Democracy's Hubs:

College and University Centers as Platforms for Deliberative Practice

by

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As the deliberative democracy movement continues to grow nationally and internationally, more and more centers, institutes, and programs dedicated in whole or part to public deliberation, collaborative governance, and/or community problem-solving from an impartial perspective will be established, and existing centers, institutes, and programs will continue to expand.[1] Many of these organizations are housed, partially or completely, within institutions of higher learning. This report outlines the opportunities and constraints to developing and running such centers on university campuses in the United States, presents an analysis of a set of institutional histories that were written by a group of centers tied to the National Issues Forum (NIF) network, and ultimately offers key strategies and choices to help current and aspiring directors and civic entrepreneurs build and grow their centers.

The analysis is derived from two primary sources. First is the research and experience I have completed the last three years as I developed and directed the Colorado State University Center for Public Deliberation (CPD) (www.cpd.colostate.edu). During this time, I've had numerous conversations focused on these very issues at various conferences and workshops connected with the Kettering Foundation, National Issues Forums, the University Network for Collaborative Governance, Everyday Democracy, the Democracy Imperative, the National Coalition for Dialogue and Deliberation, the International Association for Public Participation, and the Policy Consensus Initiative. I've also held three workshops connected to the National Communication Association with faculty members focused on or interested in getting involved in this work. Finally, at the 2008 NCDD conference, I was part of a workshop that focused on university and college centers as platforms for deliberative democracy, where I developed material on the potential advantages and disadvantages to doing deliberation work at/from colleges and universities, as well as strategies for taking advantage of the opportunities and overcoming, transcending, or transforming the challenges. That research has been incorporated into this report.

The second primary source is a collection of "institutional histories" commissioned by the Kettering Foundation and written by those involved with centers that are part of the National Issues Forum network. Those histories outline the development and operation of a sample of NIF centers that are connected to universities. The sample included the following centers:

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[1] For the rest of this paper, I'll simply use "centers' to avoid the wordiness of "centers, institutes, and programs," but nonetheless mean to include all organizational forms. At NIF, the centers are often called "Public Policy Institutes," but that is also the term often used to describe the training workshops those centers typically sponsor, so to avoid confusion, I'll call the organizations "centers" and the workshops PPIs.

- Gulf Coast Community College in Florida

- The Deliberative Dialogues Project at the University of Hawaii at Manoe

- Iowa Partners in Learning

- Yavapai College in Arizona

- University of Missouri Extension

- Morgan State University & Montgomery County Community College in Alabama

- The Ohio Council on Public Deliberation

- The Oklahoma Partners in Deliberation

- Portland Community College in Oregon

- Purdue University in Indiana

- South Dakota University

This report, therefore, will in part consider the histories of these eleven centers, as well as my own center here at Colorado State, to see how well the NIF centers have been able to navigate the advantages and challenges, and what lessons can be learned from their experiences in order to improve the development of future centers.

The report has four primary sections. Part one summarizes the work on the nexus of deliberation and higher education, highlighting the advantages and disadvantages of doing this sort of work on and from campus. Part two reviews the eleven NIF centers in order to provide a sense of the different ways they are set up and operated. Part three discusses the challenges and lessons learned gleamed from the institutional histories. Part four brings everything together to offer specific strategies and choices to consider for moving forward, both for the movement overall and for individual centers and as we look to expand the role of colleges and universities in this work.

<center>**Part One: Deliberative Democracy and U.S. Higher Education**</center>

Volumes have been written on the connections between higher education in the U.S. and democracy in general, as well as deliberative democracy is particular. I will not be reviewing that work in any detail here, rather I will draw some key conclusions from the work in order to lay out the overall environment in which campus deliberation centers are working. Before we begin, however, I would like the highlight two key insights that help contextualize this material. First, in my experience *one of the most significant needs for democracy—particularly U.S. democracy in the 21st century[2]—is passionate, sharp, but impartial people dedicated to making democracy work that have access to critical resources to dedicate to democracy.* The problem, of course, is that such people are in very short supply. Indeed, a

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[2] The reason I would particular make this argument for current US democracy is because our two party system is particularly damaging to democracy due to the zero-sum nature of resulting politics, which tends to exacerbate the natural tendencies of egoism and feed the cynical, image and conflict focused nature of our media. Our system, as a result, is particularly in need of the countervailing influence of impartial facilitation.

profile that calls for "passionate neutrality" is inherently oxymoronic, and expecting them to have resources makes them even more rare. That being said, that is a role for which public colleges and universities *could*, perhaps even *should* be ideally suited. Professors at public institutions, for example, have a significant portion of their salary paid by public funds, therefore they theoretically should not be partisan. By definition, one would hope they would be rather intelligent, and while resources are limited for many institutions of higher education these days, they nonetheless have significant resources when compared to the non-profit sector or civic entrepreneurs doing this work on the side. Thus, all that remains is having them be passionate about democracy and be willing to use their time and resources in its service.

Secondly, *the more deliberative work expands on campus, the easier it will be*. Said differently, as those of us in higher education focus on helping our communities make better decisions, we can also positively impact the culture on campus and better serve the role that colleges and universities are supposed to be fulfilling in the first place. Many of the barriers represent problems and limitations of our higher education system that need to be reduced, and many of the opportunities represent significant issues that can be taken advantage of if cards are played right. A critically valuable "side effect" of doing deliberative work on/from our campuses, in other words, is that our campuses will change for the better. As they change, it will become easier and easier to do deliberative work, and harder and harder for it not to be expected of our colleges and universities.

In the end, although significant barriers to deliberative work on/from campus exist, and the work will be difficult, universities and colleges are nonetheless very well suited for fulfilling key roles of impartial analysis, convening, facilitating, and reporting roles in deliberative democracy. Indeed, considering the overwhelming need for passionate impartiality from individuals with significant resources, the substantial engagement of colleges and universities in the work of deliberative democracy will be critical to the movement. If that work is to be done, it will primarily be housed in centers and institutes like those in the NIF network. So with that overall framing established, let us consider the potential advantages and barriers to doing this work on campus.

Potential Advantages/Opportunities

Fortunately, a number of natural resources exist on campuses to support the work of deliberative democracy. Some are often taken advantage of, and some are currently more potential than reality. The first, and perhaps the most important, advantage to doing deliberative work on/from campuses is the potential for institutionalization. Institutionalization is a key step for the movement as a whole, and institutionalization within colleges and universities is likely the best chance.[3] For the movement to truly

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[3] Institutionalization within government institutions at the city, school district, county, or state government also has significant potential, particularly as community liaison positions shift from a public relations to a public participation view.

establish itself, its centers need permanent homes, long-term funding, dedicated positions and courses, support staff, endowments, etc. Some programs have become institutionalized, but much more could be done to establish permanent homes for deliberation. The long term plans of centers need to be focused in part on developing such permanent features.

Table 1: Key Advantages and barriers to doing deliberative work on campus	
Key Advantages	**Key Barriers**
Potential for institutionalization	Low status of service and teaching versus research
Prestige	Academic silos and research focused on discovery rather than application
Access to experts	Increasing commercialization and scarcity of resources in higher education
Basic resources such as offices, meeting rooms, support and communications staff, and supplies.	Individualistic and competitive campus cultures
Access to students	Epistemological disconnects between academy and community
Fit with teaching, research, service triumvirate	Town/gown separations
Fit with expressed mission of many higher education institutions , and deliberative work can serve as a response to the growing criticisms concerning the public role of colleges and universities	Practical barriers such as human subjects research limits and the academic calendar

A second opportunity is essentially the prestige that is connected to many of these institutions. That prestige can help open doors, facilitate connections in the community, and draw audiences. Attaching the name of the local college or university to an event should be helpful to establish legitimacy for the event. The name should also help open doors of local decision-makers. Universities and colleges should naturally play the critical role of impartial conveners in their local communities. Of course, that may not always be true for all colleges or universities, particularly if they have significant town/gown conflicts or have an "Ivory Tower" or partisan reputation. But, then again, perhaps those institutions in particular need to do more deliberative work in the community to repair that reputation.

A third key advantage simply relates to the access to experts in a broad range of fields. Deliberative democracy requires the productive coming together of the public, experts, and institutional decision-makers (see Figure 1), and colleges and universities are perhaps the best host for such gatherings.[4] Deliberation centers on campus can potentially be a key face of the university or college as it helps its researchers apply their knowledge to local issues.

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[4] See PCI's report entitled: *Finding Better ways to Solve Public Problems: The Emerging Role of Universities as Neutral Forums for Collaborative Policymaking*. Available online at:
http://www.policyconsensus.org/publications/reports/docs/UniversityReport.pdf

A fourth advantage is the basic resources colleges or universities can provide, such as offices, meeting rooms, computers, projectors, copies, and supplies. The CPD, for example, is able to use the resources of the Department of Communication Studies outside of the CPD budget, which significantly reduces the cost of events. The department also gives me a physical location and an email address, simple things that can be very expensive for stand alone centers. Colleges or universities can also supply important resources such as websites and website designers, communication services for pamphlets and posters, and public relations staffs to write press releases and encourage coverage of events. Deliberative forums require such resources, and non-profits or community organizations without access to them would incur significant expenses to provide them.
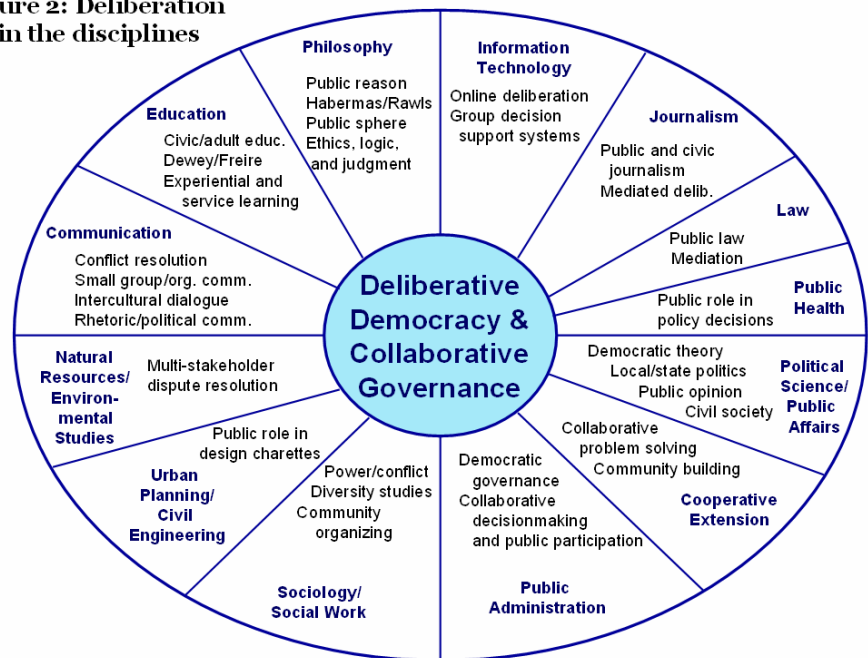
A fifth key opportunity is access to students. Students are a key potential resource, particularly due to their idealism, curiosity, and energy. Students are often seeking engagement, meaning, and "real-life" experiences to compliment their classwork, as well as titles, experiences, and connections to compliment their resumes. Students can potentially serve multiple positions in forum teams, such as background research and framing, helping set up, run sign in tables, facilitate, record, report, etc. Since students are often not directly tied to community—their time in school and in that city is often temporary—they may be particularly suited to play impartial roles. Students' time can also be rewarded in a variety of ways, such as through

Figure 1: Deliberative practice and the rhetorics of Public Policy

Decision-makers/ Politicians

Public/ Advocates

Experts

The deliberative practitioner
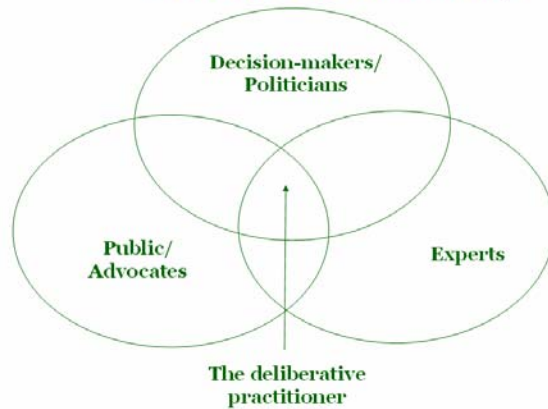
Adapted from Throgmorton, "The Rhetorics of Policy Analysis," 1991

Figure 2: Deliberation in the disciplines

Philosophy
Public reason
Habermas/Rawls
Public sphere
Ethics, logic,
and judgment

Information Technology
Online deliberation
Group decision
support systems

Education
Civic/adult educ.
Dewey/Freire
Experiential and
service learning

Journalism
Public and civic
journalism
Mediated delib.

Communication
Conflict resolution
Small group/org. comm.
Intercultural dialogue
Rhetoric/political comm.

Law
Public law
Mediation

Deliberative Democracy & Collaborative Governance

Public role in
policy decisions

Public Health

Natural Resources/ Environ- mental Studies
Multi-stakeholder
dispute resolution

Democratic theory
Local/state politics
Public opinion
Civil society

Political Science/ Public Affairs

Public role in
design charettes

Collaborative
problem solving
Community building

Urban Planning/ Civil Engineering

Power/conflict
Diversity studies
Community
organizing

Democratic
governance
Collaborative
decisionmaking
and public participation

Cooperative Extension

Sociology/ Social Work

Public Administration

class credit, extracurricular programs, or resume development. As a result, students can essentially serve as a very inexpensive resource (aka "cheap labor").

Sixth, working on deliberative democracy projects can be a particular good fit for tenure track professors, whose job duties typically involve a mix of teaching, research, and service. Deliberation work can fit any of the three, or, most importantly, all three. As a result, professors engaging in deliberative work can do the work as part of the current job descriptions, rather than needing them to volunteer or do the work on the side. There are not many pay positions tied to deliberative democracy, but faculty positions in a number of related fields—communication, political science, public administration, environmental studies, social work, sociology, journalism, etc.—could become the core of deliberative work (see Figure 2).

Lastly, deliberative democracy work should theoretically be easy to support on campus. I say theoretically because it often is not easy—for many of the reasons to be discussed in the following section—but nonetheless it should be easier based on the stated missions of many institutions of higher education, particularly land grants and community colleges. Also good news for those involved in deliberative work is the growing call for colleges and universities to play a stronger civic role in order to better serve their communities and the public good. Indeed, in recent years a number of reports have been issued that focus on the lack of civic focus, including those from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (*Educating Citizens*); Association of American Colleges and Universities (*Greater Expectations: A New Vision for Learning as a Nation Goes to College*); the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (*Returning to Our Roots: The Engaged Institution*); American Association of State Colleges and Universities (*Stepping Up as Stewards of Place: A Guide for Leading Public Engagement at State Colleges and Universities*); and a partnership between the University of Michigan, Campus Compact, the Ford Foundation, the Johnson Foundation and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation (*Wingspread Declaration on Renewing the Civic Mission of the American Research University*). In 1999, over 300 college and university presidents signed the President's Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education, which stated:

> We believe that the challenge of the next millennium is the renewal of our own
> democratic life and reassertion of social stewardship. In celebrating the birth of our
> democracy, we can think of no nobler task than committing ourselves to helping catalyze
> and lead a national movement to reinvigorate the public purposes and civic mission of
> higher education. We believe that now and through the next century, our institutions must
> be vital agents and architects of a flourishing democracy. We urge all of higher education
> to join us.

At the time of this writing, 265 more presidents have added their signatures, and Campus Compact currently boasts a coalition of nearly 1,200 college and university presidents representing some 6 million students.[5]

These growing trends represent ripe ground that pracademics interested in deliberative democracy should be able to capture. The civic engagement movement on campuses also connects to calls for more engaged scholarship, applied knowledge, interdisciplinary projects, and high impact learning activities for students. The potential of interdisciplinary work is particularly relevant due to the interdisciplinary nature of deliberative work. As evidenced by the Democracy Imperative's extensive list of where deliberative work can be done on campus,[6] deliberative projects hold great promise for bringing campus together in interesting and productive ways. Many campuses have specific funds available for interdisciplinary or applied projects, as well as structures to create interdisciplinary programs. Colleges and universities also often have student engagement, service learning, and leadership programs that help better connect the campus to the community that can be a ready resource.

In the end, deliberative work can help modern colleges and universities address many of the criticisms that are being leveled at them in the 21st century. It provides students with real life experiences that involve critical thinking, it connects campus and community in important ways, it helps bring the campus together across disciplines, it can help the community deal with seemingly intractable problems, and, for public institutions in particular, it provides states and legislators will clear examples of the value of their tax dollars.

Potential Disadvantages/Barriers

Despite the numerous positives to doing deliberative work, significant barriers nonetheless exist, many tied to the particular nature of the modern university in the United States. As explained by Scott London in his publication entitled *Higher education and Public Life: Restoring the Bond:*

> the spirit of Jefferson's vision has been largely hallowed out during the last half-century. As colleges and universities scramble to make financial ends meet, to keep pace with the onrush of new technologies, and to better prepare students for careers in the professions, their larger civic purposes have become something of an afterthought. The idea that universities are guardians of a common culture, or that higher education itself confers on its beneficiaries a status that imposes certain social obligations, is now mostly idle rhetoric.[7]

As argued above, however, the good news may be that many of the barriers are problems in themselves that many may be interested in reducing on their own accord. Those focused on growing deliberative

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[5] Numbers from the Campus Compact website: http://www.compact.org/
[6] See the TDI resources at: http://www.unh.edu/democracy/resources.html
[7] Scott London, *Higher Education and Public Life: Restoring the Bond* (Dayton, OH: Kettering, 2000), 1.

democracy on campuses, therefore, may find important allies in their work, and should find the path easier as these barriers are reduced. The barriers to be discussed here represent a laundry list of issues that have been discussed in various places, organized into six clusters. Some are certainly interconnected, others distinct. Put together, they do represent formidable obstacles to doing deliberative work on campus.

The first cluster focuses on the current status of "service" and "teaching" in comparison to "research" within the big three primary responsibilities of faculty at institutions of higher learning. Although these institutions were primarily originally created with a focus on teaching or service, for the past century the research focus has often dominated.[8] The research focus has led to many connected issues, such as the development of academic disciplines that too often become insular and disconnected to one another. Each discipline, as well as many sub-disciplines, boast their own set of journals; regional, national, and international organizations; and their own vocabulary and jargon. The result has been the development of "academic silos" on campuses that rarely work well together. Faculty members have been developed since graduate school with a focus on their discipline and the need to develop a specific program of research in their field. PhDs often put blinders on in order to advance in their field, achieve employment, and, for the fortunate minority, tenure. As explained by a staff member of a land grant institution, too many faculty have "academic envy and are chasing Harvard instead of recognizing our charter to serve the people of the state."[9] Interdisciplinary research is often considered less prestigious than research published in "top journals in the field," and research published in popular outlets is practically not even considered research.

The focus on research and the academic silos it creates makes applied work focused on local problems difficult. Research foci are often very narrow, and written for fellow academics rather than decision-makers or the general public. Research in academic journals—often only read by other academics—is rewarded much more than applied research geared toward communities, not to mention much more than actual hands-on service to those communities. Indeed, the German model of education which has so strongly influenced American education since the 19th century actually discourages engagement, because it "demanded that the professor view the everyday world from a distance."[10]

The dominance of research over teaching and service also influences the quality of the latter two. As explained by Kelly Ward as she wrote on the need to rethink faculty roles and rewards for the public good:

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[8] For an interesting review of the historical development of these three responsibilities, see Boyer's *Scholarship Redefined*.
[9] Quoted in David J. Weerts, "Toward the engaged institution: Rhetoric, practice, and validation," i M. Martinez, P. A. Pasque, T. Chambers, N. A. Birk, N. Bowman, E. Fernandez, E. Fisher, D. Knabjian Molina, & C. Rasmussen (Eds.), *Multidisciplinary Perspectives on Higher Education for the Public Good* (National Forum on Higher Education for the Public Good, Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan, 2005), 94.
[10] Boyer, 9.

No matter how clear the mission statement or presidential proclamation to connect the campus with the community, if efforts to the public good are unrewarded or seen by faculty as distracting from the pursuit of the kinds of things that count on a dossier, either those public service efforts will be set aside, or the faculty member will be.[11]

As a young scholar at a "Research 1" Ph.D. program, I was told more than once that I spent too much time and effort on my teaching. Too often teaching is seen as a necessarily evil, rather than a key core function for faculty. If teaching is not a core focus and good teaching is not clearly rewarded, then it is very difficult to expect faculty to go above and beyond the typical when they teach, which is often necessary if teaching it to seriously connect to deliberative work. Places where teaching is more of a core focus, at community colleges or smaller liberal arts colleges, for example, teachers are often expected to teach so many classes that the same natural barriers to innovation arise.

Whereas teaching often takes a backseat to research, service—the "underappreciated stepchild of the triumvirate of academic work"[12]—almost always does, at least for faculty. Service is often split up into many different categories, including service to one's department, college, campus, national discipline, and community. A typical division of labor for a tenure-track faculty member would include only 15% for service, and often all the other categories dominate over campus and community. Service obligations are often met by serving on various committees, or doing editing or planning work for academic journals or conventions. Thus, like innovative teaching, the time faculty would take to seriously engage their community will likely not be clearly rewarded.

The dominance of research has been exacerbated lately due to the increasing financial difficulties on campus, which represent our second cluster of barriers. More and more, universities have become entrepreneurial, with presidents focused more on fund raising than any other task.[13] The reward structure that already highlights research over teaching and service is now more and more highlighting particular kinds of research that is fundable, and funding is typically more available for scientific or corporate topics. [14] In addition, as the cost of tuition increases as state funding decreases, students are seen more and more as "customers" paying for a "product," pushing coursework focused more on occupational needs or individual benefit, rather than the development of citizenship. Universities always verbally support the notion of their civic role, especially in their mission and strategic plans, but their civic role can also be

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[11] Kelly Ward, "Rethinking Faculty Roles and Rewards for the Public Good," in *Higher Education for the Public Good: Emerging Voices from a National Movement*, ed. Adrianna J. Kezar, Tony C. Chambers, John C. Burkhardt (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2005), 228.

[12] Ward, "Rethinking faculty roles,' 219.

[13] See Derek Bok, *Universities in the Marketplace: The Commercialization of Higher Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.

[14] For a discussion of the types of research being funded, see Adrianna J. Kezar, "Challenges for Higher Education in Serving the Public good," in *Higher Education for the Public Good: Emerging Voices from a National Movement*, ed. Adrianna J. Kezar, Tony C. Chambers, John C. Burkhardt (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2005), 23-42.

considered somewhat a secondary role, or even a luxury, that takes a back seat when finances tighten. When budgets must tighten, programs or centers that are not clearly connected to core functions, or that are not able to fund themselves, are dangerously exposed.

A third cluster of barriers revolve around the basic culture of campus. College campuses are often places of "organized anarchy"[15] where individualism tends to run rather rampant. The life of the scholar is often a solitary life prone to "hyperprofessionalism."[16] Harry Boyte's critique of academic culture is particularly scathing:

> The cultures of research-oriented public universities are highly 'privatized"….Cultures are increasingly competitive, individualist, and characterized by a "star system." Pressures toward competition and individualism are generated by definitions of scholarship, reward, and evaluation. Faculty identifications are drawn away from the local civic community, and toward disciplinary and subdisciplinary reference groups. Faculties live in dread of erosion of their placement in national rankings; practices are shaped by disciplinary peer review. Moreover, faculty are socialized through their career training and their work life to think of their work in highly-individualized, private terms in ways that make it difficult to believe in the possibility of effective cooperative action that can bring about change.[17]

The clarion call for academic freedom reinforces the notion that one should be able to study whatever you prefer, and that you should not question anyone else's decisions about subject areas. The governance on campus is also often oddly hierarchal, disconnected, and competitive. A number of fissures exist fueled by an "entrenched argument culture."[18] Epistemological or methodological differences and budgetary issues often pit college versus college, department versus department, even center versus center in a zero-sum game. These various cultural aspects increase the difficulty of sparking or maintaining collaborative, interdisciplinary work.

A fourth cluster of barriers relates to disconnects between theoretical perspectives on campus with those necessary for deliberative work. As argued by Scott London:

> the epistemology of higher education presents a difficult challenge for those who wish to encourage civic renewal within the academy. The problem, at bottom, is that what works in the academy does not necessarily work in the public sphere. In the academy,

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[15] Weerts, 2005, 98.

[16] The "prevailing culture of hyperprofessionalism in the academy" stresses "career training and competition among students, while urging faculty into narrower and narrower paths of disciplinary research." See Laura Grattan, John R. Dedrick, and Harris Dienstfrey, "Creating new spaces for deliberation in higher education" in *Deliberation and the Work of Higher Education: Innovations for the Classroom, the Campus, and the Community* (Dayton: Kettering Press, 2008), 7.

[17] Harry C. Boyte, *Public Engagement in a Civic Mission: A Case Study* (Washington, D.C.: Council on Public Policy Education, 2000), 11-12.

[18] Grattan, Dedrick, and Dienstfrey, "Creating new spaces for deliberation in higher education," 7.

knowledge is valued to the extent that it makes an original contribution to its given field

or discipline. In the public sphere, by contrast, knowledge is valued to the extent that it

can advance specific public ends.[19]

The barriers come from different directions, but all link to popular notions of public disconnected related to higher education as the "Ivory Tower." From one perspective, positivistic perspectives still held strongly within the hard sciences and some social science departments do not mix well with deliberation. From this perspective, faculty must be "value-free" and apolitical, and often focus on designing research concerning questions that have will have clear answers. In order to meet the necessary rigor for valid scientific conclusions, the level of specificity inherently increases to the point that the usefulness of the data to the community suffers. Concern for validity tends to trump potential for application. From a completely different perspective, postmodern scholars often approach their work with such a highly theoretical or critical bent that similar disconnects with the community can occur. Many of the best minds in the academy are highly critical of the status quo, but would also reject the incremental changes connected to deliberative work, and thus are more often critics of our work rather than partners in it. Postmodern critics are particularly skeptical of the notion of "impartiality" that is so critical to deliberative work.

Despite the fact that these two perspectives often directly oppose each other, they seemingly join forces against deliberative or applied work. They also contribute to a fifth cluster of barriers tied to the disconnect between the campus and community that is felt in many college towns across the country. Simply put, positivistic and postmodern perspectives do not translate well to the broader community. This so-called "town/gown" split represents another barrier that must be addressed, and one that goes both ways. Communities often have a distrust of the campus, and the campus is often uninterested and unaware of key community issues. For many faculty, due in part to the focus on research discussed above, their "community" is usually a national or international disciplinary community, rather than the geographic community they live in.[20] Indeed, faculty often move from university to university throughout their careers, or even work at multiple universities or colleges simultaneously, and therefore make only weak connection to their local communities. Students may also not see the local community as their community, as many are simply there temporarily during their college years. Ideally, the local college or university is seen as a critical economic engine of the local community and a positive resource with multiple connections, but too often they fall short of that ideal.

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[19] London, *Higher Education and Public Life*, 14.
[20] For example, Anne Colby has argued that "many full-time faculty members view themselves more as independent contractors than members of an academic community. Their loyalties are often stronger to their disciplines than to their campuses." See Anne Colby, et al. "Introduction: Higher education and the Development of Civic Responsibility," in *Civic Responsibility and Higher Education*, ed Thomas Ehrlich (Phoenix: American Council on Education Oryx Press, 2000), xxviii.

The final cluster of barriers focuses on seemingly minor practical issues that can nonetheless add up as faculty attempt to connect to deliberative practice. Deliberative work, for example, may be considered "human subjects" research when connected to academic research, which then may require significant paperwork and limits to how the work is completed. When participants are asked to sign various documents before an event, they may feel they are the object of study rather than participating in a community forum. Strict parameters for human subjects research may prevent deliberative practitioners from making adjustments to events on the fly in order to improve results. Disconnections between the academic and community calendars can also be a barrier to deliberative work. Major deliberative projects must often maintain momentum for long periods of time, but academic calendars tends to have frequent starts and long stops, especially during summer and winter break. If students receiving class credit are used extensively during projects, as they are at the CPD, the end of the semester may result in significant turnover that will negatively affect projects. Lastly, deliberative practitioners employed at public universities may also run into the problem of competing with private practitioners as this work expands. Considering public universities are partly supported by taxes, the private businesses would have a reason to complain if university employers were taking away their business or undercutting it in any way.

In conclusion, a number of current issues within higher education work against the further development of deliberative practice in general, and the growth of deliberative centers in particularly. The balance of advantages and disadvantages, however, provide some hope, *if* enterprising on-campus practitioners are clearly aware of both and are able to think through and develop long term plans. Indeed, this report is focused on building on this initial examination of the general advantages and disadvantages of doing deliberative work on campus by providing a more specific focus on the role of centers as platforms for deliberative democracy drawn from the NIF institutional histories, and then highlighting key strategies to move forward in this work.

Part Two: Basics of the National Issues Forum Network

The National Issues Forum (NIF) network has been developing for the last 30 years.[21] Currently, 48 centers or institutes are listed on the NIF website, covering 36 states and Canada. A full review of the history of the development of the centers will not be provided here, but it is important to note that the network initially developed with a focus on training individuals to run public forums that would utilize NIF discussion guides. These centers developed "Public Policy Institutes" (PPIs) to provide that training, and the PPI workshops remain a key function of many of the centers. This section will review some of the basics of the network in general, focusing on the eleven centers that had completed institutional histories for Kettering in 2006 plus the CPD. In this section, I will examine the various homes of the centers, their basic setup on campus, their funding situation, and finally their key activities.

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[21] For a complete listing of the network, visit http://www.nifi.org/network/index.aspx

Structural Homes for NIF Centers

   A quick overview of the larger network reveals one critical point: *the centers have a very broad range of institutional homes, both on and off campus*. Some are free standing and primarily focus on NIF work, and others are broader organizations that do NIF work as only one part of their mission and activities. Some have specific organizational titles—such as the CPD or the West Virginia Center for Public Life—while others simply perform their functions without a clearly identified institutional home. All but seven are connected in some way to institutions of higher education. The categories are difficult to clearly develop because many centers range across categories, but one potential way to categorize the NIF centers are as follows:

Connected primarily to a specific academic department or school (12):
- College of Education (Kent State University)
- Department of Business & Economics (Wayne State College in Nebraska)
- Department of Communication Studies (Colorado State University and University of Houston-Downtown)
- Department of Community & Leadership Development (University of Kentucky)
- Department of History (Hofstra University in New York)
- Department of History, Political Science, and Public Administration (Albany State University in Georgia),
- Department of Organizational Leadership and Supervision (Purdue University in Indiana)
- Department of Urban & Regional Planning (University of Hawaii)*
- Department of Political Science (College of New Jersey)
- School of Education (University of Michigan)
- School of Public Health (University of Maryland)

Free standing or interdisciplinary university institutes focused on deliberative democracy or citizenship (3):
- Institute of Common Good at Regis University
- New England Center for Civic Life at Franklin Pierce College in New Hampshire
- Institute for Civic Discourse & Democracy at Kansas State University

Connected to Cooperative Extension (8):
- Clemson University in South Carolina

- Iowa State University*
- Michigan State University-Barry County
- Oklahoma State University *
- Sussex County, University of Delaware
- University of Alaska-Fairbanks
- University of California
- University of Missouri*

Connected to community colleges (4):
- Gulf Coast Community College in Florida *
- Maricopa Community Colleges in Arizona *
- Portland Community College in Oregon *
- Montgomery College in Maryland*

Connected to law schools or conflict resolution/mediation centers[22] **(2):**
- Arkansas Center for Public Solutions
- Massachusetts Office of Dispute Resolution

Connected to campus organizations or offices (10):
- Community Development Office at the College of Du Page in Illinois
- Office of Equity and Diversity at the Montgomery College in Maryland *
- Richard B. Russell Library for Political Research and Studies at the University of Georgia
- Stennis Institute of Government at Mississippi State University
- Public Policy Research Institute at the University of Montana
- Regional Center for Economic Community & Professional Development at the University of North Carolina at Pembroke
- Center for School Study Councils at the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania
- Institute of Economic & Community Development at Clemson University in South Carolina

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[22] Although not many of the NIF centers are connected to Conflict Resolution or Community Mediation centers, there are many of those centers in existence which share many similarities to the NIF network. The CPD and the Arkansas Center for Public Conflict Solutions, for example, are also both a part of the University Network for Collaborative Governance, a new network of centers that focus on similar work. Indeed, one of the conclusions of this report will be the need for these similar networks to work together to develop a stronger national presence and learn from each other.

- The Municipal Technical Advisory Service connected to the University of Tennessee Institute for Public Service
- Center for Public Administration & Policy at Virginia Tech University,

Connected to organizations primarily outside universities (8)
- Center for Voter Deliberation in Northern Virginia
- Chiesman Foundation for Democracy in South Dakota*
- Council for Public Deliberation in Ohio*
- Iowa State Education Association*
- Minnesota Humanities Center
- Pennsylvania Prison Society in Philadelphia
- Texas Forums at the LBJ Presidential Library and Museum in Texas
- West Virginia Center for Civic Life
- Canadian Institute for Public Engagement

* Indicate centers that completed institutional histories in 2006 that were utilized in this research project.

As the proceeding list has shown, the NIF centers simply provide a very broad range of connections to the campus and community, which reveals the inherently interdisciplinary nature of the work. It also shows that the network clearly developed in a patch work style, primarily sparked by individuals within various organizations that sought out a connection to NIF for a variety of reasons (often after attending the PPI of another NIF center). This variety can be considered both a strength and a weakness. A strength because it shows that deliberative work can spring from, be supported by, and connect with a wide variety of places on campus. Growing existing centers and developing new centers should not be a difficult proposition considering all the potential origins. The variety can also be considered a weakness, however, because each center essentially exists within a rather unique situation. Other than the eight centers connected to Cooperative Extension, each center has a distinct origin, history, and set up. Ten centers are tied to specific departments, but of those, only two are in the same type of department, the Centers for Public Deliberation at Colorado State and the University of Houston-Downtown, housed in Departments of Communication.[23] As a result, lessons learned do not necessarily translate easily between the various organizations. Nonetheless, this report will attempt to draw useful lessons and insights from the institutional histories of the sample of eleven centers plus the CPD. As

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[23] The center at the University of Houston utilized the center at Colorado State as a model during development.

similarities between the centers are identified, they will be more able to learn from each other in the future.

Center Structures

A number of basic structural forms are represented in the sample set. The CPD is primarily headed by one individual—the author of this report—a faculty member that serves as the director. Unlike most of the other centers, the CPD also relies heavily on students in their work. The Gulf Coast Community College center uses two faculty members to serve as PPI co-directors, with a new person each year (one new and one old), and have found that system very satisfactory for their leadership. Other NIF centers are structured much more loosely, with a number of key individuals working together, taking turns taking the lead depending on the project. The Ohio Council on Public Deliberation and the Iowa Partners in Learning, for example, both involve a core group of individuals in various complementary organizations that work together without a clear leadership structure. The Oklahoma Partnership for Public Deliberation is a statewide collection of organizations, with key staff people housed at Oklahoma State University with Cooperative Extension and the Department of Human Development and Family Science. The centers connected to community colleges were often created as special projects by trustees or presidents seeking to better fulfill their missions on community engagement. No broad conclusions can be drawn from the particular structural forms due to the high number of options, except for the clear necessity of having some specific ongoing support for staff people to help with the numerous details necessary to run such a center. It was clear from the institutional histories that dedicated and funded positions, whether that be a specific director or other support people that assist rotating volunteer directors or a leadership group, is a critical factor for success and sustainability for this work.

Many of the centers had also developed "advisory boards" to supplement the leadership structure. I'll discuss these in a bit more detail when examining the challenges and lessons learned from the institutional histories, but overall it seemed that the advisory boards for many of the centers were not seen as working very well. The CPD is perhaps a clear representative example. I developed a strong advisory board with representatives from both on and off campus, but have been unable to utilize them fully. In three years, I have worked closely with individual members of the advisory board, but I have yet to actually have the advisory board meet as a full group. Many of the other centers mentioned similar difficulties in maintaining and utilizing their advisory boards well.

Funding Structures

The institutional histories did not provide specific information on funding, but once again there is clear evidence of a wide variety of sources and formats. Like many of the NIF centers, the CPD received initial support from the Council on Public Policy Education, which is connected to the Kettering Foundation. I was able to leverage that initial three-year "start up" grant with my department, and they

matched the $5,000 a year. Critical to the success of the CPD has been tying it to my teaching duty as a faculty member, which I have by creating the CPD Student Associate Program which allows me to handpick students to work with the CPD for a minimum of one year. One of the two courses I teach each semester is thus dedicated to the CPD, as the student associates earn class credit while being trained and then develop and run projects. In an indirect way, therefore, a quarter of my overall salary is dedicated directly to the CPD through teaching.[24] The student associate program has clearly created a win-win situation, as it "buys" my time through my teaching responsibility, while also providing high quality students to support the CPD work whose time is also "purchased" through the class.

Other centers similarly had dedicated paid positions supported in a variety of ways. The mechanisms were not always clear in the institutional histories, but often the duties of running the centers are part of official duties of a faculty member or staff member. The Missouri center that is attached to Cooperative Extension, for example, initially provided funds to cover 50% of the salary of a director in 1999, which was increased to 100% in 2002, and then back down to 85% in 2005. Currently the director, Sandy Hodge, is expected to raise any other funds on her own through fee-for-service or outside grants. Most of the centers do deliberative work as only part of their mission, so there seems to be very few full time staff dedicated to the work.

Like many of the other centers, the CPD has also been able to supplement its budget with external grants. In its three years, the CPD has received two grants from a local organization totaling over $30,000. Other NIF centers have received much larger funding, such as the Gulf Coast Community College center that received over a million from the Kellogg Foundation to establish the Citizen Leadership Institute. The South Dakota center has benefited greatly from working with philanthropist Allene Chiesman, an advocate for "making democracy real in each person's life," who made funds available to create the Chiesman Foundation for Democracy.[25]

Many of the centers also rely on charging fees for the workshops for funding, and at times for providing moderators for projects. The Oregon center even specifically mentioned that workshop fees were their only source of funding. Fee-for-service has been a difficult issue for some, however. The CPD, for example, does not currently charge fees, partly because of the high volume of paperwork that would be involved for a public institution to charge for its services, and partly because I prefer to provide the services as a public service as part of my goal to increase the capacity of Northern Colorado in terms of this work. In their institutional history, leadership from the NIF center at Yavapai College in Arizona also

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[24] As a CSU faculty member, my effort distribution is 50% teaching, 35% research, and 15% service. Half of my teaching is dedicated directly to the CPD. Of course, much of my research and service is also strongly connected to the CPD, and often the other course I teach each semester may be connected, so I would estimate about 80% of my official time as a faculty member involves CPD work directly or indirectly.

[25] John J. Usera, *History & Impact of the Public Policy Institute in South Dakota.* Unpublished report for the Kettering Foundation (South Dakota, South Dakota Public Policy Institute, 2006), 1.

expressed concern for charging for their workshop, writing, "it could also be said that we were charging people to learn the skills we needed them to have to volunteer for us.… it seemed wrong."[26]

Many of the centers also mentioned utilizing in-kind donations of services or facilities, one of the key advantages mentioned earlier for doing this sort of work on campuses. Workshops often utilized free rooms, and even relied on the use of dormitories for inexpensive lodging for workshop participants. Lastly, the Kettering Foundation has also clearly been a major resource of in-kind assistance, particularly with training, providing experienced moderators to help with initial workshops, and with hosting meetings in Dayton to bring together key individuals to help them learn from each other and recharge their civic batteries.

Primary Activities

The institutional histories also revealed a range of activities performed by the various organizations in connection to deliberative democracy. Most of the organizations did NIF-type work as only part of their mission, but this review will focus on primarily on their NIF-type work. Four primary activities will be discussed: workshops, projects, teaching, and research.

One primary activity performed by essentially all of the centers was the moderator/recorder training, or Public Policy Institutes. This is a basic function of NIF centers, and a part of the requirements of the grants provided by the CPPE. The institutional histories included significant discussion of the center's experiences with these workshops, and many of the lessons learned detailed below were drawn from those experiences. The various centers certainly approached the workshops differently, with some of them charging and attracting rather large groups, and others, like the CPD, focused more on smaller groups and providing the workshops free of charge. Overall, the workshops were enjoyable to the participants—evaluations were reported to be high in almost all cases—but were not as productive as hoped by the organizers in terms of getting people equipped and connected to deliberative work. There were some exceptions such as the PPIs in Oklahoma and South Dakota that seemed to have much more success than others getting people trained and then running forums on their own, but for the majority, the PPIs were seen as falling short of their function. At the CPD, we fall unfortunately into the latter category, but that may be more of a function of our primary focus on the student facilitators, who are trained in separate workshops each semester and run our projects. For our annual PPIs we bring in about 15-20 community members, and they go very well, but we have yet to really tap in to the potential of the PPIs, or have the participants connect strongly with the CPD after the workshops or do deliberative work on their own, other than a few exceptions. More discussion among the directors about how they recruit for and plan their PPIs would likely be beneficial, especially to learn from those that are able to get significant long term results.

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[26] Bernie Ronan, Susan E. Adams, Mary Beth Ginter, "Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona," p. 36.

All the centers are also active in running deliberative projects, particularly forums using NIF material, but many also range beyond those and create their own original discussion guides for locally specific topics. With this issue one of the more significant distinctions between how this work can be done seemed to arise. On one hand, some centers seem to have an operating model focused on running various events, with events chosen for a variety of reasons. Many of the events are more or less "one time" shot events that bring people together to discuss an issue. Indeed, this model is likely the easiest way for a new center to proceed, and likely a necessary way for centers to begin to get their feet wet in this work, gain experience, and start developing a local reputation. The PPI's themselves are often event focused, essentially providing the skills for a group of individuals to host an NIF style forum. The event focused model, however, has limitations, as many of the institutional histories as well as recent reports from Kettering have discussed. Some of the PPIs have begun to shift from an event focused perspective to one that is focused on having the center serve as a catalyst for deliberative capacity building or "public making." The new perspective may still be connected to various events, but the events become means to a broader end, rather than disconnected individual events. Each event is chosen and developed with an eye toward the broader goal. A capacity building focus also specifically works to help other organizations and government institutions develop their own ability to do deliberative work, so that deliberative practice becomes more of an overall habit in the community. Rather than simply partnering with organizations for events, such centers work to develop the capacity within those organizations to run the events themselves. In this way, the functions of running workshops and running events begin to meld into one, and the recruiting for workshops is specifically focused on local organizations were such capacity would be beneficial.

This shift has also lead many centers to the realization that events focused on the national NIF discussion guides that do not have a direct local link (books focused on the national debt or justice system, for example) are not as useful as locally developed material or the NIF books that can be adapted to have a local focus (such as the K-12 books). In particular, the institutional histories reveal that participants in forums need to have a sense of efficacy or possibility of engaging the issue, and true "national" issues tend not to be able to provide that important component.

For many of the centers, these two primary activities—hosting workshops and running deliberative events—represent the bulk if not the entirety of their work connected to deliberative democracy. For those centers tied to cooperative extension or community colleges, this makes sense, because their existence is primarily tied to helping the broader institution fulfill its service component or community outreach mission. However, universities in general revolve around three broad purposes: teaching, research, and service, with service, unfortunately, clearly considered the least critical of the

functions. *To have many of the NIF centers limiting their reach to a service component is to inherently limit the impact they could make and the potential prestige and sustainability of the organizations.*

To support this point, as I examined the institutional histories of the eleven centers in the sample, I specifically coded examples of their connections to students. Very few connections were mentioned. Some centers, such as the Gulf Coast Community College in Florida, discussed having specific trainings held for students, who then moderated forums of their own. The Purdue University center also considered it a goal to "train the next generation of moderators for deliberative democracy," and explained that over four years, 200 students had been trained, in part through a partnership with a student organization entitled the Students in Free Enterprise. Other centers mentioned having specific funds or "scholarships" for students to attend the PPIs. While these connections to the students are laudable, they are also rather limited. None of the institutional histories discussed specific connections to coursework, for example. No new classes focused on deliberative democracy in general or deliberative techniques particular were mentioned. Students were provided some access to training workshops, but despite their presence on campuses, most of the centers had not clearly become a part of the curriculum.

I similarly coded connections made to the research function of universities in the institutional histories, and even fewer connections were evident. The South Dakota center has connections with Black Hills State University and the University of South Dakota that involve funding "research on democracy and civism" and providing "students, faculty, and citizens with evidence-based democratic practices in creating and studying public policy."[27] The Missouri center mentioned that the development of a part time research position was created to help develop an evaluation component for the program. The Maryland center described its role as to "provide an opportunity for the citizens of Maryland to research and learn about how to make a democracy work as it should,"[28] but the description of specific activities did not clearly discuss research. The Ohio center explained that in 1999 -2000, "two board members aligned with the University suggested creating the Civic Life Institute as the arm to train the community and conduct research on the effectiveness of public deliberation. CLI would provide the university teaching and research expertise,"[29] but again did not provide specifics about conducting the research or publishing it any way.

Beyond these examples, no clear research connections were mentioned in terms of the centers having a research function or individuals connected with the centers publishing in connection to their

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[27] Usera, *History & Impact of the Public Policy Institute in South Dakota,* 1.

[28] Christine Johnson-McPhail, and Scott, Michelle T. *Sustaining Public Spaces and Leadership for Public Deliberation: Phase Two Report.* Unpublished report for the Kettering Foundation. (Mongomery College, Center for Community Leadership and Public Policy, 2006), 4.

[29] David Stein, and David Patton, *Creating and Sustaining Space and Leadership for Public Deliberation: A Case Study of The Council for Public Deliberation.* Unpublished Report for the Kettering Foundation (Ohio Council for Public Deliberation, 2006), p. 15

work. For many of the centers, the research completed to provide Kettering the institution history revealed obvious capacity in research and knowledge of quantitative and qualitative methods, the use of surveys and interviews, and various connections with campus research resources, so certainly the capacity is there. I imagine there has been stronger research connections, and perhaps the lack of discussion was simply because those connections were not part of the institutional history process, but nonetheless the lack of discussion of a research connection is interesting. In other words, the fact that the centers did not consider any research coming out of their centers as a critical part of their institutional histories is telling.

Part Three: Key Challenges and Lessons Learned from the NIF Institutional Histories

In this section, I will focus on the key lessons learned and challenges revealed in the institutional histories (Table 2), with a particular eye toward identifying key factors of success and important choices directors need to be considering as they develop similar centers. This section is organized around six key challenges or issues that were identified. Overall, the challenges are certainly significant, but as discussed in the initial section, progress is being made, and as more and more centers are created and grow, the challenges and barriers will continuously decrease.

> **Table 2: Key Challenges Revealed in the NIF Institutional Histories**
>
> *Challenge #1***:** *The lack of time to complete all the necessary tasks involved.*
> *Challenge #2: Identifying and equipping the right people for this work*
> *Challenge #3: Sustainability*
> *Challenge #4: Finding and keeping "champions"*
> *Challenge #5: Developing a vibrant and appropriate support network*
> *Challenge #6: Choosing good topics for projects*

Challenge #1: The lack of time to complete all the necessary tasks involved

A very common theme across many of the institutional histories was the feeling that, as explained by the Hawaii center, "we could be doing so much more."[30] The Iowa report expressed a similar notion, writing, "part of the challenge with our work in Partners is that our vision is always beyond our accomplishments**.** Because of the time constraints on all of us and the complexity of citizen participation, I suppose it will always be so."[31] The Florida report put it this way: "Intellectually, everyone knows the concept can be effective, but realistically many cannot invest the time."[32]

Writers from the Arizona center agreed, writing;

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[30] Dolores Foley and Taylor Rock, Sustaining Space and Developing Leadership for Public Deliberation Workshop: History & Impact of the Deliberative Dialogues Project at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. Unpublished Report for the Kettering Foundation (Hawaii, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, 2006), 26.
[31] Ivor Jenkins, *Organizational History Research Project: Final Report,* Unpublished for the Kettering Foundation (Iowa, Iowa Partners in Learning, 2006), 17.
[32] Virginia York, *Sustaining Space for Public Deliberation and Development of New Leadership for Deliberation*, Unpublished Report for the Kettering Foundation. (Florida, Gulf Coast Community College, 2006), 32.

> Year after year, at the PPW in Dayton, the PPI directors of education institutions would get together and do the annual lament that they didn't have the time to develop a high functioning deliberative forum network because of their other duties. I know; I was one of them. I spoke with numerous PPI directors who believed as I did that if we could work exclusively on the principles of deliberative democracy and NIF, we could develop something that could impact our communities.[33]

I certainly share these sentiments. In the first two years of the CPD, I've learned that my assumption that teaching facilitators would be my primary function was very limited. Successful and impactful engagement in deliberative democracy and collaborative governance requires an extensive set of activities far beyond what happens during an actual deliberative forum.[34] Recent Kettering reports support a similar notion. The "Forum Teams Matrix," for example, includes tasks for nine different categories of team members: 1. Issue selectors/framers; 2. Logisticians/conveners; 3. Public makers; 4. Moderators; 5. Participants; 6. Recorders; 7. Listeners reporters; 8. Media liaisons; 9. Next step planners. Not included in that list are the critical tasks of fundraising and grant writing and all the various requirements connected to them, such as budget keeping, writing grant reports, and all the networking that fundraising can require, as well as the work required to develop and maintain the broad networks this work often requires. The expansiveness of these responsibilities harkens back to the distinction between an event focused model and a public building model. Developing and running individual events are not nearly as time intensive as the tasks necessary to actually serve as a catalyst for public building. Running individual forums and workshops typically represent the initial foray of centers into deliberative work, and may be manageable, even when completed "on the side" or as a small part of one's job responsibilities. But as centers mature and realize the difficulty of individual events making a significant impact, and shift to more of a focus on public building, the need for significantly more resources—particularly time and people power—will exponentially expand.

The more successful centers are thus able to either (a) have full time people focused on this work, and/or (b) organize a large enough group so that the tasks can be diffused enough. As the movement expands, it is clear that more full time positions dedicated to this work will be necessary, as completing the myriad of tasks on the side or as only a small portion of the job description is unrealistic. Even if a large network of interested parties are involved, managing such a network is significantly time consuming.

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[33] Bernie Ronan, Susan E. Adams, and Mary Beth Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona,* Unpublished report for the Kettering Foundation (Arizona, Center for Public Policy & Center for Civic Participation, 2006), 10.
[34] For an extended discussion of this issue, see Martín Carcasson and Elinor Christopher, "The Goals & Consequences of Deliberation: Key Findings and Challenges for Deliberative Practitioners," Research report prepared for Kettering Foundation, Project #34.35.00, August 18, 2008.

Challenge #2: Identifying and equipping the right people for this work

Earlier in this report, I discussed the movement's overwhelming need for passionate, impartial individuals with significant resources. The difficulty of attracting this type of person is mentioned in a number of the institutional histories. Some centers, such as the Ohio center, had to suspend planned workshops due to lack of enrollment. Others explained it was particularly difficult to attract people for the process rather than a particular issue. Most passionate people are already engaged in issues, and even if they are comfortable with an impartial role and do get connected to a project, it is often due to the issue, rather than a connection to deliberative democracy in general. Once the project is over, the individual may not be likely to stay involved. The Iowa center's history explained that "community stewards, much less democracy 'angels', who see beyond a particular issue to larger principles and to deliberative democracy as a virtue, may be in short supply."[35] With faculty, one particularly difficulty is that new faculty members may be interested in getting involved, but if they are on tenure track, that involvement could be detrimental to them in the long run due to the current reward structure of higher education. The Indiana center, for example, explained that "Untenured people are welcome to join the PPI, but we make it clear to them that if working with the PPI in anyway threatens their tenure, we will understand if they leave the PPI."[36] Faculty members not on tenure track, however, have even less time to devote to such activities unless they are somehow connected to their teaching duties.

The flip side of the difficulty of attracting the right people is the tendency to attract the wrong kind of person, particularly individuals that are perceived as partial or that simply are not skilled at the work. Even if individuals realize that they can make a stronger impact through deliberative work than as activists, their past actions and affiliations may hinder their work or harm the reputation of the organization. Both the Florida and Arizona centers also specifically mentioned having to deal with passionate but bad moderators. Considering the degree to which all the centers rely on volunteers, it is difficult to turn people away, but unskilled moderators can certainly be harmful.

Whereas the challenge of initially getting the right individuals connected was significant, even more challenging was developing the capacity within those individuals so that they could either significantly contribute to the center's work or do it independently. As mentioned earlier, some centers such as those in Oklahoma and South Dakota have had some success here, but most of the other centers expressed frustration with their inability to translate participation in workshops into partners in the work. The Arizona center, for example, explained that participants clearly enjoy the workshops but do not feel equipped after them, writing, "Despite attempts to create engaging trainings, we have not succeeded in

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[35] Jenkins, *Organizational History Research Project*, 18.
[36] Michael L. Meneffe, *Building a Sustainable Public Policy Institute and Promoting the Work of Deliberative Democracy in the Community: The Purdue University Model*, Unpublished report for the Kettering Foundation (Indiana, Purdue University Public Policy Institute, 2006), 6.

designing a PPI curriculum that generates the insights necessary to inspire people to act individually to further the work of deliberative democracy."[37] The Missouri center elaborated further:

> Findings from the deliberation training reveal that it is not enough that participants learn new ideas and practices. If the public deliberation training is to truly influence practice, participants need to make sense of the new training and how it aligns to their work. Participants need to practice their new skills and strategies in the safety of a workshop and need a coaching or mentoring relationship with an experienced facilitator after the formal training has concluded. This pooled experience will be beneficial. The mentor would support shared planning and facilitation.[38]

The Florida, Iowa, and Oregon centers expressed similar difficulties, often with numbers to support the conclusions, and the CPD experience has been similar. When former and current members of the Pacific Northwest Public Policy Institute Steering Committee were asked "What has been the impact of the Pacific Northwest Public Policy Institute on the community?" "Uniformly," they wrote, "the answer is 'very little.' Committee members acknowledge and are proud of the impact of this work on individuals who were trained as moderators, but usually that impact does not spread to the community."[39]

Overall, it is clear that the basic NIF workshop as it is currently offered by most centers is limited in its ability to build significant capacity. Participants must not only be identified and convinced to attend an initial workshop, but for a long term relationship to develop, they must be connected to ongoing projects, attend follow-up workshops or refreshers, or otherwise be supported in their work moving forward. The need to continue to engage workshop attendees only increased the time commitments required for this work. Perhaps the time should be considered as a form of investment. The workshops seem not to be an adequate investment to develop self-sufficient deliberative practitioners. Centers must then either expand the workshops (increase the investment) in order to reap the benefits, or may be better off spending their time otherwise. The workshops have been valuable to introduce individuals to the work, but a three day workshop focused on moderator skills is not be necessary for an introduction.

Said differently, at most, the workshops seem to provide participants with the skills to run a basic NIF event and introduce them to the basics of deliberative democracy. The training material is clearly focused primarily on moderating and recording, with some limited focus on convening. Some centers also provide issue framing workshops as well to provide additional skills to participants. The training, however, is primarily event oriented, rather than focused on public building or building deliberative capacity in general. Interestingly, in an earlier report I completed along with Elinor Christopher on the

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[37] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 36.
[38] Sandra Hodge, and Susan Tharp, *History & Impact of Public Deliberation in Missouri,* Unpublished report for the Kettering Foundation (Missouri, University of Missouri Extension, 2006), 18.
[39] Kathleen P. Eymann, *Report for the Kettering Foundation on Spaces and Leadership for Public Deliberation,* Unpublished report for the Kettering Foundation (Portland, Pacific Northwest Public Policy Institute, 2006), 5.

consequences on deliberation, a review of the NIF training materials from five centers showed that the most extensive training was provided by the Oklahoma Coalition for Deliberative Democracy, which was also one of the two centers that clearly had the best track record of having the training produce results.[40] It seems like a varied menu of workshops would better serve the ends of deliberative democracy. A short workshop could introduce people to the field, but rather than focus on the skills, it would focus on developing supporters and identifying potential participants for more involved workshops. The hands-on workshops would be more extensive but smaller, and focused on connecting people to the work and equipping them. Follow up workshops or refresher courses would be needed to build the skills to the point that the participants feel comfortable sparking projects on their own.

Another potential angle to take here is to develop workshops focused on particular areas or for particular participants. Perhaps one of the reasons for the lack of productivity from workshop participants is that the workshops have been too generic. If centers provided a slate of workshops for participants in different situations—such as city council members; state legislators; school board members; public relations or community involvement staff for cities, counties, school boards; extension agents; non-profit leaders; civic education teachers; university faculty; etc.---then perhaps the training would "take" more. Perhaps regionally connected centers could work together to develop such a slate, with the centers rotating on which would teach what "course" when. The CPD could work with the NIF centers in Denver, Kansas, and the developing center in New Mexico, for example, to create a regional training schedule that would provide advanced focused skilled to participants.

In the end, moving individuals from interested parties to deliberative practitioners remains a key challenge for the continued development of the movement. Such a challenge, however, must be met if this work is to continue to expand. The initial function of the NIF centers was to spread moderator training more broadly across the country. It is now time, I would argue, to continue that same track, but expand and improve the training so it provides higher order skills and continuously creates increased capacity for deliberative work

Challenge #3: Sustainability

The third challenge is manifested in two parts: the first concerning individuals, and the second concerning institutionalization. For many centers, the long, difficult road of developing capacity in key individuals can often end abruptly. The situation summarized by the Indiana center was emblematic of others:

> The downside risks associated with running a PPI [NIF center] are numerous and need to
> be addressed for a PPI to be successful. The loss of faculty and interested persons is

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[40] Carcasson and Christopher, "The Goals & Consequences of Deliberation."

always present. Much of our faculty support has eroded over time by people retiring, changing jobs, moving from the area, and changing goals of administration.[41]

The Florida center similarly identified "maintaining a contingency of facilitators and trainers in spite of the large turnover rate due to promotion, transfers, retirement, attrition, entrepreneurship and 'burn out'" as their "biggest problem."[42] Almost every history had stories of losing key faculty members, facilitators, and conveners for a variety of reasons. In a way, it seemed like deliberative activities can suffer from the "perils of success,"[43] as those involved are likely skilled to begin with, and then likely make numerous connections and become sought after. Deliberation requires good people, and good people often have numerous opportunities, and while the importance of deliberative work may attract them, the amount of work can lead to burn out. Deliberative practitioners can simply never do enough. Sustainability is particularly difficult for the CPD, considering its reliance on students who inherently have a short life span on campus. In fact, the CPD has recently adjusted its student recruitment program to target sophomores and juniors rather than seniors so that once they are trained the students will be available for a longer time period before they graduate and likely move on. The Gulf Coast Community college has a heightened "challenge in continuity" with using students due to the fact that the students are only available for two years. The advantage of using students, however, is that you are provided a seemingly endless supply of eager recruits whose time can be "purchased" through class credit, and who may not be as busy as other prospects.

Overall, it is clear that most centers rely primarily—perhaps exclusively—on volunteers to run the operation. Many do have a core paid and dedicated staff, or at least a director, although often they are only focused part time on this work. Many of the conveners, moderators, recorders, and reporters, however, are volunteers, and thus highly susceptible to burn out or simply are too busy with other tasks to be relied on full time. A key factor in moving the movement forward will be finding ways to institutionalize more individuals, to find more dedicated positions tied to the work of deliberative democracy, and to therefore decrease the reliance on volunteers in this work. Otherwise, significant time and effort will continue to be required in dealing with "turnover" within the ranks of deliberative practitioners.

Sustainability can also be framed more broadly in terms of institutionalization of the program. This is clearly a key issue in the broader field, and was a focus of many discussions at the NCDD conferences in 2006 and 2008. I argued in part one that colleges and universities represent good targets for the institutionalization of deliberative practice. The institutional histories present a mix of supporting

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[41] Meneffe, *Building a Sustainable Public Policy Institute and Promoting the Work of Deliberative Democracy in the Community*, 6.
[42] York, *Sustaining Space for Public Deliberation and Development of New Leadership for Deliberation*, 19.
[43] York, *Sustaining Space for Public Deliberation and Development of New Leadership for Deliberation*, 29.

and opposing evidence of that argument. Some of the centers have essentially carved out a permanent home of sorts for their work. The centers tied to cooperative extension and community colleges in particular seem to have had success in this area. The Florida center, for example, flatly concluded: "We certainly have succeeded in institutionalizing space for public deliberation."[44]

On the other hand, lack of institutionalization was also expressed as an issue in the institutional histories. Funding was not a focus of the reports, but few centers seemed to have clear ongoing dedicated funding, and stories were told within the histories of losing key funding streams. If programs are not closely tied to core functions of the university, then they are susceptible to cuts when financial problems arose or when key supporters left. Arizona report, for example, provides some important words of warning about sustainability:

> Despite flowery language about civic engagement in strategic plans of community
> colleges, the activities of departments such as the Yavapai College's Leadership Center
> and Maricopa Community College District's Center for Civic Participation remain
> outside the main academic mission of the colleges. There is a culture of finger pointing in
> institutions of higher education as they battle over funds….When powerful leaders die,
> they take people with them. All the King's horses, all the Emperor's wives, all the
> Pharaohs' elite were buried alive along side him. This is the undeniable fact with those
> who report directly to a president. A lone direct report, who does not directly serve the
> educational mission of the college, will probably be fired when his/her president is fired
> or leaves the institution. A presidential exodus can result in a change of duties for those
> working in his/her old office; tasks that reflect the values and the needs of incoming
> president will be implemented. *In essence, we remain a pet project of enlightened*
> *presidents who understand the value of democratic practices or of having someone*
> *powerfully connected to the community*. If the next president values something else as
> their pet project, they will give our salaries to some other mistress. As phantom limbs, we
> only become visible to the college community when we are being considered for
> termination. We're no one until someone wants us gone. [emphasis added][45]

Existing as a "pet project" or "phantom limb" is certainly a precarious existence.

As centers continue to develop and mature, the challenge of sustainability will become more and more critical to consider. Individual civic entrepreneurs—on or off campus—may garner some success in developing capacity, but to insure long term viability of that success, institutionalization is necessary. Institutionalization, again in terms of permanent homes, long-term funding, dedicated positions and

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[44] York, *Sustaining Space for Public Deliberation and Development of New Leadership for Deliberation*, 19.
[45] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 20, 22.

courses, support staff, endowments, etc., will help to overcome the stability challenge. If dedicated positions exist, for example, losing a director or a champion will not deliver as significant a blow other than the time and effort to replace the individual.

Challenge #4: Finding and keeping "champions"

One of the key conclusions made in the Policy Consensus Initiative's report entitled *Finding Better Ways to Solve Public Problems: The Emerging Role of Universities as Neutral Forums for Collaborative Policymaking* is the critical importance of "champions." The NIF institutional histories told a very similar story. The need for champions creates a problem, however, because champions, similar to other key participants as detailed in challenge #3, can leave. University presidents and deans tend to not have a long shelf-life, and legislators often face reelection, term limits, or move up the ladder to other positions. The Arizona institutional history is once again insightful:

> Sustaining space for deliberation on community college campuses and developing leadership that supports space for deliberation are so deeply enmeshed it is difficult to separate them. Without college leadership and/or a campus champion that values deliberative democracy, the space will not be sustained. Financial fluctuations, job descriptions, morphing strategic plans that require staff to align their goals with "higher ups" and mandated measurable outcomes, work like organizational handcuffs to those trying to sustain space for deliberative democracy practices on community college campuses. Even when there is support of the work, the support can vanish in the face of financial constraints or when the supportive leadership leaves the college.[46]

Later, they detail the impact of losing a key champion:

> when someone on a campus who has been working with ACLI transitions jobs, or leaves the institution, ACLI loses the inroad to that institution and the wheel must be reinvented. One of the most dramatic examples of a heavy loss was the Director of the Arizona Community College Association, Kim Sheane who left to work with the Governor's Office. She was replaced by someone with little or no interest in the work so despite a very aggressive campaign to convince the new director of the importance of the work, we may lose them as a partner. This is catastrophic to ACLI because ACCA convenes the community college presidents.[47]

As a result of such examples, it is clear that centers must develop multiple champions, and not rely on any one champion too strongly.

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[46] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 20.
[47] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 25.

The institutional histories identified many different types of champions, both on and off campus. Champions included deans (Hawaii, Florida), trustees (Florida), state senators (Hawaii), state representatives (Florida, Oregon), philanthropists (South Dakota), and the chairman of the county Board of Supervisors (Arizona). These champions played a variety of roles, but were particularly important in two ways: they provided financial support and/or legitimacy. Champions can play an important role in financial support by insuring or lobbying for funds if they are in a position of leadership at the university, a college, a philanthropic organization, or local, county, state, or federal government. When budget cuts loom, champions are critical to keeping programs from the chopping block. Champions can also provide legitimacy in important ways. Simply having key respected leaders being listed on an advisory board can provide important cache to centers and open doors and foster connections to other institutions that otherwise would not be accessible. Champions can recommend centers for work on key projects, and serve as conveners to bring together the public.

The CPD does not clearly have a "champion," per se, but has a number of supporters that serve that role as necessary that have been keys to our success. When I was originally developing the CPD, I sought out a number of legitimizers both on and off campus. I procured letters of support from the superintendent of the local school district, the city manager of Fort Collins, and the directors of the Colorado Public Policy Center and the CSU Student Leadership and Civic Engagement office. I believe those letters, along with the start up funds from the Council on Public Policy Education, were instrumental to the CPD getting financial support from the college.[48] The department of Communication Studies has consistently been a solid supporter, providing in-kind support, an institutional home, and paying my salary. The dean of Liberal Arts has been a supporter as well, providing funds as necessary and recently supporting a proposal to dedicate an additional tenure line for an assistant director. A local philanthropic organization, the Bohemian Foundation, has played the role of a champion by providing two grants to support our work, and of course the Kettering Foundation is a key supporter for the CPD as it is for all NIF centers. Lastly, the CPD has a growing positive relationship with a group of state legislators who help to provide legitimacy and hopefully long term sustainability.

In sum, similar to the other challenges, this challenge adds to the time consuming tasks of doing deliberative work, exacerbating challenge #1 in particular. One of the ongoing tasks of directors will always be to develop, nurture, and maintain a core group of champions to support the work. Directors must always be networking, introducing and selling deliberative work to people in important leadership positions or with financial resources.

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[48] When I initially asked for financial support, I was told that there was no money available and I should not even request it in the official process I was completing to be designated as a university center. I nonetheless made a request for the college to match the $5,000 a year the CPPE provided, and that request was accepted.

Challenge #5: Developing a vibrant and appropriate support network

        The fifth challenge involves building a vibrant and appropriate support network. A vibrant network is critical, particularly when developing projects and convening the public, as well as attracting additional practitioners. Many of the NIF centers, likely as part of an initial requirement for the start up grant,[49] set up steering committees or advisory boards to support their work. There does not seem to be a particular format or purpose to them, but many of the institutional histories did reveal difficulty in maintaining these steering committees. The Florida center, for example, concluded that "The idea of continuing a steering committed which met regularly was not successful."[50] The CPD has had similar difficulties. We established a broad advisory board, and have worked individually with a few of the members, but have yet in two and a half years been able to gather the advisory board together as a group.

        Another difficulty involved with networking is identifying the appropriate groups with which to partner. This challenge is similar to the challenge of attracting the "right" kind of person, but expanded beyond developing deliberative practitioners and focused more on developing community partners to support the work. As explained by the Ohio center:

> A major task for the coalition focused on building an image in the community. (MC) described the work as building a relationship over time with the various communities that make up the people of central Ohio. CPD [Council for Public Deliberation] worked to establish establishing relationships with places and organizations that people would trust as spaces where diverse opinions can be expressed and respected. The organization sponsoring the forum needs to be viewed as nonpartisan and unbiased with regard to the issue and the intended outcome of the discussion.[51]

The Arizona center similarly explained that the "challenge will always be to ensure that the desired outcomes of the community partners who sponsor the forums do not interfere with any citizen driven action that might be born out of a forum. Community partners must agree to accept the common ground found during a forum and support the activity with either resources or good wishes."[52] In other words, partners, like facilitators, must either be impartial, or be willing to play an impartial role for the duration of the project. Passionate, impartial organizations are perhaps even more difficult to find than passionate, impartial individuals. Those that most want to work with you may not be the sort of partners that will help you develop a strong reputation in the community for impartiality and fairness. Perhaps one answer to this dilemma is to gain enough partners that partisanship is countered with partisanship—and have

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[49] The CPD's grant from the CPPE, for example, included the requirement that I developed a steering committee with members on and off campus. The assumption being that the development of the steering committee would

[50] York, *Sustaining Space for Public Deliberation and Development of New Leadership for Deliberation*, 27.

[51] Stein and Patton, *Creating and Sustaining Space and Leadership for Public Deliberation*, 8.

[52] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 59.

forums co-sponsored by opposing political organizations, for example—but keeping that balance certainly has its own dangers.

Some of the institutional histories, however, reported significant success in developing their networks. The Oklahoma center has been particularly pro-active and intentional in building their network, partly due to their connection with cooperative extension and their statewide focus. They have developed an informal partnership of organizations, agencies, and education institutions, including universities, community colleges, state government agencies, professional associations, civic organizations, and civil rights organizations.[53] The South Dakota center has connected to 126 different organizations and 394 participants in some level. The Florida center, despite its lack of success with a steering committee, has been successful convening committees for individual projects, though they also detail some of the long-term difficulties of the strategy:

> Instead it was considered a better plan to convene a committee for individual activities such as the PPI, a forum or a particular Issue Framing [rather than a steering committee]. The advantage was that only the individuals involved in the activity would have to attend meetings. This would be a better use of talent and skills. This was valuable insight because most people have busy schedules and appreciate not having to attend meetings which do not directly involve them. Consideration of time constraints is appreciated. Lists were made of all attendees of PPI's over the years. A strategy had been to keep in contact with past attendees and to continue updating the database. However, maintaining contact with those previously involved has not worked as well as it could have worked, especially with those from out of town and out of state. Updating addresses, e-mails, and telephone

The Indiana center has also enjoyed success in networking, and has contributed its sustainability to its ability to network with groups throughout the state of Indiana.

Building such networks is critical when projects are chosen and developed, or even to bring projects to the centers. Many of the CPD's most important projects thus far—projects that have helped introduce deliberation to the community and establish the CPD's reputation—have been a direct result of network connections. For example, after connecting with the local school district while developing the advisory board, we were asked to help with a civic education forum they needed to put on as part of a grant. After that forum, we were asked to consult on the design for community input on an important district decision concerning grade configuration, and ended out taking over the series of six public

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[53] Interestingly, the institutional history for the Oklahoma center included a description of the "seven critical elements are required to develop and sustain a viable partnership" that they had developed from organizational development literature: a. diverse membership; b. compatible mission; c. plan for developing infrastructure; d. common goals and objectives; e. funding; f. defined programs; g. measurable outcomes.

meetings on that topic. It was our most significant project to date, one that garnered significant media coverage, involved over 700 participants, and has led to additional projects with the school district. The project was made possible due to a simple "cold call" made to expand my local network.

Networks are also critical to the convening role and to develop diverse audiences. More than one institutional history discussed the fact that forums often attract primarily homogeneous audiences, and again the CPD experience is similar. Networks can be relied upon to build more significant and representative audiences. As explained in the Arizona institutional history:

> It cannot be stressed enough that email invitations, written invitations, newspapers ads, flyers, newspaper articles, and brochures rarely convince people to attend a forum especially in rural areas. What works best is a phone call from someone the potential forum participant knows, asking him or her to attend. That's why we target well-known and loved community leaders to be conveners *in their community*.[54]

The Ohio center also explained that the homogeneous audiences are emblematic of the lack of collaboration in developing a forum. One of the most significant challenges to deliberative work is attracting diverse audiences, particularly attracting more conservatives, minority, and low income participants.[55] Networks can be developed that include organizations with particular ties to such audiences. A tension can certainly develop between building an impartial network and building a network that brings diversity to events, however. Theoretically, providing voice to the voiceless is very much in line with supporting democracy in general, but in practice it can easily be seen as stacking the deck if sponsoring organizations actively work to build their audience through organizations that are perceived to be partisan.

Lastly, developing community networks can be critical to the community itself because in many cases various community organizations are not otherwise connected to each other. Deliberation centers can thus serve as critical hubs for the community just as they can serve as hubs on a campus. Without such connections, separate community organizations may tend to focus more on addressing symptoms of problems rather than tackling problems at their root. Deliberative projects, when supported by a broad local network, can thus create significant social capital in a community by bringing previously disconnected parts together to focus on a common issue.

Challenge #6: Choosing good topics for projects

This challenge here is connected to the difficulty of choosing topics and projects that work best to advance the mission of the centers. Whereas some of the centers have had success here, one of the clearest lessons learned from the institutional histories was focused on what works and does not work in

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[54] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 48.
[55] For more information on this "diversity" challenge, see Carcasson & Christopher, "Goals and Consequences of Deliberation."

terms of forums. In particular, several centers discussed the negative responses to one time forums that used nationally framed NIF books. The Arizona center was particularly adamant about the ineffectiveness of such forums. I'll quote from them extensively to provide a clear sense of the lessons they learned:

> People I respected and whose respect I needed didn't like attending "single" forums featuring NIF Issue books….They told me that I "had wasted their time." They were only two of the many who seemed flabbergasted by forums. Whether this was some fault of mine, or my moderators' inability to properly introduce the purpose of a forum, or some other factor, I do not know. But, I continued to estrange community leaders with forums that led nowhere in their minds.[56]

Later, even more was added on the subject:

> My history with single forums told me that if forums were going to be successful they needed to be perceived as relevant and applicable, useful and effective. If people were going to come to forums, then the forums would have to be viewed as the way to get your voice heard and as a catalyst for change. I had begun to envision a statewide network of forums with a large enough "scope" that participants could envision how the forums could create change. Twenty people meeting in a small rural town about the U.S. justice system felt ridiculous and disempowering to forum participants. They couldn't imagine that their voice counted on such a matter or that any change would happen as a result of their deliberation. But what if we framed Arizona's issues and created an infrastructure or "space" for citizens from every community in Arizona to come and deliberate on the issues?[57]

In the end, they concluded:

> The difference between running a single forum on a NIF Issue book and a series of forums on a locally-framed issue is immense. Forum participants were frustrated by the magnitude of national issues. They also felt that the genesis of the problem was outside their community and so, they weren't sure what they were supposed to do about it….
> 'Off Balance' was the most agonizing forum we convened and people really let me know how much they hated it. They couldn't conceive that they could do anything about the court system. The court system is the highest authority in the land. In their minds, it is "untouchable" by citizenry. They thought it was a futile discussion because no one could see how they could change it. They were really mad.[58]

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[56] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 10.
[57] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona,*, 13.
[58] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 54.

Discussions about frustrations with the nationally framed books and the need for locally framed material was also expressed in the Hawaii and Missouri institutional histories.[59] The Ohio center also discussed their shift from running individual forums to multiple forums on the same topic in order to increase the usefulness.[60] Overall, the centers learn that forums must have a clear purpose, and "begin with the end in mind," as explained by the Arizona center.[61] Forums should not be run simply because they can be. To contribute to a long term goal of truly building deliberative capacity, forums must be developed and run to make an impact. For many centers, that means locally developed topics and multiple forums in different places and different days on that same topic.[62] The Ohio center even developed a one day framing workshop in order to be able to react quickly to local events.[63]

Another challenge connected to events is drawing good attendance. This was discussed briefly above in terms of the importance of networks, but is relevant here in terms of the difficulty of choosing topics that draw an audience but also serve the broader goals of deliberation. Overall, there was not much discussion about audience development, though once again the Arizona institutional history provided some important discussion concerning lessons they learned:

> Very few people (almost no one) attend a forum based solely on seeing an affordable newspaper ad (small in size) or reading a newspaper article. At this stage of our development, it is still essential to personally invite people to attend a forum if we want a viable and significant number of citizens at a forum. It is possible with only a newspaper ad or article to have a large forum but only if there are pre-existing, high-functioning advocacy groups already involved in the issue. Then the forum has a diversity problem; there is only one voice in the room.[64]

The Florida center also provided interesting examples of the importance of framing issues in a way that will be intriguing to a community.[65]

One last aspect of this challenge involved engaging the university audience in this work. The Arizona institutional history had some comments that also rings true in my CPD experience concerning the intriguing lack of interest in deliberative events on campus. For one last time, I again quote extensively from Arizona's report:

> Do college administrations, staffs and faculties want to be involved in politics or anything political? My secret desire was to go to the Yavapai County Voter Services to find out

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[59] Foley and Rock, *Sustaining Space and Developing Leadership for Public Deliberation Workshop*, 4; Missouri, 9.
[60] Stein and Patton, *Creating and Sustaining Space and Leadership for Public Deliberation*, 13.
[61] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 57.
[62] A similar point was made in Carcasson & Christopher, 2008.
[63] Stein and Patton, *Creating and Sustaining Space and Leadership for Public Deliberation*, 14.
[64] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 47.
[65] York, *Sustaining Space for Public Deliberation and Development of New Leadership for Deliberation*, 15.

whether the political science professor at the college was registered to vote. I never saw
him at any of the hundreds of political events that I have attended in my ten years of
living here. Do college faculties scorn civic engagement as a smoke screen to mask their
lack of participation in the political process? Do community college administrations and
faculties resist funding civic engagement programs because they hate politics and they
view forums as a political process? If this is true how do we re-engage them?

One of the ways we tried to impact the college community's involvement in political
processes was in convening candidate forums on campus. This put one important political
process right in their lap. In the eight years we convened political forums on campus, not
one of the college leadership attended any of the forums. Not one faculty member
attended these forum**s.**

Since deliberative democracy practices were never truly valued at Yavapai College, The
Leadership Center turned to the community to engage it in the work. This was not an
intentional initiative; it happened as a result of trying to promote deliberative democracy
and taking it to who ever would embrace it. As a result, even when deliberative
democracy died at the college, it survived in the community.[66]

The CPD's two years of experiences have been similar. I have noticed very few faculty members at our
events, and have received surprisingly little inquiry into our activities from the Political Science
department in particular, even though our events have garnered significant press, and many of the CPD
student associates are Political Science majors.

On one hand, I have found many willing community partners for my work—more than I can
handle, in all honesty—but have also not been able to gain much traction with some key organizations
with which I should be partnering. It is difficult to spend time trying to convince people of the importance
of this work when others are ready and willing to work with you, but if this work is to truly expand, we
will need to produce converts, not just work with those that already believe.

In summary, perhaps the most important insight to draw from the discussions about choosing and
running topics is how several of the centers seemed to learn the same lessons on their own. This insight
points to the need for the centers to communicate to each other more, and have more of a focused
discussion on what works and doesn't work in terms of topics and projects. Such communication would
clearly decrease the learning curve necessary as centers establish themselves in their communities.

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[66] Ronan, Adams, and Ginter, *Building a Deliberative Public in Arizona*, 22, 24, 25.

Part Four: Strategies and Choices for Campus Based Deliberation Centers

In this final section, I bring together the analysis from parts one and two in order to present a list of suggestions and choices for those developing or growing campus based deliberation centers. I'll begin with a summary of some overall key insights from the analysis that I believe warrant further examination and consideration by the broader movement, and then focus on more specific practical information for individuals developing or running deliberation centers.

Key Insights for the Broader Deliberative Democracy Movement

Perhaps the most self-evident insight of the analysis is simply the amount of the work involved in doing deliberative practice in an effective way. In my two years with the CPD, it has been rather overwhelming to consider all the various tasks related to this work. The institutional histories of the NIF centers reported very similar experiences. Directors must not only focus on developing, running, and following up on key events such as forums and training workshops, but for the long term development of their centers they must also be constantly networking on and off campus; learning new skills themselves; finding, writing, and reporting on grant proposals and other funding opportunities; recruiting, developing, and maintaining contact with conveners, moderators, and recorders; and the list could go on. With all these various tasks, the words from the Iowa report often ring true: our vision is always beyond our accomplishments.

As a response, *I would argue that increasing the institutionalization of deliberation is of utmost importance*, particularly in terms of dedicated positions. This movement has primarily been built on the back on volunteers, or at least by the efforts of individuals going well above and beyond their job descriptions to make a difference in their communities. Such efforts will certainly need to continue, but the movement has also matured to the point that more and more individuals should be supported in practicing deliberative work as a career, not a hobby. If that is to happen, it will likely happen primarily on the campuses of our colleges and universities. Returning to the initial arguments in this report, *doing deliberative work on campus is not easy, but it is likely the most fertile ground for institutionalization.*

As the various structures of the NIF centers reveal, there are a number of ways in which to institutionalize deliberation on campus. Based on the analysis, the two most important sites for the further development of centers would be community colleges and land grant universities. Both of these sites have clear missions to serve the community that can be utilized to make strong cases for deliberative work. At community colleges, due to the typical heavy teaching load of faculty, centers will likely need to be established as separate entities with dedicated funds from college leadership. The current NIF centers at community colleges can serve as exemplars, and should all certainly learn more from each other since they do share a common platform. Leaders in the broader movement need to make a clear and strong case to community college presidents about the importance of this work to their institutions, communities, and

students, and work to replicate the success that has occurred at community colleges like the Gulf Coast Community College in Florida. Deliberation needs to move beyond the "phantom limbs" and "pet projects of enlightened presidents" at community colleges, and become basic and core functions of such institutions.

The other obvious key site for growing deliberation centers are at our land grant institutions. Clearly there is much energy focused on reconnecting such institutions to their core missions in recent years evidenced by all the reports cited in part one, and deliberation is very well suited as a response to those passionate calls. Indeed, I would argue that deliberative practice represents a stronger response than traditional civic engagement efforts and service learning programs that are expanding exponentially across the nation. As argued by Harry Boyte and others, civic engagement efforts are too often overly focused on notions of volunteerism or service, rather than true political engagement and community problem-solving.[67] Deliberative practice can also move faculty and staff beyond the traditional "sharing of knowledge" perspectives that have limited the impact they can make in their communities. In sum, taking on a deliberative perspective could reinvigorate land grant colleges to better fulfill their missions in the 21st century. It can bring the campus together in multiple ways, bringing both knowledge and process to bear on key issues, to work *with* their communities as partners.

On these land grant campuses, two particular homes for centers stand out. One is Cooperative Extension, clearly fertile ground from many of the most productive NIF centers, including the Missouri and Oklahoma centers that were part of this analysis. Cooperative Extension has a number of inherent ties to deliberation and resources available across the states that will certainly be key to continuing to develop and grow deliberation centers. NIF has a number of excellent examples of such centers that call for replication in other states, and, if not already, need to connect with each other as learning communities.

The other ideal home for such centers are in relevant academic departments. In particular, I would strongly argue that a particularly important conclusion of this analysis is the need to have tenure track faculty more engaged in this work. The conclusion is primarily derived from my own experiences, as well as others in similar situations such as Windy Lawrence, director of the University of Houston-Downtown NIF center and Tim Steffensmeier, who is connected to the NIF center at Kansas State University. As far as I could tell, not many of the centers involved in the institutional histories examined here involved tenure track faculty. As a result, the challenges of time and sustainability were particularly pronounced. When I attended a Kettering workshop in summer 2006 along with a group of others in the process of starting new centers, it seemed clear that I was in a particularly good situation. The fact that I had a faculty position, and that my time could be "purchased" through my teaching assignments through the CPD student associate program was clearly an advantage. I also had access through my department to

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[67] Boyte, *Public Engagement in a Civic Mission.*

various critical resources such as students, a copier, an office, a website, etc.. All in all, it was clear to me that while I still felt rather overwhelmed by the amount of work, I was better off than most if not all of those involved in this sort of work. My experiences in the past two years, along with conversations with many others doing this work has more than confirmed that initial insight. As I have just recently went through the initial stages of my tenure process, it became evident how well this work has seamlessly brought together my three primary responsibilities of teaching, research, and service. Admittedly, I had difficulty filling out the various forms which tend to make strict distinctions between those three tasks—my work tends to transcend those in multiple ways—but nonetheless, I feel exceedingly comfortable saying I am very much fulfilling my job responsibilities well by doing deliberative work. Yes, there were some significant hurdles and barriers, and I had to spend extra time and effort in explaining this work to academics that don't quite understand it or its importance, but overall I feel confident that when done well, this work can be rewarded on campus, and the more it is done, the easier it will be for others to do similar work.

As a result of my experiences and in light of the challenges that came to light in this analysis, *I would argue that we need to make stronger efforts at attracting and supporting tenure track faculty to this work*. Barriers certainly exist, but the barriers are more manageable for individuals in these positions than those not. Tenure track faculty will likely be more successful in institutionalizing the work through the creation of courses dedicated to deliberation, convincing deans to create additional faculty lines to support centers, and serving as key hubs for public engagement across campuses. As figure 2 and the Democracy Imperative documents reveal, there are multiple places for deliberative work on campus, all that is perhaps necessary is a catalyst to bring individuals together. I believed tenured faculty members in related departments that can make deliberative work the centerpiece of their teaching, research, and service responsibilities are ideal for this task. My particular bias is that communication faculty are particularly well suited for a variety of reasons, but certainly faculty in any number of other disciplines could work as well. Connecting additional tenured faculty to this work will also lead to stronger connections between deliberative research and deliberative practice, which is also vital for the continued improvement of this work.

My final broad insight for the field is simply *the need for more communication between the centers and the individuals running them*. More communication of course means even more work to an overly full time card, but my experience with reading the institutional histories of others centers like mine lead to the obvious conclusion that my last two years would have been much more productive if I had read them two years ago. Far too many of us are reinventing the wheel on our respective campuses, and making the same mistakes or missing key opportunities. I was part of a Community Politics working group with the Kettering Foundation in 2007 and 2008 that brought together about 30 of us involved in

NIF centers, and the conversations we held were priceless in terms of improving our practice. We have been unable, however, to keep the conversation going after we leave Dayton. I am also a part of another network of centers, the University Network for Collaborative Governance, and again the conferences are incredible learning experiences, but once I get home, I get overwhelmed by my tasks and I am unable to stay connected to my colleagues across the nation struggling with the same issues with which I struggle. Those of us running centers need to get together more often, or find ways in which to connect virtually. The NIF institutional history project was a wonderful project to help share stories and lessons learned among us, and perhaps this report can help as well, but much more could be done so we can all support each other.

Suggestions and Tough Choices for Developers and Directors of Centers

I turn now to my final thoughts, which are directed particularly to individuals that are involved in developing or running centers on campuses connected to deliberative work in some way. Considering such centers housed in different institutions and operating in distinct communities will all have unique situations, this material functions more as a guide to the various options and questions that directors of centers should consider rather than a "how to" list. Seven key choices will be highlighted (table 3).

First, directors must carefully consider their *institutional home*. As shown at the beginning of part two, NIF centers are housed in a wide variety of places on campus, and the UNCG centers are similar. Some are stand alone organizations focused solely on deliberative work and/or civic engagement, some are attached to organizations with broader missions (such as cooperative extension), and some have no clear specific organizational home, but rather are tasks that are completed by faculty or staff members in particular academic departments. Advantages and

Table 3: Seven Key Issues/Choices for Center Directors to Consider
• Location of institutional home
• Leader focused model versus a collaborative group model
• Event focused versus capacity building
• Degree to which the center focused on or off campus
• Type and source of projects
• Purposes of workshops or PPIs
• Degree of connection to teaching and research

disadvantages to each model certainly exist. Stand alone organizations can more easily serve as the hub for deliberation on campus and the community. A stand alone organization with a clearly defined title, for example, can help a campus overcome the compartmentalization effect of silos. As the center gains publicity, others interested in the work on campus may more easily connect. Here at Colorado State, I've received a number of emails out of the blue from campus and community that saw something about the "Center for Public Deliberation" and contacted me. I imagine if I was simply a side function of the Department of Communication Studies or a broader organization with many functions, such connections would be less likely to occur. Being attached to a more established organization, however, can mean

resources and prestige. Stand alone organizations are more likely to have to provide their own staff, copiers, promotional material, website, etc. Many budding centers, therefore, may need to begin connected to a larger organization with resources until they have more stability and resources to stand on their own. In the long term, however, the more specific organizations explicitly dedicated to deliberation, collaborative governance, community problem-solving, etc., the better for the overall movement.

A second key choice to consider is *a leader focused model versus a collaborative group model*. Once again, pros and cons exist. The CPD is certainly a leader-focused model, with myself at the helm. I have an advisory group and a number of partners I work with, but I am many times the sole decision-maker on key CPD issues. I am also very much symbolically the director of the CPD, and as I make the rounds of community functions and forums, I am known in the community as the director of the CPD. The advantage of this model is that it facilitates the role of the CPD to promote deliberative democracy and community problem solving. I am becoming, I hope, the face of deliberative democracy in Northern Colorado, and when people are interested in such topics, they know who to approach. The leader model is also efficient. While I do often consult others on decisions and involve the students at many levels, high level decision-making meetings are nonetheless quick and easy to organize.

The disadvantages to the leader model are also significant, however. In some ways, the CPD has all its eggs in my basket. While I have been able to sustain a very high degree of activity these initial three years, the long term sustainability of effort may be problematic. The institutional histories often discussed burnout, and the leader model is particularly susceptible. The efficiency of a decision-making model of one is of course offset by the precarious nature of the quality of decisions that are not adequately vetted by others.

The collaborative group model, on the other hand, offers a contrasting set of pros and cons. This model is perhaps best represented by the Ohio Council for Public Deliberation. Burnout is less of a concern, as responsibilities are shared or rotated, and different people can set up to head specific projects. Unlike the leader model, no one individual would need to devote a majority of their time to the effort (again, not too many dedicated full-time positions are available at this point). Losing individuals would obviously not be nearly as devastating to the organization as losing a primary leader. A well functioning coalition would certainly have an expanded capacity over a leader model in most cases. Options also exist within the collaborative model, particularly concerning the degree of structure, ranging from a loose network of affiliates to more of a specific, structured coalition. A group of affiliates would be easier to gather and expand, but it may be difficult for them to act quickly or sustain longer, more significant projects. A more structured coalition, on the other hand, would require significant time and effort to maintain. Another downside of the collaborative model lies in the lack of a figurehead that could be

valuable to the promotion of the work, as well as the difficulty of finding enough "passionate impartial" individuals to cobble together into a coalition.

Regardless of the model, one thing is clear from the institutional histories. Due to the amount of work involved, some sort of staff person or assistance with all the everyday tasks involved in this work is necessary. This is one of the advantages of the center being a part of a larger organization, because they are likely to have such staff help available. If a new coalition forms, however, some thought must be placed into somehow providing for someone in the middle to complete these tasks and serve as the connector between all the individuals.

In the end, the degree to which a center is leader focused or a collaborative group is likely a function of the number of individuals interested in the work, and whether or not resources exist to support a position dedicated to leading the effort. I would argue that the promotional importance of the leader should not be underestimated. Deliberative work needs promotion, and to have an individual with a title that can be focused at all times on representing the field in a community, building a network and giving talks to various groups about the work, can be critical to the growth of the work. As I argued above, in order for this field to continue to move forward, more positions primarily dedicated to this work are necessary.

A third key choice focused on the *overall purpose of the center and how the tasks are carried out*. In particular, the institutional histories often revealed a distinction between an event-focused model and a broader, capacity building model (see pages 19-20 for more on this discussion). Indeed, the two models could perhaps be described as stages in development, with newer centers starting out as being event focused, and eventually growing into more a democratic capacity building function. I believe it would be difficult for a newly formed center to jump right into a focus on capacity building, unless key leaders in the organization are already experienced in deliberative practice and well-known in the community. I, for example, have been primarily event-focused for the first two years, as the CPD makes its way over the learning curve and establishes its reputation in the community. I am just now slowly transitioning to more of a capacity building model, and long term I believe I will have multiple workshops every summer specifically designed for various participants that will be focused on building the capacity in Colorado as a whole in doing this work. As I transition, however, I will also move away from the leader-centered model, and hopefully begin to institutionalize additional key partners in my work in order to handle the increased demand that comes with the capacity building model.

Moving to a capacity building model clearly brings forth the need for a wide range of key tasks that may not be necessary for an event-focused model. Putting on useful and interesting deliberative events is certainly time consuming, but not nearly as much as situating a center as a critical hub for deliberative democracy overall. Capacity building significantly adds to the importance of key

responsibilities such as promoting the work to leaders, developing champions, identifying key partners and building a collaborative network on *and* off campus, developing media connections, building and promoting a clear record of service, procuring additional funding, etc. So while I would argue that the capacity building focus will more significantly impact communities than an event-focused model, the resources and time necessary for the capacity-building model may make it unrealistic for certain centers. I should also clearly emphasize that the event-focused model has numerous positives in its own right, as the more high quality deliberative events are held in communities, the more the work will inherently expand. Said differently, we need as many centers doing good work as we can, and it is likely that most centers, particularly in the formative years, must focus primarily on developing and running events

A fourth key choice involves *the degree to which the center focused on or off campus*. All centers inherently do both, but different centers certainly tend to focus more on one or the other, at least at the beginning. At the CPD, I made the conscious choice to focus first on the community. I had a number of strong contacts in the community, and I believed—correctly from what I can tell from the experience— that the long term development of the center would be better realized if I established a clear presence, and, more importantly, record of accomplishment, off campus before making my case to those on campus. As I told community members and local institutions of my work, the reception was so positive that it sealed my path (often the reaction was much more positive than the reaction when I discussed the work with others on campus). Cognizant of the barriers to doing this work on campus discussed in part one, and aware of the need for the work off campus, I set out simply to do the work and capture its impact. In particular—and I believe this is critical advice to those beginning centers on campus—I was rather aggressive and shameless in procuring letters of thanks and support from community members. After an event, when those working with me asked if there was anything they could do to help me in my work, my reply was always, "Well, yes, there is this one thing…." I built up a clear record from numerous key individuals around Northern Colorado attesting to the value of the work my students and I completed. Those letters, often sent directly to the president of the university or my dean, and copied to my department head and myself, paved the way for further institutionalization of the center. They also, I believe, strengthened my tenure case.[68]

Now I as turn my focus more to campus and building the center, I don't just have an idea of what the center could do, I have evidence in the form of letters, reports, newspaper articles, and student testimonials of our impact and successes. Doors that I believe would not have been opened two years ago are much more receptive to my work. Building my on-campus coalition should, theoretically, be easier.

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[68] In the Dean's letter supporting my promotion to tenure, an entire paragraph focused on the letters she received from the community. I also received a service award from the college, and in the speech announcing the award, again the Dean focused on and read from the letters.

On the other hand, depending on the campus, a campus-first approach could also certainly work well. Once again, this work can connect to many different parts of a campus, and spending the time and effort to build a strong coalition across the campus first could make the work of establishing the center in the community much easier. Indeed, my community-first approach has led to me not being aware of certain campus organizations that could have been valuable partners from the beginning but, due in part to the silo-effect, I simply did not know about until we run across each other haphazardly (I recently learned that CSU has a Center for Collaborative Conservation on campus while at a conference in Austin, for example). A community-focused approach can also certainly lead to the stepping on of toes, as individuals on campus already doing the work—or at least believe they are—may be offended that they were not consulted or involved when their path is finally crossed.

The budding center at New Mexico, for example, is taking a campus-first orientation, carefully building support and a strong network before the center is officially launched. They are actively trying to overcome the silo-effect, researching and seeking out potential partners in the effort before they begin the work. Such an effort certainly takes significant time, and I imagine more than a few bumps in the road have surfaced as campus entities fight over turf, but in the long run it could very well lead to a more sustainable and stronger model. Indeed, building strong interdisciplinary groups on campus is critically important work, and deliberation centers are in many ways ideally suited to serve as hubs that bring campus resources together in multiple ways (see figure 1, p. 5).

Regardless of a campus first or community first model, newly developing or established centers intent on growing should turn to other centers for ideas for growth and connections. This goes back to the broader point of increased communication between the centers. The list of organizations that other centers have connected to discussed in the institutional histories has certainly provided me a number of new targets to contact as I seek to increase my capacity. In particular, it is obvious my connections with Cooperative Extension should be significantly expanded.

A fifth key choice for directors is to carefully think through the *type and source of projects*. The institutional histories made clear that what projects are taken on is vital. A number of different factors must be taken into consideration, as discussed in challenge #6. Topics that are ambitious enough to matter, but small enough to be manageable are critical. Some topics are ripe for deliberation, others are not. Many of the centers realized that projects must focus on topics that provide the community a sense of efficacy, otherwise frustration may be the primary result. Similar frustration with "one time" forums was often expressed. Taking advantage of potential high profile triggering events such as helping the campus or community deal with a difficult issue could make (if done well) or break (if not) a center hoping to establish itself. The CPD's work with the grade configuration issue, for example, was vital to introducing ourselves to our community. As centers turn more to capacity-building, more and more projects may be

derived more directly from institutional decision-makers, rather than from the center itself. Many of the CPD projects are now projects we are asked to do by the school board, city government, or state legislators, which provides an inherent legitimacy, but also takes away some control from the center. All in all, wise choices for the types of projects is a critical topic for centers to consider, and, once again, more sharing of experiences and focused analysis of these issues is warranted.[69]

The sixth choice focuses on *the purposes of workshops or PPIs*. As explained in the discussion of challenge #2 (pp. 23-26), the institutional histories revealed that often the workshops supported by many of the NIF centers have not been as successful as hoped. As I argued there, centers must think through the purpose of their workshops, and consider the possibility of developing separate workshops for different key purposes. A "one-size-fits-all" workshop seems problematic. Shorter workshops or presentations to broadly introduce the tenants of deliberative democracy combined with longer workshops to actually train deliberative practitioners may serve as a better model. Advanced workshops or refreshers specifically designed for various audiences—such as city council members; state legislators; school board members; public relations or community involvement staff for cities, counties, school boards; extension agents; non-profit leaders; civic education teachers; university faculty; etc.—would likely produce more results. Of course, such workshops would take additional time and resources, and hosting multiple workshops may be unrealistic for many centers.

The last choice I want to highlight involves *the scope of the work in terms of connecting to teaching and research*. Earlier it was explained that most of the centers focused primarily if not exclusively on service, whether through events or workshops. Earlier I wrote that to have many of the NIF centers limiting their reach to a service component is to inherently limit to impact they could make and the potential prestige and sustainability of the organizations. This point also connects with my call to involve more tenured or tenure track faculty in this work. The more deliberative practice can connect to the teaching and research functions of the university, the more institutionalized, stable, and respected it will become. I certainly believe that we need to continue to make the case to increase the importance of the service component, and to transform the barrier that questions the significance of the "underappreciated stepchild of the triumvirate of academic work," but pragmatism also dictates that at the same time we must do what we can to promote the work within the current constraints.[70]

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[69] See Carcasson & Christopher, "Goals and Consequences of Deliberation," for an extended discussion of the issue of choosing appropriate topics.
[70] As I complete my writing on this report, I was provided a copy of the letter my dean has written in support of my case for tenure. The symbolism of the format and content of the letter was striking, particularly because my dean understands my work and supports it well. Nonetheless, after an introduction of a couple paragraphs, the letter is divided into sections for teaching, research, and service. The teaching section (50% of my job responsibilities) has a total of 12 lines of text, the research section 45 (35% of my responsibilities), and the service section 3 (15% of my job). Percentage wise, therefore, research earned 75% of the words, teaching 20%, and service 5%.

The choice of working with students closely or not is particularly important for directors to consider. A few actively involved students, but often as an extracurricular activity. The CPD model of relying heavily on students—a small group of handpicked, high quality students that agree to be involved for at least a year in the work—seems to be viable, and could be utilized by more centers. All centers should step back and consider the degree to which they involve students and whether or not the investment of time and energy would be beneficial.

Conclusion: The Vital Role of Centers as Hubs for Deliberative Democracy

As I close this report, I return to what I wrote when I introduced the section considering the advantages and disadvantages of doing deliberative work on our nation's campuses. There I made two key points. The first was that *one of the most significant needs for democracy—particularly U.S. democracy in the 21*st *century—is passionate, sharp, but impartial people dedicated to making democracy work that have access to critical resources to dedicate to democracy*. The review of the advantages and disadvantages of doing deliberative work on our nation's campuses and the analysis of the institutional histories of the NIF centers show that the work is difficult and exceedingly time consuming to do well. That being said, the work is critical, and it is unclear who else would have the resources to get it done. For all the barriers that exist to do this work on campus, they are very likely lower than the barriers that exist to do this work off campus. Certainly a number of non-profits and civic entrepreneurs have been very successful doing this work, and their work should very much be applauded, but if we are to truly take deliberative democracy to scale and continue our current trajectory, our colleges and universities must be a critical part of this work. The natural advantages to connecting with our campuses are simply too strong to allow the barriers to hold us back.

My second key point was that *the more deliberative work expands on campus, the easier it will be*. The barriers to deliberative work are issues that need to be addressed on our campuses anyway, and a strong push for deliberative practice may just be the ideal antidote to what is ailing higher education and reinvigorate students. But to realize these optimistic impacts, I again will emphasize the need for greater institutionalization, more connection to tenured or tenure track faculty, and greater communication between those doing this work.

My ultimate vision is for every college or university across the country to house a Center for Public Deliberation or some form of one in one way or another. It may be housed in any number of places on campus, and be structured in a great variety of ways, but most importantly each would serve as a critical hub for democracy in their community. They would serve as places to connect the academic silos, to help experts bring their knowledge to bear on local problems as well as choose research projects that have more community application, to spark partnerships between these colleges and universities and other

local institutions, and to provide students with ready examples of what institutions of higher education can really accomplish when they take their public missions seriously.