

HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE



Leadership and Democracy

Articles

Maura Casey

Michaela Grenier

Matthew R. Johnson

William V. Muse and Carol Farquhar Nugent

Mark Wilson

Interviews

Dennis Donovan and Harry C. Boyte

Katrina S. Rogers and Keith Melville

Afterword

David Mathews

Editors: Derek W. M. Barker and Alex Lovit
Managing Editor: Joey Easton
Proofreader: Ellen Dawson-Witt
Formatting: Long's Graphic Design, Inc.

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.

The Kettering Foundation is a nonprofit operating foundation, chartered in 1927, that does not make grants but welcomes partnerships with other institutions (or groups of institutions) and individuals who are actively working on problems of communities, governing, politics, and education. The interpretations and conclusions contained in the *Higher Education Exchange*, unless expressly stated to the contrary, represent the views of the author or authors and not necessarily those of the foundation, its trustees, or officers.

Copyright © 2019 by the Kettering Foundation
ISSN 2469-6293 (print)
ISSN 2471-2280 (online)

HIGHER EDUCATION EXCHANGE



2019

CONTENTS

Derek W. M. Barker and Alex Lovit	Leadership Education and the Public Mission of Higher Education (Foreword)	1
Maura Casey	Ralph Nader's Call to Citizenship	5
Matthew R. Johnson	The Role of Student Affairs in Fostering Democratic Engagement	15
Dennis Donovan and Harry C. Boyte	Developing Leaders: The Life and Work of a Citizen-Educator Using Public Achievement (An Interview)	26
Mark Wilson	Living Democracy: Lessons for Leadership Education	34
William V. Muse and Carol Farquhar Nugent	The Power of Public Deliberation: Civic Education for Older Students	44
Michaela Grenier	Building Student Civic Leadership through Sustained Dialogue	50
Katrina S. Rogers and Keith Melville	College and University Presidents Serving Democracy (An Interview)	59
David Mathews	What Kind of Democracy Does Higher Education Support? (Afterword)	68
	Contributors	79

RALPH NADER'S CALL TO CITIZENSHIP

Maura Casey

American colleges and universities have never been fully insulated from the political culture of the larger country, yet they struggle to prepare students to become civic leaders. During the 1970s, intense political debates over Vietnam, civil rights, feminism, and other topics played out on college campuses. It was in this context that Ralph Nader, who had already gained national prominence as a consumer-protection advocate, recognized the potential importance of higher education in teaching young people the skills of politics. Nader created an innovation in higher education's approach to preparing students for civic leadership: Public Interest Research Groups, which became a national network with a distinctive approach to civic leadership education. We asked Nader to tell his story to Maura Casey, a former editorial writer for the New York Times and a senior associate of the Kettering Foundation.

The small city of Winsted, Connecticut, is known for the Mad and Still Rivers that lap its boundaries; the looming mills lining Main Street that once produced textiles and clocks; and the Nader family, including its most famous son, Ralph: lawyer, consumer advocate, sometime presidential candidate, and above all, citizen.

Nader gained a worldwide reputation for his challenges to corporate power. Yet his impact on the civic activism of students, while lesser known, cannot be underestimated. It began nearly 50 years ago when Nader first established Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) on college campuses as a training ground for students to organize, research, petition, and lobby around a wide variety of causes. Over the years, the issues have changed, but the passion of students in PIRGs—still going strong in more than 20 states—has not diminished.

Walking the streets of Winsted helps one understand the origins of Nader's thinking and activism that has, in turn, influenced so many students. You can see the impact of the family everywhere in this leafy corner of Connecticut, close to the Massachusetts border. There is the American Museum of Tort Law, which Nader opened in 2015, housed within the neoclassical stone structure of a former savings bank. The museum tells the story of the evolution of torts, which provide legal recourse for wrongful injury to persons and damage to property. In a building on Main Street that once housed the Highland Arms restaurant owned by Nader's parents is a community book store established by Ralph Nader. It is fitting that the building is still in use by the family long after the restaurant closed for good. The eatery took the pulse of the town every day for nearly 50 years, and it was one of the businesses that Ralph's father,

Nathra Nader, an immigrant from Lebanon, established soon after he moved to the area in the 1920s.

A Dollar's Worth of Conversation

The restaurant was where the four Nader children first learned civic lessons. When Nathra died in 1991 at the age of 98, his obituary in the *Hartford Courant* quoted a shoe store owner saying, "Go into Nader's restaurant for a 10-cent cup of coffee, and you'll get a dollar's worth of conversation."

Nader learned about citizen power from the town-meeting tradition of New England and from his parents' restaurant and their encouragement to get involved and to make the community better.

"These were the days with no fast food chains," Nader said. "People weren't sitting in the restaurant looking at their phones or listening to things in their ear, they spoke to one another." The conversations involved expansive topics like international

affairs but included small talk, too: "There was a lot of self-government," said Nader. "They would talk about parking problems, whether we had enough police or too many police, and argue about everything, including the Yankees and Red Sox."

The restaurant was located across the street from the factories. Workers would swarm in after their shifts; traveling salesmen would arrive on one of the seven trains that ran daily to and from New York City, a little over 100 miles away; politicians running for office would introduce themselves to people at the long counter, and, of course, Nathra, who would meet them at the coffee urn, shake their hands, and not let go until he knew what they were thinking. Nader remembered:

You could walk the whole town in 25 minutes. The schools, the stores, the library, the dentist and doctor's office, everything was here. We could see the horizon; we could see the sun go down and come up. We would walk about a mile to the high school. It was all reduced to human scale. At that time, we took it all for granted, and now when you look back, it has an idyllic aspect to it.

Nader learned about citizen power from the town-meeting tradition of New England and from his parents' restaurant and their encouragement to

get involved and to make the community better. “Learn to listen,” Nader’s mother, Rose, frequently advised her children. Hands-on lessons—talking to people, attending meetings, both listening and speaking out—later influenced his approach.

It is no surprise, then, that Nader believes too many school experiences are a waste of time and our democracy is the poorer for it. “Students could learn more if they got out of the classroom once in a while and connected the classroom with the community and actually studied things,” he said. “They could ask questions, such as ‘What’s going on in town hall? Where’s the drinking water coming from?’”

In Nader’s view, schools and the resources within them are underutilized. He believes civic lessons and questions should be folded into every curriculum:

Too often, K through 12 is a huge waste. I mean, what do we remember from these classes? Most of it is memorization, regurgitation, and vegetation. Most of it is a type of education that tells us “believe, don’t think. Obey, don’t dissent,” even though we study American history and almost all the things we aspire to, such as the Bill of Rights, originally came from dissenters.

One of the reasons the political system is not functioning well, Nader said, is due to a lack of civic preparedness that schools should be addressing more completely:

When students come out of high school, are they ready for sweet-talking politicians? Are they ready for advertisements that deceive them and lie to them about products, say “these drugs are safe,” when they’re not safe, “these credit cards are a good deal,” when they’re not? As it is, the students are not ready; they’re straight-out sitting ducks for corporate and political manipulation that destroys our democratic society. We don’t have to look around for much evidence to prove that these days. It’s good to get started early so the students have civic skills. They learn how to do their homework.

Nader learned those civic skills from his childhood, but he learned darker lessons as well.

Citizen Power vs. Corporate Power

The Mad and Still Rivers were used to power factories but were also the mills’ dumping grounds, the water stained with whatever dye was used in production. “We never had the sense that they were our rivers and that we could fish and wade in them,” Nader said. “They were just sewers with colored dyes going down from the plants.”

In his book *The Seventeen Traditions: Tales from an American Childhood*, Nader expands on those recollections, writing:

The town's givers were matched, of course, by its takers—led by the industrial factories, which were low-paying and vigorously anti-union. The older companies were always vigilant about keeping new union factories out of the area. They seemed equally determined to keep fresh air and water at bay, using those two resources as their pollution sinks and sewers.¹

If the town meeting was the pulsing, civic heart of Winsted, the place every person could have his or her say, corporate ownership seemed its antithesis, with profit paramount and human concerns rarely softening the dictates of the bottom line. The factories that once made Winsted famous for clocks and clothing are all closed now. The trains that rumbled through town, taking Nader as a teenager to New York City to cheer at a Yankees game and depositing him back home the same day, don't wind their way through Winsted anymore.

The lesson would seem to be that some things are beyond the people's will, that diner-fueled debates are all well and good but talk rarely changes much of anything beyond zoning regulations and the town's education budget.

Except that's not the lesson that Ralph Nader learned. He internalized the opposite: that talk matters, people matter, and corporations not only *could* be challenged, they *should* be, by ordinary citizens, particularly students, poised to first question, then act, honing civic skills along the way.

Written while enrolled in Harvard Law School, Nader's book *Unsafe at Any Speed: The Designed-In Dangers of the American Automobile* was published in 1965. It used the Chevrolet Corvair as a powerful example of the auto industry's general indifference to safety. The car was small and sporty—indeed, a shiny red Corvair is at the very center of the Tort Museum's exhibits—but had a dangerous tendency to roll over. The book made it clear that the Corvair's steering and mechanical problems were just a few of a litany of safety defects plaguing American cars at the time, including a lack of seat belts, steering wheels that became spears during crashes, and windows that became razor-like when broken in a collision.

Engaging a Student Army

Unsafe at Any Speed became a best seller and goaded a reluctant Congress into action. General Motors was so incensed that the company hired private detectives to follow Nader. If company officials expected to intimidate him, they were seriously misguided. Not only did Nader sue for invasion of privacy

and win, recalled his associate, Donald Ross, that same year, Nader developed the idea of forming what he initially called “a student action army.”

“I told him, what with Vietnam, it didn’t make sense to have that name. Finally, we hit on calling it the Public Interest Research Group,” Ross said. The nonprofit organization, staffed with lawyers and scientists, and dedicated to seeking creative solutions to public problems, was meant to counter the well-financed special interests that dominate Washington, DC.

But what to do about funding? And how to start citizen-led Public Interest Action Groups across the country? College students were the answer. For one, they had the time, passion, and energy to help a myriad of public causes. They would also gain valuable experience researching issues, conducting public campaigns, working on legislation, and marshalling arguments to persuade others to join the cause. Along the way, they would learn about their own rights and how to exercise them in a democracy, lasting lessons that, Nader hoped, would create life-long citizen activists.

Belief in the power of ordinary citizens to change public priorities is a theme that Nader returns to again and again.

That belief in the power of ordinary citizens to change public priorities is a theme that Nader returns to again and again:

The lesson of American history, which we never learn, is that it’s easier than we think to overcome power and break through. Three things are needed: [first] a tiny number of committed citizens who roll up their sleeves and say, “This is what we’re going to do; we’re not going to bird-watch or collect coins or collect stamps. This is our hobby.” The second is they know what they are talking about. The third is to have the majority public opinion behind them. It never takes more than one percent or less of engaged citizenry to turn around the most powerful corporate forces.

In the fall of 1970, Nader and Ross visited dozens of campuses, proposing a student-centered plan, a task Ross would continue unabated for the next three years. Those who wanted to set up a PIRG at their college would collect student signatures on petitions to approve a “tax” of sorts. Every student would pay a small sum each semester, such as \$6 or \$10, as part of the college activity fee to support PIRG activities and enable PIRGs to hire professional state staff. Individual students who didn’t want to support the PIRG would be guaranteed a way of opting out of the fee.

All seven public universities in Oregon's state college system voted to form a PIRG. Minnesota universities were next; then those in Vermont gave the thumbs up. By spring of 1971, students across the country began to back the idea of student-led organizations, choosing, researching, and rallying behind issues they considered important. By the end of 1972, students had organized on campuses in 16 states.

Founding the PIRGs

Students formed a few PIRGs at high schools, but while the numerical advantages were obvious, there being millions more high school students compared to the number enrolled in college, Nader recognized early on that organizing at high schools presented special challenges. The inflexibility of the school year, jam-packed curriculum, lack of continuity, and the students' relative youth all created barriers to forming an active high school PIRG. Their young age didn't mean they were less capable but, too often, adults automatically accorded teenagers less respect, making the formation of such organizations difficult: "Teachers and administrators often view 15-, 16-, and 17-year-olds as mere children, 'too young to understand what it's really all about' and certainly too young to do anything about it," Nader wrote.²

What helped the PIRGs across the country was the sense of change roiling the US nearly 50 years ago. Nader recalled the public fervor of the era:

It was just the right time. There was the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, women's rights movement. I don't think we could have done it today. So, you take advantage of these abbreviated surges of civic engagement and add to them.

Protest was in the air, but the PIRG model would take students beyond chanting at a march and put them on the front lines of lobbying, researching, and proposing policy. Each campus would engage issues and become, collectively, a laboratory of democracy.

The model stood the test of time. Today, there are PIRGs in 23 states and every region. Nearly 50 years later, Nader is still enthusiastic—particularly about the skills students are capable of learning and refining during their experience working with PIRGs:

They don't just learn the physical skills of canvassing or how to do a referendum, but with the PIRGs, they learn personality skills. They learn how to develop a civic personality where they refine their sense of injustice, without which you cannot have a sense of justice. They learn how to research. They learn how to motivate people. They don't just stay at home and read

books, they get out there where the action is. You want to be a basketball player, you've got to practice. You want to be an artist, you've got to practice. You want to be a citizen action expert, you've got to practice.

Issues have changed in the years since the organizations began, said Janet Domenitz, executive director of MassPIRG, a PIRG chapter located in Massachusetts. "But it is like that French saying, *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*," for all that changes, everything is the same," she said.

Domenitz should know. She started with MassPIRG in 1980 as a campus organizer and became executive director of the state PIRG office in Massachusetts

"You want to be an artist, you've got to practice. You want to be a citizen action expert, you've got to practice."

in 1990. Her office in Boston coordinates activities with the 12 campus chapters in the state. "We've been working on waste, toxins, and transportation for 45 years," Domenitz said. "When I came on, it was only recently that students were not treated like kindergarteners, with dorm curfews and other rules. That students have rights is still a recent phenomenon."

Technology and Its Impact

The biggest changes, Domenitz said, involve technology. When she began nearly 40 years ago, communication was far more time-consuming and done most effectively face to face. "As an organizer, you picked up your rotary phone and dialed it. If you wanted to get information out in the world, you stuffed envelopes and mailed them. The method and the medium have changed in terms of organizing a group," she recalled.

Yet there are drawbacks that come with today's ease of communication. "The ability to communicate more quickly to vastly larger numbers of people is fantastic. But the fundamental person-to-person ways of communicating that people should start with is becoming a lost art."

Forty years ago, students at PIRGs organized to protest the number of US stockpiled nuclear weapons. They collected signatures on petitions to reduce the possibility of nuclear war and worked on improving the environment. Today, degradation of the environment is still a dominant student concern, but the issues within that cause have changed.

For example, MassPIRG students are currently working to try to bring about a statewide ban on the herbicide Roundup. They are calling for bans on

chemicals used in homes and gardens that are implicated in bee colony collapse disorder, which is vastly reducing the number of bees. And above every environmental concern the students work on, looms the threat of climate change, said Domenitz:

Twenty somethings literally don't know if the planet will survive. This level of existential threat is hard. Somehow, [the battle over reducing] nukes seemed more isolated. Climate change seems vaster and that's a big burden. It is different, the way music has changed. Kids are as idealistic as students were years ago, with an added edge.

Like those of yesteryear, students have been involved in any number of campaigns to change corporate behavior, Domenitz said. A big recent victory took place in March 2015 when, after intense student protests over the overuse of antibiotics in animals, McDonalds announced it would phase out the use of chickens that had been routinely fed the infection-fighting drugs. Feeding

“When asked what do [young people] want to do in life—be an engineer, a doctor, or a teacher—I want people to say ‘I want to be a full-time citizen . . . putting forward new ideas and applying old ideas that make life better for people.’”

farm animals antibiotics is partially blamed for the rise of drug-resistant bacteria, leaving people vulnerable to life-threatening infections. Domenitz credited the students' use of technology—in particular, one hour on Valentine's Day 2015 when students used social media to send 300,000 messages to

McDonalds—to pressure the company to make its decision. Late last year, McDonalds said it would also set reduction targets in the amount of antibiotic-fed beef it uses in its products.

Students come together on issues, but the degree of activism can reflect the differences of individual student situations, Domenitz said. “There is always a good core group of activists. But some students are attending community colleges, and they may be going to school while holding down a job and raising a family. They don't have the luxury of being full-time activists the way others do.” Then there are differences among the campuses themselves. Fitchburg State University has a total of 7,000 students; UMass Amherst has 30,000. “If we get you as a freshman, you will probably stick with us,” Domenitz said.

The Moral Compass of the Young

If Nader had his way, of course, civic activism would start much younger than college. Elementary school students, he said, are more than ready to be citizens, to roll up their sleeves and take their place in democracy. They, too, can learn to be citizens—the younger, the better:

Studies have shown that kids are able to distinguish right from wrong when they are three, four, and five years old. You start in stages. You don't overload them, but you start. But the real mobilizing starts in middle school. That's when they realize that the world isn't all that it could be.

To Nader, the young are ready to confront issues head on:

First of all, nobody can ask a more piercing moral question better than a nine- or ten-year-old. They're not inhibited; they go right to the core. They are more idealistic at that age than they are likely ever to be, and that drives them to ask tough questions. And that is where they can begin to develop leadership capacity. Also, it's their country. They have the biggest stake, and they can learn by doing. The best way to learn politics is citizen engagement with politicians, with elections, with what happens between elections and with neighborhood organizing.

When asked whether the PIRGs are meant to change events or people, Nader replied, "All of the above." To him, the highest calling is that of citizen. To change the world, all you need is a committed, passionate, one percent.

"When asked what do [young people] want to do in life—be an engineer, a doctor, or a teacher—I want people to say 'I want to be a full-time citizen . . . putting forward new ideas and applying old ideas that make life better for people,'" Nader said.

It's a lesson he sometimes illustrates by giving out \$2 bills:

I like to pass out \$2 bills because on the back of the bill is [an illustration of] a big table with the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and I say, "Aren't you glad these people showed up? Yeah, some of them were slave owners and they were all white males, but it's pretty good they showed up, right?"

That's the crux of civic activity, the central lesson he learned at his father's restaurant, attending town meetings, challenging authority, and organizing students: You have to show up.

"The biggest obstacle to democratic activity in this country, small 'd,' is people not showing up. They have to show up at town meetings, show up to

vote, show up to march, show up for rallies, show up in courtrooms, show up at neighborhood gatherings,” he said.

“If they don’t do that, it’s over.”



NOTES

- ¹ Ralph Nader, *The Seventeen Traditions: Lessons from an American Childhood* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007): 10.
- ² Ralph Nader and Donald Ross, *Action for Change: A Student’s Manual for Public Interest Organizing* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972): 107.

REFERENCES

- Nader, Ralph. *The Seventeen Traditions: Lessons from an American Childhood*. New York: HarperCollins, 2007.
- Nader, Ralph. *Unsafe at Any Speed*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1965.
- Nader, Ralph, and Donald Ross. *Action for Change: A Student’s Manual for Public Interest Organizing*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972.

CONTRIBUTORS

DEREK W. M. BARKER is a program officer at the Kettering Foundation. With a background in political theory, he works primarily on research concerning the democratic role of higher education institutions, philanthropy and nonprofit organizations, journalism, and the professions. Barker is the coeditor of Kettering's *Higher Education Exchange* and has contributed to other Kettering publications, including the *Kettering Review* and *Connections*. He is the author of *Tragedy and Citizenship: Conflict, Reconciliation, and Democracy from Haemon to Habel* (SUNY Press, 2009) and articles appearing in the academic journals *Political Theory*, *New Political Science*, and *The Good Society*.

HARRY C. BOYTE is a public intellectual and organizer. He founded Public Achievement and cofounded with Marie Ström the Public Work Academy. He holds the title of Senior Scholar in Public Work Philosophy at Augsburg University. Boyte is the author of 11 books, including *Awakening Democracy through Public Work* (Vanderbilt University Press, 2018). His articles have appeared in more than 150 publications, including the *New York Times*, *Political Theory*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. In the 1960s, Boyte was a field secretary for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Martin Luther King's organization, and subsequently did community organizing among low-income white residents in Durham, North Carolina.

MAURA CASEY is a senior associate with the Kettering Foundation. Her 35-year journalism career encompasses work as an editor and opinion writer for four newspapers, including the *Hartford Courant* and the *New York Times*. She has won 45 national and regional awards for journalism, including a shared Pulitzer Prize for reporting. She owns a Connecticut communications firm, CaseyInk, LLC. Casey holds a BA in political science from Buffalo State College and an MA in journalism and public affairs from American University. In her spare time, Casey sails her boat on Long Island Sound and helps her husband of 36 years, Peter J. Panzarella, harvest and sell the vegetables he grows on their farm.

DENNIS DONOVAN is the national organizer of Public Achievement at the Sabo Center for Democracy and Citizenship at Augsburg University in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Along with Harry Boyte, Donovan was a key architect of Public Achievement, which is a theory-based practice of citizens organizing to do public work to improve the common good. Since 1997, Donovan has worked with K-12 schools, colleges, universities, and community groups as a speaker, trainer, consultant, and educator. Before joining the center, Donovan worked in K-12 education for 24 years as a teacher and school principal. He was a founder and education chair of the St. Paul Ecumenical Alliance of Congregations, which grew into a statewide organization known as ISAIAH. Donovan received the 2008 University of Minnesota Community Service Award.

CAROL FARQUHAR NUGENT is vice president of the National Issues Forums Institute (NIFI) and a senior associate with the Kettering Foundation, where she was a program officer for many years. Farquhar Nugent served for 12 years as the executive director of Grantmakers in Aging (GIA), a national membership organization of philanthropies that address issues of aging. In her work with NIFI, she led the development of the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute program at the University of Dayton.

MICHAELA GRENIER is a program director for the Sustained Dialogue Campus Network (SDCN), where she spends much of her time helping campuses build capacity for dialogue and collaborative problem solving. Grenier supports campuses in building and sustaining dialogue initiatives by working with campus teams to apply the Sustained Dialogue model to retreat-based, course-based, and extracurricular settings. Before joining SDCN, Grenier served in other roles within the fields of higher education and conflict resolution, including supporting student

retention on a college campus, designing student civic leadership programming, and working in conflict resolution programs for teenagers.

MATTHEW R. JOHNSON is an associate professor in the department of educational leadership at Central Michigan University. An associate editor for the *Journal of College and Character*, he also sits on the editorial boards for *Oracle: The Research Journal of Fraternity/Sorority Advisors* and the *Journal of College Student Development*. He received the Sigma Alpha Pi teaching award in 2015. Johnson holds a PhD from the University of Maryland and an MS from Miami University of Ohio. His research focuses on the intersections of leadership, civic engagement, and social justice, as well as how college experiences help students learn and develop into civically engaged citizens who work effectively across differences.

ALEX LOVIT is a program officer at the Kettering Foundation. With an academic background in the study of history, he assists with Kettering's experiments in deliberating about historical issues through Historic Decisions issue guides. He also works for Kettering's research with both K-12 and higher education and provides historical research for the foundation. Lovit is the coeditor (with Derek W. M. Barker) of Kettering's *Higher Education Exchange*.

DAVID MATHEWS, president of the Kettering Foundation, was secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the Ford administration and, before that, president of the University of Alabama. Mathews has written extensively on Southern history, public policy, education, and international problem solving. His books include *Politics for People: Finding a Responsible Public Voice*, *Reclaiming Public Education by Reclaiming Our Democracy*, and *The Ecology of Democracy: Finding Ways to Have a Stronger Hand in Shaping Our Future*.

KEITH MELVILLE is a senior associate with the Kettering Foundation and a member of the National Issues Forums (NIF) advisory group. He served as the first executive editor and author of 18 NIF issue guides and has written numerous reports for the Kettering Foundation, including *Beyond the Clash: How a Deliberative Public Talks about Immigration* (2019). Previously, Melville was senior vice president of Public Agenda and a White House staff writer. His experience in applied social research encompassed conceptual work for Sesame Street and studies of the impact of school desegregation strategies. He is the author of four books, including *A Passion for Adult Learning* (Fielding University Press, 2016). A professor at the Fielding Graduate University, Melville completed his doctoral studies at Columbia University.

WILLIAM V. MUSE is president of the National Issues Forums Institute and a senior associate with the Kettering Foundation. During his tenure at NIFI, he helped to establish the Taylor Willingham Legacy Fund, the NIFI Ambassadors program, the Moderators Circle, and an Osher Lifelong Learning Institute (OLLI) program of courses for senior citizens that NIFI hopes to develop at universities around the country. He holds a PhD in management from the University of Arkansas. Muse worked in higher education for 40 years, including 20 years as president or chancellor of the University of Akron, Auburn University, and East Carolina University.

RALPH NADER is one of America's most effective social critics. His analyses and advocacy have enhanced public awareness and increased government and corporate accountability. His book *Unsafe at Any Speed* led to the passage of a series of automobile safety laws. Nader founded or inspired a wide variety of organizations, including the Princeton Alumni Corps and the Applesseed Foundation, a nonprofit network of 17 public-interest justice centers. An author, lecturer, attorney, and political activist, Nader's life-long work and advocacy has led to safer cars, healthier food, safer drugs, cleaner air and drinking water, and safer work environments. In 2006, the *Atlantic* named him one of the hundred most influential figures in American history. Nader continues his work to advance meaningful civic institutions and citizen participation.

KATRINA S. ROGERS is president of Fielding Graduate University. In the course of her career, she has served international nongovernmental and educational sectors in many roles, including leadership of the European campus for the Thunderbird School of Global Management in Geneva, Switzerland. Rogers holds doctorates in political science and history. In addition to many articles and books focused on organizational leadership in sustainability, Rogers serves on the boards of Prescott College, the Toda Institute for Global Policy and Peace Research and the Public Dialogue Consortium. She received a presidential postdoctoral fellowship from the Humboldt Foundation and was a Fulbright scholar to Germany, where she taught environmental politics and history.

MARK WILSON is the director of Community Engagement and the Caroline Marshall Draughon Center for the Arts and Humanities at Auburn University. He is the coauthor of *Living Democracy: Communities as Classrooms, Students as Citizens* (Kettering Foundation Press, 2017) and author of *William Owen Carver's Controversies in the Baptist South* (Mercer University Press, 2010). Wilson is an Appalachian Teaching Fellow with the Appalachian Regional Commission, secretary of the Alabama Historical Association, and a former member of the board of directors for the National Issues Forums Institute. Wilson has coordinated contracts and grants with the National Endowment for the Arts, National Endowment for the Humanities, Appalachian Regional Commission, Kettering Foundation, David Mathews Center for Civic Life, and the Alabama Humanities Foundation. He holds degrees from the University of Mobile, McAfee School of Theology at Mercer University, and Auburn University.

Kettering Foundation

200 Commons Road, Dayton, Ohio 45459 (937) 434-7300; (800) 221-3657
444 North Capitol Street, NW, Suite 434, Washington, DC 20001 (202) 393-4478
www.kettering.org
