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Undergraduate Education: From consumers to citizens in a knowledge economy

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The future “has a way of arriving unannounced,” as the columnist George Will once wrote, and we can already feel its presence in higher education. We don’t need a crystal ball to see the tectonic changes in culture, technology, and the economy that are shaping the lives, hopes, and plans of our students and their families, our communities, and the worlds in which we live. But we do need to take some time to reflect on the state of our democracy, as this provides the context for thinking together today about what a good education should include as preparation for this future.

And in this regard, the shifting ground beneath us offers unprecedented opportunities and dangers. It is widening the abyss between rich and poor, the “haves,” and the “have nots.” On one side of the chasm is a level of prosperity, luxury, mobility, and opportunity unthinkable - even for the wealthy - a generation ago.

On the other side of this great gulf are the poor, many women and people of color, immigrants, refugees, and the workers considered “replaceable” in today’s creative economy. They are making beds, serving meals, working in retail, hospital, and transportation services, washing cars, and watching too many children die, fail in school, or fall into our growing cradle to prison pipeline. They are struggling to survive in a landscape that can only be described as lethal.

As we consider the future of our profoundly divided society, we should reconsider, with more than a little alarm, John Dewey’s definition of a democracy, a definition that is slipping away from us. Democracy, he wrote, is “more than a form of government: it is primarily a mode of associated living, a conjoint communicated experience.”

“An undesirable society,” he wrote, coming painfully close to our current state of affairs, “is one which internally and externally sets up barriers to free intercourse and communication of experience.” A democratic society, on the other hand, “makes provision for participation in its good of all its members on equal terms” and “secures flexible readjustment of its institutions through the interaction of different forms of associated life.”

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5 Dewey, 99.
If we are to survive as a democracy, we must democratize all our institutions. Difficult? Yes. Impossible? No. One only has to look in the direction of the newly formed Republic of South Africa. By the time apartheid ended, race-based privileges and prohibitions were installed in every aspect of life, from the bedroom to the school room, from the workplace to the ballot box. To move forward, the new government promised reconciliation and restorative justice, not retaliation and revenge. President Nelson Mandela vowed in his inaugural speech to “place our vision of a new constitutional order for South Africa on the table not as conquerors, prescribing to the conquered. We speak as fellow citizens to heal the wounds of the past with the intent of constructing a new order based on justice for all.”

As a foundation for that goal, the new South African Constitution guaranteed “the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms” to every citizen. And, just as important, it recognized the urgent need to create programs and structures that would advance whole groups to positions where equality would be a possibility. The new South Africa understood what the old one wrought, and as hard as it will be to realize their goals, they know that profound transformation is a necessity.

In our nation, much inequality and structural violence also arises from the brutal and unjust past that many of us are leery to confront. As Stanley Fish, Davidson-Kahn Professor of Law at Florida International University, wrote recently in The New York Times: “…a great wrong was done for centuries to men and women who contributed in many ways to the prosperity of their country and were willing to die for it in battle.” The argument for apologizing for slavery is straightforward, he wrote, and the most common objection “is that the wrong people would be apologizing to the wrong people,” or as Georgia House Speaker Glenn Richardson put it: “I’m not sure what we ought to be apologizing for,” given that “nobody here was in office.”

What’s missing is acknowledgement that the wrongs of slavery and years of Jim Crow segregation survive in the present, in the stereotypes we hold and in the advantages or disadvantages we have. Every time a person of color enters a room or walks down a street, all of history is there. We must take responsibility for the past, even if only to admit that groups in our society have taken vastly different roads to get to this moment, and we do not all stand on the same ground.

We must make our institutions more democratic. Justice demands it. More than fifty years after Brown v. Board, black and Latino and Native American children are disproportionately educated in racially segregated and inferior schools at the very moment that another round of Supreme Court cases tests our national commitment to integration. As

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7 Republic of South Africa. Constitution. Act 108 of 1996, Chapter 2, Section 9 (1) and (2).
9 Amicus brief of 19 Former Chancellors of the University of California in support of respondents in Parents Involved in Community Schools v Seattle School District No. 1, et.al., in the Supreme Court of the United States,
William G. Bowen, Martin A. Kurzweil, and Eugene M. Tobin observe: “It is historically indefensible and morally wrong to think of race as “just another” dimension of disadvantage—or, in the language of much of the debate over affirmative action, as “just another” dimension of diversity.”10 As Ronald Dworkin has put it, ‘the worst of the stereotypes, suspicions, fears, and hatreds that still poison America are color-coded,’11 And this in no way minimizes the powerful and pervasive disparities in access to quality education – at all levels – between our nation’s rich and poor, which also must be addressed.

The need for affirmative action that recognizes history and opens the doors to educational opportunity in the face of these race and class disparities is urgent. As the Supreme Court opined in the Grutter v. Bollinger case, access to education has always been this nation’s insurance policy for social mobility, and the payments are now due.

Consider the argument of Justice Sandra Day O’Connor, writing for the majority in that case:

“…because universities, and in particular, law schools represent the training ground for a large number of the Nation’s leaders, Sweatt v. Painter, 339 U.S. 629, 634, the path to leadership must be visibly open to talented and qualified individuals of every race and ethnicity.”12

And this argument is rightly extended to the “thumb on the scale” for socioeconomic disadvantage, as Bowen and his colleagues compellingly demonstrated in their analysis of Equity and Excellence in Higher Education.

There are also other, more instrumental reasons to democratize our institutions. We have heard growing concern from the academy, from employers, and from the government that we are losing our edge in creating the human capital needed in the global knowledge economy. “We fear the abruptness with which a lead in science and technology can be lost - and the difficulty of recovering a lead once lost, if indeed it can be regained at all,” the National Academies have warned. The number of students enrolled in STEM fields in the United States has decreased, but climbed in nations only a mouse click away. In 2004 China graduated about 500,000 engineers, India 200,000 and the United States 70,000.13 Few doubt that our economic fate will hinge in very large part on our success in drawing from the largely untapped, increasingly diverse talent

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12 Sandra Day O’Connor, writing for the majority in Grutter v Bollinger, No. 02-241. Supreme Court, June 23, 2003, 3-4.
pool in our cities, towns, and communities. This future will also depend on how well we create new capacities for enterprise, collaboration, and creativity on our campuses.

Communities of Democratic Practice

As we democratize access to higher education, and reach out broadly to tap the talent in our nation, we must also remember that we represent, in a lineage that traces back to the days of the ancient Greek academies, special institutions for the practice of, and preparation for, democracy. Colleges and universities are ideal places to create communities of democratic practice, and we can do this if we fully commit not only to access but also to the “associated life” of participatory democracy that Dewey envisioned.

This commitment makes two fundamental demands on us. One is to connect our diverse students with the knowledge they need to be citizens and to produce the innovations—both technical and social—that will make a difference in our world. This requires skills such as critical thinking and problem-solving, to be sure, but it also demands that we encourage the capacity to examine our accepted practices—whether these are how we treat our natural environment or how we treat each other—and the culture, philosophy, history, and economics that got us to where we are now. Educators and students alike must take the past seriously, even if we are not agents of its making.

The second critical task of higher education, if we are truly committed to democracy, is to nurture democratic interpersonal or social skills, including the give and take of interaction in a pluralistic community, with many voices engaged, realizing that each of these may inhabit different positions at different moments—expert and novice, teacher and listener, insider and outsider.

Of course, we may have the illusion that we do not need to work on these democratic interpersonal skills because we can connect instantly over the web with others all over the world. However, as Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian has warned, “connectivity does not guarantee communication.” And, as social psychologists have amply demonstrated, there are substantial benefits for democratic citizenship from inter-group dialogue. This, however, requires practice—not something that any of us get very often while growing up in largely homogenous neighborhoods and communities.

14 For a full discussion, see Nancy Cantor, “Building Intellectual and Social Capital through Diversity and Innovation,” KeyBank Diversity Thought Leadership Series, The City Club of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio, 9 June 2006. This is available online at http://www.syr.edu/chancellor/speeches/keyBankSpeech.pdf
15 For example, while Plato and Aristotle may have differed in their understandings of the capacities of individuals, their common educational goal was to prepare people for the roles they would play in society. See Plato’s The Republic and Aristotle’s Nicomachean Ethics for discussion of their conceptions of the goals of education.
Practice we must, and higher education is one place to encourage deliberate dialogues across the fault lines of our divided society. We must do this if we are to expect any true connection, any sense of interdependence and shared common fate to go even a step beyond Dewey’s participatory democracy to an active sense of communal responsibility for building a community and world, together.

Yet we know that we are far from achieving this on most of our campuses, as we fail to systematically offer even the rudimentary preparations for citizenship, not to mention the much harder work of inter-group dialogues that engender more fundamental sentiments of communal responsibility. On this score, we are clearly “underachieving” as Derek Bok noted in his recent assessment of higher education, in which he cites failures to “make any deliberate, collective effort to prepare their students to be active knowledgeable citizens in a democracy, even though civic apathy and ignorance of public affairs are widely regarded as serious problems in America.”18

The same call to action has recently been rung in a declaration on The Responsibility of Higher Education for a Democratic Culture authored by the Council of Europe, and signed by numerous college and university presidents around the globe, as well as by the National Leadership Council for Liberal Education and America’s Promise, a group formed by AACU to mobilize educators to take on education for the 21st century.19

Obstacles of Individualism

What stands in our way? I would argue that our culture of individualism is largely to blame. It pits groups and individuals in a fierce competition for a leg up in the knowledge economy, obscuring any commitments to social justice and democracy. It affects the ways in which the public construes the purposes of higher education – more for private gain than public good – as well as the appetite of students, faculty, and our institutions to join together to take on some of the trickier and more difficult democratic practices.

Clearly, individualism has always been a central feature of our national identity, enshrined in our Constitution and Bill of Rights, in our myths of the rugged frontiersmen and self-made tycoons, and in countless books and movies in which an individual triumphs over great odds. We are committed to the notion of self-help, as any survey of our best seller lists will show. Now, more than ever, as psychologists Hazel Markus and Shinobu Kitayama observe, American culture is in the grip of “the powerful idea that people are independent, bounded, 

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autonomous entities who must strive to remain unshackled by their ties to various groups and collectives.”

This notion that groups or collective efforts are antithetical to individual success is very problematic for many of the hardest of our democratic practices. The “simpler” acts of citizenship – such as voting or exercising property rights – may not require mobilization of a collective will. But going much beyond this, in these pluralistic times, will require negotiating difference and having a sense of our interdependence. If anything, the spirit of our times makes us increasingly reluctant to acknowledge the importance of either of these.

Certainly, this is true in a global context. We feel beleaguered by worldwide competition in the knowledge economy that is being built on the ashes of industry. We feel personally threatened by inter-cultural conflict around the world. Our fear is fed by hyperbole about the so-called “clash of civilizations” that is actually a distorted view of the world perceived through the lens of “monolithic otherness.” Our fears, in turn, push us apart at the very time we most need to find common cause with others and build upon our democratic practices.

But I am not speaking just about perceived global competition and threats. The same views prevail at home and are reflected on our campuses.

Even before students get to college, there is little room for collective bonding, as the race for higher education mirrors the worst of the “Survivor” reality shows on television. Going to college to fine-tune skills of citizenship isn’t even on the radar screen. Higher education is seen as a consumer product for which individual students compete in a winner-take-all game.

Sara Rimer’s recent interviews in The New York Times of girls at Newton North High School just outside of Boston, one of the best public high schools in the country, illuminated the surreal distress of fearing you don’t measure up, no matter how brilliant and accomplished you are. At Newton, the best students start worrying about marketing themselves for college by the time they are 14. As the principal Jennifer Price said: “You have to be almost superhuman to resist the pressure.”

Steve Sample, president of the University of Southern California, recently observed that the “level of competitive stress is at an unprecedented high. Just the other day one of our student leaders, a senior, said to me, ‘Dr. Sample, admission to USC is now so competitive, I couldn’t have gotten in.’ Mind you, this is a physics major with a music minor who holds a 3.6 GPA, and

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who is an outstanding student-athlete competing in cross-country. And he entered USC only three years ago!”

Because college is expensive, and because a college degree can significantly improve a student’s chances to make a good living, many families find themselves focusing on individual “returns on investment,” rather than on a student’s capacities to develop over a lifetime. In the calculation - private investment for private gain - any return to the larger community is, at best, a luxury. As one of the Newton students told Rimer: “It’s, like, a really big deal to go into a lucrative profession so that you can provide for your kids, and they can grow up in a place like the place where you grew up.”

In our individualistic culture, the operative question about a college education seems to be, “What’s in it for me?”

Not long ago, I spoke with a student journalist about a Climate Commitment declaration that I had signed, along with many university leaders, to take communal responsibility for controlling global climate change. Although Syracuse has a very active environmental sustainability movement on campus and in our community, this student’s first question was: “But what’s in it for the students?” I can’t tell you what made me saddest: 1) her suspicion that tuition money spent on environmental sustainability would somehow deprive the students; 2) her avoidance of the question of responsibility, as she and other students live in the Syracuse environment, drink the water, and breathe the air; or 3) her failure to ask what she and other students could do to get involved. And, of course, students are not alone in shying away from these and other pressing issues. We all focus more on rankings and competition than on collaborations to improve the state of our world.

The philosopher Jonathan Sacks has observed that societies such as ours are ill-equipped to deal with such critical social issues as poverty, hunger, disease, powerlessness and lack of freedom "not because they are heartless - they are not; they care - but because they have adopted mechanisms that marginalize moral considerations."

Our politics have become more procedural and managerial. Sacks contends that we need to recover an older tradition "that spoke of human solidarity, of justice and compassion, and of the non-negotiable dignity of individual lives."

Education is extremely important in recovering that tradition because it can create empathy of mind that is deeper and more lasting than empathy that might be created simply by proximity. For higher education to go forward, we must open colleges and universities to deep and reciprocal partnerships. Access alone is not enough. We must also nourish democratic culture in our best traditions.

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24 See http://www.presidentsclimatecommitment.org/.
To nourish our best traditions in this highly competitive and fractionated world, I would look to colleges and universities to re-emphasize three “R’s” of democratic practice: reflection, reciprocity, and responsibility. And let me say just a few words about each, and then consider some contexts for building relevant communities of practice around them.

**Reflection.** A casualty of the competitive consumerism in higher education today is the reflection on difference that comes when we take the time to watch others and learn from them, rather than simply assessing them as potential threats to our own position. Although we might not want to recognize it, we are profoundly social beings. A central principle in social psychology is that individuals come to understand themselves through interaction with others and with the world. In the early part of the 20th century, Charles H. Cooley used the metaphor of the self as mirror, or the *looking glass self*, to illustrate how we see ourselves largely through reflections from others.\(^{26}\) As Micere Githae Mugo, a distinguished Kenyan poet and scholar who is chair of African American Studies at Syracuse, once wrote to me, “We look other peoples and their cultures in the face and see in them the mirroring of our own humanity.”\(^{27}\) I do not believe that we often take the time any more to look other peoples and their cultures in the face. Therefore, we see no reflection in which to examine ourselves.

**Reciprocity.** The practice of (social) reflection, in turn, enables us to reach out across the divides of our world in much more meaningful ways than those all-too-easy cyber connections we are so good at making. When we are able to see ourselves in others, our connections with them - whether physical or virtual - have much more depth and sustainability. These reciprocal bonds of mutual interest can be drawn upon repeatedly. It is reciprocity that prompts us to look out for others, and others to look out for us.

Sarah Ryman, an honors student at Syracuse who spent an eye-opening semester in Ecuador working with villagers whose family members were missing or detained in the U.S., captured this reciprocity as she described her transition from “tourist” to “family” in a speech to her peers upon her return to campus. She said, at the end of her time in Ecuador: “My clients no longer viewed me as an outsider because we were connected by our humanity…Before traveling to Ecuador, I defined a person as being globally aware if they had an appreciation for the diversity of other cultures. Now I view a person as being globally aware if they understand that they are connected to the rest of the world on the basis of our humanity.”\(^{28}\)

**Responsibility.** And from reciprocity comes an embrace of communal responsibility that goes well beyond the things that one has directly touched or impacted, a responsibility that stretches back in history and makes a wide embrace of our own worlds. When we reflect on others – their different experiences, histories, vulnerabilities – in ways that mirror ourselves, then we widen the scope of what we feel responsible for, not out of guilt, but out of reciprocity. Of course, this is not a popular attitude these days. We are much more likely to take a decidedly


\(^{27}\) Professor Micere Githae Mugo, personal correspondence, November 20, 2005.

\(^{28}\) Sarah Ryman, speech on global awareness and study abroad to incoming honors students at Syracuse University, August, 2005.
more egocentric approach – captured by the common cry of “I didn’t do anything” or if I did, then “I didn’t intend any harm,” distancing ourselves from the “sins of our fathers” and even from fellow members of the groups to which we belong. We would rather litigate individual guilt than try to improve the situation. In fact, we look to retribution rather than to restorative justice.

This is certainly apparent on college campuses everywhere. When things go wrong, we seem to care more about weeding out the “bad apples” for individual punishment than changing the culture of the campus organizations. Alongside our rights of free association, we forget the communal responsibility for the cultures we create in our many groups and for the ways in which those groups treat others, even if we ourselves are not directly involved.

It is too easy to distance ourselves from any such personal, communal responsibility, especially when we see those outside our groups and neighborhoods through a lens of “otherness,” not as a reflections of ourselves, linked in reciprocal partnerships of caring.

But we are a country that cares, at least if measured by individual charitable giving and volunteerism, if not by our engagement in civic responsibility. How do we turn this penchant for giving and service into a desire to form deep, reciprocal partnerships in which we take some broader communal responsibility for how we all live?

*Scholarship in Action: Bringing the World in by Taking the University Out*

One way we can do this is by bringing the outside world into the university and the interior world of the university out into the community. And I mean this literally. At Syracuse, we are working on a vision we call Scholarship in Action in which we are engaging in public scholarship as an intellectual practice seamlessly integrated with the practice of democracy.

We draw from and build on the diverse voices of “communities of experts” in our own city, as well as across disciplines on campus, to tackle the challenges of a post-industrial city whose history is steeped in social movements - for women’s rights, abolition of slavery, disability rights, and indigenous peoples - and whose current reality includes vast untapped talent, both longstanding and newly arriving from around the globe.

Our students join our faculty in forging reciprocal partnerships within our city and region, working on the most pressing issues of urban revitalization - economic empowerment through neighborhood entrepreneurship; renewable energy, water resources, and indoor environmental quality; urban education and literacy; and art, design, and technology to rebuild our city and replenish our spirits. We work in a disciplined strategic way, making commitments of our intellectual capital, building sustainable programs and spaces downtown, and requiring only that there be partners - and plenty of them – to share the responsibility of progress.

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Doing this work involves cultivation of the democratic practices of reflection and reciprocity. It draws upon our technical and professional skills for vital innovations. And it requires listening:

- to our indigenous experts from the Onondaga Nation as they describe their land claim to motivate the clean-up of Onondaga Lake, a sacred site that is now a Superfund site;
- to the women and minority entrepreneurs starting businesses based on their ideas in the heart of their neighborhood in our newly created Innovation Center;
- to the artists whose work survives even where buildings are boarded up and home is worlds away; and
- to the children, who may not graduate from high school but already know much about the world.

Listen to how Roslyn Esperon, an Art History major at Syracuse, describes her engagement in our Literacy through the Arts Partnership with the Syracuse City School District:

“It’s hard to teach these students because they’re so creative that what you teach them is immediately outdated and irrelevant, and they’re on to something else.” She has been working with high school students in a creative writing and digital photography program. “We talk about things, just everyday conversations. One student started crying and hid in his coat. Then he pulled himself together and said he was worried about when his welfare and social security checks were coming in. I’m 20, and I don’t have to deal with these things. He’s 14, and he does. It makes you see the wider world, even if the wider world is in your back yard.”

Our list of partnerships seems to grow daily. These are not internships. They are not “outreach.” And I would not characterize them as “service learning.” As Nancy L. Thomas has observed, problem solving for communities is “an outdated and elitist view.” I am speaking of deep and reciprocal partnerships in which everyone has voice and expertise, where mutuality is critical. We are practicing democracy and fine tuning our relationships with - and understanding of - the world.

We can begin to see clearly what we must understand: that we are all in this together or, to paraphrase Congressman John Lewis, we may have all come on different ships but we’re in the same boat now. In the future that is already arriving unannounced, both the dangers and the possibilities are great.

32 Congressman John Lewis (Democrat of Georgia) in various places, including a commencement address at American University School of Public Affairs and Kogod School of Public Administration in 1999 and a January 14, 1999 interview on National Public Radio on the legacy of The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Full quote: “The lightning may flash. And the rain may beat down on this old house we call America. Call it the American House. Call it the World House. But we must never, ever leave the house. All of us must stay together and walk hand in hand. Maybe just maybe our forefathers and foremothers all came to this land in different ships, but we are
To understand our new world - to survive it, to change it, to find our way through it - colleges and universities must draw upon our best traditions to promote human dignity. We must not sidestep our individual origins, but build on them. Above all, we must encourage the empathy and exchange that lie at the heart of both democracy and higher education.

If we can do this, the poet Rabindranath Tagore gives us a vision of what could lie ahead:

And when old words die out on the tongue, new
Melodies break forth from the heart; and where the
Old tracks are lost, new country is revealed with its wonders.33

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