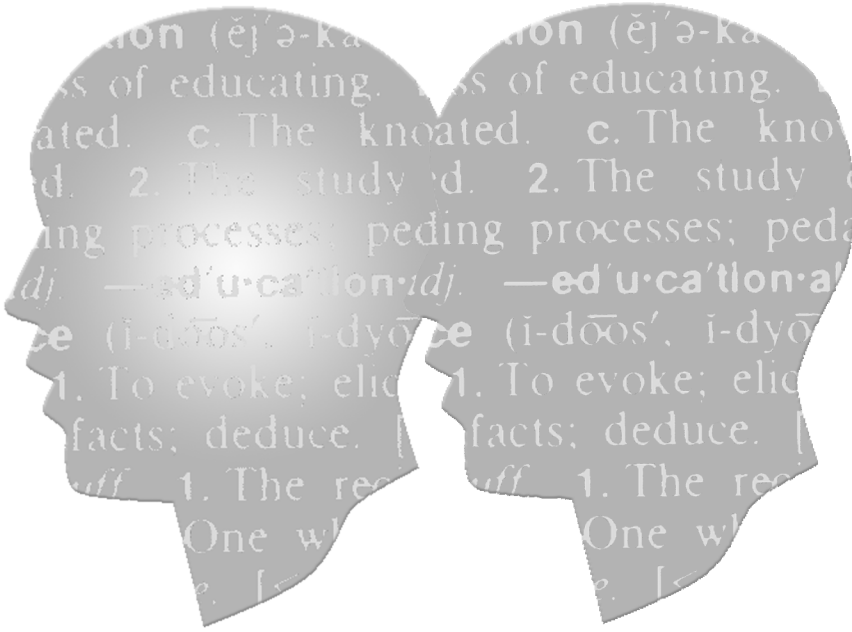# HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE

2016

The *Higher Education Exchange* is founded on a thought articulated by Thomas Jefferson in 1820:

> I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.

In the tradition of Jefferson, the *Higher Education Exchange* agrees that a central goal of higher education is to help make democracy possible by preparing citizens for public life. The *Higher Education Exchange* is part of a movement to strengthen higher education's democratic mission and foster a more democratic culture throughout American society. Working in this tradition, the *Higher Education Exchange* publishes case studies, analyses, news, and ideas about efforts within higher education to develop more democratic societies.

HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE

CONTENTS

FOREWORD
Deborah Witte

This issue of the *Higher Education Exchange* turns a spotlight on the research of two of Kettering Foundation's many international colleagues who have been faculty at institutions of higher learning. As longtime readers know, Kettering has a history of interest in the question of the role of the university in a democracy, most explicitly its responsibility to educate young people for citizenship. As Kettering has discovered, this is not merely a US-focused research question; the question has also vexed others from countries around the globe who have engaged in research with the foundation over the past thirty years. Together, Kettering and its colleagues, both domestic and international, have wrestled with identifying the principles and practices of civic engagement and the ways engagement reveals the true responsibilities of citizenship.

While the *Higher Education Exchange* has regularly featured essays, articles, and research reports from US-based educators on this theme and others, from time to time there have been pieces from educators in other countries. The very first "international" piece to appear in *HEX* was an article by Alejandro Sanz de Santamaría, a university professor from Colombia. In his essay, he articulated his concerns about higher education this way: "I find myself deeply concerned about the kind of education for political life we provide through our teaching and research activities. I suspect that through these activities we are not educating people well to take their place in democracy." Rather than focus on creating additional activities to improve education for political life, Sanz de Santamaría suggested at the time that it is more urgent and important to work to transform the current formal education practices. For him, the accepted practices of conventional knowledge production inherent in a university's curriculum bring into question the legitimacy of such an approach. He asserts, "The knowledge we need to understand and to advance the sciences does not come from theories, it comes from participation." He remains convinced that it is only through his own personal self-education for political life that he can effectively recruit others to join him in a collective, continuous, and open process of education. The piece from Sanz de Santamaría is evidence of Kettering's early interest in and research on the role of faculty in engaging students.

More recently, Lorlene Hoyt, executive director of the Talloires Network, has written in *HEX* about her research on the various ways university civic engagement has manifested itself around the globe. Comparing and contrasting regions

of the world, Hoyt provides insight into the ways civic engagement is conceived, taught, and practiced. For some regions, university civic engagement is a strategy that has only emerged in the middle of the last century. For other regions, she discovered, universities have had a long history of collaborating with their local communities. No matter the approach, Hoyt suggests that all the universities and communities participating in the civic-engagement movement share a common vision, that of collective action for improving civic life.

The most recent piece by an international author in *HEX* tells the story of an experience with deliberative pedagogy in an Israeli classroom. In this case study, Idit Manosevitch, a faculty member at the Netanya Academic College, shared the competing narratives of two approaches to voter decision making, one a deliberative approach, the other politics-as-usual. While the political culture in Israel is saturated with political talk and debate, it often comes across as heated disputes that deepen divides, rather than contributing to problem solving. Manosevitch, by introducing a more deliberative, moderated style of "debate" to her students in the classroom, sought to change the existing mode of adversarial political talk toward a more thoughtful and considered deliberation. That she was able to introduce an alternative way of being politically active, and the subsequent affirmative response of her students, continues to inspire her teaching.

And so it is in this tradition of learning and exchanging across cultures and traditions that this issue of the *Higher Education Exchange* features the work of Telma Gimenez of Brazil and Denis Makarov of Russia, by way of Canada. They are just two of the many higher education professionals who have found that the theories and practices of deliberation readily lend themselves to inclusion in the classroom. Many other experiences have been written about in additional Kettering publications, such as the volume, *Collective Decision Making Around the World: Essays on Historical Deliberative Practices*, edited by Kettering Foundation program officer Ileana Marin, and *Importing Democracy: The Role of NGOs in South Africa, Tajikistan, and Argentina* by former Kettering program officer Julie Fisher.

For this issue of *HEX*, we include a piece by Telma Gimenez. Gimenez, an early member of the international network that has grown up around Kettering's research on deliberation and student civic engagement, is a professor in the state university of Londrina in Brazil. A teacher of teachers, Gimenez works to promote citizenship education as integral to the standard curriculum. In "Deliberation and Institutional Political Cultures: A Brazilian Perspective," Gimenez embraces the opportunity to reflect on the intersection of the personal and the institutional. She understands that her university is "living the

contradictions of an economic and political system that alienates and sidelines citizenship." Yet she remains optimistic about her ability to have an impact on her students. She refuses to shy away from the tension inherent among research, teaching, and service in Brazil's higher education institutions. She has pragmatic answers for herself and other faculty who share her convictions about the role of deliberation in student engagement.

Denis Makarov, a former professor at Moscow State Pedagogical University, presents a snapshot of nearly a decade of his research on deliberation in Russia in the article "An Island of Deliberation in an Authoritarian Environment: The Case of Russia." Modeling his research on that of Katy Harriger and Jill McMillan (*Speaking of Politics*, published by the Kettering Press), Makarov worked with groups of students to introduce them to and gauge the impact of deliberative concepts and practices on their understanding of and engagement with democratic ideas. Makarov shares how the students at Moscow State Pedagogical University developed additional civic and political skills, broadened their experience and knowledge of deliberation, learned to negotiate conflicting positions, and developed tolerance and appreciation for others.

Makarov also studied how faculty were impacted by the introduction of deliberation into the curriculum. Faculty faced challenges of their own, such as resistance to change by some, societal stereotypes of education and learning, and a lack of knowledge and experience with deliberation. Makarov notes that despite all these challenges—the political climate within the country becoming an additional obstacle over time—students especially are optimistic about democracy and its future.

Also in this issue is an interview by David Brown with Leonard Cassuto, professor of English and American studies at Fordham University. Beginning from the thesis of his most recent book, *The Graduate School Mess: What Caused It and How We Can Fix It*, Cassuto and Brown explore the theme of professionalism and the future of graduate education. Cassuto suggests faculty have a responsibility to their students to expose them to a realistic assessment of their job prospects. Brown also prompts Cassuto to explore the tension around a university's citizenship-education mission and its mission to encourage new research. Cassuto calls for reciprocal respect within the academy—made available by bringing the history of higher education to bear—as a way to address this tension.

Following the interview is an excerpt from David Brown's newest book, *Assumptions of the Tea Party Movement: A World of Their Own*. Brown suggests a novel approach to the problems of professionalism, especially within the

academy. His solution is rooted in the idea of assumptions and ignorance. He posits that some people use their credentials to separate themselves from less educated "others." These "others" tend to acquiesce to experts or those who are credentialed. This is, of course, problematic for civil society. Brown further suggests that ignorance needs to be acknowledged and embraced by everyone, even experts. He notes that key to any solutions are leaders who can work across various fields of knowledge, citizens who can explore issues for themselves, and amateurs who are willing to question expert advice.

Kettering program assistant Etana Jacobi provides a review of the recently published book *Publicly Engaged Scholars: Next Generation Engagement and the Future of Higher Education*, edited by Margaret Post, Elaine Ward, Nicholas Longo, and John Saltmarsh. *HEX* readers may recognize several of these names; both Longo and Saltmarsh, in particular, have previously contributed articles to *HEX*.

David Mathews, in the Afterword, provides a rich assessment of two categories of Kettering's multinational research over the decades. The first is collaboration with NGOs from other countries, primarily through the Deliberative Democracy workshops. This series of workshops brings together individuals from around the world who are interested in what KF studies. The second is citizen diplomacy, another research area of interest to Kettering. This includes work in China, Russia, and Cuba. Mathews is able to explain how these seemingly disconnected programs are joined through a focus on citizens and what citizens can do to make a difference in society.

In closing, I think it is important in this season of political turmoil to recognize that it has become more evident by the day that Americans need a new way to talk and think about politics, government, and citizenship. Deliberative ideas, principles, and practices are more important than ever. As this journal is going to press, new research from professors Jill McMillan and Katy Harriger has just been released. A follow-up study to their Democracy Fellows experiment of 2000 (see the article by Denis Makarov in this issue for a Russian version of their research), their new research suggests that a deliberative intervention with students at Wake Forest University has had a lasting, positive impact on those who participated in the Democracy Fellows. This new research shows that ten years after graduating, compared with a control group not exposed to the principles, the Democracy Fellows expressed a multilayered view of citizenship that emphasizes participation and being informed; more willingness to talk with those who don't share their beliefs; and a belief that they can have a say in what government does. Many also adapted the principles of deliberation for use in

organizations and institutions in their own lives. I personally take heart that research like this and other work by the foundation and its partners, especially in the program area of higher education, is more relevant than ever before. And I hope that this journal has been a small part of providing an outlet for the dissemination of research that truly does matter, and will continue to matter every day.

INSIDE THE GRADUATE SCHOOL MESS
An Interview with Leonard Cassuto

David Brown, coeditor of the Higher Education Exchange*, spoke with Leonard Cassuto, a professor of English and American Studies at Fordham University and author of* The Graduate School Mess: What Caused It and How We Can Fix It *(Harvard University Press, 2015).*

Brown: Your work critically examines the assumption that "graduate school is a specialized training ground for future professors" and that such "training leads graduate students to a narrowly specialized course of study that is, at best, impractical and, at worst, destructive." Why can such an assumption be "destructive"?

Cassuto: Assumptions become destructive when they shape—or even create—harmful behavior. If we assume, or allow prospective students to assume —or worse still, teach them to assume—that graduate school is simply a training ground for future professors, we lead those prospective students to behave in ways that will serve them poorly and make their lives harder. That's one of the main reasons why we have to change how we teach graduate school: because the curriculum conveys those very assumptions.

Brown: Could you provide some examples of how the curriculum conveys those assumptions? What changes should be made?

Cassuto: The graduate school curriculum is built around a particular outcome: that graduate students will become professors at research universities. Everyone knows that's an unlikely outcome, but the shape of graduate education privileges it nevertheless. In the humanities and the humanistic social sciences, for example, that means a beginning focus on research papers (produced in seminars) that students should seek to turn into articles, followed by a detailed dissertation proposal for a thesis that aspires to become a book. Not everyone will write those articles, and most dissertations don't become books, but the assumption is that the student will hope for, and typically seek, those outcomes. Teacher training takes a back seat before this rigorous research apprenticeship —but most academic jobs, for those who are fortunate enough to get them, are teaching-centered. And for those who don't become professors, the ability to teach, broadly speaking, is a thoroughly valuable and marketable skill.

Brown: Could you say more about how those with "the ability to teach" can market that skill beyond academe?

Cassuto: Teaching, broadly conceived, is part of a collection of communications skills that most graduate students acquire and hone. Presentations are a form of teaching. All successful TED talkers teach, for example. Graduate students have advanced skills in analyzing information and assessing audience, and then presenting complex material in an audience-appropriate way. They should make these skills into an important part of their self-presentation to any non-academic (or academic!) employer.

Brown: You say that "graduate programs need to revamp their curricula, structures, and standards in a way that prepares today's graduate student for a wider range of employment, not just academe." Are graduate programs equipped to do that?

> *We haven't lifted our heads up to question the underlying assumption that the professor's agenda matters more than the students' needs.*

Cassuto: Certainly. It will require a willingness to learn some new approaches, some of which I outline in *The Graduate School Mess*. But professors are professional learners, so that's well within the range of possibility. It will also require reaching out in the direction of existing resources like offices of career services, which need to be invited into the lives of graduate students much earlier in students' careers.

Brown: You argue that too much "course design . . . starts with what professors want to do instead of trying to figure out what students need." Why does peer oversight allow that to happen?

Cassuto: Because almost everyone learned in teacher-centered courses like that, so we accept them as the norm. We therefore haven't lifted our heads up to question the underlying assumption that undergirds that practice, namely that the professor's agenda matters more than the students' needs.

Brown: What kind of oversight is needed, assuming that oversight is heeded, in an academic culture that does not encourage it?

Cassuto: "Oversight" is a tension-filled keyword in an academic culture that is rightly concerned with freedom of inquiry. I prefer to look at it this way: we need to realize that the flip side of academic freedom is academic responsibility. In this case, the responsibility is to our students, who need an education that corresponds to the reality that they face. What I'm getting at is that the first and most important level of "oversight" is personal: each of us needs to face our responsibility to our students, and how we fulfill that responsibility

through our teaching. That said, graduate program directors, who plan a program's course offerings each year, need the authority to demand from their faculty colleagues a balanced menu of student-centered courses that graduate students need, rather than the sorts of esoteric offerings that often predominate, especially in the humanities.

Brown: From whom does a graduate program director acquire such authority?

Cassuto: That depends on the governance structure of the department, program, or school. But a program will fare best if it arrives at the necessity for these changes in open discussion, perhaps including graduate students themselves. I visit a lot of universities these days, and I talk to a lot of graduate students and faculty. The students are virtually unanimous in their wish for a graduate education that is consistent with the reality that they know is waiting for them afterwards. Not all faculty members are aware of this. Students, faculty, and administrators should spend more time talking to each other about their respective wishes and needs.

Brown: You note that "if professors know that their graduate students may head toward public administration, government, or some similar non-academic direction," they can "adjust their teaching to embrace those possibilities." Aren't you assuming that such professors know enough about such public venues to make their adjustments credible to their students?

Cassuto: Nope. I know that many do not. But back to my earlier answer: I am assuming that as professional learners and professional analysts and problem solvers themselves (skills that help make PhDs saleable outside the academy), professors can do what's necessary to serve the needs of their students.

Brown: In your concluding chapter, "In Search of an Ethic," you summarize some of the current problems of "old-fashioned and incoherent course offerings, bloated time to degree, high attrition, a distorted academic job market, and a failure to prepare students for alternative employment." Of those problems, which ones are more ripe for change, more doable for those who seek change?

Cassuto: During his recent term as president of the Modern Language Association, Michael Bérubé compared the problems facing the graduate school enterprise to "a seamless garment." Tugging on one thread causes the whole thing to come undone, suggesting that all of the problems are connected. I tend to agree with him; you can't talk about what form the dissertation should take without time to degree entering the conversation, and from there, you get to students' preparation for academic jobs, and so on. Some of us who would change what we do will prefer to start with one problem: how to run a graduate

seminar so that it serves students who will become professors as well as those who won't. Others will start in a different place. But everyone's path will meet eventually.

Brown: You note that the "German-inspired [research] model explicitly conflicts with the homegrown American idea that the purpose of higher education is to produce citizens." Can the research model be reconciled with the producing-citizens model? If so, how?

Cassuto: American higher education began with English colleges whose stated mission was to educate people so that they could serve church (especially at first) and state. The "age of the college" as it has been called, lasted more than two centuries, until a couple of decades after the Civil War. Then the research universities came. Their mission, inspired by German models but adjusted to fit the culture of the rapidly industrializing United States, was to produce new knowledge. "The work of instruction," wrote William Rainey Harper, the first president of the new University of Chicago, was held "secondary" to that of "investigation." Scores of public and private universities were founded in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, and many of the venerable colleges—like Harvard and Yale—built universities around their undergraduate nuclei. The American higher education landscape took on its distinctively hybrid identity: public and private colleges coexisting alongside, and also within, public and private universities, and the mission of producing educated citizens coexisting with the mission of doing new research.

We've reconciled those two models for generations. It's only becoming hard to do so now because of diminishing resources in general and the related lack of academic jobs in particular. For reconciliation to be possible in today's more straitened circumstances, I think that there has to be mutual respect. Right now the mission to produce productive citizens (call it the Jeffersonian model) respects the research mission, but that respect is not reciprocal. The values of research culture rule our workplace from the top down, and that regime hurts both the public image and the reality of life in American higher education.

Brown: Do the respective "silos" of the research culture, which reflect the preference of academics to be left alone, have less to do with the substance of their work, and more to do with their personal dispositions that led them to seek a kind of refuge in that culture in the first place?

Cassuto: Surveys show that most academics were originally inspired to go to graduate school by teachers they had in college. That's not a particularly surprising finding—it certainly matches my own experience—but let's consider that it means would-be professors are inspired by teaching, a social and interactive

activity, rather than an image of the solitary researcher. We should also keep in mind that research in many fields, especially the laboratory sciences, is not solitary at all. The silos of research culture result from the movement toward specialization, which has many causes. One of those causes is the development of academic departments, an early twentieth-century development that had less to do with research than with the need for administrative organization of the expanding institution. All of which is to say that while professors may have professional inclinations toward narrow specialization, it's not necessarily their personalities that lead them there.

Brown: In what specific ways can "the research culture of the graduate school" be realigned with the "public work" that "originally sustained" it—"restoring the partnership that once existed between town and gown"?

Cassuto: We could start with a sense of history. American higher education has always required social support—it can't pay for itself without it. In the postwar era it has required the support of the middle class, who provide students and funding together. There used to be more mutual trust between the university and society at large, and higher education received support as a public good. However, that trust began to break down beginning in the late 1960s, and not only did support for higher education become politicized as never before, but higher education also came to be seen as an individual investment rather than a public asset. If we understand why things happened, we can think more clearly about how to change them.

Brown: In a *Chronicle* piece, "We're Not a Hierarchy, We're an Ecosystem," you argue that "An intellectual in one niche of the market is not 'better' than another, no more than a bird is 'better' than a squirrel or a tree. So why do we persist in trying to understand everything in terms of top-down rankings? Can we change?" Well, can we change?

Cassuto: I don't know, but I hope so. The problem is not so much that colleges and universities compete as that they do so on the same terms, and because those terms are dictated by research culture, they set the research university as a yardstick. I'm not against research; I do plenty of it myself. But our ecosystem ought to promote its own diversity. Instead, you see countless high officers of colleges and universities declare that their agenda centers on boosting more faculty research. We do our system no good when everyone within it aspires to look the same, and goes about it in the same way.

Brown: If many graduate students entertain ambitions and self-fulfillment that lie outside or beyond the research culture they encounter, why don't graduate schools, in their own self-interest, do more to accommodate such students?

Cassuto: Graduate schools are caught in a rut. They all want to move up in the rankings because that will bring them more prestige, and with it better chances for grants and more competitive students. But the rankings themselves are dictated by criteria that are based almost entirely on research. Administrators say that they feel constrained by those criteria, but if we dig a bit deeper, we see that those ranking criteria are actually set by administrators themselves. It's fine to have research-based rankings, but they shouldn't be the only way that graduate programs are assessed, or how they assess themselves. Actual and prospective students are looking for something more than that, so we should have systems of classification and assessment that measure all of the things

> *Graduate schools are caught in a rut. They all want to move up in the rankings because that will bring them more prestige.*

that graduate programs need to do well—including preparing all of their students for the world, not just the few who go on to research university professorships.

Brown: Who currently, in fact, can, or is willing to, revise such a system?

Cassuto: All of us! No one is suppressing such efforts, and if you look at the sorts of progressive initiatives that the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Mellon Foundation are lately funding, I can even imagine their support for such an effort. We need to build the sorts of assessment mechanisms that we need. Which programs provide the best teacher training, combined with sensible time to degree? If we collect and publish that information, prospective students will pay attention to it. They're already much more concerned with outcomes than they were a generation ago, and programs are responding by gathering more data on their graduates. Once we have alternative systems in place, as faculty and administrators, we will face the task of persuading ourselves and each other to pay attention to those assessments in the way that we rank and compare ourselves to our peers.

Brown: In his recent book *In Defense of Liberal Education*, Fareed Zakaria asked Jeff Bewkes, the CEO of Time Warner, "What skill was most useful in business that wasn't taught in college or graduate schools?" Bewkes replied, "Teamwork. You have to learn how to work with people and get others to work with you. It's probably the crucial skill, and yet education is mostly about solo performances." Since so many students go on to a variety of nonacademic pursuits in the not-for-profit and private sectors, to what extent do graduate schools encourage "group" work rather than solo performances?

Cassuto: We have to observe disciplinary differences to start. The laboratory sciences (or "bench sciences," as they're also called) are built on collaboration. The graduate students in those fields are, along with postdocs, and sometimes advanced undergraduates as well, members of a lab that is directed by a faculty member. They work together on projects that are consistent with the interests of the professor, who is at least as much manager as scientist. The professor's name goes on all publications—and those publications are necessary, because they provide the basis for applications for grants, which fund more publications, which fund more grants, and so on. This system has become terribly stressed as grants and academic jobs have both become scarce, but it's nothing if not collaborative. Graduate students in the humanities and humanistic social sciences have long worked according to the individualistic model of the solitary genius who labors in the garret before emerging with an opus of singular brilliance. The model has never described reality all that well—all writing teachers know that writing is best done collaboratively—but it promotes a view of the dissertation that discourages group work. This is a lack that we can easily remedy, starting in our classrooms. Digital tools enable collaboration among humanists now as never before. For example, Sidonie Smith, an English professor at the University of Michigan and the author of the new *Manifesto for the Humanities*, has described how professors can actually assign collaborative writing to graduate students.

Brown: Do you think that Derek Bok, the author of *Higher Education in America*, offers one plausible explanation for why graduate schools do not do more to reduce the number of years to graduation? Bok argues that, "Departments may enjoy having a larger pool of graduate students available as teaching assistants to ease the burden on professors."

Cassuto: Bok's argument is familiar, and applies most readily to large state universities. I've spoken to deans at such institutions, and they will admit —always off the record—that their budgets depend on graduate students and other contingent laborers (i.e., adjuncts) to teach large numbers of lower-level undergraduate courses. This is an embarrassing reality because it amounts to the

fact that graduate students compete for fewer full-time academic jobs because the courses that would be detailed to these hypothetical positions are instead being taught by students like themselves.

Brown: Bok also argues that "to shorten the time to degree" means "limiting the scope of the thesis requirement in departments in which it has gradually increased over the years." Why has it increased and what are the chances of "limiting the scope"?

Cassuto: Credentials inflation can take place in any field where competition is stiff for a limited number of positions. In a buyer's market like academia, hiring departments can afford to demand increasing levels of accomplishment from applicants—and that's how it has turned out. The upward spiral hurts the lives of graduate students by forcing them to acquire more attainments during their apprenticeship years, when they are poorly paid and without concrete job prospects. I talk about this harmful cycle in *The Graduate School Mess*. We can eject from it by substituting a belief in potential for the current demand for the long resumes that ought to be expected only when a young professor has a real job and a real salary. If a new PhD has written a brilliant dissertation, for example, why should we demand that she publish three articles before we'll consider hiring her? Better to hire her first and let her publish those articles as an assistant professor. The way that we behave now is unethical. Professionalization is an ongoing process, not one that is reserved for when one is in graduate school.

Brown: I was interested in your chapter on "professionalism." I have written that "It will take 'enough others' finding new ways of acting 'professionally' and discovering from collaborative learning, online or elsewhere, that knowledge is a social construct, not a form of property." Do you think that there are "enough others" out there to bring about change in graduate education, the emergence of what you call "the presence of a [new] general ethic"?

Cassuto: I hope so. My optimism isn't groundless, though. Witness the kinds of questions we're asking today about graduate education. They're the right ones. We've needed to have these conversations for decades, but we didn't. Now we're at a tipping point. The conversation that you and I are having right now is typical of others going on within universities, and they signal that more and more people are committing themselves to joining our students to face the realities of the world.

Brown: If we have reached a "tipping point," does that mean substantial change is inevitable, that it's just a matter of time before "the pond will turn over," so to speak, in academe?

Cassuto: It would be nice if that were so, but I don't think that disordered ecosystems necessarily fix themselves within a given period of time. The ecological analogy I would prefer here is to global warming, meaning that if we don't keep the pressure on to change the way we do things, we'll reach a point of no return, and our culture will be replaced—not by us—with something much more hostile to intellectual curiosity and creativity. As with global warming, the warning signs are already clear to see.

Brown: So, again, this means that we may have reached "a tipping point," which can mean positive and substantial change?

Cassuto: I think so, yes. And I hope we rise to the needs of our moment.

Brown: Thank you, Len.

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ASSUMPTIONS, VARIABLES, AND IGNORANCE

David W. Brown

The following is an excerpt from David Brown's manuscript Assumptions of the Tea Party Movement: A World of Their Own, *published last year by Palgrave Macmillan. Brown's work about "assumptions" extends far beyond Tea Partiers to include prevailing assumptions among those with a liberal mindset, as well as those in the news media and academe. In this excerpt from Chapter 1, Brown argues that, "what all such folk have in common is ignorance and their preference for limiting the number of variables in order to deal with their ignorance. They prefer to tame the overwhelming complexity and complications of existence in these modern times by not letting too many variables make them hopelessly incoherent to themselves and others."*

Assumptions are unavoidable because ignorance is unavoidable, and limiting the number of variables is one way to deal with ignorance. What most assumptions share is an often-unacknowledged desire of those who use them to limit the number of variables that may threaten the supposed "truth" of their assumptions. For example, too many variables are likely to undermine a liberal's assumption that government leaders and experts are the most likely people to solve our social problems; similarly, acknowledging a list of variables can make a news story confusing and inconclusive. When journalists and social commentators try to make sense of what often is inexplicable, their stories may end up being far from sensible. It's only natural to minimize the number of variables to support an assumption that whatever happened has an explanation, but in doing so they often ignore the messy process, the trial and error that produced an outcome. And too many variables threaten the strict and narrow path that rational choice theorists in academe use to get from point A to point B. As I discussed in a previous book entitled *The Real Change Makers*, unfortunately, those with one expertise or another tame what, to them, is an unmanageable number of variables, only to distort how social problems can be addressed. They often give undue weight to those variables they can quantify and incorrectly mistake numbers for cold, hard fact. Furthermore, they like to bend problems to fit within their particular expertise, and they often ignore those parts that lie beyond their training and experience. With such a reductionist approach, they prefer to draw a straight line from problem to answer. It's easy enough to draw that line in a PowerPoint presentation, but awfully hard to follow it in the real world when so many players, events, and unpredictable happenings push the answer off course. So even when Tea Party assumptions may put Tea Partiers in a world of their own, such reductionist thinking is

common throughout American culture, from liberal pro-government elites to the media, scrambling for coherent explanations of events that are otherwise inexplicable, and to academic precincts where those in their disciplinary silos promote theory that may defy or deny the complexity of the real world. Assumptions are important for almost everyone, whether a liberal-oriented professional, a media maven, an academic, or anyone trying to make his or her way in a complicated world that yields very few easy answers for anyone.

When one concedes to unavoidable ignorance, opportunities arise that can encourage the "amateur" in anyone to think and explore.

Another way to deal with ignorance is by using credentials as a form of occupational pretension, separating those who are supposedly in the know from those who don't have creden-tials. Occupational pretension arises in any situation where the assumed possession of critical information, or the authority of such knowledge, rests on the occupational positions reserved for it. Think of the flourish of degrees in psychology, medicine, nutrition, economics, education, botany, law, or sociology that appear in solicitations through the mail or online, on book jackets or in guest columns in a newspaper. They offer the promise of knowledge, not necessarily by what they actually tell a reader, but by what their credentials imply. The pretension is inescapable, as it is based on the assumption that credentials are enough to deliver consumers from their own failures and confusion. Randall Collins offered an interesting discussion of the problem of occupational pretension. Collins' thesis proposed that "the great majority of jobs can be learned through practice by almost any literate person" (Collins, 54, 90). But to avoid the competition that such an insight implies, we have, instead, reserved places in organizations for those who acquire a credential in advance. For Collins, such credentials have built up a "sinecure sector," where people gain occupational status and income not because of any meritocratic principle but rather on the mere strength of their credential. They assume that someone else knows better, knows more; it is a form of consolation. Walker Percy, however, argued that the "caste of the layman-expert is not the fault of the expert. It is due altogether to the eager surrender of sovereignty by the layman so that he may take up the role not of the person but of the consumer" (Percy, 54).

The acknowledgement of ignorance is a healthy precondition for learning, but it is precisely what is missing by too many credential seekers who assume

that ignorance is something that can be covered over with the fix of higher education or the rituals of on-the-job training. While ignorance is a permanent condition, not to be hidden by a credential, ignorance *can* be the spur for long-lasting intellectual engagement. When one concedes to unavoidable ignorance, opportunities arise that can encourage the "amateur" in anyone to think and explore. The professionalization of knowledge need not be the enemy of amateur curiosity and inquiry. The personal interests of the amateur need not be abandoned in the rush to master knowledge that provides an occupational identity. There is vast room for the questions of both the amateur and the professional. The professional's questions do not acknowledge a personal stake in the answer sought. The amateur's questions, on the other hand, are asked for primarily personal reasons. This is a paraphrase from Christopher Jencks and David Riesman in *The Academic Revolution*. This distinction accounts for the differing notions of inquiry and learning between the professional and the amateur in the same person. Amateurs, however, can apply their personal values and pass judgment on what they consider useless or trivial in specialist fields in which they do not take part. Furthermore, their own professional lives may not yield significant meanings, which is all the more reason why they can still attend to amateur questions that may lead to far richer intellectual territory than their more narrow professional turf. The amateur impulse to ask questions for personal reasons remains a valuable resource regardless of one's professional occupation. Ignorance can direct learning by seeking credible grounds for what an amateur most wants to know—for what an amateur most wants to believe. "The process of examining any topic is both an exploration of the topic, and the exegesis of our fundamental beliefs in light of which we approach it; a dialectical combination of exploration and exegesis" (Polanyi, 267). Yes, we can assume the truth of new knowledge, and, yes, we can hope to benefit from its application, but the secular faith in those salvageable values hardly constructs a durable, personal meaning. It is one reason why Tea Partiers—and so many others—make assumptions that help construct durable, personal meanings grounded in American history and religious faith.

How America has changed. Once we defended ignorance, and now we go to great lengths to hide it. In 18th- and 19th-century villages and towns, Americans shared a homespun philosophy that boasted of the common sense of the common man. They had a firm grasp of what they knew, and more important, what they needed to know. Their claim to knowledge was modest, but it made little difference because the needs of their community were modest. What was necessary to know about occupations was accessible to most everyone.
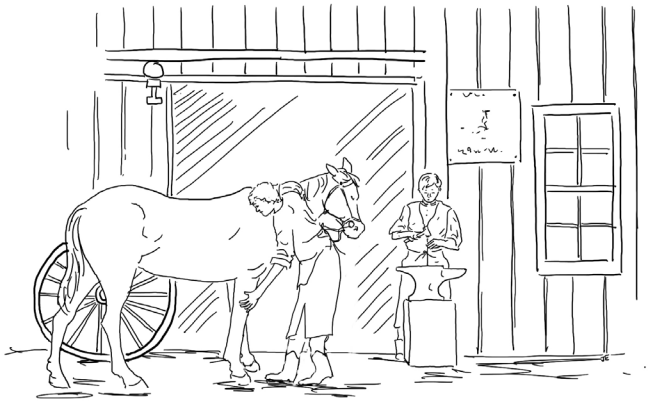
Tanning, spinning, repairing tools, the work of the miller, the blacksmith, the farmer—each found a niche in a simple division of labor, but most everyone retained a general understanding of the nature and skills of what others' occupations were about. Robert Wiebe describes an earlier age when "every man could manage every task, no one acquired prestige from any job" (Wiebe, 113). However, America's tight little communities gradually lost their hold. A national society was rapidly forming, and the division of mental labor soon arose to serve needs remote from any particular community. Some neighbors and friends moved away and staked a claim in the cities, and in new universities, new corporations, and public bureaucracies. Those left behind could no longer claim to know the same things as those putting distance between their origins and the booming, booster society that was becoming their new home. Americans still defended their common sense, but their confidence was a bit shaken. Ignorance seemed more and more a liability. Many Americans traveled a long way from their self-contained communities and there was no going back, despite their continued affection for the past.

Notwithstanding everyone's limited knowledge, which was more defensible in an earlier era, it seems no less defensible now. The division of mental labor will no doubt continue, and credentialism will not soon disappear, but it is still possible to educate young people to prosper. Such education is the best defense against pretension—their own, as well as the pretension of others. Alfred North Whitehead said a problem for education is "how to produce the expert without loss of the essential virtues of the amateur" (Whitehead, 13). There should be concern when the values of professional specialists are at the heart of how they "educate." When their students appropriate such values, the temptation is to let "professionalism" be the source—and limit—of their identity, too often at the expense of their intellectual and moral growth. That leaves too much out of what each individual can learn and contribute. The virtue of amateurs is that they can consider learning an end in itself. It is harder for

students to develop a life-long interest in learning if they are "educated" by academic specialists who maintain civility among themselves and their respective disciplines at the expense of intellectual engagement. The example of professional deference does not encourage students to acquire the habit of looking for themselves in any field of knowledge. The virtue of amateurs is that they offer themselves rather than their credentials. It is far more difficult for students to develop their moral sensibilities if their academic mentors give the impression that a "real professional" is only concerned with the quality of his knowledge

> *For too many, professional detachment often becomes a kind of ethic—a substitution for one's personal values.*

and performance. For too many, professional detachment often becomes a kind of ethic—a substitution for one's personal values. What America needs instead are exemplary leaders who can work across various fields of knowledge, citizens—credentialed or not—who can make an avocation of looking for themselves at the broad range of technical and scientific issues on the public's agenda, and "consumers" who are ready to challenge the pretension inherent in the offer and sale of "expert" advice.

We are all amateurs—students, teachers, and all professional specialists—with respect to most knowledge. "Science began originally as a determination to rely on one's own eyes instead of on the ancients or upon ecclesiastical authority or pure logic. That is, it was originally just a kind of looking for oneself rather than trusting anyone else's preconceived ideas" (Maslow, 151). The abundant production of knowledge, resulting from the division of mental labor, has obscured the obvious—that ignorance, not knowledge, has been the inspiration for such an enterprise. Intellectual ambitions have always been driven by what a person doesn't know or what he disputes that others think they know" (Brown, 51).

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DELIBERATION AND INSTITUTIONAL POLITICAL CULTURES
A Brazilian Perspective

Telma Gimenez

For nearly twenty years, I have been involved in public deliberation, as conceptualized by the Kettering Foundation and practitioners around the world who are part of the foundation's international network. As a professor in a state-funded university in the south of Brazil, I have tried to contextualize my work as a teacher, educator, and researcher in light of the rich interactions and extensive literature produced by the foundation. My story is one of an individual academic reflecting on this convergence of institutional mission and practical experience.

In other words, my trajectory is one of a personal struggle to find meaning, and to have others join me in efforts to promote citizenship education in a higher education institution in a developing country. In 1997, when I first attended a Deliberative Democracy Workshop in Dayton, Ohio, I had some background with the idea of public deliberation. At that time, as an English teacher interested in finding meaningful ways to teach language, I wanted to learn more about how National Issues Forums issue guides could be adapted to our teaching context, where English is learned as a foreign language. From this instrumental view of deliberation (first, as encapsulated in texts, and later, as a pedagogical process) I moved to other understandings, which are still being constructed today through numerous interactions with other practitioners around the world through the network created by the foundation and nurtured by its members.

Every time we meet in Dayton, I have the opportunity to reflect on my work and the outcomes of the pedagogical choices we make every year in our undergraduate and postgraduate courses. The development of these ideas has found space in the workshops, deliberative forums, naming-and-framing sessions, newspaper articles, and research that reflect on deliberation as a way of relating to others, and ultimately, taking control of our lives.

As Blue and Dale (2016) point out in their paper "Framing and Power in Public Deliberation with Climate Change: Critical Reflections on the Role

of Deliberative Practitioners," reflexivity should be an integral part of what we do as academics. This means constantly questioning the assumptions and commitments both at institutional and personal levels, and examining the relationship between the two. In this sense, my essay is a reflective one. Any individual trajectory is intertwined with the institutional trajectory and their intersection may provide opportunities for change. This means that one cannot understand my attempts at becoming a deliberative practitioner without considering the institutional and historical context where I work. Two of the key lessons I have learned are that context matters and that change takes time and is not always readily visible.

I am also aware of the institutional challenges of introducing initiatives that foster democratic attitudes among staff and students in ways that challenge the predominant political culture.

In terms of context, according to the official documents, the university where I work is a public, free-of-charge, democratic institution, with full scientific and pedagogical autonomy, committed to the development of social, economic, and political transformation of the state of Paraná and Brazil. The university guides itself by the principles of interdependence between teaching, research, and community engagement (or extension/outreach); equal conditions for student access; freedom; and respect for the plurality of ideas. Its goal is to produce and disseminate knowledge, educating citizens and professionals with technical and humanistic competences, who then adopt ethical values like freedom, equity, and social justice.

From a discourse perspective, the university is committed to educating citizens, but the meanings of this ideal are as diverse as the people who embrace this commitment. The discourse that higher education institutions have a role to play in nurturing citizenship in democratic societies is widespread, and higher education institutions all over the world have been increasingly called upon to reflect on their roles in creating more equitable and democratic societies. This is particularly the case for public universities in developing countries with missions like the one mentioned, because they have a mandate to maintain strong relationships with the communities they are supposed to serve in order to transform society.

However, I am also aware of the institutional challenges of introducing, at the practical level, initiatives that foster democratic attitudes among staff

and students in ways that challenge the predominant political culture, which may be heavily dominated by "representation" and polarization. That means that higher education needs to counter a political ethos that alienates individuals and stimulates confrontation. Politics lies at the heart of these institutions because they are funded by the state, and resources are becoming scarce. A lot of political energy is geared towards demands and protests, due to the continuing withdrawal of the state from the responsibility to provide free quality education to the public.

My university is, at the moment, living the contradictions of an economic and political system that alienates and sidelines citizenship that is broadly defined as the horizontal relationships among citizens in order to build democratic societies. Like in so many other places, politics in the university is largely understood as what politicians do (and not very well), and being a citizen means protesting against the status quo and taking sides. While the university is not supposed to engage in party politics, many members of the academic community are critical of the government initiatives to curb its autonomy.

Although it has a clear mission to educate professionals—who are also citizens—the university does little to provide spaces for student or staff deliberation, despite giving them representative spaces in decision making. For the university, it means creating mechanisms that ensure that staff, faculty, and students are represented in various councils. Voting is considered a central feature of institutional democracy, and representative forms of participation through committee work are encouraged on campus.

In the study I carried out in 2010, I found that different discourses surround the idea that universities play a role in strengthening democracy or preparing citizens. These discourses can be roughly categorized into three types. The first essentially sees citizenship education as the preparation of professionals to meet the demands of a developing economy. The success of the relationship is based upon the university's capacity to generate the labor required by the economy. This first discourse is exemplified by the comments of a businessman who attended one of the focus groups and emphasized the need to be more responsive to the world "out there." The second set of ideas would argue that the university has to generate new knowledge and reflect upon its effect on society. A professor attending one of the forums stressed this perspective, acknowledging that research is funded publicly and has to incorporate accountability into its design. These two perspectives, albeit different, do not seem to address the issue of transformation. The third kind of discourse does exactly that, and is reflected also in the documents guiding the university academic activities. This

perspective is concerned with the preparation of transformative professionals who care about equity and social justice.

My own attempts at bringing a deliberative perspective to my practices contrast with the institutional culture, which is at another stage of development and focusing heavily on issues of social justice.

In societies marked by huge socioeconomic inequalities, to democratize higher education may also mean to become more easily accessible to social groups that have been historically marginalized. In this highly competitive context, entrance requirements have to take into account that candidates from poorer backgrounds need to have a level playing field. For this reason, one of the main understandings of a democratic university implies the adoption of some form of affirmative action. In our case, in the last 10 years, we have introduced quotas for indigenous people, Afro-Brazilians, and students who have done their entire education in public schools. However, access is not enough and other programs have to be designed to guarantee that those successful in the entrance procedures will be able to continue through graduation.

To democratize higher education may also mean to become more easily accessible to social groups that have been historically marginalized.

Therefore, one way of enacting the university mission is to broaden the student body to represent the diversity of our society. However, that understanding does not necessarily lead to the nurturing of a democratic mindset; on the contrary, there is the danger of accepting that this will be enough. I had a chance to check whether framing the democratic mission of the university in terms of access and permanence was adequate. In a series of deliberative forums, I tried to collect a richer picture of what the campus community thought of this issue. Some of the participants pointed out that the knowledge produced was also relevant to the discussion, because who benefits from this knowledge tells a lot about whose interests are being served. Overall, the various contributions during those forums about deliberative democracy and the role of public universities reinforced my impression that the predominant mindset focuses on the institution and its relationship to democracy, rather than what we have been doing to educate citizens who are also professionals.

This problem has been aggravated more recently, as the university mission is being pushed more and more towards "excellence," narrowly defined

by international rankings that favor competition rather than collaboration, and which do little to create mindsets favorable to active citizenship. As research tends to predominate in this environment, and the models come from the "developed" anglophone world, universities in developing countries face enormous challenges if they want to remain true to their locales and go beyond the "productivity race" that forces academics to concentrate their energy on research and publications. It is easy to see how this external pressure can create a sense of powerlessness and dictate what kind of research gets done. And therefore, questions of who benefits from it are rarely asked. It is important to realize that while universities exist in specific communities, with different cultures and aspirations, they are also part of a larger network of institutions that depend on external funding.

But while it is true that the above demands tend to obscure local agendas, it is possible to design participatory research that involves those who *benefit* from the research, and to adopt an ethical perspective that preserves and nurtures the relationship between the university and the community. Even in cases where research tends to be valued more than other forms of engagement, it is possible to produce knowledge collaboratively, by deciding together what gets researched and how. Projects can integrate teaching, research, and service, and over the years I have tried to establish a close connection between schoolteachers, students, and researchers in addressing issues that affect teaching in public schools. My contact with public deliberation has shown me the value of listening attentively, paying attention to the "problems behind the problems," and trying to understand the values behind the arguments.

One such opportunity arose when we decided to contribute to policymaking at a local level by inviting schoolteachers, undergraduate students, and local authorities to work together to design a curriculum for primary schools (years 1 through 5). For two years, we met regularly and discussed ways of incorporating language-teaching practices that were contextually sensitive. A final document, jointly produced, was further deliberated in a seminar that broadened the audience; working in small groups, participants made suggestions and validated the document.

Learning opportunities at the many events organized by the Kettering Foundation also helped me guide students as a supervisor. In teaching, I found the most fertile ground for exploring the principles of a deliberative educational culture. The introduction of deliberative pedagogy into the curriculum, albeit limited to one class, has shown that it is important to "think globally but act locally."

In my view, institutions have priorities and act in ways that do not necessarily foster a view of democracy that includes people getting together to name and frame issues. But individuals can incorporate deliberative modes of teaching and participation that can slowly produce small changes that bridge citizenship education discourse and deliberative institutional practices.

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AN ISLAND OF DELIBERATION IN AN AUTHORITARIAN ENVIRONMENT
The Case of Russia

Denis Makarov

Given the chance, how could Russian students benefit from practicing deliberation? What challenges would deliberation present to university faculty in contemporary Russian society? This essay will focus on these two significant questions out of dozens of findings from the report *Classrooms for Democracy: Experiments with Deliberation and Russian University Students*.

The purpose of this research, carried out from 2006-2013 by the Foundation for the Development of Civic Culture and the Department of Political Science and Sociology of the Moscow State Pedagogical University, was to discover how deliberative, democratically oriented communication in the classroom might help higher education institutions become better agents for carrying out responsible civic and democratic missions.

Students and Deliberation

We worked with three groups of college students that received varying exposures to deliberative theory and practices:

- **control students** were those enrolled in standard Russian college courses who were not exposed to concepts of deliberation;
- **course students** participated in a theoretical course entitled Theory and Practice of Deliberative Democracy;
- **forum students** participated in in-class deliberative forums.

The project progressed through five stages. In stages one and two, an analysis of the status quo of Russian higher education's civic mission was conducted. This included identifying students' political attitudes, perceptions, and even a "general presence of the political" in contemporary higher education. We discovered how and to what extent Russian students were politicized—or not.

Based on outcomes from stages one and two of the research, we developed approaches for helping students bridge the *civic* and the *political* within the

curriculum by developing new explorations in a deliberation-based course. Theory and Practice of Deliberative Democracy was launched at stage three in the fall of 2009. The course had significant impact on the course students, as the findings indicate. Compared to the control students, the course students appeared better informed, more reasonable, and had better self-identity as "young political beings." Stage four of the project, during the 2010-2011 academic year, included in-classroom issues forums. These deliberations were based on five public issues, named and framed using the National Issues Forums format as an example. This research helped us understand how different (both civically and politically) the forum students were from the control students, but also from the course students. Stage five was carried out during the academic year of 2012-13. In this stage, findings were synthesized and critically analyzed to identify the challenges inherent in introducing Russian college students to public politics and the prospects for doing so.

> *Students rediscovered that they were, indeed, civic and political creatures, not just bolts inside some paternalistic state's mechanism.*

Impact of Deliberation

Our research suggests that when college students are exposed to the concept of public politics, and have opportunities for practical experiences in deliberation, many impacts occur. These include:

- the development of civic and political skills for a better society;
- a broadening of experience and knowledge;
- an increase in students' deliberative "nature";
- the development of a culture of engagement and participation;
- an ability to negotiate conflicting positions; and
- the development of tolerance and appreciation of others.

Development of a Civic and Political Citizenry

A better civic and political citizenry is one in which like-minded individuals devote their personal knowledge, values, skills, and efforts to changing their community, nation, and world for the better. Have we seen any transformation towards this abstract "citizenry"? The answer is yes. The course students rediscovered

that they were, indeed, civic and political creatures, not just bolts inside some paternalistic state's mechanism. Now they have this knowledge, and can use it when there is an opportunity. In contrast, the forum students did not study deliberative theory, but they *exercised* democratic communication in a practical way. Both groups liked their experiences. However, the forum students expressed their interest in learning more about the historical and theoretical grounds for deliberation. The course students seemed puzzled about how the theory of what they learned could work in real life. The course students definitely wanted to go beyond just theory. Both groups, either intuitively or rationally, were pondering the question, "What does it really mean to be a better civic and political citizen?" and were willing to explore this question.

Broadening of Experience and Knowledge

Without a doubt, this impact was the easiest to notice and measure. Through the course on deliberation, our students' understanding and knowledge of the civic and political was getting more rational and comprehensive. By the end of the course, the students had made their own discovery that, in some cases, *political* and *civic* might be almost synonymous. We believe this was the result of the exercises in which students were trying to discover politics in social settings and learn where people use democratic interaction tools. For many of them, civic action *could* become political action as well.

For the forum students, because of their personal experiences with deliberation, the forums became a vivid political action; they probably would not have identified communication as a political action if they had not participated in these gatherings. Unfortunately, the broader experience that the course and forums students have access to offers few chances for practical implementation outside of the school. Still, the experience enhanced their personal development, and could be called upon during social activities and occasional discussions on campus until there is growth of Russia's civil society.

Increase in a Deliberative Nature

An increase in the deliberative nature of students has been noticeable among the forum students. With only a few exceptions, we cannot say the same about the course students. It would appear that deliberative practice is more likely to bring about civic progress; it is not enough to simply learn the theory of deliberation, you must try it. Most students were excited about communicative democracy (one of the terms we use for public deliberation in Russia), and shared their positive impressions afterward. We believe that

deliberative "potential" is inherent in the human consciousness. We make personal decisions by communicating and negotiating within our own "management centers" in our heads. If an issue that we are trying to resolve is complicated, we weigh the pros and cons, refer to moral standards, and consider different approaches to its resolution. Although the deliberation is natural, it is not always easy to apply it when communicating with others, especially if you are shy or feel pressure from other people in a conversation. According to the forum students, deliberative discussions that we had on different issues helped them liberate their civic potential to work and make decisions with others. It has helped them achieve a better clarity on the issues and identify the natural gifts in themselves and their class peers as "political citizens." The next outcome follows naturally from this.

Development of a Culture of Engagement

In an ordinary forum, the self-discovery (independently, or with the encouragement of the moderator) of an "essence" of civic and political can start to occur with the introduction of engagement and participation. Then, some time after that, students begin to feel and look more comfortable, obviously beginning to enjoy this deliberative form of participation and engagement—this alternative approach to a civic life. They definitely begin to see themselves as citizens, and can now discover that politics is not as complicated and far away as it seemed before. The more you exercise this culture, the higher efficiency you have. By the end of stage four of the project (after the forum experiences), most students who participated wanted to use the deliberative method elsewhere —in their families, communities, and NGOs. This was clearly indicated in our interviews with them. We cannot say it was a mass phenomenon (we were, after all, aware of what country our project was taking place in), still it was a small victory over the "politics as usual."

Ability to Negotiate Conflicting Positions

We identified both individual and group psychological changes within the course students and the forum students regarding their ability to negotiate conflicts. However only the most diligent of the course students were able to demonstrate this through their participation in class discussions. Building on their theoretical knowledge, they were able to articulate a way to move from conflict to negotiation. Almost all the forum students, regardless of their diligence to their studies, were able to effectively benefit from participation in a deliberative forum. Does this mean that one does not have to be a very well-

educated person to be a good citizen? Yes, it does. In everyday life, many people come to forums having no idea about the theory of deliberation, but they often appear to be the most civically engaged when the forum starts.

Development of Tolerance

Unfortunately, the Russian social environment lacks a Western level of tolerance and positive attitudes toward fellow human beings. Many Russians would prefer to blame their political elites for spreading common aggressiveness and disrespect, but these elites are not raised outside, so the sins of elites are first of all societal sins. Our deliberative course and the forums provide therapeutic effect in regard to the development of tolerance and appreciation of fellow human beings. Course students and forum students seemed to become atypical Russians, at least right after the completion of their programs. Many course students were rationally projecting their new, more tolerant and more respectful attitudes toward others because they obtained knowledge on how important it was to respect and tolerate diversities. The forum students were not necessarily that inherently rational. Their care and appreciation was built upon evidence that it was easier to discuss and solve an issue in an environment were people care about what they do jointly, where they accept the right to express different opinions, and where the advantages of being and feeling equal are experienced.
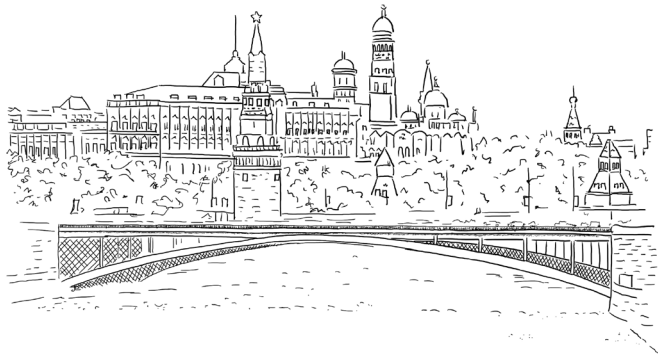
Challenges for Faculty

In addition to the student-focused findings from this multi-year research, challenges for faculty who are trying to introduce public politics and deliberation in the classroom were also identified. Among the major challenges for faculty are:
- the absence of civil society;
- psychological resistance;

- societal stereotypes and mindsets;
- political climate and ideology;
- theorization of the learning environment;
- lack of knowledge and experiences.

Absence of Civil Society

Issues around a weak, if not an absent, independent civil society is Russia's current reality. Thus, there are difficulties with explaining to students what the active life of a democratic citizen could look like. Of course, there are organizations like the Russian branch of Greenpeace or the Moscow Helsinki Group, but recent legislation makes it risky to associate with international organizations and Russian NGOs that receive grants from international donors. There are officially approved youth organizations, but these are not good examples of independent civic associations. There are a few pure civil society examples, but their representation and capacity are minimal and are definitely insufficient for such a large country as Russia. It might appear problematic these days to teach students about "a Western interpretation" of democracy and build projects within some institutionalized organizations with independent funding. That is why we, along with some of our colleagues around Russia, have been using educational institutional spaces for implementation of encouraging civic activism projects. Our courses, and hundreds of forums conducted over the last two decades in secondary schools, colleges, and universities, become our small contribution toward the creation of civil-society models and development of civic practices in Russian classrooms.

Psychological Resistance

Another challenge is psychological resistance. It is pretty natural to live the way your parents, grandparents, etc. have lived for centuries. It is easier to consider yes-no solutions instead of multiple options that require you to leave your personal comfort zone. It is easier to have someone decide for you or on your behalf, and it is easier to do nothing rather than be faced with hard choices. "Psychology of a shell" was discussed a lot. In various cases, Russians try to hide themselves inside a personal comfort shell and wait until some situation turns better by itself. Only extreme threats of extermination (like Napoleon's or Hitler's invasions) could wake them up and unite them against an outside threat. This explains why we had many upset voices, especially in the control students and the course students. They were skeptical about the applicability

of Western liberal democracy and its methods in a Russian reality. It doesn't mean that they were supportive of the existing so-called "sovereign democracy" doctrine. Democracy requires the public to be public, to have critical thinking, and to no longer be docile. All these, and many related behavioral aspects, require major changes within individual and mass psychology, and could not always be achieved easily or fast enough.

Societal Stereotypes and Mindsets

Psychological resistance goes arm-in-arm with societal stereotypes and mindsets, rooted in feudal and authoritarian habits that remain part of living in contemporary Russia. One of the most dangerous stereotypes that students were aware of is a long-term notion of a hostile environment or conspiracy plot against Russia and Russians. Unfortunately, no form of public deliberation can fully defeat this myth that goes back to the time of Ivan the Terrible, if not earlier. According to another stereotypical mindset, the Russian nation was chosen by God. Moscow will sooner or later become a World's Savior Center —the so-called Christian's Third Rome. This makes millions of people still believe their path and faith are the only right ones. For millions of Russians, the antichrist, sooner or later, will come from the West for the final battle between God's people (Russians) and the antichrist army (the West). Another stereotype is the presumption that only a strong and authoritarian leader can protect Russia and guarantee unity and prosperity to its people. The harm done by this mindset is obvious; if you always rely on some strong leader you won't leave any political space for yourself, for a public, or for civil society, and won't deserve a better alternative to some outdated political regime in general.

One more interesting mindset is an "Oblomov Phenomenon" or "Oblomovshina"—a life philosophy of indecision, laziness, apathy, and inertia, described by the Russian novelist Ivan Goncharov in 1859. Goncharov's main hero, Oblomov, a young educated upper-class aristocrat, had thoughts about a better future, but never got beyond dreaming and philosophizing about that future. Goncharov presented an image of Oblomov as the quintessence of many Russians—expecting something but doing nothing in support of the expectations. The novel is well known in Russia and the problems raised by Goncharov were often a page of discussions about politics and public activism.

Political Climate and Ideology

It would be a mistake to think that the times of ideological pressure left with the old Soviet system. Ideology is once again present and getting stronger,

simultaneously with a tougher political climate. Unfortunately, ideology is slowly but gradually seeping back into the academy. While at the beginning of this project in 2006, students and faculty were talking about more freedom in the classrooms than anywhere else in the society, these voices were becoming quieter from year to year. By 2010, it became obvious that the academy was itself under the mild pressure of the Kremlin's doctrines. Although no official laws in this regard have been announced, it was ubiquitously "recommended" at the schools' highest administrative levels that possible "Western" influences and contact should be limited and monitored. All international programs and even visits of Western professors had become impossible without administrative confirmation and/or special approval. Needless to say, this remains the case today.

While at the beginning of this project students and faculty were talking about more freedom in the classrooms, these voices were becoming quieter from year to year.

Theorization of the Learning Environment

As one of the research team's members, Dr. Olga Krasina in 2007 identified a serious threat of general "theorization" within the Russian academy. Courses connected to political issues, even those adopted from other countries, were mostly translated with input on theory, with full or partial ignorance of practical components (especially those that seemed too different and non-applicable to the Russian reality). As a result, a lot that could have been really useful for developing an active citizenry is still missing. We were glad to see that our deliberative theory course had become a better alternative to this situation. The forums, from one side, were greeted by our students with great appreciation. From another side, our colleagues who were against it have criticized us, calling the forums "non-serious games inside the cathedral of education." In other words, deliberative forums and involved faculty were blamed for "using a non-scientific approach to society's issues and non-pedagogical methods of teaching." It came as no surprise that we have been further criticized by our opponents wherever it was possible. For example, our appeals to students to use forums elsewhere outside of the classroom have returned with criticism "not to provoke youngsters to [oppose] official politics," and to "leave education space for education."

Lack of Knowledge and Experience

Despite this opposition from some colleagues, we do not want to blame them for being necessarily engaged and influenced by new ideological trends and political climate change. We think the main problem is with the lack of knowledge and understanding. As citizens, these critics might perform even poorer than some of the control students. The younger faculty at least have more chances for improvement. Most professors, especially those who are close to the administrative level, are "the children of the Soviet academia." Their knowledge and mindsets, framed somewhere between old authoritarian concepts and the currently popular critique of Western liberal democracy, might not allow them to accept deliberation as a universal tool. It is also clear that they are not ready to sympathize with any progressive—albeit innocent—Western tools if they carry a hint of critique about domestic political concepts and political leadership.

But there are also faculty who *do* want to make a difference. They are not necessarily much younger, but some of them have been introduced to alternative experiences, either through partnership projects with foreign universities or having been participants in international academic exchange programs. There are others who do not have access to international programs but at least participated in our various seminars and public-politics workshops, and/or took part in deliberative forums. We have had a group of professors (Dr. Chulkinov, Dr. Provalova, Dr. Kolosov, and a few others) who have been involved in our earlier projects and were positively influenced by the significance of the effect that deliberation had on students and the general public. Still, a lack of personal experience in "communicative democracy" continues to be a challenge in our work and research.

Prospects for Today's Russian College Students

In 2009, when we were exploring students' attitudes toward politics, we asked questions about the status of Russian democracy and asked students to forecast its future. In accordance with the processed results, an average rounded status of Russian democracy was given a "+3" value within the scale of -10 to +10. Almost 70 percent of students believed at the time that the "+3' value would drop in the near future. These Russian students were, unfortunately, right.

We were also very interested in hearing students' opinions of the general applicability of democracy to the Russian political reality, especially taking into consideration the complexities of its long-term nondemocratic tradition. The majority of our respondents did not agree with the myth of the inapplicability

of democracy for Russians. That gave us hope, yet the question of the future of Russian democracy is still up in the air. We sincerely hope they will be right again and democracy might become a reality in Russia.

As for the important question of the prospects for the current generation of college students in Russia, it does concern Russian students and faculty a lot. Polarization goes along two major possible scenarios. First is a continuation of non-democratic tendencies in Russian political development. Second is the hope that the Russian civil resistance movement will lead to an awakening and development of civil society that will influence the course of political events before Russia can roll back to "authoritarian highhandedness." The current compromise —the official, Kremlin-invented concept of a special Russian type of "sovereign democracy"—is not, in reality, a compromise between two options. Rather, it is a "retouch" of the *former* political regime that helps the *existing* regime justify some of its strategies and actions that are not understood within commonly accepted democratic thoughts and principles in the world. The last things that Russian students would want are potential social explosions and instability. At the same time, all the student groups either intuitively or rationally understood the necessity for changes in the political and civic environment in Russia. But these changes should be implemented gradually, in small steps. In a civil society desert, they feel their schools are still the best socializing agents for providing knowledge and skills. They think that it is, indeed, a mission of their universities and their faculty to present and try new forms of democratic communication in the classroom, despite any obstacles from either inside or outside.

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PUBLICLY ENGAGED SCHOLARS: *Next-Generation Engagement and the Future of Higher Education*

Edited by Margaret A. Post, Elaine Ward, Nicholas V. Longo, and John Saltmarsh

Etana Jacobi, Reviewer

Publicly Engaged Scholars: Next-Generation Engagement and the Future of Higher Education, edited by Margaret A. Post, Elaine Ward, Nicholas V. Longo, and John Saltmarsh, is a collection of stories, insights, and questions raised by thirty-three civic-engagement practitioners and scholars that, together, call for the restoration of the public mission of higher education. Building on the work of previous generations of civic-engagement scholars, the authors highlight the efforts of a new generation of scholars. Their work is evidence of a larger shift in the fields of civic engagement and public scholarship, a shift that represents both a movement and a model for institutional change in the 21st century. Maintaining "an authentic respect for the expertise and experience that everyone contributes to education, knowledge generation, and community building" (4) defines the way in which these scholars engage with community and institutional partners.

In Chapter 2, "The Inheritance of Next-Generation Engagement Scholars," John Saltmarsh and Matthew Hartley orient the contemporary work of the next-generation engaged scholars in the thirty-year history and legacy of the contemporary civic-engagement movement. They note the ways in which the movement's emergence overlapped with major demographic shifts in the United States, with more people of color, women, and low-income individuals pursuing higher education than ever before. Concurrently, many universities also began incorporating diversity as a core component of their educational missions. Yet despite these shifts, Saltmarsh and Hartley argue, faculty from traditionally underrepresented groups, while slowly growing in numbers, still often struggled to succeed in the university setting because the "institutional epistemology was not hospitable to emerging forms of scholarship (or the scholars who used them) often referred to as *collaborative* or *public scholarship*, that originated in a rich and complex intersection of feminist, postmodern, postcolonial, and critical

race theories, and employed a broad array of disciplinary approaches, schools of thought, and methodological practices" (25).

The rise of this new form of scholarship is directly at odds with two historical and competing regimes of higher education: the "academic capitalist regime," which purports that "knowledge is constructed as a private good, valued for creating streams of high-technology products that generate profits as they flow through global markets" (28), and the "public-good knowledge/learning regime," whose goal is "for academics who create knowledge to move it beyond the ivory tower" (28) for the citizenry's benefit. The authors of this

Collaborative engagement serves as a model to strengthen pedagogy as well as democracy.

chapter argue that collaborative or public scholarship that has begun to emerge in recent

years is part of a new "public-engagement knowledge/learning regime" (28). This regime is unique in how it views both the creation as well as the use of knowledge, and thus requires significant and transformative shifts in higher education in order to be actualized. Instead of moving knowledge *beyond* the ivory tower once it is created, as the public-good regime suggests, the public-engagement regime requires that academics "move beyond the ivory tower to *create* knowledge" (29) with the public.

HEX readers might find the public-engagement regime familiar, as it is very much aligned with Kettering's understanding of how institutions operate in a democracy: "In the public-engagement regime, the university is part of an ecosystem of knowledge production addressing public problem-solving, with the purpose of advancing an inclusive, collaborative, and deliberative democracy" (29). Next-generation public-engagement scholars orient their work as a direct challenge to the existing higher education regimes and openly "resist the structures of privilege and inequality that are pervasive in higher education" (xx). They "embody diverse perspectives and experiences" and "collectively want to realize something different in the academy that [they] have inherited" (xxxi).

In Chapter 4, "Collaborative Engagement: The Future of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education," Nicholas Longo and Cynthia Gibson express concern over the detachment institutions of higher learning are experiencing from both their public missions and the communities they are situated in. Their proposed solution can be found in the understanding and attention these institutions pay to collaborative engagement defined by "its focus on

community, the recognition that learners are *cocreators* of knowledge through *democratic education*, and the involvement of a diverse range of participants in *deliberative* conversations to address real-world problems" (62). At the core of this proposal is "an asset-based orientation that values the talents, knowledge, and experiences of all participants in the learning process" (62). Collaborative engagement, sitting at the intersection of community engagement, deliberative dialogue, and democratic engagement, serves as a model to strengthen pedagogy as well as democracy (63).

The diversity of the book's contributors is indicative of a trend in the field of publicly engaged scholarship. The collection intentionally includes authors from "historically underrepresented populations—especially women, people of color, and low-income individuals" as well as "scholar-practitioners who span boundaries between the academy and the community" (3-4). The successes and challenges that stem from such inclusion are evident throughout the book. It highlights narratives written by publicly engaged scholars navigating difficult pathways in and around traditional academic structures.

In Chapter 6, "Legitimacy, Agency, and Inequality: Organizational Practices for Full Participation of Community-Engaged Faculty," KerryAnn O'Meara uses vignettes to demonstrate how the elevation of traditional kinds of scholarship over community research hinders the development, agency, and recognition of publicly engaged scholars. Throughout the chapter, O'Meara tracks the careers of two different scholars at the same land-grant university who have had vastly different experiences as a result of how the institution views and values their research. These stories demonstrate that, while both scholars are respected in their fields and are passionate about their work, opportunities for mentorship, funding, public recognition, job security, and advancement are drastically limited by the direction of their scholarship. One scholar's engaged research was seen merely as "service" and acted as a barrier to his advancement throughout his career because their institution "[had] delineated clearly what counts as legitimate scholarship and legitimate reviews" and what did not (101). Despite the high quality of his work and the tangible impact it had in the communities he worked with, his engaged scholarship was consistently devalued by the academic system he was operating in. Contrastingly, his colleague, by the nature of her research interests and how those interests aligned with the priorities of their institution, had little difficulty advancing up the academic ladder and earning tenure, public recognition, support, and funding for her work. In both instances, the faculty members pursued the research that they were most passionate about in the ways that they were trained, but the engaged

scholar experienced "constrain[ed] faculty agency in pursuit of community engagement" (103).

Throughout Chapter 6, and in the narratives that make up the bulk of the last two sections of the book, the reader is consistently presented with evidence that publicly engaged scholars are doing something that is both meaningful yet not adequately supported by existing higher education structures. This dichotomy is often demonstrated in the scholars' commitment to, and the demonstrable success of, their public-engagement work and the institutional barriers they face in pursuit of it.

> *Publicly engaged scholars are doing something that is both meaningful yet not adequately supported by existing higher education structures.*

Jessica Jones, a doctoral student at Colorado University Boulder, describes herself as "an outsider working from within" (143) at the start of Chapter 9, "Paving New Professional Pathways for Community-Engaged Scholarship." Throughout her time in and around higher education, Jones has sought work with the public, building sustainable community relationships in a variety of capacities. She has, however, faced a series of structural roadblocks that have not only made her work more difficult, but have also devalued her contributions "unless [they] receive an external award or [other recognition] that is immediately quantifiable" (144). Barbara Harrison, a research associate and practitioner-scholar, has also struggled to find her place in academia. She has been forced to navigate an unconventional path in higher education in order to do the community-engagement work she feels passionate about. Despite the financial and job security tradeoffs of such a choice, Harrison believes "by deliberately choosing an alternative role within higher education, there is potential that [she] might create pathways for other people choosing such roles" (146). Patrick Green, director of Loyola University of Chicago's Center for Experience Learning, is similarly navigating his own nontenure-track path at his university, but is fortunately in "a dynamic position that honors the multiple identities of a public scholar and supports such a hybrid professional role." Even in the supportive institutional home Green has found at Loyola, performance metrics still do not exist for him and others like him who work in hybrid roles, leaving them at the fringes of the academy.

In Chapter 15, "Building an Organizational Structure That Fosters Blended Engagement," Byron White, vice president of university engagement

at Cleveland State University, shares a different story. CSU was established fifty years ago as a state-assisted university, with the primary objective of providing higher education to residents of greater Cleveland and northeast Ohio, and has largely maintained an open-admissions policy in order to do that. Unfortunately, while such a policy has expanded access to many individuals who would not otherwise have been able to pursue a degree, it has also historically been seen as at odds with CSU establishing a distinct and rigorous academic reputation in the greater higher education world. White details a recent shift that has occurred in the administration of the school as it reorients its "organizational infrastructure to achieve the dual mission of ensuring that students achieve lifelong success while building civic partnerships that address the region's most pressing cultural and economic challenges" (233). White finds himself exploring "what a next-generation university can be: namely, an urban university that ties its very survival to the ability to effectively engage its city and region" (233). His position combines the oversight of three traditionally unconnected areas in higher education: workplace engagement, inclusion and multicultural engagement, and civic engagement. The intentionality of this grouping provides a collaborative environment with "the opportunity to deal with these tensions within a shared ecosystem rather than as independent campus functions working in isolation" (234). White suggests that while organizational and administrative reform might not be appealing for many on the frontlines of the public-engagement movement, it is imperative that they spend more time examining how organizations can and should be structured.

In the Afterword, Peter Levine, associate dean for research at Tufts University and Kettering Foundation board director, orients his recommendations for this 21st century civic-engagement movement with a personal narrative. Recounting how formative debates and conversations were throughout his undergraduate experience, and weaving theorists and practical applications of their discussions into his introduction, Levine makes the argument that the experiences of publicly engaged scholars have outrun their theories. Calling on his colleagues, he argues, "we will be unable to address profound social problems until we strengthen our theoretical understanding of society, and that will come from books, data, and seminar rooms as well as from action in communities" (249). Levine then asserts that there are two categories of problems: problems with discourse and problems with collective action. The first set of problems relates to our difficulty with fostering productive discourse, and he identifies ideology, implicit bias, motivated reasoning, and polarization as the key culprits. Under collective-action problems, Levine lists principal-agent

conflicts, free riders, path dependence, Arrow's impossibility theorem, and boundary problems as the main barriers to accomplishing things collectively, even if people agree on goals and values.

Levine's suggestions serve as a call to action for this next generation of scholars to develop new and profound theoretical insights: "We need theories not only about civic engagement but also about how society works and what causes it to change for the better" (256). Noting that these problems are inextricably linked and fundamental to the movement's "unfinished intellectual agenda" (250), Levine gives the next generation of scholars much to wrestle with as they continue to develop their movement and a model for institutional higher education change in the 21st century.

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AFTERWORD
Citizens in a Global Society

David Mathews

This year, I am writing the same article for all three of Kettering's major publications: *Connections*, the *Review*, and the *Higher Education Exchange* (*HEX*). My objective is for readers of each of the publications to know what is being reported in the other two. Together, they tell a more complete story of what's needed to make our democracy work as it faces global forces that threaten to disempower citizens.

All three periodicals have the same subject: Kettering's multinational studies, which is the focus of this year's research review. The foundation's multinational research falls into two broad categories. The first category is identical to Kettering's research done with citizens, communities, and institutions in this country—except that the organizations collaborating in the research are from outside the United States. The second category is research on supplemental citizen diplomacy, which works through sustained dialogues to counter potentially violent conflict.

The job of our publications is to share what we are learning in all of the multinational research and to solicit thoughts from readers. *Connections* will carry stories, not about Kettering, but about civic organizations in other countries, written whenever possible by the people in those organizations. The *Review* will acknowledge our debt to the articles and books from outside the United States that have had a significant influence on how the foundation has come to understand democracy. And *HEX* will speak to American institutions of higher education about their role in democracy at a time when democracy around the world is in trouble. The seriousness of that trouble has been spelled out in such reports as *The Democratic Disconnect*, a 2013 publication by the Transatlantic Academy, and in articles like a March 1, 2014, essay in the *Economist* entitled "What's Gone Wrong with Democracy?" *HEX* is responsible for dealing with one of the most fundamental of democracy's problems, which is that many institutions—including academic ones—tend to see citizens as consumers, clients, supporters, or a constituency to be served rather than as agents and producers.

There are, however, exceptions, and *HEX* has accounts of academic efforts in countries outside the United States that treat citizens as agents. In some

institutions, faculty are introducing a deliberative democracy pedagogy in their classrooms. Deliberative democracy treats citizens as decision makers for actions they may take. This pedagogy has been introduced in Israel, Brazil, Russia, Australia, Hungary, and South Africa. The study of deliberative pedagogy will be reinforced by a joint venture with the Talloires Network of universities from around the world that will introduce citizen deliberation. Another Kettering initiative will show students how they can make a difference in a democracy that includes, but is more than, electoral politics. That is the goal of summer exchanges where students from other countries meet with American students. In support of this initiative, a forthcoming book by professor Denis Makarov explores political attitudes of students at Moscow State Pedagogical University and the impact of deliberative experiences on their attitudes. There are similar initiatives in American universities, which have been reported in other issues of *HEX*.

Two Categories of Multinational Research

In the first category of Kettering's multinational research, the foundation collaborates with nongovernmental organizations outside the United States that are interested in what Kettering is studying: why people do or don't become engaged as citizens who exercise sound judgment, the work citizens do in communities to solve problems and educate the young, and productive ways that people can engage large institutions, both governmental and nongovernmental, as those institutions try to engage them. This research is the way the foundation organizes its study of democracy.

At the heart of the word *democracy* is the "demos," or citizenry, and Kettering refers to the ways citizens go about their work as "democratic practices." ("Kratos," or "power," is the other root of democracy.) The democratic practices that Kettering studies require self-responsibility, which can't be exported or imported. So the focus of our research is on the United States, not other countries. Yet our studies have been greatly enriched by what the foundation has learned from nongovernmental organizations in some 100 other countries spread across the globe.

Organizations in other countries interested in this research come to summer learning exchanges called the Deliberative Democracy Institutes (DDIs) to share their experiences with one another and the foundation. Some of the participants come back to enter Kettering's multinational residency program, which now has a large alumni group. These alumni often return as faculty for the institutes.

Kettering's second category of multinational research is on citizen diplomacy, and it centers on three countries: Russia, China, and Cuba. The governments in these countries have, or have had, serious differences with the government in the United States; communications have broken down or have been problematic. The premise of the studies, as the late Hal Saunders, Kettering's long-time director of international affairs, explained to the *New York Times*, is that we live in a time when governments face a growing number of problems they cannot deal with alone, so citizens outside of government have to fill that void. Citizen diplomacy is not intended to replace or compete with government diplomacy, but to supplement it. And from Kettering's perspective, this research gives the foundation a way to study dangerous conflicts, which are, unfortunately, an inescapable part of politics.

Russia

Beginning during the Cold War, the Dartmouth Conference—a joint venture with Russian partners—developed a new process for dealing with conflict that Hal Saunders called "Sustained Dialogues." This dialogue fits in between what governments do and people-to-people programs. When Dartmouth began, nuclear conflict was a real possibility, and Dartmouth opened a line of communication that took advantage of the perspective of citizens. As political scientist James C. Scott has pointed out in his writing, people don't "see like a state," and, thus, can convey the concerns of the nation as a whole. That is, citizens who do not have the responsibilities of government have experiences from other walks of life they can bring to bear on problems between countries.

The challenges Dartmouth has faced have been almost overwhelming. The possibilities for a nuclear holocaust—even if begun unintentionally—have been real. Kettering got involved because it was, in light of the enormity of the threat, simply the right thing to do. The foundation could never prove that this dialogue was or would be effective. However, it has been going on for 56 years, which is one indication of its value. For much of that time, the larger conference has been augmented by a Dartmouth task force on regional conflicts. Most recently, new task forces have been created to foster cooperative ventures. The first promotes cooperation in medicine.

Recently, during the Ukraine crisis, when the two governments reduced their bilateral contacts, both sides agreed to reinstitute the citizen-to-citizen meetings of the large Dartmouth Conference. The conference has reconvened four times in less than two years. The next meeting has already been scheduled for early 2017.

Dartmouth has provided Kettering a unique opportunity to look at what citizens can do to reduce the possibilities for violent conflict. The dialogue involves digging behind official positions and stated interests to try to uncover what is really valuable in human, not just geopolitical, terms. Then, proceeding from that, the two sides try to imagine scenarios of reciprocal steps that the countries could take to relieve tensions and build confidence—while recognizing differences.

Conference participants on the US side have ranged from business leaders like David Rockefeller to journalists like Harrison Salisbury, from scientists like Paul Doty to small-town mayors like Scott Clemons and National Issues Forums leaders like Nancy Kranich. The Russians reciprocated in kind with cosmonauts, scientists, and scholars selected initially by the Russian Institute for US and Canadian Studies, which was led by Georgy Arbatov and later by a group headed by the former energy minister Yuri Shafranik.

China

In 1985, the foundation proposed, and the Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping agreed, to begin nongovernmental dialogues to supplement the resumption of formal, government-to-government contact. The topics were contentious, such as an increasingly independent Taiwan, which China saw as belonging to them. Deng assigned the Institute of American Studies, under Li Shenzhi, the responsibility for working with Kettering. This year in Beijing, we recognized more than 30 years of collaboration, which has included people like newspaper editor Katherine Fanning, former government official Robert McNamara, and community leader Anna Faith Jones from the Boston Foundation.

In time, this exchange went beyond two-day conferences to take new forms. The Chinese Institute arranged meetings with others, like the China Institute for International Strategic Studies and the Central Party School of the Chinese Communist Party. The institute and Kettering also undertook joint studies that are described in the volume, *China-United States Sustained Dialogues: 1986-2001*, edited by Zhao Mei of the Institute of American Studies and Maxine Thomas of the Kettering Foundation. In addition, Kettering added a program of fellowships to the exchange, which draws scholars from both the institute and Peking University.

Kettering doesn't study China, per se, any more than it studies Russia or any other country. That research is best done by universities and policy institutes. The foundation concentrates on relationships between countries as a whole.

A full account of the roles our foundation has played in China is included in *The Destiny of Wealth*, written by Zi Zhongyun, a leading Chinese authority on the United States. The current exchange is built on earlier exchanges going

back to 1972. The Chinese have put Kettering in the category of "old friends" and consider the relationship a special one.

Cuba

The relationship between the governments of the United States and Cuba has been disrupted for more than 50 years. Only recently has the relationship begun to change. But nearly 20 years ago, the foundation began a research exchange with a nongovernmental organization in Cuba, the Antonio Núñez Jiménez Foundation for Nature and Humanity. The exchange didn't take the form of Sustained Dialogue; instead, it has been based on studying comparable problems, such as community responses to natural disasters and environmental damage on the Gulf Coast. Kettering also has provided fellowships in Dayton for staff from Núñez who want to become familiar with the foundation's studies and its methods for doing the research.

The principal joint venture with Núñez is a biannual conference on "active citizenship," a term the Cubans chose. The focus is not on the government-to-government relationship, but rather on similar problems in both societies, like the role of communities in sustainable economic development and active citizenship in urban renewal. The major papers from these conferences are published in books that are shared in the United States, Cuba, and other Latin American countries. Even though the conferences are a Cuban-US collaborative venture, participants have come from across the Americas, from Canada to Brazil. What began as a bilateral project has evolved into a multilateral one.

Cross-Pollination

Kettering has benefited greatly from the cross-pollination of its two lines of multinational research. As I mentioned, in its study of politics, Kettering has to acknowledge the human potential for violent conflict and have something to say about how it could be avoided, something that is compatible with democracy. Sustained Dialogue does that. Kettering has also found that, whether in citizen diplomacy or in the citizen deliberations of the National Issues Forums (and similar forums now in other countries), people are more likely to understand one another, avoid conflicts, and maybe even work together when they focus on what is deeply valuable to all human beings, the ends and means of life itself, and not just on facts, ideology, or interests.

What connects the research on Sustained Dialogue and deliberative practices is the same thing that connects all of the foundation's research—it

is the focus on citizens and what citizens can do to make a difference. This research is relevant today because so many Americans aren't sure they can make a difference, even in an election season. Votes certainly count. But do they result in meaningful change in an age beset with what seem to be intractable problems—some generated here, some coming from far away? Many Americans aren't sure.

The airwaves today are filled with promises to "empower" people. Yet the true power citizens have is the power they generate themselves by working with others to produce things that can benefit everyone. The democratic practices Kettering studies are ways this work can be done that will give citizens the power to shape their future. You may recall that in 2009, a Nobel Prize went to Elinor Ostrom for proving that the products of the work of citizens are essential to making governments and large institutions more effective and responsive.

While the work of citizens might be accepted as essential in local matters and in communities, its value is questioned when the arena is national and international. Nonetheless, there are instances where "just citizens" have had a global impact. Environmental initiatives are evidence of that. Diplomacy, on the other hand, has always been the province of governments. Admittedly, the people involved in supplemental diplomacy haven't generally been rank-and-file. And certainly the pseudo-populist argument that skilled, professional diplomats can be replaced by the man or woman on the street is absurd. Sustained Dialogue, however, doesn't draw on professional expertise as much as recognize the importance of the things that human beings hold dear and the value of the distinctive perspective that citizens can bring to the table. It was Hal Saunders' sensibilities as a human being, not just his long experience in government, that led to his insights about what citizens could contribute. Just as certainly, it was using citizens as a touchstone that has allowed the Kettering Foundation to draw rich lessons from both citizen diplomacy and citizen democracy.

Kettering board member and Dartmouth cofounder Norman Cousins spoke about the role of citizens in his remarks to Dartmouth XV in 1986:

> Our meetings have come to occupy a very special place in the relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. They have justified, I believe, the hopes of President Eisenhower in initiating the project. His deep conviction, as I think you know, was that private citizens who are well informed and who have the confidence of their governments may be able to play a useful role by probing for possible openings that, for one reason or another, do not always surface in the meetings of diplomats. This does not mean that citizens should be expected to imitate or supersede the diplomats. Quite the

contrary. Our role is to raise questions and seek answers that do not ordinarily come up in the official exchanges. We can think and speak in a larger context. We are not obligated to defend every action or decision that occurs on the official level. We can afford to think in terms of historical principle. We need not shrink from the moral issues that often underlay the political problems or confrontations. We cannot be expected to commit our governments but, just in the act of identifying such issues, we may be able to invoke the process by which public opinion has a creative and constructive effect on national policies.

Norman makes a similar distinction to the one I made earlier: citizens can bring to diplomacy experiences outside of government. The foundation hopes that in the future its multinational research will show more about the unique contributions that citizens, in tandem with diplomats, can make. These contributions to relationships between countries are what Elimor Ostrom called "coproduction."

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