POV
Community Engagement & Education
DISCUSSION GUIDE

Kingdom of Shadows
A Film by Bernardo Ruiz

www.pbs.org/pov
Over the last few years, in thinking about how the ongoing narco conflict has impacted the lives of my relatives, friends and sources, I have often returned to an idea in Susan Sontag’s *Illness as Metaphor*. “Everyone who is born holds dual citizenship, in the kingdom of the well and in the kingdom of the sick,” Sontag writes. “Although we all prefer to use the good passport, sooner or later each of us is obliged, at least for a spell, to identify ourselves as citizens of that other place.” The people we meet in *Kingdom of Shadows* are citizens of that other place. Despite living in different regions and intersecting at different points within the narco history of the last three decades, they live within the boundaries of loss and tragedy.

For this film, I wanted the viewer to inhabit their perspectives as a way to understand how the U.S.-Mexico drug business shifted from the more centralized trade of the mid 1980s to the hyper-violent expressions we know from sensationalized headlines and beheading videos of today. The film’s narrators, de-facto residents of a separate “kingdom,” are credible witnesses to that shift. Some would consider them smaller players in a bigger drama. But in this film, they are the primary narrators, occupying center stage.

Don Henry Ford, Jr. is an Anglo Texan rancher who participated in the drug business as a smuggler during the mid 1980s, at a time when a transaction—at least a marijuana one—could be conducted with a handshake. Oscar Hagelsieb, the son of undocumented parents from Mexico, rose quickly through the Border Patrol in order to become a Homeland Security Investigator. On his way, he witnessed firsthand how organized crime in Mexico and the borderlands went from the more centralized “old-school” model to the splintered and highly violent version of the last decade. Sister Consuelo Morales, dubbed “a combination of tenderness and fury” by journalist Diego Osorno (one of the consultants on the film), began picking up the pieces of this new hyper-violent and militaristic conflict in 2009. In work that continues to this day, she and her staff organize and support family members, mostly mothers, who are fighting for very basic rights long denied them: the right to truth and the right to justice.

Taken together, these three individual stories and their surrounding contexts tell a bigger story—of the terrible harm that has been unequally apportioned to all of those whose lives have been touched by the illegal drug business.
Yet this isn’t exclusively a film about the poorly named “drug war.” It is as much a story about the U.S.-Mexico relationship as it is a film about the narco. Despite the very deep demographic, cultural and economic ties between the two countries, stories about this relationship—whether in journalism or fiction—tend toward the reductive or frequently slip into lazy tropes. It is an especially astonishing fact when you consider that over 10% of the U.S. population, roughly 34 million people, can trace their heritage to Mexico. With so many ties, one has to wonder why many prominent outlets have a blind spot when it comes to Mexico and the U.S.-Mexico relationship.

In *Kingdom of Shadows*, as in most of my work, I have sought to fill in the gaps in reporting on these issues by larger outlets, often attempting to make space for the nuance and complexity that I believe independent documentary film is uniquely able to capture. Increasingly, I have sought collaborations with journalists and on this film, I worked with three reporters who not only have deep experience reporting on the U.S., Mexico and organized crime, but who also have deep personal ties to the regions they are covering: Mr. Osorno, Angela Kocherga and Alfredo Corchado.

*Kingdom of Shadows* is the fruit of this collaboration. It is also part of an ongoing journalistic and artistic examination of the ties that bind two countries often locked into a love/hate relationship. Ultimately, this story is about people coping with the harm that an illicit trade, and the policies constructed to stop it, created. It is about how people are connected by the experience of that harm, granting them a kind of status in another country or “kingdom”—one habitually covered by shadow.

**Bernardo Ruiz**
Writer/Director/Producer, *Kingdom of Shadows*
Letter from the Filmmaker

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In *Kingdom of Shadows* (75 min.), Bernardo Ruiz takes an unflinching look at the hard choices and destructive consequences of the U.S.-Mexico drug war. At the time of filming, over 23,000 people in Mexico had disappeared since 2007, lending urgency to discussions about how to end this conflict. Today’s estimates place the number closer to 27,000.

The film humanizes the policy debate, weaving together the stories of a U.S. drug enforcement agent on the border, an activist nun in violence-scarred Monterrey, Mexico, and a Texas farmer who was once a smuggler. The distinct but interlocking experiences of these three individuals expose the dark corners of a growing human-rights crisis.

Added to the cocktail of poverty, politics and power struggles are complex questions about accountability. The film forces us to question what it means for civilians when the authorities assigned to protect citizens and prosecute criminals are corrupt. How should society respond when mandatory minimum sentences fill prisons but don’t seem to put a dent in drug trafficking or drug-related violence? What should we do when attempts at military solutions fail, but the people we’ve armed still patrol communities? And how do we hold on to hope and courage, even when our children disappear?
Kingdom of Shadows is well suited for use in a variety of settings and is especially recommended for use with:

- Your local PBS station
- Groups focused on any of the issues listed in the Key Issues section
- High school students, youth groups and clubs
- Faith-based organizations and institutions
- Cultural, art and historical organizations, institutions and museums
- Civic, fraternal and community groups
- Law enforcement and justice system professionals
- Academic departments and student groups at colleges, universities and high schools
- Community organizations with a mission to promote education and learning, such as local libraries

Kingdom of Shadows is an excellent tool for outreach and will be of special interest to people looking to explore the following topics:

- border security (U.S.-Mexico)
- desaparecidos/“disappeared”
- drug cartels
- drug smuggling and interdiction
- ethics/morality and faith
- human rights
- immigration/immigrants
- law enforcement
- Mexico
- Monterrey, Mexico
- poverty
- prison/sentencing reform
- U.S. public policy
- violence
- war on drugs
- Zetas
This guide is an invitation to dialogue. It is based on a belief in the power of human connection, designed for people who want to use Kingdom of Shadows to engage family, friends, classmates, colleagues and communities. In contrast to initiatives that foster debates in which participants try to convince others that they are right, this document envisions conversations undertaken in a spirit of openness in which people try to understand one another and expand their thinking by sharing viewpoints and listening actively.

The discussion prompts are intentionally crafted to help a wide range of audiences think more deeply about the issues in the film. Rather than attempting to address them all, choose one or two that best meet your needs and interests. And be sure to leave time to consider taking action. Planning next steps can help people leave the room feeling energized and optimistic, even in instances when conversations have been difficult.

For more detailed event planning and facilitation tips, visit www.pov.org/engage
The Mexican Drug War

At least 60,000 people died between 2006 and 2012 in drug-related violence during Felipe Calderón’s presidency of Mexico, as he initiated the country’s “war on drugs.” Many believe the number of deaths is much higher. (Mexican newsweekly *Proceso* published a death count of more than 88,000.) In 2012, the inauguration of Enrique Peña Nieto as Mexico’s new president marked the return to power of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Peña Nieto distanced himself from the “kingpin strategy” employed by Calderón to combat drug-related violence, a strategy focused on capturing cartel leaders and media headlines. Many feel the strategy has contributed to the increase in violence by creating power vacuums.

Human Rights Watch reports that the “war on drugs” is responsible for a significant increase in human rights violations by security forces tasked with reducing drug violence. The new president vowed to focus on reducing violence overall, but many groups claim he has taken few steps toward that goal. Human Rights Watch also points to Peña Nieto’s failure to address what it identifies as major factors contributing to violence throughout Mexico: corruption; blurred lines between the state, cartels and security forces; and a “climate of impunity.” In an interview with León Krauze, evening anchor of Univision in Los Angeles, Peña Nieto referred to corruption in Mexico as a “cultural matter,” crystallizing for some his disregard for tackling what human rights groups see as the critical issue for Mexico’s future.

As demand for cocaine drops and the use of heroin continues to grow steadily across demographic groups in the United States—and as states in the United States have begun legalizing marijuana—Mexican cartels have pivoted toward trafficking heroin. This underlines the influence of U.S. demand for illegal drugs as a catalyst for drug trafficking in Mexico. The U.S. government continues to invest money and resources in the “war on drugs” along the U.S.-Mexico border. The United States border patrol not only works to keep drugs from reaching the United States, but also to keep drug money and guns from being smuggled into Mexico.
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BACKGROUND INFORMATION

DISCUSSION GUIDE

Kingdom of Shadows


The “Disappeared”

The crisis of disappearances in Mexico and other countries refers to a growing number of individuals who have been taken against their will and whose status remains unknown. Since 2006, more than 27,000 individuals have been reported missing or disappeared in Mexico. Some of these cases are documented enforced disappearances—meaning that state security forces, police or officials played a direct or indirect role by contributing resources or looking the other way. Disappearances have happened at security checkpoints, in private homes and in public. Individuals are taken by armed men or arrested by state officials. If they are arrested, official records often provide conflicting information about whether or not they have been taken into custody, leaving families with little information about what really happened to their loved ones.

According to Human Rights Watch, investigative failures on the part of the authorities in relation to the cases of disappeared persons abound. Prosecutors and law enforcement officials have been known to misinform families, telling them that their loved ones must be missing for multiple days before they can be reported as missing persons, and to send...
families to search on their own at police stations, hospitals and military bases. Authorities mislead the public by perpetuating the false narrative that disappeared individuals were most likely associated with the cartels. Furthermore, family members are routinely forced to take investigations into their own hands by conducting interviews with witnesses, gathering phone records and locating suspects. Human rights groups say that by depending on family members of the disappeared to perform basic police work, authorities contribute to a climate of impunity and add to the psychological pain inflicted by the loss of a family member. Additionally, families who continue to investigate cases or speak out often face harassment.

Sources


Citizens in Support of Human Rights

Sister Consuelo Morales co-founded Citizens in Support of Human Rights (Ciudadanos en Apoyo a los Derechos Humanos, A.C., or CADHAC) in 1993, after returning to her birth city of Monterrey, located in Mexico’s Nuevo Léon state. The group’s unique approach is credited with relaunching many of the investigations in the state that had been stalled for years. By placing public pressure on authorities to investigate disappearances—and holding them accountable publicly when they do not—CADHAC motivated officials to begin investigations in earnest, thus earning the trust of victims’ families. CADHAC not only protests disappearances, but also documents, litigates and tracks cases, supporting the work that many families were pursuing on their own. The group also attempts to lessen the psychological toll taken on family members by providing treatment and support.

Human Rights Watch gave Sister Morales its 2013 Alison Des Forges Award for Extraordinary Activism. In 2015, Mexico awarded her the country’s highest human rights honor.
**Sources**


Selected People Featured in *Kingdom of Shadows*

**Sister Consuelo Morales** – Co-founder, Citizens in Support of Human Rights

**Oscar Hagelsieb** – U.S. border patrol, assistant special agent in charge of homeland security, El Paso, Tex.

**Don Henry Ford, Jr.** – Texas farmer, former drug smuggler

**Nik Steinberg** – Senior researcher, Americas division at Human Rights Watch
Immediately after the film, you may want to give people a few quiet moments to reflect on what they have seen or pose a general question (examples below) and give people some time to themselves to jot down or think about their answers before opening the discussion:

- In one word (or one sentence), what's your initial reaction to the film?
- If you could ask anyone in the film a single question, whom would you ask and what would you ask them?
- Describe a moment or scene in the film that you found particularly disturbing or moving. What was it about that scene that was especially compelling for you?

At the end of your discussion, to help people synthesize what they've experienced and move the focus from dialogue to action steps, you may want to choose one of these questions:

- What did you learn from this film that you wish everyone knew? What would change if everyone knew it?
- If you could require one person (or one group) to view this film, who would it be? What do you hope their main takeaway would be?
- Complete this sentence: I am inspired by this film (or discussion) to __________.
The War on Drugs

What did you learn from the film about how drug trafficking went from being primarily a business enterprise with very little violence to being a major source of violence?

The film references Reagan-era anti-drug policies like the “Just Say No” campaign, mandatory drug sentencing and interdiction efforts. In your view, why did people believe those approaches would succeed? Why did they fail?

Oscar Hagelsieb explains that it was “a game changer when the Zetas got into the dope game. The Zetas were a group of military that were especially trained to go after the cartels. Ultimately, as a group, defected from the military and offered their services to the Gulf Cartel. You give them a little bit of power, you give them unlimited weapons and they’re military. If you hit the military, what do they do? They strike back.” What does the track record of the Zetas suggest about the wisdom of a military response to the drug cartels? What other options exist?

Consuelo Morales reports, “When President Calderón decided to confront narco-trafficking by sending the military to the streets, the civilian population became extremely vulnerable. On the one hand, we could be attacked by organized crime, and on the other hand, the military would take young people with the excuse that they were criminals. They’d detain “suspected” criminals in military raids. We heard of raids where they’d take 500 to 600 young people to jail on a Saturday night. They would be tortured and disappeared.” Was this a predictable outcome of Calderón’s policy? If you had been one of his advisers, what would you have suggested?

Competing cartels kill in a cycle of retaliation; as a reporter puts it, “The Gulf Cartel beheads three. So the Zetas take three of their men to do the same.” Can you think of any other instances around the world where this practice is common? What’s the reasoning behind it? What’s the result?

Don Henry Ford, Jr. says the war on drugs has become “an excuse to prosecute people that are undesirable for other reasons. It’s a convenient tool to put anybody they want behind bars.” What do you think he has seen that makes him think this? Who have the targets been and why do you suppose the government would see them as “undesirable”?

Oscar Hagelsieb practices shooting.
Photo courtesy of Participant Media
Don says, “The fact that [drug smuggling] was illegal made it profitable, and that’s what fueled the whole business and that’s what fuels it now.” Can you think of any ways to make illegal drug trafficking unprofitable?

Oscar isn’t sure he wants his son to follow in his career footsteps. Would you want your child to become a border patrol agent? Why or why not?

What’s the meaning of the film’s title?

**Accountability**

Sister Morales observes, “The two largest monsters are impunity and corruption.” Why does she believe it is as important to hold politicians, police and soldiers accountable as it is to hold drug traffickers accountable? What are the likely results when people no longer have faith in their governments to protect them? What happens when civilians don’t trust the police?

The film notes, “The original Zetas were members of an elite group within the Mexican military which trained in the U.S. at the School of the Americas.” In your view, does this training make the U.S. government culpable in any way for Mexico’s “disappeared”?

**U.S. Policy**

According to the film, “2,000 weapons enter Mexico illegally from the United States every day, according to the Mexican government.” What do you think the United States should do about that?

Oscar says, “We, as Americans, you know, tend to look at Mexico as ‘those guys are flooding our streets with drugs and they’re flooding our economy with illicit money.’ But, you know, you really wouldn’t have that problem if there wasn’t demand. We’re the country with the highest consumption of illegal narcotics in the world.” What do you think the United States should do to reduce demand?

Don says, “I was lucky to have been caught when I was caught. I ended up getting paroled for having completed five years.” Those after him were subject to twenty-year mandatory minimum sentences. Do you think the United States should eliminate mandatory drug sentencing laws? If so, what policy should be implemented in their stead?
Oscar explains that as some U.S. states legalize marijuana, drug traffickers are switching to more lucrative products, such as methamphetamines: “They’re businessmen, they’re going to adapt. If they’re not getting a profit from smuggling marijuana, then they are going to move into something else that is profitable.” Do you think this is a compelling argument against legalizing marijuana? Why or why not?

**Mexican Immigrants in the U.S.**

What did you learn from the film that would help dispel negative stereotypes about Latinos generally and Mexicans specifically?

Don says, “You can’t even describe Texas without including Mexico. That’s what a lot of people fail to realize. It’s everything—from the way we speak, the food we eat. It’s just part of the culture here, part of the fabric of this country.” What do you know about the history of Texas before it became part of the United States and how should that history factor into current U.S. immigration policy?

Oscar relates that he experienced trepidation when telling his father he was joining the border patrol, but then says, “To my astonishment, he set aback for a few seconds, and then he just told me, ‘You know what? They need people like you. The people that are coming here just to make a living, just like we did, the only thing I can tell you is treat them with respect, and I know you will.’” Oscar says his father urged him to go after the drug dealers “110 percent.” What insights did this exchange provide about the dynamics between new immigrants and their children? What did it convey about the values held by Mexican immigrants to the United States?

Oscar underscores the importance of having undercover officers, saying they are necessary “if you truly wanted to know how the cartels operate, and who was running...” What are the implications of this for U.S. politicians deciding whether to treat Mexican immigrants as allies or cast them as enemies? What are the potential lessons for the broader fight against terrorism?


Poverty

Oscar observes, “There’s always a lot of temptation where there is a lot of poverty and a lot of struggle.” What did you learn from the film about the role that poverty plays in sustaining the drug trade?

Don recalls, “Oscar Cabello was the guy in charge, but in all honesty, everybody was involved. The whole town derived an income from him, and from the business. And they helped him.” How do poverty and impunity influence people’s willingness to break the law or look the other way? Can you think of other places where this has happened?

Don says, “The drug business can’t be looked at through a microscope. You need to look at it as a picture of a larger puzzle. The real underlying cause is poverty.” So how do we combat the cause and not just address the symptoms?

Healing

Sister Morales asks, “How can one support these families through this terrible tragedy so they don’t become trapped in their suffering, but instead feel hopeful, when we live in a country where corruption reigns and the perpetrators aren’t prosecuted?” How would you answer her?

Sister Morales describes her cautious efforts to cooperate with authorities as follows: “How can we talk to them if they could be corrupt or complicit? And I’m sure they thought, ‘How can we sit with these agitators?’ When everyone saw that the families’ pain could be alleviated, the prosecutors lowered their shields, and we lowered ours. And we started working together.” In your view, does trust need to exist before there can be cooperation? Can trust be created by working together toward a common goal?

In a speech, Sister Morales frames the cause as being about achieving dignity and justice. What might change if the Mexican and U.S. governments adopted that frame instead of approaching the problem as a war against drug traffickers?

Near the beginning of film, Sister Morales says, “Without prayer, I wouldn’t be able to cope.” At the end of the film she says, “We are all responsible and we must transform our faith into action.” In your experience, what role can faith/religion play in countering corruption? Why isn’t faith, by itself, enough?

At the end of the film, what do you see in the people’s eyes/faces? If you could speak with the families of the disappeared, what would you say?
Taking Action

• Get involved in TakePart’s social action related to Kingdom of Shadows (see Resources section).

• Find ways to support organizations or individuals who challenge the cartels and the corruption (such as Citizens in Support of Human Rights).

• Study the role of the School of the Americas (now the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation) in the Mexican drug wars and in other Central and South American human rights violations. Consider efforts by groups like SOA Watch (www.soaw.org) and/or let your federal political representatives know what you think policy regarding the school should be.

• Publicly challenge stereotypes of Mexicans or Mexican-Americans, especially when they appear in policy debates and news reports.
FILM-RELATED WEB SITES

http://bernardoruiz.com
The filmmaker’s website has news, interviews and updates.

www.takepart.com/kingdom-of-shadows
The TakePart page on the film has both information on the film and links to TakePart campaign actions and articles.

www.facebook.com/kingdomshadow
The film’s Facebook page offers regular updates with news related to the film and the war on drugs.

Original Online Content on POV
To further enhance the broadcast, POV has produced an interactive website to enable viewers to explore the film in greater depth. The Kingdom of Shadows website—www.pbs.org/pov/kingdomofshadows—offers a streaming video trailer for the film; an interview with the filmmaker; a list of related websites, articles and books; a downloadable discussion guide; and special features.

The Drug War and Human Rights

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL
www.amnesty.org
This organization offers regular updates on human rights abuses throughout the world.

BORDERLAND BEAT
www.borderlandbeat.com
Borderland Beat is an extensive blog featuring open-source reporting on the drug war.

CITIZENS IN SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS/
CIUDADANOS EN APOYO A LOS DERECHOS HUMANOS
www.cadhac.org
This is the page for the human rights organization co-founded by Consuelo Morales.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH: “MEXICO’S DISAPPEARED:
THE ENDURING COST OF A CRISIS IGNORED”
www.hrw.org/report/2013/02/20/mexicos-disappeared/enduring-cost-crisis-ignored
Nik Steinberg reports on the “disappeared” in Mexico for Human Rights Watch.

U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT:
“MEXICO 2014 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT”
www.state.gov/documents/organization/236914.pdf
The U.S. State Department authored this 2014 report on human rights in Mexico.

U.S. Policy

COMMON SENSE FOR DRUG POLICY:
“DRUG WAR FACTS”
www.drugwarfacts.org
This encyclopedia-style report aggregates government statistics and reporting on issues related to the U.S. war on drugs.

DRUG POLICY ALLIANCE
www.drugpolicy.org
This group promotes drug policy based on science, compassion, health and human rights.

STUDENTS FOR SENSIBLE DRUG POLICY
www.ssdp.org
The website of this international network of students dedicated to ending the war on drugs provides a running tally of U.S. federal dollars spent on anti-drug efforts.
HOW TO BUY THE FILM

To order Kingdom of Shadows for home use, visit www.takepart.com/kingdom-of-shadows.

POV

Produced by American Documentary, Inc., POV is public television’s premier showcase for nonfiction films. The series airs Mondays at 10 p.m. on PBS from June to September, with primetime specials during the year. Since 1988, POV has been the home for the world’s boldest contemporary filmmakers, celebrating intriguing personal stories that spark conversation and inspire action. Always an innovator, POV discovers fresh new voices and creates interactive experiences that shine a light on social issues and elevate the art of storytelling. With our documentary broadcasts, original online programming and dynamic community engagement campaigns, we are committed to supporting films that capture the imagination and present diverse perspectives.

POV films have won 32 Emmy® Awards, 18 George Foster Peabody Awards, 12 Alfred I. duPont-Columbia University Awards, three Academy Awards®; the first-ever George Polk Documentary Film Award and the Prix Italia. The POV series has been honored with a Special News & Documentary Emmy Award for Excellence in Television Documentary Filmmaking, two IDA Awards for Best Continuing Series and the National Association of Latino Independent Producers (NALIP) Award for Corporate Commitment to Diversity. More information is available at www.pbs.org/pov.

POV Digital www.pbs.org/pov

Since 1994, POV Digital has driven new storytelling initiatives and interactive production for POV. The department created PBS’s first program website and its first web-based documentary (POV’s Borders) and has won major awards, including a Webby Award (and six nominations) and an Online News Association Award. POV Digital continues to explore the future of independent nonfiction media through its digital productions and the POV Hackathon lab, where media makers and technologists collaborate to reinvent storytelling forms. @povdocs on Twitter.

POV Community Engagement and Education

POV’s Community Engagement and Education team works with educators, community organizations and PBS stations to present more than 650 free screenings every year. In addition, we distribute free discussion guides and standards-aligned lesson plans for each of our films. With our community partners, we inspire dialogue around the most important social issues of our time.

American Documentary, Inc. www.amdoc.org

American Documentary, Inc. (AmDoc) is a multimedia company dedicated to creating, identifying and presenting contemporary stories that express opinions and perspectives rarely featured in mainstream media outlets. AmDoc is a catalyst for public culture, developing collaborative strategic engagement activities around socially relevant content on television, online and in community settings. These activities are designed to trigger action, from dialogue and feedback to educational opportunities and community participation.

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Front cover: Don Henry Ford, Jr.
Photo courtesy of Participant Media

You can follow us on Twitter @POVengage for the latest news from POV Community Engagement & Education.