunt down people who may be in the country without authorization.

[18:23] And so, he basically lays out this whole group of policies he's going to pursue and it becomes a real guide book for his eventual presidency, in terms of what his signature issue is going to be and how he's going to go about implementing it.

Amos [18:38]: Michael, what's happening to the voters at that time, that they embrace that message?

Shear [18:43]: The immigration agenda that the President used tapped into a whole sense of dissatisfaction among a part of the country that felt like their livelihoods were at stake. They were used to watching politicians make them lots of promises about what was going to happen. If you were employed in part of the country where the economy was struggling and the promises of the politicians - that your jobs were going to be more secure - had long been ignored, and you were looking for somebody to blame. And what President Trump did with the immigration issue was to offer up this dissatisfied, angry part of the population, part of the voting bloc, somebody to viscerally blame for their situation. And he did it in a way that was unrestrained and connected with their feelings in a way that they felt like he wasn't just another politician who was making them a lot of slick promises.

Amos [19:40]: And so, he made it okay to say, I'm sorry, I don't like these people coming to the country.

Shear [19:46]: The truth was that sentiment was there. That sentiment was clearly bubbling just below the surface, especially in the Republican Party, and Donald Trump understood that. Steve Bannon and Steve Miller understood that. And by not only ripping the Band-Aid off and using that language, but taking the language up ten notches, Donald Trump sent the message that that kind of both the rhetoric and the sentiment behind it was okay.

Davis [20:10]: I also think it's important to realize that immigration was in so many ways a proxy issue for Donald Trump. He is not an immigration expert. He doesn't know much, still -certainly did not then - about the ins and outs of immigration policy. Nor was he well versed in economic theories about how immigrants affected the labor force. What

he was trying to signal to people is 'I'm willing to come in here and say what's on your mind. I'm willing to say the impolite thing. People are not looking out for you.' It was all of those things. And in immigration, Donald Trump found sort-of a shorthand for all of that.

Aleinikoff [20:52]: Stephen Miller is a major player in this story even before the campaign begins. And then during the campaign and then also in the transition. Talk a bit about his role. Michael?

Shear [21:03]: So, to understand that you have to sort of go back a little bit. Stephen Miller is - from a young age, from the time that he was in high school and then all on through college - he is somebody that felt incredibly strongly about immigrants, and the fact that immigrants were a problem, and were somehow taking away from the society, from people who should be here. But as much as he believed that, he also just reveled in the idea of poking people and of getting a rise out of people.

[21:34] If you go back and you look at his history in his high school, he would talk about, you know, 'Is there anybody here who is upset about the Hispanic janitors in this school.' And throughout college, he was a sort of a provocateur appearing many times on conservative radio programs with really sort of extreme views about immigrants. And so, he hones that skill in Congress. He becomes essentially a Communications Aide. I know Julie and I both would constantly get barraged by emails from Steven Miller about various theories on immigration - why legal immigration should be reduced, why illegal immigrants were threatening to the country.

[22:13] And he takes all of that having, after having hooked up with Senator Sessions, and then becoming part of President Trump's campaign. He and the President share this gut instinct about getting a rise out of people. And so, he becomes the conduit that is sort of feeding Trump has a candidate ever more over the top, uh, ever more intense parts of the speeches to kind of rile everybody up and to sort of push the envelope. And that becomes the bond, I think that kind of fuses them together.

Amos [22:45]: You write about a discussion in the transition. Stephen Miller is looking at his phone, he's not paying strict attention. But there is a moment that he has an exchange with someone from the Obama Administration. And as I read it, it tells so much about how he's going to conduct himself on immigration policy going forward. Would you tell that exchange?

Davis [23:08]: So, there was a tabletop exercise days before the inauguration, which is something that happens every time there's a new president, a new administration coming in, where it was Barack Obama's senior staff and senior team meeting with the incoming team of President-Elect Donald Trump. And they all sit around this big conference table. And what it's designed to do is prepare everyone for a crisis: what would happen in the event of a catastrophic event, a natural disaster, a pandemic, pick your national security, national overwhelming crisis. It's really sort of designed to give a bureaucratic roadmap to incoming senior officials. How are you supposed to do your job?

[23:54] And during the day, basically the entire meeting, Stephen Miller is sitting there next to Cecilia Muñoz, who was President Obama's Head of Domestic Policy, head of his Domestic Policy Council, which was analogous to what Miller's role was going to be. And he's just kind of pecking away at his phone, distracted, not really paying attention. He's not really engaging in any conversation. He seems bored. But during a break he takes Cecilia Muñoz aside and he says, 'I just want to know, my biggest question I have for you is how do you, like, elbow the other folks aside - especially in the NSC - so you can actually control all the levers on something like immigration.'

Deb [24:38]: So, he wanted to elbow aside the National Security Council. He wanted to get around the bureaucracy.

Davis [24:43]: He wanted to know how, how do I, how do I sort of short circuit this? This was all about, you know, you gotta send that memo to so-and-so. And it goes up the chain and gets vetted by this person. And all he really wants to know is, 'how do I cut through all that and elbow everyone else aside so I can take control.' And Muñoz looks at him and says, 'Well, that's not really how it works. You actually, you use the interagency, you use your colleagues to help you get a result. We collaborate. It's not about getting around the bureaucracy, it's about learning how to effectively marshal it to get done what you want to get done.'

[25:18] And he just looks at her like she has five heads or something and is sort of like, 'Oh isn't... isn't that sweet? You know, you guys collaborate. How nice.' But, it was very clear to her, and I think to a lot of people who dealt with him in those early days, that he just had absolutely no time and no use for that sort of an approach. He wanted to know how he could get a lock on the issues that he cared the most about and clearly immigration was prime among them.

Aleinikoff [25:44]: And that's pretty much what he was able to attain.

Davis [25:48]: It is pretty much what he was able to attain. Part of it was, he was just so single-minded and he cared about it more than anyone else. Part of it was this bond that he had with Trump, that everyone knew they had this mind-meld on immigration and you just were not going to get in the middle of that.

Many senior officials tried - Gary Cohn, the President's top Economic Advisor, very much had a different view of immigration - viewed immigration as many top executives in this country do as a positive and important and an economic plus. But he could never really gain much traction with that because that's just not where Trump was, and it certainly wasn't where Stephen Miller was.

[26:25] But the third thing is definitely that Steven is a relentless person. He would constantly get in the business of other top officials. He would want to get his hands in trade stuff. And Gary Cohn very much did not want him in the conversation about trade. He would try to get involved in national security issues, which he had very little expertise

on. And H.R. McMaster, the National Security Advisor, really didn't want him sniffin' around those issues. And so there came to be this tacit agreement among the senior officials in the West Wing that like, 'you leave my stuff alone and you can have immigration.'

[27:05] One thing Stephen Miller has always recognized about immigration is that the President's powers are pretty expansive when there's a national security issue or a health issue or in times of crisis. He picks these moments where people's anxieties and fears are at their height and really tries to exploit them to get things done. And that, I think, is what we've seen with the coronavirus pandemic is he has realized that this is a moment where people are feeling immensely insecure. The President has declared a state of emergency. Immigration is one of those powers where if you want to push the limits of his authority, it's pretty broad and he's just, you know, taking as much advantage of it as he can.

Amos [27:49]: Do you think that he has allowed the President to keep most of his campaign promises? He's had some setbacks in the court. But, overall, he's actually done what he said he was going to do.

Shear [28:02]: We don't know yet how lasting some of these immigration changes that the President has put in place because of the coronavirus pandemic. They're supposed to be temporary measures designed largely to, you know, address the immediate crisis. I think there's a lot of suspicion that some of these changes - the limits on green cards and the more rapid turning back of people at the Southwest border - that those are gonna stay for a long time and that the President and Stephen Miller are going to try to keep those, kind of use the, uh, the pandemic as a, as a way to make those changes permanent.

[28:35] To the extent that he's able to both seal the country off from what he considers to be illegal immigration and also to reduce the kind of legal immigration that many of the restrictionist groups have been pushing for a long time. I think that will be viewed - certainly by his base - as a kind of success, as a making good on a campaign promise. Up until the pandemic, I think you could still make the case that he'd had a lot of success – and some setbacks - and I think it was a more of a mixed record. And I think, we'll sort of have to see how that plays out.

Davis [29:07]: I think one of the things that we sort of recognized in, in going back and looking at the campaign and has continued to be true to this day, is the degree to which the real restrictionist groups - who have been pushing for a very concerted agenda of bringing down the number of immigrants who are able to come to the United States - have been frustrated with President Trump and have felt that he hasn't done as much substantively as he could. He certainly, on the messaging side, been very successful in making this an issue and riling people up about it.

[29:40] But we recount this episode during the campaign where, candidate Trump has gotten a C-minus grade from Numbers USA, one of these big anti-immigration groups.

And he sends an aide, Sam Clovis, to go meet with the director of the group to ask, why his grade is so low. And Roy Beck, who's the head of this group, sits down with Clovis and says, 'Here's our scorecard. Here's a bunch of, you know, agenda items on the scorecard: shut down the refugee program.' You know, a bunch of these really, really restrictionist measures. A skills-based immigration system is one of them.

[30:20] 'You don't see anywhere on here calling Mexicans rapists. We don't get any points for that. You know, like you don't see a wall here, which is not anyone's idea who's been studying this issue for a long time of the best way to really cut down on the number of people who broadly speaking, come to this country.'

[20:38] So he was sort of explaining to this campaign aide that some of these really hostile measures that he talks about, are not actually what's going to make a dent in the numbers. And if you look at the numbers, certainly he has brought down the amount of folks who are able to come across the Southwestern border, and obviously with these temporary measures that have been put in place during the Coronavirus crisis.

[31:02] But more broadly, he has not really pursued, in any practical way, a skills-based immigration system, something that would cut in half the number of legal immigrants that come to this country. He's not done so many of the things that really doctrinaire restrictionists have wanted for a long time. And so, I think he kind of gets mixed grades from them.

[[music fades in]]

[31:23] But as a political matter, certainly if you are a person who voted for him because this immigration rhetoric appealed to you, you have gotten a lot of what you expected and what you wanted out of President Trump.

Amos [31:36]: That's Julie Hirschfeld Davis and Michael Shear - two New York Times reporters - authors of *Border Wars: Inside Trump's Assault on Immigration*.

Aleinikoff [31:44]: You know, Deb, what strikes me about the episode is this was really a perfect storm, in the sense that you had Donald Trump out there willing to make the points that appeal to his base voters. And then you had Bannon and Sessions and Miller who had a long-time interest in this and, uh, really a holistic view, uh, of the nation and where it should be going. And then you have the immigration policy wonks, the restrictionists who had their agenda as well. And these all came together to form really quite as strong approach for Donald Trump as candidate.

Amos [32:19]: What I find striking are these small events that propel history: a dinner where three men talk about immigration, but they don't have a candidate. And there's a moment in Trump's candidacy where someone says to him, 'The wall, sir, the wall,' and they do it because he's a builder and he takes that on. It's not that it was something that was important to him, but it became important to him. And that's what's so fascinating

about looking at these moments that then become part of this bigger picture of migration policy in the United States.

Aleinikoff [32:54]: And you got to give it to Donald Trump. He really did stick with these ideas that came up in the course of the campaign and he's relentlessly pushed them. And as we'll talk about in episodes that upcoming episodes, he was successful in getting a lot of these in place.

[[theme music]]

Amos [33:14]: That's it for this episode of *Entry Denied*. Check our show notes on entrydeniedpodcast.com. You'll find a lot of resources to help you go even deeper in some of these issues.

Aleinikoff [33:25]: We'd like to thank producer and engineer Sahil Ansari, and Production Assistant Cassidy Giordano for their work on this episode. Our music is composed by Eli Aleinikoff.

Amos [33:36]: And please subscribe to the show on Apple Podcasts, Spotify, or wherever you find your podcasts. Leave us a review as well. We'd love to hear from you. See you next week.