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# Giving Voice to the Peace and Justice Challenger Intellectuals: Counterpublic Development as Civic Engagement

Tom Harry Hastings  
*Portland State University*

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Giving Voice to the Peace and Justice Challenger Intellectuals:  
Counterpublic Development as Civic Engagement

by

Tom Harry Hastings

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Education  
in  
Educational Leadership: Curriculum and Instruction

Dissertation Committee:  
Swapna Mukhopadhyay, Chair  
Samuel Henry  
Christina Hulbe  
Dannelle Stevens  
Dilafroz Williams

Portland State University  
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## **Abstract**

“Let knowledge serve the city” reads the golden letters on a pedestrian bridge just 200 feet from my faculty office in Neuberger Hall at Portland State University. Public peace scholarship might allow knowledge to help the polis by keeping it out of war via changing the national discourse toward a strong and informed peace analysis. Educators have an uneasy relationship to public scholarship and mainstream media have a nervous attitude toward public peace intellectuals. Institutions of higher learning are also often either unaware or uncomfortable with a public promotion of a positive peace platform. Academic writing and research is hard to translate into publicly accessible knowledge and time constraints mitigate professorial efforts at such civic engagements. This dissertation looks at the evolving nature of this intersectionality between and among factors and analyzes data derived from research interviews conducted with 12 academics/activists. The conclusion is a grounded theory generated by this process. Key findings include problematic lack of academic freedoms—especially in the promotion and tenure context, overwhelming faculty workloads, infrequent faculty development of public scholarship skills and a spotty distribution/connection system that often fails to facilitate competent and willing faculty to engage as public peace and justice scholars. Policy recommendations attempt to address all these obstacles.

**Dedication**

To Whitefeather, my indigenous peace and justice intellectual exemplar and peace practitioner hero, whose spirit I honor and in whose house I live. May his Anishinabe moccasins be light and swift and may his message of love and respect for all life work its magic in our world. And to the memory and love of Dr. Thomas John Avraham Hastings, my father, mentor, hockey coach, fellow peace activist, getaway driver, and intellectual role model.

## **Acknowledgments**

Every dissertation is ascribed to one person—and none are done by one. Perhaps one person sweats over the work and details more than anyone else, but the foundational intellectual work, the academic shoulders upon which the doctoral student stands, provide support by the thousands. The human intellectual efforts of generations of scholars prepares the path up to the very cusp of the dissertation and then, once the literature has been combed, sifted, cited and acknowledged, more direct collaboration is needed from each involved professor, Human Subjects Reviewers, participants, colleagues kind enough to offer advice and, in my case, by a young scholar who just finished his Ph.D. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution, Patrick Hiller, who helped me think about this, helped me through the technological challenges of interviewing participants coast-to-coast via computers and telephones, recorded those interviews, critiqued my technique, and transcribed them. Without Patrick's able and consistently timely guidance throughout this process I would have no doubt reached retirement age before defending this project. Swapna Mukhopadhyay, my Dissertation Committee Chair, served me tea and critique for years, from Core Paper to Specialty Paper to Dissertation Proposal to research to composition of this document. To the extent any of this writing is academic, it is due to the discipline gently, firmly, persistently imposed by Dr. Mukhopadhyay, far above and beyond her obligation. Dilafruz Williams offered guidance every time asked and, despite her overwhelming schedule, always offered more. She is my connection to Gandhian education. Dr. Dannelle Stevens restarted my own public peace and justice scholarship, which is also my therapy. Dr. Christina Hulbe and I shared deep involvement in the

Portland peace movement and our frequent public peace intellectual practice. Dr. Samuel Henry started me on the path to the heart of this dissertation's findings on academic institution policy. What an outstanding committee. I am so grateful to all of them. Rob Gould, my Conflict Resolution department Chair, kept trying to advance my career even as he supported my doctoral work, and never stopped either effort, despite how slowly I move. Al Jubitz has supported PeaceVoice, the public peace and justice scholarship program of the Oregon Peace Institute. I created, founded and still direct PeaceVoice, which is my daily experience of promoting public peace and justice intellectualism. Without Al's vision of a world without war and his willingness—and that of his family who operate the Jubitz Family Foundation—to support projects that share that vision, my direct experience that has so deeply informed this dissertation would be much lighter. Dr. Masami Nishishiba, Dr. Kevin Kecskes, and Dr. Melissa Thompson all generously worked with me with arranged courses that educated me about aspects of this dissertation. I thank them as well. Finally, I honor the late Dr. Ken Brown, chair of Peace and Nonviolence Studies at Manchester College in Manchester, Indiana, who organized the largest training for aspirant public peace and justice intellectuals that I've ever conducted. Ken also met at his home with students virtually every Monday evening for decades, creating and maintaining his peace education and mentorship roles more than any other educator I've ever known.

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## **Glossary, Key Terms and Concepts, Acronyms and Initialisms**

The definitions are meant for the purposes of this dissertation. Each term has its own literature, with many nuanced differences. This is meant to assist in the understanding of this dissertation by starting with a single, synthesized definition that remains constant throughout this study.

### **civic engagement**

activities by students, professors and others who learn, teach and research social theories attempt to use those theories in the public interest, whether those attempts support or oppose current public or corporate policy

### **constructive conflict resolution**

promoting, initiating, and engaging in conflict management practices and processes that tend to focus on helping all parties in a conflict instead of destroying them

### **positive peace**

peace and justice by peaceable means

### **public intellectual**

an academic or professional who puts forth views to the general public

### **public peace and justice intellectual**

an academic or professional who publicly puts forth views that promote peace and justice by peaceable means

### **structural violence**

institutionally enforced inequality disfavoring and favoring classes, ethnicities, religions, nationalities, genders, sexual orientations or other groups, especially when that enforcement ultimately relies on the credible threat of violence

<b>ANIA</b>	Americans for a New Irish Agenda
<b>CSO</b>	Civil Society Organization
<b>GA</b>	graduate assistant
<b>GDR</b>	German Democratic Republic
<b>ICNC</b>	International Center on Nonviolent Conflict
<b>NGO</b>	Nongovernmental Organization
<b>NYU</b>	New York University
<b>OBL</b>	Osama bin Laden
<b>OPI</b>	Oregon Peace Institute
<b>PJSA</b>	Peace and Justice Studies Association
<b>P&amp;T</b>	Promotion and Tenure
<b>R &amp; D</b>	Research and Development

## Chapter 1: Uninventing War and Empowering Educators

“The prevailing view among social scientists is that there is no ‘war instinct,’ even though aggressiveness may sometimes be readily evoked.”

—Margaret Mead, 1940, *Warfare is only an invention—Not a biological necessity* (Barash, 2000, p. 19)

“Commerce both distorts and enlarges the public sphere; the incentive to attract more readers, listeners, or viewers sometimes produces reckless sensationalism and sometimes engages new groups in public debate.”

—Pulitzer-prize recipient Sociologist Paul Starr (2004, p. 395).

“I tend to like the idea of having my research be my activism.”

—Helen, a young peace and justice scholar and a participant in this research (note bene: all participants in this study are referred to by pseudonyms to help maintain confidentiality as specified in the Human Subjects Review protocols).

The haunting assertion made by Margaret Mead in 1940 only came to my attention years later. It was reaffirmed organizationally by the Seville Statement, a clear disavowal of the inevitability of war for humans. That statement was one result of a gathering of renowned scholars from the social sciences (mostly psychologists, neurophysiologists, anthropologists and ethologists<sup>1</sup>) and the statement was endorsed by a range of national and international professional practitioner and academic associations.

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<sup>1</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seville\\_Statement\\_on\\_Violence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seville_Statement_on_Violence), includes authorial list of 20 scholars from 13 nations, nine disciplines.

More literature from the field of anthropology has shown even more conclusively that Mead was indeed accurate (Fry, 2006; Gregor, 1996; Kemp and Fry, 2004). We humans have a wide palette of possibilities, and war was not an exercised option until a few thousand years ago (Dyer, 1993; Shifferd, 2011). Indeed, the vast majority of our history (our prehistory as reconstructed by archeologists and anthropologists in addition to our recorded history) reveals a species engaged in sporadic and mostly unorganized violence, not in warfare. The overarching question, then, is, How can we put aside that option in favor of constructive conflict? My life, my studies, my teaching, and this dissertation revolve around that central peace education concern, though that alone puts me into a minority, marginal category, as noted by a 2010 report from the Institute for Economics and Peace, “Measuring Peace in the Media”:

If you were to go into the literature departments of any the major universities you will not find a course on the literature of peace yet there are profound works on peace. Similarly if you went into any of the economics departments in any of the major universities around the world, you would not find a chair in peace economics. However most business people believe that peace is good for business.<sup>2</sup>

This paper examines one of the thousands of factors that might be transformed from supporting a war system to driving a peace system, *viz.*, helping those who have studied, researched, and published academically about peace (or some component of peace and justice by peaceable means) to get those findings into the public discourse,

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<sup>2</sup> <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/10/Measuring-Peace-in-the-Media.pdf>

especially in the United States of America, the nation in which I live and the nation with the largest military system the world has ever seen, currently or very recently engaged in wars in the Middle East, Central Asia, Northern Africa, and threatening more wars there and elsewhere. While this dissertation is in the discipline of Education, I teach in a field, Peace and Conflict Studies, which is a transdiscipline (Galtung, 2010), that is, a discipline that perforce folds in many of the findings from disparate disciplines in order to properly develop its own research, and the question I pursue requires a wide-ranging exploration in order to adequately address a narrow question.

The world now chafes under a sort of *Pax Americana* (Ringler, 1993; Wallensteen, 2007); addressing U.S. public policy in part by means of bringing peace educators into the national discourse is one key to transforming our stance as a nation from threatening violence to other conflict management methods. The need is clear to all who teach and research in this area. For example, we are generally quite aware in the field of peace and conflict studies what virtually every Muslim academic knows about the social psychology dynamics that assisted in the rise of Osama bin Laden. In almost all cases, U.S. hostile and destructive military policy and actions caused his reputation to grow and shielded it from attacks. Quite literally, without U.S. military policy as deployed in Afghanistan, Somalia, Sudan, Iraq and in the Israel-Palestine conflict, Osama bin Laden would have been a minor, marginal figure. Indeed, reports from those who could assess him and his potential indicated a mediocre, quiet, uninspiring figure, a sort of wealthy young benefactor for the 'freedom fighters' in Afghanistan in the 1980s. But the actions of the U.S. military, virtually unquestioned in our national discourse



throughout the growth phase of bin Laden's influence in the late 1990s, boosted his pan-Islamic powers and prevented successful dismantlement of his al Qaeda project from within the Muslim world (Lawrence, 2011). Peace educators could have been a significant factor in our national discourse during that period and it is entirely conceivable that our national policy, informed by grassroots pressures, would have not exacerbated OBL's terrible rise.

Peace educators include those with a focus on positive peace no matter what their discipline. More than any other group, they can help the citizenry believe it is possible, as peace economist Kenneth Boulding called for in the earliest days of the founding of the field of Conflict Resolution. Gregory Bourne (2011) makes a similar request for a world without war. If we cannot imagine it, he asserts, we cannot achieve it, a very similar claim to what Elise Boulding said in the 1970s, when she imagined how to help other imagine, ultimately creating her *Imaging a World Without Weapons* movement of workshops with a clear method of helping us do that work. And it all trails Albert Einstein, when he noted that, "Imagination is more important than knowledge. For knowledge is limited, whereas imagination embraces the entire world, stimulating progress, giving birth to evolution. It is, strictly speaking, a real factor in scientific research."<sup>3</sup> How can we take the knowledge and imaginatively deliver it into the public discourse?

I began this introduction with the haunting quote from Margaret Mead, someone whom even the anthropologists continue to miss and revere, not least for her ability to

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<sup>3</sup> [http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Albert\\_Einstein](http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Albert_Einstein)

enter public discourse and affect public policy. Indeed, a prominent anthropologist just published a similar query to mine with the title reflecting Mead's mostly missing role: "Where Have You Gone, Margaret Mead?," but perhaps in a more direct manner it could have been "We Urgently Need Anthropological Public Intellectuals" (Sabloff, 2011, p. 408). The widely reported decline of the public intellectuals is beginning to stir serious thinking, research, and responses from the social sciences and elsewhere. In some ways, the decline is at least partially linked to the stance of the academy itself, best and first illustrated by the opening sentence of Chapter 1 of the Sixth Edition of the *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (2010), "Research is complete only when the results are shared with the scientific community" (p. 9). The thrust of this dissertation is to problematize that assertion and to suggest that research is complete once the findings have been translated out of the scientific disciplinary argot and made available and accessible in plain language to the citizenry. Anything less invites the poor decisions by the public that we see, uninformed by a range of experts but only informed by certain experts from one side of a question. The weakness of such bias is unacceptable within the academy and, this dissertation will suggest, is a weakness in any population, specifically including a democracy that is basing decisions on war or peace without meaningful access to the findings of the peace educators and researchers. At times the obfuscatory exertions are overwhelming and need decoding and delivery to a public deserving of more than "transient articulations" and "emergent multiplicities" (Mitchell, 2008b, p. 1).

One of the other problems nested into this overarching question of war and peace is, of course, the concern that meaningful access to the findings of peace researchers is not solely the province of the willingness and capacity of the researchers to offer such access, but also the normal conduit for information received, consumed, digested and utilized by the public is a mainstream media that must also be willing to be that conduit. This is one of the problems in this nest, and this dissertation will consider that piece of the challenge as well.

Any system, like any ecology, comprises complex subsystems that tend to drive or blunt outcomes of the large system by the outcomes of the subsystems. While the meta-problem is massive, picking out a smallish piece of it from a subsystem is not nearly so daunting. In a war system, media is a crucial subsystem that currently tends to drive war. Major mainstream media tend to turn to military officials for information about war and peace, generating public support for war (Smith, 1991; McChesney, 2004). As Paul Starr notes above, there is always a chance in mainstream commercial media that a new constituency—in this case, peace professionals—can find voice in our national discourse.

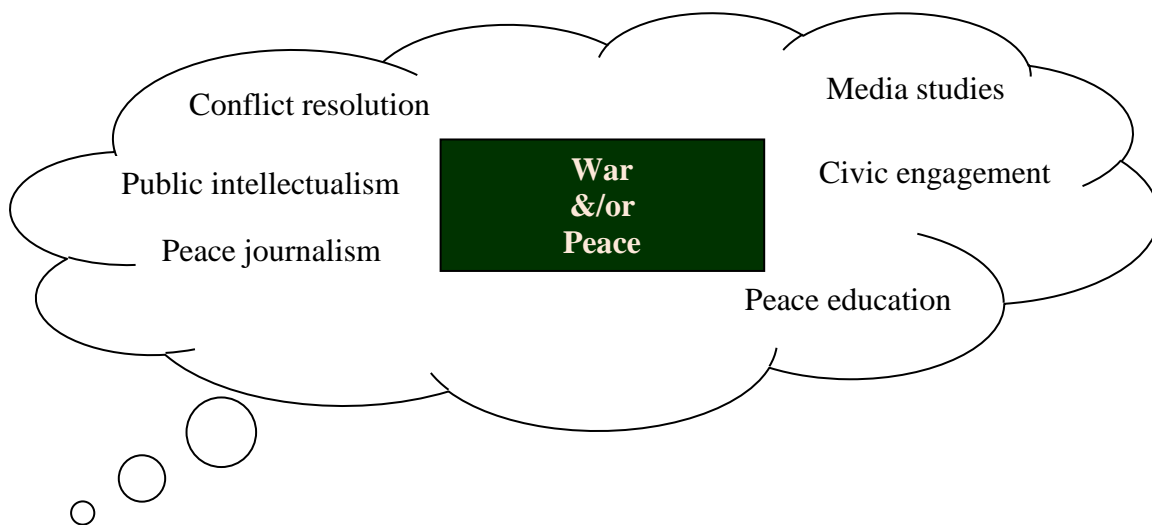
The isolated research problem I have been working with:

Peace professors are not being public peace scholars; they might influence our national discussion around war and peace if they would do much more public peace intellectual work. The question, then:

What impediments do peace educators note to their abilities to communicate their findings and conclusions to the American electorate?

To begin to look more deeply into this question, a literature review of the germane bodies of academic research and writing is key, especially since there is virtually no direct literature on how public intellectuals affect public policies of war and peace. That they do affect those policies is occasionally mentioned, but the ideas about the creation, or failure of creation, of more such public peace and justice intellectuals can most productively be assessed by examining the intersectionality of several bodies of knowledge, the ‘thought cloud’ of which is seeded with the findings from six greater and lesser bodies of research, as depicted in Figure 1 and described in the following chapter.

**Figure 1: Literature ‘thought cloud’ (review).**



## Chapter 2: Literature review

“Defending education as a path to freedom and not as a route to debt, precarious jobs, and conformity is one of the most important political tasks of our time.”

—Paul Chatterton (2008, p. 73)

This review of the literature was begun before the research was designed, which is typical, in order to assess the need for research and the appropriate methodological choices. As data was gathered and analyzed, the literature review was refocused somewhat toward the specific emergent themes and codes, broadening portions of the literature review and deepening some strands. This helped bolster the justification for the methodology, thus connecting all portions of this study—the basic definition of the problem, the slant of inquiry, the literature review, the methodology, the data analysis, and the grounded theory itself.

The germane literature falls into three broad categories: media, public intellectualism, and peace education. Each of those broad categories, in turn, bifurcates into media and the peace alternative of peace journalism, public intellectualism and the theories of conflict resolution, and peace education as it relates to civic engagement. The focus of this dissertation requires an alternate widening and narrowing of the discussion. I could widen grandly to explore the self-authorship notions of Derrida and notions of genealogy of Foucault as they pertain to public intellectualism, media, and epistemology as exegeted by Calcagno (2009), for example, but that discursion, while enriching, is less germane than what I have tried to include. The rationales:

- It is important to learn what media studies can tell about the nature of journalism, the ideals of journalism, the actual practices of journalism, the relationship of journalism to violent conflict, and the emergent field of peace journalism as a countervailing approach. Inarguably, the public is deeply affected by what media brings to it in virtually every society; how does this affect public policy to commit a nation to war or peace? Can journalism be practiced to make war less likely? What findings can help frame a deeper search into the academy for that potential?
- Key to developing a research design is a grasp on the literature that identifies the concept of public intellectualism, examines its history, and then analyzes it in the light of the theories of conflict transformation. What disciplines produce a challenger strand of public intellectualism by virtue of what is studied and what is encouraged? What disciplines tend to avoid public intellectualism, or tend to produce public intellectuals who are arguing in favor of the status quo advantage of the elites, of war, of exploitation, of profiting from social inequality? How can the theories of peace and conflict studies be classified and be employed to suggest a theoretical win-win approach to the central problem of this dissertation?
- How does the high value of civic engagement relate to peace education? How can we conceive of the noncontroversial civic engagement and that which proves contentious and even risky? What is the value to promotion and tenure committees of civic engagement that may challenge public

policy and even valorize nonviolent resistance to injustice and war? Are there differences between challenging the practices of a foreign society and challenging the policies of one's own government? Constructing a typology of civic engagement by its positive or negative values to the careers of peace educators can illuminate the set of challenges to public peace and justice intellectualism as it is currently understood.

### **Media/peace journalism**

“If journalism is to be reliable, accurate and useful, therefore, it has to join the long list of endeavors to develop a critical self-awareness.”

—Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, *Peace journalism* (2005a, p. xvi)

In her meeting with Saddam just before the war, Ambassador April Glaspie had also pointed out to the Iraqi leader that “if the American president had control of the media, his job would be much better.” The war gave Bush an excuse to exercise such control. He and Saddam were in total agreement on the subject of censorship, and the press, for the most part, trailed along like proper spaniels (Ridgeway, 1991, p. 238).

This section describes the literature that goes to the idea of media types, relationship to war and peace, and the availability of media types to counternarratives. Mainstream media can be a driver to war or peace and there is no more vital consideration to those who wish to promote one or the other (Cortright, 2006; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Lynch, 2008). What do we make of the U.S. mainstream media roaring incessantly in late 2002 and early 2003 about Saddam Hussein's 1988 attacks on Kurds

after they had ignored, misreported and minimized that news when it happened—or of the excruciating coverage of the famine in Somalia in the early 1990s and the equally painful lack of it for Sudan, a country the U.S. did not invade? “Consensus in Washington means criticism is marginalized in the media” (Hammond, 2000, p. 849). This problem of ‘politics stops at the water’s edge’—that is, foreign policy is bipartisan—is not merely a political problem; it is echoed in the media, which then make “no independent contribution” (Mermin, 1999, p. 143). While this may be accurate in the U.S. mainstream media, it is also evident in media from elsewhere. So, for example, Mass Communications scholars Seow Ting, Crispin C. Maslog and Hun Shik Kim (2006) studied 1,558 stories on the Iraq War and various Asian conflicts in eight English-language Asian dailies and found that the unpopular U.S. invasion of Iraq used peace journalism frames originally conceived of by Johan Galtung (1986), but that more local conflicts (shooting wars over Kashmir, Sri Lanka, the Philippines and Indonesia) used war journalism framing. War journalism may tend toward inaccuracy as it tends to feature dichotomizing language and a lack of historical perspective outside elite interests or skewed assignment of blame. Majid Tehranian (2002) concurs and claims peace journalism is simply good ethical journalism. Table 1 depicts the various characteristics that are typical of war journalism and peace journalism, derived from a synthesis of several media scholars (Galtung, 1986, 1992; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005a; Lee, Maslog & Kim, 2006).



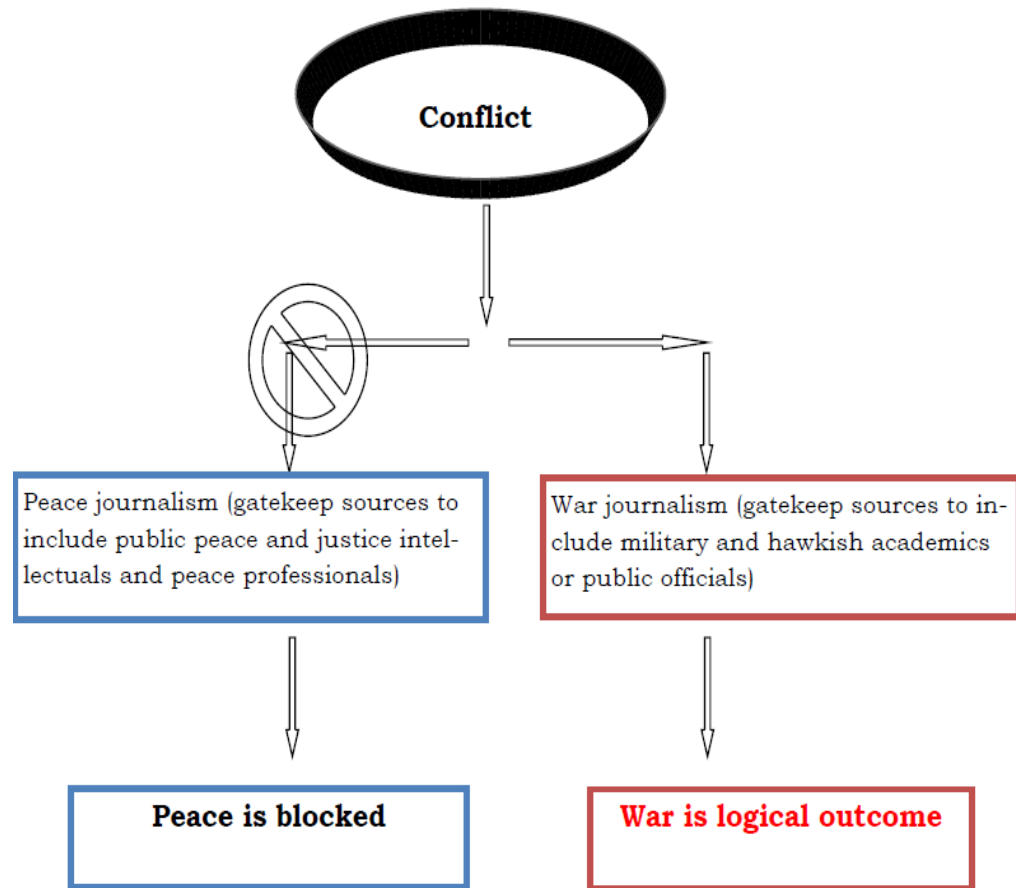
**Table 1: War Journalism and Peace Journalism Characteristics**

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>War journalism</b>	<b>Peace Journalism</b>
Dichotomizing (moral judgment toward one side)	x	
Dichotomizing solutions (a or b)	x	
Assigning blame (who started it)	x	
Here and now (devoid of historical context)	x	
Elite orientation	x	
Emotive language	x	x
Multiparty orientation		x
Focus on victims of all sides		x
Nonpartisanship		x
Avoidance of emotive language	x	x
Historical contextual balance		x
Investigate conflict profiteering		x
Exploration of range of options for waging conflict		x
Describes possible peace initiatives		x

Table 1: War and peace journalism characteristics. Sources: Galtung (1986, 1992); Lynch & McGoldrick (2005a); Lee, Maslog & Kim (2006).

The synthesis of the theory and practice of Peace and Conflict Studies, Media Studies, and Peace Journalism is most developed in the 2005 Lynch and McGoldrick volume, *Peace Journalism*, and in the subsequent 2008 Lynch monograph, *Debates in Peace Journalism*. Figure 2 shows an illustrated explanation for the systemic failure of war journalism to offer options in conflict that go beyond the typical ‘choice’ of engaging in violence or doing nothing.

**Figure 2: Barrier halts balanced journalism**



Is mainstream media accurate? Does it lead to an informed electorate? “Mark Twain said, ‘a man who does not read a newspaper is uninformed. A man who does is misinformed’” (Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005b). Consuming media is often a recipe for becoming increasingly ignorant of many of the facts in any particular conflict (Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Lynch, 2008; Philo, 2008; Schechter, 1999). People will often believe the sources that seem to propose the course of action or policy that will satisfy their needs as posited by Maslow’s hierarchy most accurately (Treadwell & Treadwell, 2005). If the

only credible promise to secure basic physiological or safety needs comes from a call to arms, that call will be most persuasive. If all credible alternatives are kept out of mainstream media, war can appear to be the only reasonable option. Since mainstream media ownership is becoming more concentrated in fewer corporate owners (six now dominate mainstream media), the appearance of consensus can be manufactured (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003; Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

There are patterns of official rationales for war, often parroted by mainstream media, that indicate war propaganda, and propaganda is not limited to media conduct during war; it can create a political climate that will permit an otherwise unwanted war (Carruthers, 2000; Gan, 2005; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Seib, 2004). This is illegal. “War propaganda is prohibited by Article 20 of the UN’s International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), ratified by over 150 countries” (Harrop, 2004, p. 311). The received wisdom from this war propaganda not only tends to make citizens support war but to also regard critics of the war as naive at best and often as traitors who side with an evil enemy. Indeed, the propaganda has a self-fueling capacity in many cases not only toward war but toward all the normal concomitants of war, e.g., loss of civil liberties for citizens and non-citizens alike. During war, the presumption of innocence can transmogrify into presumption of guilt, as we saw with those locked up at Guantanamo, Abu Ghraib and elsewhere, the vast majority of whom never had a trial; George W. Bush labeled them ‘bad people’ and ‘evil doers’ with virtually no challenge from mainstream American media for several years. In other nations—even in the largest U.S. ally country, Britain—media reaction was much less monolithic, much more partisan or left-right

(Tumber & Palmer, 2004). In the U.S., mainstream media only varied in how vigorously they agreed that Iraq should be invaded, especially following Colin Powell's UN speech (McChesney, 2004). And mainstream media only became truly interested in any level of challenge to the Executive branch lies about WMD or al-Qa'ida connections to Saddam Hussein after the George Bush *Top Gun* flight to an aircraft carrier to declare that the Iraq mission was accomplished, to announce "the end of major hostilities" (Seib, 2004, p. 139). Parsing out culpability for this massive failure is delicate and necessary.

The Pentagon, elected officials, and challenger groups will naturally contest control of the discourse and the frames in any consideration of war or the threat of war. The Pentagon devotes enormous resources to this and its history and evolution of methods of dominating the discourse are complex (Hess & Kalb, 2003). Methods have included censorship, hostility to independent media, planted stories by secretly paid journalists, information control, disinformation (lies) dissemination, access bias, press pooling, embedded reporters and other means (Jamieson, & Waldman, 2003; Stauber, & Rampton, 1995). The military is constantly evolving and learning how to manage public perception, hiring experts to analyze and evaluate, such as the 2004 Rand report, *Reporters on the battlefield: The embedded press system in historical context* (Paul & Kim). While the authors are positive about the benefits of the embed system to the military and public perception, they warn that the discourse about objectivity cannot be easily dismissed, and indeed liken the fawning reportage that embeds frequently produce to the so-called 'Stockholm Syndrome', in which the hostages fall in love with their captors and parrot their message (p. 112). Reporters who accept protection from a

military will rarely adopt a neutral, critical, or oppositional viewpoint about the war or the military in question (Thussu & Freedman, 2003). Indeed, if they do, they will likely find themselves ejected from the embed system (Tyson, 2009).

Part of the problem is the social psychology of the U.S. culture's relationship to war and war mythology, generated in part by the nation's identity enshrined in both the American Revolution and World War II, making all wars in which the U.S. fights an extension of those wars at a visceral level, and all U.S. members of the armed forces nearly holy warrior patriots, motivated by altruism and a rugged individual resolve to defeat evil. This is reflected, in part, in war stories, treated journalistically from an embedded and uncritical stance, as opposed to the kind of ethical objective journalism required to elicit the stories of war that can reveal how hurtful it really is.

William B. Brown is a Sociologist at Western Oregon University who studies the power of personal stories in the context of his discipline. Noting the war-promoting tendency of some stories and the peace-promoting aspects of others, he writes, "For me, war stories are born of arrogance, and they reek of insolence. Stories about war are another matter. They demand reflection on the past and offer an insight into the insanity of war" (2005, p. 245). When Brown and the thousands of others teach, they provide a countervailing perspective in our war system; can his peace perspective be more widely disseminated, along with the peace perspectives of the other thousands who bring their scholarship into the classrooms and academic journals? Indeed, asserts Media professor W. James Potter, in a society with basic free speech, the strongest social norm force for change away from a culture of violence is education undertaken in the classroom and in

the home (Potter, 2003). Teaching children media literacy is complex and asks much of our teachers, yet failing to instruct in the hermeneutics of our media and methods of conflict management will allow those who profit politically or financially from destructive conflict to continue to flourish (Semali & Pailliotet, 1999). Related is the media literacy that helps students learn to recognize racism, sexism and other bias in media (Wilson, Gutiérrez, & Chao, 2003). Objectifying any identity group is a normal precursor to violence and is thus crucial to reveal and challenge.

When powerful politicians wish to be elected, they often promise peace and cast their opponents as dangerous hawks—even though those very politicians, once elected, often vote for war. This was the sequence for Woodrow Wilson, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon and other American politicians. Indeed, the famous 1964 ‘daisy ad’ produced by the Johnson campaign showed a little girl pulling petals from a daisy while an ominous voice counted down, then rockets launched, then mushroom clouds depicting nuclear war, and finishing with reassurance from Lyndon Johnson. That ad helped defeat Barry Goldwater (Cortright, 2006, p. 201); peace promotion can work in our democracy in the popular media (even though Johnson massively escalated the war in Vietnam he declined the advice of those in his administration who advised using nuclear weapons, apparently believing the American people would not forgive that, probably because Vietnamese forces hardly threatened U.S. soil).

The history of access to media is long and is evolving more rapidly than ever. Propaganda and public opinion persuasion grew in the era of Martin Luther, with the invention of the printing press (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2006), more instantly in the era of

Martin Luther King, Jr., with the availability of television, and is evolving into a more democratic but chaotic picture with Internet, phone-texting and other cutting-edge mass technologies. Peace and justice by peaceable means requires media for success and there are several strategies available to public peace scholars who wish to help; indeed, this improvement in technology has caused public peace scholar Johan Galtung (2002b) to change his mind toward optimism that peace educators can reclaim enough public discourse to make a difference. Traditionally, an individual professor may compose a guest editorial and seek distribution in a newspaper, with chances of success diminishing as a result of a variety of factors, including quality of writing, status of the author, and distance from the publication. Nowadays, with blogs and many websites devoted to niche constituencies, access is immediate and occasionally available to large numbers of mainstream consuming public. Jennings & Zeitner (2003) did quasi-experimental longitudinal work, on members of the “Baby Boomer” generation, that shows a modest increase in civic engagement amongst those who use the Internet compared to those who do not. Even a modest increase in civic engagement can in turn affect civil society awareness and struggles. The effects can be remarkable, even in oppressive societies, though such regimes have now learned to keep pace. In Serbia in elections in 1996 the student-led challenger movement to Milosevic control over local elections used fax and email far more efficiently than did the regime. Indeed, recalls one pro-democracy student leader, “During the student protests our web page was popular, and the police broke in and said, ‘Where is that Internet?’ as if they could confiscate it” (Ackerman & DuVall, 2000, p. 479). Now, however, pro-democracy dissidents in Iran need to race to find

technological paths to communicate that the government has not monitored, blocked, or otherwise bottled up and damped. In many ways, peace and justice organizations and oppressors co-evolve both technologically and in persuasive messaging, almost like an arms race toward war or peace, justice or injustice.

Mainstream media not only usually reaches more people per source than does alternative media, it serves as the traditional driver for war propaganda issued by the state (Jowett & O'Donnell, 2006). Unsurprisingly, then, research shows that “All other things being equal, the news media generally play a negative role in attempts to bring peace” (Wolfsfeld, 2004, p. 220). The battle for hearts and critically thinking minds is thus an asymmetric struggle, yet not one that can be surrendered—small opportunities can and ought to be exploited (Ryan, 1991). Regarding owners, publishers, CEOs, editors and reporters of mainstream media as the enemy is both unprofitable and is outside the basic peace approach pioneered by Gandhi, who clearly acted as though everyone, including the most strenuous opponent, is a potential ally (Juergensmeyer, 2005). These approaches demonstrate the conflict management models peace and justice professors promote and ideally practice.

Media studies show the ongoing struggle between the competing forces of localism and concentration, that is, between the smaller audience locally owned media and the large audience large corporate concentrated media (Potter, 2005). This works to the advantage of local peace professors as they attempt to bring a peace analysis to local media on the one hand, and against them when the more organized and more monolithic war promoting stance of concentrated corporate media is encountered. While the



acquisition of horizontal and vertical media by single owners or corporations is a slow process favoring profitability over message control (Goldenson, 1991), the eventual effect is toward a particular bias if an owner is ideological (e.g. Rupert Murdoch) or if corporate ties between media and war profiting enterprises become too great. The likelihood of peace messaging then seems to decrease (Hastings, 2005).

As both noted and predicted in pre-Internet, pre-Twitter 1967 by Marshall McLuhan and Quentin Fiore, the nature of the media is evolving so quickly that all conflict becomes much more known in the global village. Niche marketing news and views is much more possible with our individual profiles computerized more and more centrally, so that the struggle for peace or war is multi-fronts and multi-level (Clever, 1998; Linstroth, 2002).

Social movements that aim to alter public policy toward peace and justice thus have many media components that can all utilize public intellectuals to move the public discourse forward, whether that is in mainstream media, niche media, or social media. See Table 2 for a matrix view of the tension between access and circulation/consumer numbers.

**Table 2: Media typology**

<b>Media type</b>	<b>Examples</b>	<b>Peace professional access</b>	<b>Size of consuming public of examples</b>
Mainstream newspapers	Wall Street Journal/Ajo Copper News	moderate	2 million/2,100
Alternative newspapers	The PeaceWorker	high	20,000
Mainstream magazines	Time/The New Yorker	low	3.3 million/1 million
Alternative magazines	Sojourners/Yes!	high	35,000/55,000
Mainstream radio	NPR	low	26.4 million
Alternative radio	KBOO	high	6,800 members
Network television	Today show	low	7.6 million
Community access cable television	Portland Public Media	high	small
Internet	Blogs/YouTube/social media	high	variable small to large

Table 2: Select media, availability or access for peace professionals, and the general size of the consuming public for each type of media (Audit Bureau of Circulations 2009, <http://www.cunews.info/adinfo.html>, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_magazines\\_by\\_circulation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_magazines_by_circulation), <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sojourners>, <http://www.yesmagazine.org/about/staff/editorial-intern>, <http://www.fastcompany.com/magazine/134/finely-tuned.html>, <http://mediadecoder.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/07/02/evening-news-ratings-in-a-word-down/>).

We turn now to the literature on defining, describing and discussing the intersectionality of public intellectualism and the theory and practice of the field of Peace and Conflict Studies, also known by other related names, such as Conflict Resolution, Peace Studies, Conflict Transformation, etc. This will help situate this study in the findings of the field from which the peace educator participants in this study were drawn

(they have various disciplinary backgrounds, but all teach or research peace-related topics).

**Public intellectualism /Peace and conflict theory.**

“Clarity perished when academics published.”

—Todd Gitlin (2006, p. 123)

Gather small but diverse panels of eminent, politically uncommitted experts on, say, unemployment, the history of the Middle East, and climate science, and have each candidate lead an hour-long televised discussion with each panel. The candidates would not be mere moderators but would be expected to ask questions, probe disagreements, express their own ideas or concerns, and periodically summarize the state of discussion. Such engagements would provide some of the best information possible for judging candidates, while also enormously improving the quality of our political discourse.

—Gary Gutting (2011), *Philosophy*, Notre Dame, on how to help introduce public intellectuals into our national discourse via races for political office

This section describes the phenomenon of public intellectualism and relates it to the notion of getting a peace analysis into the public discourse. It gives a brief history of the field of conflict resolution/peace studies and its general relationship to public scholarship. It is first helpful to draw distinctions among intelligentsia, experts, and

public intellectuals, definitions proposed by early peace researcher Johan Galtung (2002a).

An expert is credentialed and learned, almost always with a terminal degree, pronouncing only on matters within that expert's discipline and likely within a further specialization; public intellectuals are more widely ranging in academic accomplishment and credentials, required to be both learned and original, at least somewhat academic and directly engaged in our public conversations, connecting disciplines and ranging far more outside their ordained discipline than are experts (Melzer, Weinberger & Zinman, 2003; Parsi & Geraghty, 2004). Experts pour knowledge into the vessel of public ignorance, even if that knowledge is impenetrably laced with obscurantist specialist argot; the best public intellectuals are in accessible dialog with their community. Alexis de Tocqueville, Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William James, John Dewey, Margaret Mead, Charles Hamilton Houston, John Hope Franklin, E. Franklin Frazier, Rayford Logan, Dorothy Porter, Merze Täte, W. E. B. Du Bois, C. Wright Mills, Daniel Bell, George Orwell, John Kenneth Galbraith, Anne and Paul Ehrlich, E.O. Wilson and many other public intellectuals have affected our American public discourse and democracy. Being in dialog with our community often means speaking at public events or it can mean writing for popular press. "I would suppose," wrote Howard Zinn (2008), "that my first act as a 'public intellectual' was to write an article for *Harper's*" (p. 138). Without much irony, Parsi (2012, pp. 3-4) offers:

Jon Stewart is our greatest public intellectual. This is no joke. Although Stewart himself would deride such an assertion as the kind of hyperbole

that too often permeates our political discourse, this is simply a fact. And despite Richard Posner's now rather dated claim that Henry Kissinger is our top public intellectual, Stewart has emerged as our voice of sanity in a sea of insanity in a new media age with its ephemeral nature and lack of substance.

Public intellectualism is both ancient and quite current, though by some standards it is in a period of decline (Bates, 2011; Jacoby, 1987; Posner, 2003). Indeed, Russell Jacoby, a self-identified left-leaning academic historian, asserts that (from his 1987 vantage point) the then-current growth crop of intellectuals essentially "do not enrich public life" (p. x). From Jacoby's point of view, the increased specialization in the academy and the focus on obfuscatory technical academic writing that came into general prominence in the 1960s led to this decline (McLaughlin & Townsley, 2011). Posner, a generally rightwing author and conservative federal appellate judge (7<sup>th</sup> Circuit, Chicago), (2003) derides public intellectuals as shallow publicity seekers who cannot muster peer-reviewed status. There is also another division, from the peace education analysis, between the intellectual looking for truth and the intellectual looking for power, what Galtung (2002a) called the public intellectual and the intelligentsia, respectively. Who is given a seat on the federal bench and who must drink the hemlock? Voltaire, French intelligentsia and arguably incomparable to all who came before him (Rahe, 2003), urged the Genevan authorities to execute Rousseau, a rival, if reluctant, public intellectual in an era when intellectual ideas were potentially lethal (Kelly, 2003). In our public discourse today, U.S. mass media generally appear to feature more members of the

intelligentsia who explain the reasoning and policy decisions of the political elites in the war system (“the dominance of neoconservatives and the eclipse of radical intellectuals correspond to shifts in political realities,” wrote a prescient Jacoby (1987, p. 4)), rather than public peace and justice scholars presenting challenger or oppositional views to state violence, state torture, or state policy that denies human or civil rights, even though globalized Internet access has resulted in additional effect of foreign public intellectuals on U.S. public opinion (Hayes & Guardino, 2011). Public peace intellectuals such as Johan Galtung (2002c) frequently strategically place their analysis in media outlets that are alternative enough to accept it yet have wide enough circulation to be considered mainstream, such as the National Catholic Reporter.

Cicero, Seneca, Grotius, Kant and other philosophers have weighed in considerably: on militarism, on the nature of war, on when war is permissible in a philosophical sense to wage it, on when war is violative of humankind’s ethics, and what consists of ethical conduct during war. Eşref Aksu (2008) conducted a special study of the public intellectual thought that led to Immanuel Kant’s systemic approach to creating a permanent peace system, revealing a great deal of Enlightenment focus on particulars, arguing that the German philosopher alone produced a structural, systemic work that was directed at thinking globally, not merely addressing Europe or Europeans. Arguably, that model was missing the one element that Gandhi ultimately provided more than a century later, a way for civil society to rise up without violence.

In the U.S. the public intellectual is often disparaged, as in the 1828 presidential race, when Andrew Jackson, a hero of the War of 1812, ran against intellectual John

Quincy Adams, labeled a contest between “the man who can write against the man who can fight”—the ‘fighter’ won (Diggins, 2003, p. 95).

Where can that public intellectual, especially the one who challenges the dominant public policy, the hegemonic cultural assumptions, or any structure of oppression? Ironically, the best protection often comes from those who serve and represent the victims of injustice, and in the U.S. one class of institution that so qualifies is the historic black colleges. The public intellectuals from Howard University alone have had enormous impact on public discourse and public policy regarding human and civil rights for African Americans (Steward, 2011). Rowse (1972) traces the influence of public scholars to Franklin Roosevelt’s “Brain Trust” and John Kennedy’s Harvard coterie of “the best and brightest.” Anthropologist Paul R. Mullins (2011, p. 235) is perhaps the most assertive in placing a discipline squarely in the camp of public scholarship:

Nearly every scholar has become politicized in the past decade or so, and it is now commonplace to find researchers in almost any discipline and beyond the university walls invoking their commitment to applied scholarship, civic engagement, and a variety of other overtly politicized positions. A vast breadth of interdisciplinary researchers have embraced the notion of an “engaged scholarship” that consciously or unwittingly borrows from threads of public anthropological discourses that reach back into the 1960s, if not a century or more. The question of whether or not engaged scholarship has won over anthropology has apparently been

settled, with every corner of the discipline concretely confronting the politics of anthropological insight.

Indeed, asserts Mullin, “anthropological voices continue to confront the complexities of cultural diversity, social justice, and the color line at the dawn of the 21st century; anthropologists stand at the heart of rich interdisciplinary discourses on the environment, culture, and climate change” (p. 235). If anything, this points with special emphasis toward what is missing: peace. Few anthropologists publicly spoke or wrote against the U.S. attacks on Afghanistan or Iraq. Is this outside their ambit or was this too controversial? In the field of Communications, a group of scholars conducted a two-week Facebook virtual “Café” asking of their scholars three questions: “(1) What does it mean to be a social justice scholar? (2) How can and should communication scholars ‘do’ community engagement? (3) What is the role of the academic in the public sphere?” (Dempsey, et al., 2011, p. 257). Public scholarship in general is perhaps on the rise, and the interdiscipline of peace studies/conflict resolution academics may not have noticed that wave. Indeed, it may be argued that the way information is received by the public via mainstream media is so culturally filtered (Philo, 2008) that it would require a great deal of public peace scholarship to counter the anti-critical thinking confirmation bias and prewritten coding that creates fact filters for the average consumer of news and views.

Facilitated by significant funding, right-wing, pro-military think tanks have increased dramatically in recent decades and often feature the works of neo-con intelligentsia such as Robert Spencer, author of some 10 books attacking Islam, justifying war on Islamic nations, and promoting suppression of Muslim immigration into the U.S.



This neo-con strand of intellectuals are militarists and frequently express admiration for the Israeli practice of pre-emptive attack, a brand of intelligentsia that has dramatically and disastrously affected public discourse and public policy, including providing the intellectual framework for invading Iraq (Talhami, 2011). The intelligentsia eventually push the envelope enough to begin to change assumptions and coded agreement about what is “reasonable.” In an Islamist country, this can produce majoritarian acceptance of spousal corporal punishment. In an imperial power it can result in assumptions of racial or national superiority to all others and received wisdom of the logic of inequality of income and authority. In a patriarchal culture it may feature messages that assume the correctness of male control over decisions and resources. In any particular society, the intelligentsia work to justify the rule of the elite and the relationships of injustice. Other messages are unwelcome and usually incomprehensible. Thus, the polysemic nature of public knowledge can mimic data mining and repurpose a fact, or it can simply pour knowledge into the public’s vessel, but the effects are similar (Philo, 2008).

Indeed, the consequences of engaging in public intellectualism from the challenger, innovative, peace and justice orientation are often swift and severe, though there seem to be no cases in which the academic institution acknowledged that it was violating anyone’s academic freedom, preferring to construct other rationales for administering consequences for public scholarship (Abraham, 2011). Not only were two of the participants in this study victims of such persecution, there are historical examples from the literature, just a few of which are illustrative and here cited:

- In 1932, Southern Methodist University ousted Henry Nash Smith, English professor, for publishing a William Faulkner story that seemed to some Christian fundamentalists to be promoting homosexuality (Olson, 2011).
- In 1965, Staughton Lynd, historian at Yale, traveled to North Vietnam during the Vietnam War with a declaration of a people-to-people peace and was denied tenure and blacklisted (Mirra, 2010).
- From the other side of the Cold War, East German Erhard Naake was the only Ph.D. student in the history of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) to write his dissertation on Friedrich Nietzsche and was denied tenure for his temerity (Rodden, 2007).
- Derrick Bell (1930-2011), the first African American to gain tenure at Harvard, was stripped of his law faculty tenure as a result of his 1990 public stance that Harvard's law faculty must become more diverse (Schudel, 2011).
- In 2001, two years after his active role in helping NYU GAs unionize, Joel Westheimer was denied tenure, despite unanimous recommendation from his department and seven outside faculty, a case which later resulted in federal charges against the university (Westheimer, 2002).

- In 2007, after his public scholarship criticizing Israel's human rights violations in occupied Palestine, political scientist Norman Finkelstein was denied tenure by DePaul University (Abraham, 2011).

Others, including this author, have survived attempts to remove them from academic institutions for public peace and justice scholarship. These cases are largely undocumented in the literature and are largely anecdotal. Nevertheless, it is possible that the numbers who have suffered these unsuccessful attempts are fairly significant. The impacts and effects of these incidents are interesting but unknown.

Failure to understand Galtung's basic public academician taxonomy results in a failure to understand that one type of intellectual acts in the public interest and one type acts in someone's special interest, usually a powerful elite. This lacuna is evident when some analyze the connections of academics to the initiation and strategizing of the wars on Vietnam and Iraq.

Wolfe (2008) notes that academics were a strong force advising presidents in the Vietnam era and had no particular role in Iraq. It could have been different, depending on the type of public scholar consulted—it is clear that the status-linked intelligentsia (to use Galtungian terminology) were consulted as policy vis-a-vis Vietnam was developed. When public peace intellectuals are heard and make forceful arguments they have affected, and can continue to affect, both how we think about whether to go to war and how strenuously we may attempt to stop war. Indeed, possibly, they would have saved America from so many of its "global misjudgments" (Heptonstall, 2008). Public intellectual Noam Chomsky joined Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Nobel Prize recipient Albert

Szent-Gyorgyi and Staughton Lynd as one of 370 who signed an ad in *The Washington Post*, which proclaimed their intention not to pay all or part of their 1965 income taxes that supported the war on Vietnam (War Resisters League, n.d.). This clear oppositional strand of public intellectuals helped raise the question of the wisdom of the war to the American people.

Of course, some public intellectuals clearly support the status quo, which is the war system. Some are ingenious enough to frame themselves as the challengers to mainstream media. An exemplar of this function is Joshua Muravchik (2003), who studied U.S. mainstream media and concluded that there is a bias for Palestinians and against Israelis. Muravchik selected anecdotal instances of failure to cover some act of Palestinian violence while ignoring the overwhelming statistical evidence that U.S. media under-reports Palestinian casualties and focuses in far more instances on Israeli casualties. He also noted U.S. occasions of omission of claims of Palestinian weaponry while himself omitting the fact that the Israeli military is not only the most fearsome in the Middle East—including some 300 nuclear weapons—but receives upwards of \$3 billion in military aid from the U.S. annually, by far the largest military aid ever given to any country in human history. Muravchik is an example of a scholar funded by a rightwing think tank that is in turn funded by those who support and practice hawkish politics. He is an example of what Galtung would call the intelligentsia, in play to buttress the status quo or to make it even more warlike.

Seventh Circuit Judge Richard Posner (2003), a self-styled public intellectual who decided to also judge public intellectuals, often attacks, and is skeptical about,

philosophical scholars publicly and effectively engaging questions of war and peace, noting that “it is difficult to imagine a sphere of human activity more ruled by politics and passion. To credit Kant with the United Nations is like blaming Max Weber for Hitler” (p. 331). Posner only referred to public philosophical intellectuals engaging in philosophy, however, which is not a dispositive ruling on the potential for public peace scholars to engage and move the public in a democracy. Nor does Posner contemplate the potential of large numbers of public peace scholars engaged in this endeavor on an ongoing basis, a project that has never occurred and one with unknown potential.

Nussbaum asserts that these philosophers have affected the pacific or violent conduct of international affairs and that the public feminist intellectuals present some of the best hopes in both peace and justice (Nussbaum, 2003). And while Posner scorns the flair with which some public intellectuals operate, he is also quite provocative and is a creative and persuasive writer who knows how to use a journalistic ‘hook.’ One either learns how to do that while making intellectual content available and accessible to the public or one will not succeed in bringing intellectual ideas to the general citizenry. “The public sphere is hardly neutral; it responds to money or power or drama, not to quiet talent or creative work” (Jacoby, 1987, p. 5). Ethicist Wilfred McClay (2002) calls Posner’s work “incoherent” and says about his list of public intellectuals and the text research done on their public work, “it is the most splendid example of ‘garbage-in-garbage-out’ quantitative data to come along in many years” (p. 109). Posner’s primary thesis, that public scholars are sometimes sloppy and do not always bring their academic standards into the popular sphere seems manifest in his own work, but is still a worthy, if obvious,

caution. One of the greatest failures in engagement in the public discourse on any policy issue is ignorance of the issue and the creation of the impression, for example, that those who favor peace are merely naive and softheaded (Salzman, 1995).

Just as educators, students and society in Saudi Arabia (labeled by political scientist Stephen Zunes (2003) as the most misogynist government on Earth) are ill-served by ignoring the norms and standards outside their own nation, U.S. educators, students and society are often well served when they consider the views of public intellectuals from other nations. This is especially true when U.S. foreign policy is creating enemies abroad and U.S. citizens benefit from the views of public intellectuals from the affected society. Arguably, the American electorate would have insisted upon policy change, for example, in the Middle East if the average American could have been exposed to the views of Palestinian public scholar Edward W. Said, whose writings on U.S. policy were prolific but generally found outside U.S. mainstream media. Said wrote cogently about the problems and injustices of the veneer of the U.S.-dominated “peace process” that was really a Pax Americana with a surrogate Israel as regional hegemon (Said, 1995). When “neoconservatives dine at the White House,” as Jacoby (1987) asserted a quarter century ago, and “they are blessed with public attention, grants, government support” (p. 4), that may alter the relative weight of influence.

Public peace scholarship and the best practices of conflict resolution conflate quite well; for instance, in the theories and practices of conflict resolution it is assumed that every party to a conflict holds some piece of perspective that no one else has, that each party is contributing to the conflict, and that each party holds a piece of the solution.

This is posited by Mohandas Gandhi (1983), the acknowledged grandfather of the field (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2005), and by virtually all conflict resolution theorists since. A public peace intellectual would also credit all parties with sincerity, with humanity, with intelligence and with such ownership. It is written, for example, in the U.S. navy overseas training documents that U.S. personnel need self-awareness, empathy, and acceptance (Jandt, 2007). Any attempt to create cardboard caricatures of U.S. military personnel by public intellectuals would be a failed, alienating tactic that would not fall into the category of public peace scholarship. Far more adaptive and effective would be to acknowledge all these strong points and then to challenge the elements of the training that are going to work against constructive conflict, such as the stress upon “certainty” that instructs personnel to overcome natural proscriptions and act decisively on orders despite emotional reactions to them—the very characteristics required of war criminals.

These are not easy arguments to offer; the most careful may still generate controversy, which in turn fuels controversy in the academy about the very concept of public intellectualism. Some generally approve of public scholarship. Halwani (2002) believes philosophers ought to be public intellectuals, arguing that such activities, kept in their place, do not reduce capacity for rigorous academic work. Ehrlich (2008) is a hard scientist, a public scholar, and also sees no disconnect between affecting public discourse via activism for peace and other issues, and maintaining a robust scholarship, research and writing. Alcoff (2002) agrees, though notes that sometimes tenure is threatened and even sacrificed by such civic engagement. Roman (2009) advocates not just that

academics can be public scholars, but that they can change the culture with enough effective involvement. Mitchell (2008a) agrees yet warns that the excruciating care with which academics approach any topic with sharp analytical tools often causes losses of the broad inclusive notion of the political, a voice, and even purpose. Stanley (2002) chooses public scholarship as obligatory if we are to maintain or regain a critical inquiry into our democracy.

One problem for the public intellectual has always been access to mainstream media since the logical assumption is that powerful public policy forces do not want to allow for an honest diversity of opinion, afraid that such diversity would threaten the ease with which they can force public policy to their agenda (Conboy, 2004). Whether this is accomplished overtly by shutting out all counterpublic narrative or whether it is achieved by only permitting straw men—weak polemicists, unsympathetic characters, or unsubstantiated and hyperbolic pseudo-intellectuals who will be incredible and ineffective—it is a serious factor to the public peace intellectual. Strong and credible writing is not easily achieved and even when it is, these factors and others mitigate against the dissemination of the views of the public peace intellectual. Earle (1998) described the power of the realistic public peace intellectuals in the campaign to stop a naval arms race in the Pacific in the 1920s, a successful campaign that stalled that arms race for more than a decade with the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Naval Armament (November 1921-February 1922), heralded then as a remarkable achievement for peace.



There is also an ongoing danger for these public peace intellectuals that enough such rejection and obstacles can produce the shrill writing associated with frustration and rage, and ultimately impotence. Crossing that line can hurt both the arguments for peace and the chances that those arguments will be available to the public.

Still, the range of approaches that is effective is wide. The ironic, dry, nearly phlegmatic mordancy of the Noam Chomsky or Johan Galtung then is contrasted with the powerful but sometimes ferocious anger of Arundhati Roy, a public peace intellectual engaged in her homeland, India, in the U.S., and in the larger struggle for global justice, peace, economic justice and ecologically sustainable lifeways made less possible by war and militarism.

When Roy (2004) asserts those connections, makes a cogent argument, and concludes that “the culmination of the process of corporate globalization is taking place in Iraq” (p. 80) she makes bold and believable arguments for peace and justice. For the most part, however, her audiences are those publics disposed to peace and justice—and tolerant, even eager for, her stridency—and her entrance into mainstream discourse is even more rare than is Chomsky’s or Galtung’s. They all attract audiences when they engage in public speaking. Chomsky (2001) notes that many of these audiences in small and medium-sized towns are not urban leftists or academic elites, but rather “ordinary people” (p. 2). That is the outreach that can affect public discourse and ultimately public policy; these citizens do not expect rote or predictable animadversion nor encomium—they expect critical thought, arrived at and delivered with integrity. Anger without ad hominem attack is far more persuasive (Fisher & Shapiro, 2005). The advocacy media

have their place—they predate the American Revolution with broadsides issued by the likes of Peter Zenger and continue through many issue-oriented papers arguing for abolition of slavery, labor rights, women’s rights and peace. When pioneering suffrage activists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the *Revolution* paper in 1868, they gathered their troops with fiery rhetoric even as they alienated many more (Streitmatter, 1997). It is the ability of the advocates to break into mainstream media that is key to completing the cycle of social change, which may be viewed as Validating the question, Persuading the electorate, and Mobilizing the citizenry. Public intellectuals are one of the wedges into the mainstream media.

Of the many key differences between academic work and public scholarship, entertainment is no part of the former and an important tension in the latter, the assertion of one director of the British Press Council notwithstanding, “the public interest is not defined as what is interesting to the public” (Clurman, 1992, p. 343). This is one challenge to academics, certainly. In journalism, there is excellent reason for the old saw, “If it bleeds, it leads,” and indeed the great Soviet cinematographer and theorist Sergei Mikhailovich Eisenstein noted that “the basis of every art is conflict” (Wollen, 1972, p. 48). Some media, film in particular, is explicitly entertainment even as it propagandizes, glorifies or exculpates militarism (Aufderheide, 1990; Brownstein, 1990; Evans, 1998). Even “antiwar” films, especially those with graphic violence such as *Platoon*, *Full Metal Jacket*, or *Apocalypse Now*, can be interpreted as permitting horrific conduct (Croteau & Hoynes, 2003).

Television violence is similar, with the drive to entertain overriding the sociological facts in many matters of race, violence, crime rates, and terrorism (Lichter, Lichter, & Rothman, 1991). In a study of animated violence, the trends are clearly away from slapstick violence toward heroic, justified violence (Vande Berg & Wenner, 1991). Print must be more nuanced; while scholars can display splenetic rhetoric, the devolution of language and the incivility of discourse in mainstream media can marginalize academics whose strength is in reason, not interruptive, talk-radio foaming domination.

Public scholars learn to finesse language toward specific audiences and gatekeepers. Many words, for example, mean one thing to a large-market mainstream media gatekeeper and another thing to niche market peace and justice audiences. Examples include centrist, reform, bipartisan, special interests, ‘sources say,’ experts, defense budget, senior U.S. officials, rule of law, national security, stability in the region, Western diplomats and ‘The West’ (Cohen & Solomon, 1995). A peace analyst would probably not use these words in the same sense as would a war-promoting elite spokesperson. A centrist in favor of stability in the region, for example, might be someone who favored an extremely brutal regime that was politically or militarily an ally. This is not promoting peace, nor is it promoting critical thinking; it is the kind of language that peace analysts might have marked on June 25, 2003, the 100<sup>th</sup> birthday of George Orwell, the English public intellectual who coined the term Newspeak to help challenge the obfuscation that continues to hurt the prospects of an informed electorate.

The engagement of public peace intellectuals is but one of many variables in the public policy decision to engage in constructive or destructive conflict resolution. Each

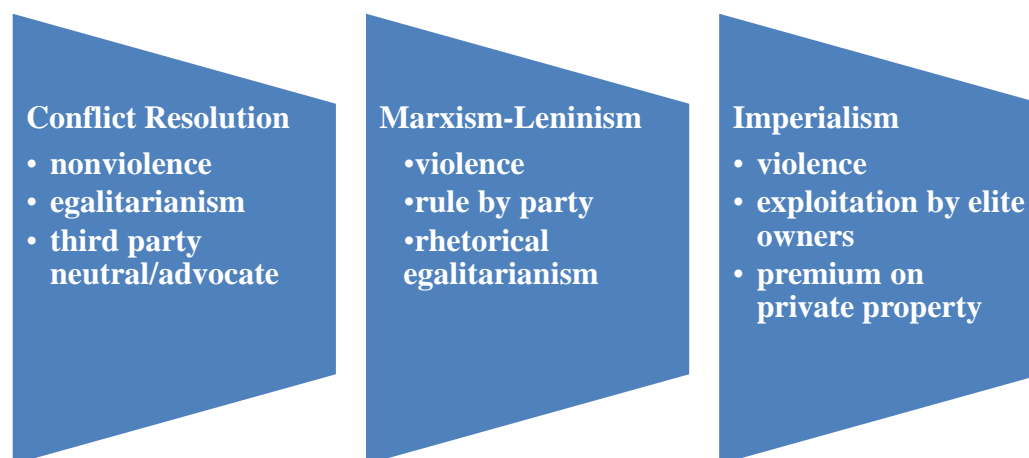
variable matters, no matter how large or small. Increasingly, game theory informs conflict resolution theory (Mendelson, 2004).

Modern conflict resolution is a field of study and practice began by Mohandas K. Gandhi as he took his lawyerly training and began instead to mediate between the parties—thus inspiring the field of Alternative Dispute Resolution in the law—and then went on to build a mass nonviolent challenger movement first in South Africa and then in his homeland, India, thus inspiring the fields of Conflict Resolution and Peace Studies. The overarching goal of the field of Conflict Resolution and Peace Education is to replace the adversarial, destructive methods of conflict management with constructive methods such as principled negotiation and strategic nonviolence (Fisher, Kopelman, & Schneider, 1994; Kriesberg, 2007). In most ways this is the opposite of passivity and fatalistic acceptance of oppression or inequality, but that is widely misunderstood. While conflict resolution may produce a literature and practice that is culturally specific, the roots and the literature are thus intercultural—Gandhi wrote in at least two languages and was fluent in more. Academics have long since progressed in their research to the point of citing each other rather than Gandhi, but he was the grandfather of all this (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011). After World War II, with the massive questions raised by the European Holocaust, the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the decolonization movement and the Cold War, this research began in earnest.

Two main concerns predominated. The first was the effort to identify the conditions for a new world order based on conflict analysis, conflict prevention and problem-solving. The second was the effort to mobilize

and inspire ever widening and inclusive peace constituencies based on the promotion of the values of nonviolent peacemaking (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2005, p. 33).

This promotion was undertaken by academics in the new and tiny field of Peace Education. Few took this promotion into the public square via mainstream media. Indeed, at that time the predominant challenger discourse centered on Marxist-Leninist armed liberation and young intellectuals globally were drawn toward that interpretation of problem solving, but Marxist-Leninist theory and practice are antithetical to the field of Peace and Conflict Studies. A continuum shows some of the relationships from the perspective of Peace and Conflict Studies.

**Figure 3: Orientation of principles**

Sources: Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2005; Kriesberg, 2012.

Interestingly, a Peruvian public intellectual, Mario Vargas Llosa, has been expressing that analysis arrived at by his personal experience, his public intellectual activities, and his observations of events over the past 50 years (Cole, 2011). Llosa, recipient of the 2010 Nobel Prize for Literature, was a young Marxist in the 1950s and 60s and evolved toward a nonviolent approach over time, at first embracing and then repudiating the violent theories of Che Guevara and others, instead calling for an approach that we see now in more of the Southern Cone, an electoral struggle for a more egalitarian society. The Peace and Conflict public intellectuals often oppose the violent ruler elites of left and right and promote a nonviolent civil society orientation toward conflict management (see Figure 3). In general, the field of Peace and Conflict Studies is set apart by nonviolence, which serves to inoculate it against the common problem of Marxism-Leninism of a rule in reality by a ‘revolutionary vanguard’ or the contamination of the imperialistic pattern of exploitation of entire populations (Barash, 2010).

Drawing on Gandhi's model and subsequent research, Law professor Roger Fisher, Anthropologist William Ury and others founded the Harvard Negotiation Project in the late 1970s. Eventually, one of their pupils became President Jimmy Carter, who was looking for a method of conflict management that could bring some peace to the Middle East. Carter used a variant within their overall model of principled negotiation to facilitate the Camp David Accords of 1979, bringing an end to the violence between Egypt and Israel that has held ever since. Fisher and Ury (1991) popularized their model in a small book, *Getting to yes*, which sold heavily in the corporate world and was focused on helping negotiators learn to maximize gains by negotiating on behalf of all parties, creating win-win solutions that made agreements both easier to reach and more sustainable. "Look through the eyes of different experts," they advise (p. 69). This peace system breakthrough has been relegated to the Carter Institute and other peace think tanks. Why is this the model of negotiation not insisted upon by the American people when their leaders confront conflict in the international and transnational arena? The answer, like the similar question posed about Gandhian nonviolence versus violent insurgency, is that while war, violence, and adversarial zero-sum conflict management methods are not the only options built into our hard-wiring as a species, they are most often regarded as the fastest and most sure path to victory over oppression or evil. Media tend to support these *a priori* assumptions and our war culture self-perpetuates. Peace is often mistrusted because it is perceived as weakness. Negative peace (peace imposed by violence and maintained by violent threat) is the peace of empire and is logically

mistrusted by those who are in the power down position of asymmetric conflict (Irani, 2004).

Trust is key to successful constructive conflict management and to public relations alike (Corvette, 2007); indeed, public relations scholars Bruning and Lambe (2008, p. 139) note that, “Many public relations practitioners and scholars have warmed to the idea that the practice of public relations is relationship management.” People tend to trust information from those with advanced degrees and professorial titles, hence the natural ability of peace professors to gain access to the opinion pages of mainstream media—perhaps less convincingly than Security Studies pro-military professors, but far more than activists.

At the heart of both destructive conflict and constructive conflict are stories, and those stories invariably feature archetypes, used throughout our various media to help us think about conflict and its management (Kellet, 2007). When the stories are about heroes and sheroes, villains and evil-doers, betrayal, innocence, weaklings, courage, kindness, humor and fidelity, we are being guided to understand the lessons of the stories via the archetypical actions and character qualities. Whether this is exploited in order to build support for violence, invasion, occupation and war, or whether this is employed to create a movement of nonviolence and challenger narrative, this is common public practice amongst our opinion-shapers. One of the tasks of the peace educator is to create the narrative that features these archetypes, either via real stories or counterfactual extrapolation, or a blend of the two. Archetypes can be evoked bluntly or with an overlay of complex finesse, but upon deconstruction of many of the most effective efforts to



influence public opinion, one can find the archetypes. The engaged peace scholar is employing the archetypes engaged in great struggle, and that narrative is counter to the war promoting use of archetypes to valorize the violent warrior, create an innocent victim being ravaged by a bestial menacing Other, and paint the pacifist as the weakling who will not join the true patriots in the rally-round-the-flag phenomenon (Kriesberg, 2007). The peace public intellectual will instead lionize the brave and wise nonviolent warrior who counsels peace and dialogue, warning of the high costs of war to the innocents and to the generations to come. Controlling the frame controls the outcome (Lakoff, 2004; Woehrle, Coy & Maney, 2008).

Indeed, in his initial struggles against the brutal racism of the racial system in South Africa in the very early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Mohandas Gandhi first used the term “peace army” to describe his nonviolent band of 5,000 miners and their family members of the Transvaal, offering nonviolent struggle in opposition to special humiliation, invalidation of marriage and extra tax burdens on Indians imported as laborers (Fischer, 1963, p. 45). This new phrase was in direct contact with an ancient archetype, but synthesized innocence and courage in a newly created composite archetype, the nonviolent warrior in a sort of mass *disarmy*. His narrative did more than create a religious image of the one who would stand with nonviolence for a good thing—that was a common image in depictions of Jesus and Buddha and was touched on in other religions and philosophies, such as Taoism—but Gandhi was the first to build a mass movement that could force change nonviolently from a principled and unified place of power. Most other nonviolent warriors were individuals who personally rose above the violence but who were often

crucified for their courageous and ineffectual stance. It is no accident that Gandhi created the new archetype even as he created the new mass force; they co-evolved, perforce. He knew that journalists cover violence but that violence is usually a two-party conflict from incident to skirmish to battle to war, and that is both news and quotidian. However, when the violence is all on one side and the other side are all innocents, that is at times a much larger, not smaller, newspeg on which to hang a story (Hastings, 2000). While people are concerned about asymmetric violent conflict, they are much more outraged by powerful violent forces bullying innocents who are using only peaceful methods.

In the theory and practice of conflict resolution, populations in Diaspora are regarded as a highly influential force for methods of conflict management. They raise funds for insurgency and justify war or they can be the new voices for peaceful and constructive conflict management. Some of the most successful of such turnarounds include Irish in Diaspora, who historically provided funds for arms for the Irish Republican Army, but who began to promote peace and justice by peaceable means, transforming the archetypes to nonviolent warriors and undercutting the financial and political base supporting the armed insurgency. Americans for a New Irish Agenda played such a direct and crucial role in convincing president Clinton to bring Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams to the U.S., helping create the 1994 ceasefire. Like many in Diaspora, the ANIA leadership was more educated and better off economically than their homeland compatriots, and were able to affect the conflict—positively in this case (Golan & Gal, 2009). Peace professionals in Diaspora—or those who can interview and write about them—can help transform conflict from afar, especially in this Internet era. Adams

was regarded as a terrorist and was transformed into a peacemaker by this process, earning a Nobel Peace Prize and has been an apostle for nonviolent liberation struggle ever since.

What does the field of Conflict Resolution have to offer to dissensual identity-based protracted social conflict? Sometimes naming it is helpful. When then-President George W. Bush hosted then-Prime Minister Ariel Sharon at his ranch in April 2005, Sharon told Bush that he doubted Arabs would ever acknowledge the "birthright of the Jewish people to establish a Jewish state in their historic cradle" (Benn, 2005, p. 44). This was an opportunity for public peace intellectuals to help the public understand how these conflicts can be addressed most successfully, these conflicts that carry heavy residuals from the past that emotionally block the use of good principled negotiation. What emotional blocks exist? The short list:

- Atrocities have been committed by both sides.
- Labeling and objectification mean that many members of both sides regard the other people as the problem.
- Collective memory defaults to the worst case assumed scenarios at every turn.
- Every family on both sides has a personal loss to account for, to satisfy, and to remind them of the inhumanity of the other side.
- Many on both sides are certain that the other side is existentially threatening, i.e., would like to commit complete genocide on them.

Of course, all this is compounded by the legacies of Europe and the Middle East, by the Crusades, by the northern conquests of Muslims during what Europeans call the Dark Ages, by the modern European invasions and colonial conquests of sections of the Middle East, by the European Holocaust, by the Cold War (and its complex system of geopolitical spheres of influence with client and host states), and by the violent conquest founding the state of Israel in 1948. That ocean of negative stew is pressurized into a cauldron of land with scant resources and a burgeoning population who already consume more water than they have, more oil than they have, and more food than they can grow. A public peace intellectual would validate all sides and suggest possible steps forward.

This adds up to what Edward Azar (Lebanese American conflict resolution theorist) called protracted social conflict (Gawerc, 2006). PSC is the toughest conflict nut to crack. It needs to go way past negotiations that have occurred to date. Just a couple of suggestions based upon our basic principles in Peace and Conflict Studies:

- Engage in a thoroughgoing Truth and Reconciliation process that fully hears the people on basic traumatic issues, including all topics back to and preceding the 1948 creation of the nation-state of Israel. This is hard and messy. So is the ongoing conflict, which shows zero sign of abating.
- Begin negotiations that include all parties who say they are stakeholders, no matter how radical and offensive, from the *jihadis* on the Palestinian side to the Greater Zionists (like Sharon was) on the Israeli side. Decide and abide by the decision on whether to include those in diaspora because those people affect the conflict (almost always destructively on all sides).

My personal thought would be to argue to exclude them, because, for the most part, people in diaspora will listen to those 'back home' and those who are in Palestine Israel are the ones who should process and decide matters. Of course, it gets complicated when Palestinian refugees still in vast camps bordering Israel are considered. They certainly have more rights in this conflict than do Jews living in America who have never lived in Israel.

- End U.S. involvement. We are the largest supplier of arms to the region, pouring gasoline on the peat bog fire daily. We can never be an honest broker of peace there. We are literally representing AAI Corporation, Alliant Techsystems, BAE Systems Inc., Boeing, Bushmaster Firearms International, Colt's Manufacturing Company, General Atomics, General Electric (primarily through GEAE), General Dynamics, Honeywell, Lockheed-Martin, Northrop Grumman Corporation, Raytheon Corporation, THOR Global Defense Group, United Technologies (primarily through Pratt and Whitney, Smith and Wesson Sikorsky Aircraft Corporation) and all the other war contractors who profit from bloodshed and who lose money to successful peace processes. The U.S. must not be a part of this as they are strongly influenced, if not outright controlled, by the lobbyists from the war system.

Those who research consensus-building list elements of any process to gain unity around a particular position, including development of a purposeful vision,

encouragement to participate, deepen individual commitment, and collaborate (Williams, 2007). Building consensus for war, especially if the homeland has not been attacked, is almost impossible until the troops are under fire—at which point building consensus for peace is then exceedingly difficult. Indeed, without the civic engagement of peace educators it is virtually impossible, and it to the literatures of civic engagement and the roles of peace educators that we turn to illuminate that region of this overall study. The hope and excitement generated in students who observe and experience their teachers as public peace and justice intellectuals emerged from the data of this study and reshaped some of the following review of the relevant literature.

**Civic engagement/peace education: Peace educators as peace army.**

Only when the classroom and out-of-classroom experiences are integrated into individual life experience (actually working in a campaign or a social advocacy movement, or a student-run organization with a broad-ranging social program) is a significant lifelong commitment to civic engagement likely.

—David A. Caputo, president, Pace University, Civic engagement and the higher education community (2005, p. 3)

When manipulation dominates the political news frame, the audience is treated to a dubious picture of democracy. Seen through this frame, the only way politicians advance or survive is by means of distortion and deceit, which are documented in great detail.

—Matthew Robert Kerbel, Villanova University Political Science, *Remote & controlled: Media politics in a cynical age* (1999, p. 95)

This section looks at the literature of civic engagement as it connects to education in general and peace education in particular.

Civic engagement in general refers to the roles people play in building a healthy civil society, generating social capital, creating and fostering supportive social networks and community development and participatory democracy (Ohmer & DeMasi, 2009). It becomes a component of education and media can be a civic agent in coursework, creating a dialectic rather than the traditional separation of theory and practice (Williams, Shinn, Nishishiba, & Morgan, 2002). For the purposes of this study, civic engagement narrows to that of educators, but further to peace educators. While volunteerism is generally important, this focus will be on that kind of engagement that tends to affect public policy, not the kind of wonderful “beans and blankets” volunteerism that augments lack of public policy commitment to the wellbeing of disadvantaged citizens (Galston, 2005). Peace education and politics are inseparable in the end; Gandhian philosophy, which is core to peace education, is that government and the people are as inextricably intertwined as consent is required of the governed in order for the nation’s political life to exist (Williams, 2002). This is closely related to Dewey’s notion of instrumental intellectual education strengthening democracy by engaged democratic service learning (Saltmarsh, 2008). Students do not have to be convinced that civic engagement is a good thing and an educational opportunity; indeed, many are clamoring for it (Zlotkowski & Williams, 2003). Certainly the most effective teaching in this regard will be done by

those who show their own experiential competencies and knowledge by engaging in civic society themselves.

So: two people, with the experience that comes with age, were playing tennis. The tennis ball ended up in the bushes. Looking for the ball, one of the players saw a frog. The frog spoke to him with a human voice: “I’m a beautiful princess, turned into a frog by a mischievous wizard. If you kiss me, I will become a princess once again. I will marry you, you will be a prince, and we will live happily ever after.” The player put the frog in his pocket, found the ball, and continued the game. After a while the frog again spoke to him, this time from his pocket: “Sir, did you forget about me? I am this beautiful princess, turned into a frog. If you kiss me, I will become a princess again. We will get married and live happily ever after!” And then she heard his answer: “Dear lady frog, I will be completely honest with you. I have reached the age at which I would rather have a talking frog than a new wife.” (Michnik, 2003, p. 177)

The alternative media—peace media, justice media, environmental media—are the talking frogs and the public intellectuals who focus solely on them are the old tennis player who enjoys the talking frog but feels that a new wife—mainstream corporate media—is too much struggle. The literature on civil society helps distinguish between the respective values of alternative media and mainstream media.

Putnam (2000) offers a typology that defines social capital as bonding—bringing people of a community together—or bridging—joining two communities in some way.



The peace educators who engage in alternative media—media that tend to present counternarratives and challenger messages—are primarily engaging in bonding work, helping to increase the sophistication of the peace analysis and general sense of connection and unity amongst those who might tend to often oppose official war promotion or justification. They may do bridging work when they are involved in alternative media by, for example, helping a peace-oriented labor organizer to strengthen the argument for bringing a labor union into a peace coalition.

When peace educators become involved in mainstream media, they can perform outstanding social capital bridging work by helping people who have no particular analysis about war and peace become aware of alternatives to violent group-to-group conflict or to other forms of destructive conflict. This can begin to change a national conversation about the advisability of waging war in the Kantian sense that a truly informed and engaged democracy would not generally opt to go to war because the citizens would understand that the benefits would be paltry compared to the enormous costs (Western, 2005). Kant wrote *Perpetual Peace* in 1795, at the genesis of both modern democracies and modern industrial warfare—indeed, only two years after the first military draft, Napoleon’s *levee en masse*, which industrialized the human side of war and even prompted Napoleon to use verbs like “spend” when referring to how he lost troops in his wars. Kant’s notion was that this cost/benefit analysis, performed by citizens in any democracy, would produce peace. The problem with this idea, of course, is that the citizenry is manipulated into approving wars by the creation of misinformation, disinformation, outright fabrications and lack of either challenge by the mainstream

media or conveyance of alternatives by that mainstream media to the citizenry (Gan, 2005; Western, 2005). This deadly manipulation of democracy is a fatal flaw in the eyes of much of the world and was so pronounced in the ramp-up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq that democracy itself now has a badly besmirched reputation amongst the very peoples who need it most but who now fear that it will come at the point of a gun and under the jackboots and bombs of the world's largest and most deadly military.

In the emergent years of the field of Peace Studies following World War II, Japan undertook its own approach, developing what is known there as *kyosei*, literally, co-living, and meant to promote the appreciation for all cultures, beyond co-existence and on to intercultural conviviality. As applied to education, this Japanese perspective is aligned most closely with that in the West of Ivan Illich. There are also ecological analogies and this educational philosophy is also referred to as civic symbiosis (Murakami, Kawamura & Chiba, 2005). This intellectual development of alternatives to war that do not involve either passivity or aggression are what the field of Peace Education can offer, and these alternatives, from Kantian envisioning of a peace system to the civic symbiosis to Gandhian nonviolence and Vandana Shiva's evocation of an updated Gandhian approach to current threats of war and the war system (2005) are the public peace scholar's currency when challenged to do more than just critique war. Shiva carries this into arenas that Gandhi did, again making them current, challenging the very economic order that produces exploitation, pollution and war and naming the alternative "*ahimsic*" (p. 117), focusing on economic justice (*swadeshi*), freedom to practice indigenous democracy (*swaraj*), nonviolent assertion of rights (*satyagraha*), decentralization, and understanding

society as an ecological phenomenon. Her broad paradigmatic synthesis both challenges the war system and offers alternatives so society is not left without something robust to consider rather than simply the failure to compete by a failure to project military power, which is the current underlying assumption that fuels acceptance, however reluctantly, of war (Ewan, 2001). Julia Reinhard Lupton (2008), using the exemplars of Antigone and Ismene, asserts that civic engagement is sometimes civil disobedience, and that our intellectual products will, at times, produce dissonance and powerful challenger messages.

Shiva is not as fiery as Roy, not as oriented toward U.S. imperialism as is Chomsky, and gives a special and exceedingly valuable section to the holistic thinking that will, it is hoped, help citizens replace a culture and economy of militarism with a viable alternative. Public peace intellectuals have been key in advocating for this (Boulding, 2000; Galtung, 2004, 2006; Said & Barsamian, 1994) and the Palestinian public intellectual Edward Said notes well that of crucial importance is the work that

“provides a visionary alternative, a distinction between the this-worldness and the blockage that one sees so much in the world of the everyday, in which we live, which does not allow us to see beyond the impossible odds in power and status” (1994, p. 104).

Woehrle, Coy and Maney (2008) describe this process as four ways to impart oppositional knowledge; counter-informative tells the untold story, critical-interpretive challenges the paradigms and received meanings of public knowledge, radical-envisioning presents profound alternative, and transformative describes how to achieve

those alternatives. More than anyone, public peace intellectuals can provide the greatest details that sharpen the vision and allow us to create a line of sight beyond the war system to a world that becomes much more self-correcting toward peace when inevitable conflicts arise. This challenge to the peace scholar community is key, is difficult, and holds enormous promise.

### **Chapter 3: Methodology**

Inquiry, guided by the question: What do peace and justice professors believe about civic engagement, public scholarship, and any perceived impediments to their individual or collective participation in those activities?

The research methodology in brief:

- Invitation to participate sent to more than 500 peace and conflict studies professors belonging to the Peace and Justice Studies Association. Seven responses committed to participation.
- Individual invitations to additional academics. Five more participants committed to participation for a total of 12.
- Conducted interviews, transcribed, asked follow-up questions, and analyzed data to determine emergent themes, coded transcripts, developed grounded theory based on this inductive process.

#### **Justification for methodological approach.**

This particular inquiry might be approached from several methodological strategies, but I have selected the grounded theory qualitative methodology in order to allow academics to create the themes and the data by which these themes can be analyzed. Grounded theory was developed in 1967 by Glasser and Strauss in order to meld the storytelling of historiography with a systemic analysis grounded both in those observations and in existing empirically derived theory. It is an approach that works in many disciplines, including some medical research (e.g. Omondi, Walingo, Mbagaya, &

Othuon, 2012), some Security Studies research (e.g. Gagnon, 2011), and is used in educational research as well (e.g. Grasmick, Davies, & Harbour, 2012). This approach suits the objectives of this study, with its emphasis on a succession and then synthesis of stories of the dozen participants, all academics with experiences and points of view themselves derived from a lifetime of critical thinking. Rather than construct a hypothesis from intuition and personal experience—since these direct questions have scant history of academic research in the literature—it seemed prudent to begin to elicit this information from a diverse set of peace educators. Gerrish (2011) notes that the review of germane literature tends to assist in pointing toward a particular research methodology and that is the case in this research, since the related bodies of literature never synthesize, providing no existing directly applicable theory to test. Indeed, entirely new categories of problem identification and potential solution policy suggestions did emerge from using this methodology. Clearly, this research is only the first step, and much more should follow, using a variety of methodologies. That is how a grounded theory is expected to develop; it is an ongoing work in progress, an evaluation of a snapshot of data developed during a particular research project. Further research will likely modify conclusions reached by this researcher.

### **Sample.**

Paul Masterson (reminder: all participants are referred to by pseudonyms) responded positively to my invitation to participate, which was sent out to the Peace and

Justice Studies Association<sup>4</sup> list serve. Like all other PJSA participants in this research, with one young white male exception, Paul is a white male over 60.

Patrick Hiller (research assistant) and I set up the interview via Skype and Patrick recorded the sound. Paul and I talked for approximately 45 minutes. His story as it relates to the general line of inquiry into public peace intellectualism is long, rich, and includes directly germane incidents as well as insights and conclusions reached after decades of intentional public peace intellectual participation, beginning in the 1960s as a young, untenured teaching and research faculty member. Paul's discipline is psychology and his long career reveals the development of a polymath who has published academically outside his discipline. He credits this, at least partially, to the influence of one of his primary mentors, Anatole Rapoport, a mathematical psychologist, public peace intellectual, and co-founder of the field of Peace and Conflict Studies, who first fled Nazi Germany as Jew escaping to the U.S. and then from the U.S. to Canada in 1970 to avoid teaching and paying taxes to support the U.S. war in Vietnam. Paul was one of his research assistant professors working on permutations of game theory that could assist in reducing dangers of nuclear war and other war and peace decision process dangers.

Paul recounted a history of impediments and direct consequences to his many attempts to be a public peace intellectual, including the denial of tenure and even a burning cross in the front yard of his and his wife's home when he taught at a large university in the Midwest. He eventually migrated to a successful and tenured career at a

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<sup>4</sup> PJSA is the primary professional and academic association for peace educators in U.S.-Canada, and is the regional body of the International Peace Research Association. Each has an academic journal and conferences. I am on the Board of Directors and Global Governing Council of these academic associations, respectively.

prominent California university, finding that intellectual and social atmosphere much more accepting of his public peace scholarship.

Paul asserts that the educational benefits of being a public peace scholar are significant for students, demonstrating to them that it is possible to live one's values and teach and research successfully. He is humble about his own role influencing public discourse, though clearly his civic engagement bolstered civil society efforts to find peace in Vietnam (he was a faculty member of the original teach-ins in Michigan), to promote nuclear disarmament, to reject more nuclear power plants, and to begin to understand the 'conflict industry,' that is, who benefits from destructive conflict and therefore the frequent elite resistance to the findings of peace research:

The real problem was not that we didn't know what moves to make to develop peace, the problem was that we had no incentives, we had no incentives to try those moves, there was a power elite, in 1965 I'd written an article with Tom Hayden about the military industrial complex.

He paid some prices for this long career of activism but expressed no regrets about being pushed out until he found an academic home where he, his institution, his students, and the community were happy with his contributions. Indeed, at the conclusion of the interview, both Patrick (a Ph.D. in Conflict Resolution and Analysis) and I expressed how inspiring Paul's story is to us.

### **Instruments of data collection and analysis.**

As is recommended for the development of grounded theory ( see for example Creswell, 2007; Marshall and Rossman, 2005), the approach that I used evolved as the



study continued. Initially, the interview process I created involved a scripted list of questions, approved by Human Subjects Research Review Committee (see Appendix A for full proposal):

#### Protocol of Interview Questions

Any of these questions may have led to follow-up questions prompted by answers to the first questions.

1. Tell me your name first, and how long have you been teaching. What do you teach? How long have you been teaching?
2. As a scholar in the field of Peace and Conflict Studies, do you write? Tell me what you write?
3. Whom do you primarily write for? Have you thought about writing for other outlets?
4. Do you consider yourself a practicing public peace intellectual and, if so, please describe your experiences.
5. Do you consider yourself an aspirant public peace intellectual and, if so, please describe your attempts.
6. What are some of the primary problems you encounter as you attempt to engage as a public peace intellectual? Can you give some examples?
7. How often have you participated in any mainstream media? Is it mostly the newspapers?

8. Describe your self-assessment of your abilities to write for mainstream press, speak on mainstream radio, or appear on mainstream television.
9. If time is a factor limiting your abilities to engage as a public peace intellectual, offer some explanation of how your academic institution might realistically relieve that pressure.
10. Do you think that there are effects on students when a professor is active in civic engagement in favor of peace?
11. In your opinion, how does a professor's active participation in civic engagement correlate to their student evaluations?
12. Tell me what you think about the consequences of possible negative student evaluations for professors who are actively participating in peace protests, events or rallies.
13. What has been the role of your academic institution in the event of your public peace scholarship?
14. How does your institution —your department, colleagues, staff—respond when they see you writing for the newspapers?
15. What are the career impacts of civic engagement for peace on professors?
16. Should there be institutional measures that would better support your intentions to engage as a public peace scholar? Would you write more as a public scholar if there is a better reward structure in place?

17. Are there personal priorities or choices that you might consider altering in order to make more opportunities to engage as a public peace intellectual?
18. What other problems/opportunities do you see for your aspirations to more frequently engage as a public peace intellectual, if you hold those aspirations?
19. Are there any examples of public policy changes that happened as a result of public intellectual engagement that inspire you?
20. Do you have any exemplar or a role model of a public peace intellectual? How has this person inspired you?

These questions were designed to elicit a range of participant contributions to the primary inquiry about impediments to engaging as a public peace intellectual. This interview instrument evolved into a different approach as insights emerged from the first interviews.

For example, I added two significant questions near the beginning, the answers to which sometimes added other questions or eliminated some of the original questions, if, as in one case, asking the question would ignore previous answers that obviated the relevance or point. There was one interviewee who was a researcher and never a teacher, clearly making many of the questions unnecessary, so I pursued new lines of questioning toward the participant's experiences and views. The two additional questions that I began to ask as it became clear that they would yield information more fully and more quickly:

1. What is your definition of a public peace intellectual?
2. Please tell your story as it relates to the notion of public peace scholarship.

Some of the interviews were conducted in person using voice recorder and a Flipcam.<sup>5</sup> Some were conducted via telephone online (Skype).

These transcriptions were then done by Research Assistant Patrick Hiller. I reviewed and corrected any minor transcription errors (misheard words or typos). I did not alter the verbatim transcription and those remain in my files, as do the actual recordings.

All verbatim transcriptions were sent back to the participants for review, correction and additions. I also asked two or three follow-up questions of each participant. Some of the follow-up questions for the first few participants interviewed were related to additional questions that had emerged as helpful and had already been asked of participants interviewed later in the series (see above for examples). Some additional questions related to specific components of the particular participant that seemed missing upon reflection. For instance, “Do your activities in peace and justice advocacy organizations impact your relationships with students or school administration?” Another example, “Upon further reflection, do you have suggestions for policies that would be conducive to your participation as a public peace and justice intellectual?”

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<sup>5</sup> I wanted two recording devices to avoid loss of data due to my operator error or equipment failure, and this turned out to be a very prudent tactic, saving portions of interviews that would have otherwise been lost.

I then coded all transcripts using various colored highlighting or fonts. Then I created a document for each emergent theme, aggregating all coded participant narrative in each of those documents, with the verbatim words of each participant in a unique font with individual word count to help me get a sense of the relative weight and focus given to each emergent theme. Figure 4 is an illustration of the relative word count of each participant-identified explanation of, or barrier to, public peace and justice scholarship, by coded narrative aggregate.

**Figure 4: Narrative aggregate coded by word count.**

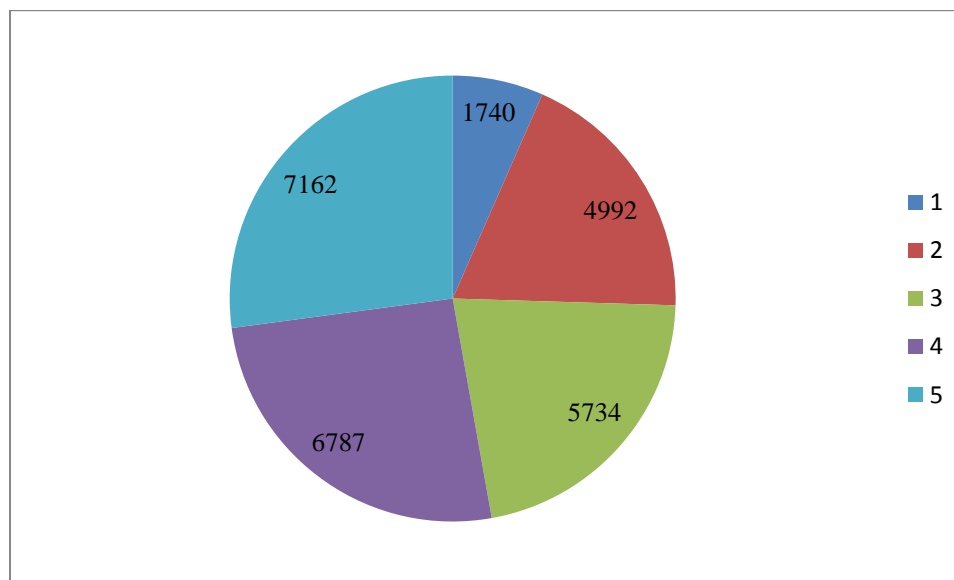


Figure 4 legend: 1=Journalistic skills concerns (1740); 2=Pedagogical implications (4992); 3=Policy effects/Movement-building (5734); 4=Professional constraints (6787); 5=Public peace intellectualism (7162)

These are the instruments I created to develop data to analyze. While this research is a qualitative grounded theory study, it is interesting to look at the aggregate focus of the themes by the participants. Figure 4, above, shows the breakdown of the simple number of words in the aggregated coded themes. This shows the relatively low emphasis on worrying about journalism skills amongst these participants and the relatively high concern about the only other specific code that is a named barrier, which is professional constraints. The code “Public peace intellectualism” is one of two broad categories of code that captures elements of the participants’ stories as they relate to public intellectualism, their ideas of who are exemplar public peace and justice intellectuals, and the relative value of public scholarship. The other such sweeping code is “Policy effects

and movement-building,” which contains the narrative coded to encompass whether and when the participants felt they or other public peace and justice intellectuals achieved policy change (or defense) by public scholarship, how public intellectualism connects to public or corporate policy, and views of the worth or validity of public scholarship.

#### **Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Presentation**

There were 12 participants in this study. Table 3, using pseudonyms, shows various characteristics, including which participants were respondents from the Peace and Justice Studies Association and which were invited individually, their age groups by decade, gender, self-identified ethnicity, and level of academic degree.

All but one of the participants who volunteered and followed through from the Peace and Justice Studies Association were white males over 60, with one white male in his 30s. While two women and three younger males initially responded positively, they stated that they were ultimately unable to participate for various reasons, mostly due to pressing professional obligations. No people of color responded to the PJSA invitation. It is likely that the lack of diversity in the PJSA participants is due to two coinciding factors. One, it is easier for emeriti professors or other retired intellectuals to take the time to participate. Two, most retired professors received their terminal degrees in the 1970s or even earlier, when few people of color and few women, proportionally, were able to surmount the additional cultural challenges and societal biases to earning those advanced degrees. The other white male who participated was invited because he is a practicing public peace intellectual who has valuable insights and experiential knowledge important to this research. No participants self-identified as South Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, nor Hispanic, clearly a regrettable deficit in diversity that will be discussed additionally in the reflexive section and in suggestions for further research in the Conclusion chapter. All participants are U.S. citizens and are based in communities across the country.



Table 3: Participants.

<b>pseudonyms</b>	<b>age</b>	<b>ethnicity</b>	<b>education</b>	<b>gender</b>
Bryan Bixby*	60+	Caucasian	Ph.D.	M
Larry Johnson*	30s	Caucasian	Ph.D. ABD	M
Will Larson*	60+	Caucasian	Ph.D.	M
Paul Masterson*	60+	Caucasian	Ph.D.	M
Naoko Miyagi	40s	Asian	Ph.D.	F
Greg Richardson*	60+	Caucasian	Ph.D.	M
Helen Rogers	30s	African American	Ph.D. ABD	F
Faye Roswell	40s	African American	MA	F
Luther Simms*	60+	Caucasian	M.A.	M
Alan Smith	50s	African American	MS	M
Delores Vilacet	40s	African American Caribbean	Ph.D.	F
Mike Wilson	60+	Caucasian	MFA	M
*responded to invitation to participate sent to PJSA	<b>2 30s</b> <b>3 40s</b> <b>1 50s</b> <b>6 60+s</b>	<b>1 Asian</b> <b>1 African American Caribbean</b> <b>3 African Americans</b> <b>7 Caucasians</b>	<b>8 Ph.D./ABD</b> <b>4 MA/MS/MFA</b>	<b>4F</b> <b>8M</b>

Note: Age is expressed by decades except beyond age 60, e.g. 40s=40-49 years old, 60+=any age over 59.

For the first few participants interviewed, new themes emerged, but this process soon reached data saturation in that respect. However, as I read each transcript the perspectives of the themes showed some degree of difference and innovation, as well as a wide range of weighting and emphasis on permutations of each theme. Eventually, after numerous adjustments, additions, and final mergers, the list of categories settled at:

- Public peace and justice intellectualism
- Pedagogical implications
- Professional constraints
- Policy/movement building
- Journalism skills

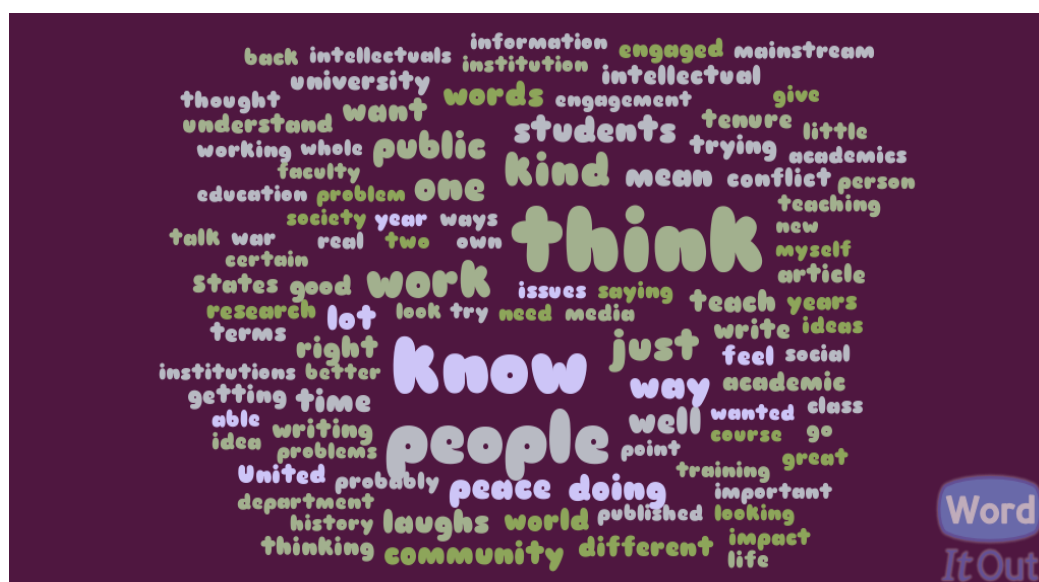
- Potential solutions

Each of these themes—five of which went to describing, analyzing, and giving personal experiences in dealing with perceived impediments to public peace and justice intellectualism and one of which focused on potential solutions—emerged as serious for many of the participants. There seemed to be near consensus on some general matters—e.g., tenure and promotion considerations were generally problematic at best and nearly a complete deterrent in some cases. There were other themes that generated contrasting views—e.g. the approaches to public intellectualism that seem valid and appropriate in the context of both the academy and public education. Because of the nature of a grounded theory developmental approach, which is iterative, evolving, and self-adjusting as data is gathered and analyzed, some analysis must accompany data presentation in order to permit understanding of how data collection morphed from the original inquiry, adapting to new data and data analysis suggesting new or altered lines of inquiry. At the conclusion of these thematic presentation sections, then, is a synthesis of analysis, an analysis of the relationships between and amongst the emergent themes, and a discussion of findings. Beginning with a presentation and analysis of participant views about the definitions and personal histories of public peace and justice scholarship will enable a more contextualized understanding of the impediments and potential solutions.

Using a compiled aggregate of all sections of the transcribed narratives, I created Figure 5, a [WordItOut image](#) of the most frequently used words (after filtering out articles and less important words from phrases such as “you know”). McNaught and Lam (2010) describe instances of using Wordle or any of the similar “toys” as an adjunct

research tool to provide preliminary prompting data and rudimentary textual analysis in some cases, validate data in others, or some combination, using this (or any of several useful) visually rich and very fast web application. Using this tool, for example, one finds that a group of Iraq-related stories from mainstream media cite military officials frequently and peace experts almost never. The narrative analysis is at least augmented interestingly by this new tool.

**Figure 5: Word cloud of aggregate coded narratives.**



This word cloud simply shows a graphic representation of the frequency of the use of (in this case) the 100 most commonly used words in the aggregate of all coded participant narratives in this study. Its meaning cannot be used as evidence of a particular conclusion or assertion made by participants, but the picture of the ‘size’ of the word that correlates to the number of times it was used is of some interest in envisioning the general topics and recurring focus of the participants in telling their stories about their lives and public peace and justice intellectualism. I pre-filtered more than 100 common and less meaningful words from the cloud (e.g. and, through, but, thing, yeah).

**Public peace and justice intellectualism.**

“I’d like to write a book, and I’d like to write and publish every day if I could, very much, sign me up.” (laughs)

—‘Larry,’ a young peace and justice scholar talking about his desire to get peace points of view into the public conversation

I’ve always been a fan of the Enlightenment, with its notion that knowledge and reason can banish ignorance and superstition, thus lighting the way to a better world. Therefore, I felt it was important to not only reach scholars, but the general public. And I could best do this, I believed, by teaching (especially at a large public university, attracting a cross-section of the society) and by writing books and articles that the public could and would read. Given the continued existence of ignorance and superstition, even as education has become widespread, this Enlightenment belief might be naïve. But I’m not sure there is any better avenue toward social progress. Also, of course, modern war is so counter-productive and irrational that it’s hard to just sit back and let it destroy the world.

—Will Larson, interview participant and public peace scholar

Designing a research question is a funneling process, a search for a focusing query in the midst of complex context. Understanding interview data in a search for grounded theory goes through a phase reversing that funnel as participants open lines of thinking not contemplated in the same fashion by the researcher. This is the case in the

participants' responses to questions about public peace intellectualism. In the beginning of the interview process, I focused on asking about the specific public intellectual practice that initially drew me to think about this entire inquiry, writing opinion and analysis pieces for publication. I also focused on my initial inquiry into public peace intellectualism, the Galtungian term from my field of Peace and Conflict Studies. The participants, however, helped me change my definition of the nature of the inquiry, and expanded my understanding of the range of activities that legitimately and routinely are public peace and justice intellectualism.

Data coded to this section touched on many aspects, including:

- definitions of public intellectual
- correlates between ethnic/gender diversity and focus of public intellectualism
- range of activities considered by participants to be public intellectualism
- expanding vectors of delivering public scholarship
- personal histories of public peace and justice intellectualism
- proprietorship and public scholarship
- duty and discouragement

The change of definition, then, is, for this exploration, from “public peace intellectual” to “public peace and justice intellectual,” a serious enough emergent theme to warrant changing the title of this dissertation. This is directly appropriate when one

considers the simplest definition of positive peace, “Peace and justice by peaceable means.” The diversity of the respondents was responsible for this changed definition because of the histories of practice, since women and people of color from within the groups of respondents framed their activities in this fashion, legitimately altering the research and making it much more accessible and understandable. One African American professor, who had been head of a state agency and who had done a great deal of public speaking in that capacity, helped to make this even more apparent as she included another challenger mode into the discussion, feminism:

Well, I don’t know if I would call myself a peace and justice intellectual, but I think I am one, because you know my work is all about creating beloved community, which is the notions of peace in justice are embedded in that, I think what’s also key into what I do, is the whole idea of feminist ideas and feminist practices, so I think those are key peace and justice, so part of my work is to reclaim feminism, and also tell folks how to figure out how reclaim it outside the academy, and so, and again it’s all connected to peace and justice.

The expanded list of such involvements thus includes public speaking—either in person to an audience or on radio or television, active leadership in peace and justice organizations, film making, publicly available workshops, music, theater—including screenwriting and playwriting—and art, including posters, book illustrations, and installations, and even writing executive summaries for technical reports. This unexpected set of findings overcame my personal bias toward writing and enriched the

discussions in all other thematic areas. Of course in hindsight it is obvious, and is an example of the necessity of open-ended questions and open-minded analysis.

A recurring theme was validity or credibility, something best expressed by Luther, a researcher and an activist quite frustrated by what he regards as lack of passion and courage of the average citizen, and who is not interested in more public peace scholarship, but who acknowledges that at least intellectuals from the past (he specifically referred to the Vietnam War and the public scholars who spoke up then for peace) had more of a chance to say something publicly and be heard than have activists:

I think those people had an effect, because they were saying things that had not been said by public figures like themselves before – that the war was wrong and we should get out of it. Plenty of lesser known people had said the same things, but were dismissed as outside agitators. The public took Margaret Mead more seriously than they did Dave Dellinger, for example.

Others spoke of the changing roles and possibilities of public peace and justice intellectuals differently. An example of how my understanding and consideration of public peace and justice intellectualism evolved was the integration of one person's views about his entire project, an international nongovernmental organization (INGO). This participant is founder and Executive Director of the Fairplay Institute (a pseudonym) that has components of public intellectualism and field work emphasizing conflict management, conflict prevention and peace system creation. He added this to the concept of public scholarship:

I thought about that a little bit, because someone many moons ago described Fairplay as a public philosophy.

What I'm doing is something different, and therefore I think that the role of the public intellectual would be along this line, where the idea or ideas aren't owned, in fact you actually want them to be widely held, and so I don't, once to me the ideas are out there, they're out there, they're fair game now, and actually to me, I would want to see that those ideas influencing and changing the public discourse

This, then, introduces a subtle but real notion into the concept of public intellectualism, which is that, unlike academic publishing, which maintains rigid intellectual ownership of ideas through a careful and kept system of citation and attribution, those who would be public scholars cannot cling to ownership. They offer ideas freely and do not necessarily expect others to cite them nor credit them. Public intellectuals, by this participant's definition, are offering ideas freely as a gift to the public conversation, only using their academic stature to invest credibility and validity in the original presentation of the ideas. This stark contrast to what is expected and indeed required in the academy is illustrative of the long and complex list of challenges faced by those who want to encourage peace and justice transference of esoteric knowledge from the published experts to the public discourse. The interest of these public peace and justice intellectuals is not scoring career points in this endeavor, then, but rather working to add valid information to the public discourse so that an informed citizenry will tend to develop stronger peace and justice social norms and so that the political processes will



reflect those enlightened norms with public policy that promotes peace and justice. The institute's Executive Director helped open that strand of thinking, which was then reinforced in different ways by other participants, such as the young scholar who identified part of his public peace and justice scholarship as doing research and accessible writing for another institute, the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC), which not only puts all this work online for free download, it runs seminars all over the world at which it brings in civil society activists and distributes cases of textbooks and films, gratis, just to disseminate helpful educational and accessible tools to transform conflict from destructive to constructive:

I've submitted a couple of op-eds, and I also write position papers for the ICNC, the international center for nonviolent conflict, I write case summaries of nonviolent social movements, I wrote 15 of those last year, and, different places around the world, Pakistan, Aceh, the United States...

Another component of the thinking about the complex definition of public intellectualism is the idea that what is of the moment, what is worth translating from arcane academic language into common parlance might fall under a new definition of 'actionable intelligence.' The same participant offered this notion:

maybe the intellectual of public intellectual, that is not, again, how many angels dance of the head of a pin, it is what are the thoughts that we need to think right now, and then what are the actions we need to take from these thoughts right now, in order for us to achieve our goals and visions,

so then the other part of this, to me a public intellectual has goals and visions, and my personal goal, and my organizational goal is how do we create a world that actually works for all beings

Application, then, is a key element in thinking about what a peace and justice public intellectual might do. The application might be missed or done incorrectly without the gifts of the public scholar, thus tying the recognized need to act, to the free dissemination of hard-earned knowledge. The direct connection to the possibility of preventing war is what formulated the identity of some of the participants who were young scholars during the war in Vietnam and who saw the lack of public knowledge as a concomitant to launching and waging war in a democracy, possibly leading to a determination to at least attempt to go on the record, to the public, in an attempt to change the public conversation and thus, hopefully, the decision process that leads democracies to war:

There were historians and anthropologists who actually understood the context of what had been happening in Indochina for a long period of time, so that the model, it's a similar model that's being used now, that when you, in order to justify military intervention, you have to reduce the adversary to an adversary that has no history and no culture, it's just a demon, and just looking at that history and that culture, and also by looking at the decision powers, who was actually making the decisions on the military intervention, and how the failures of military activity are pre-packaged, there were people who do that also, so the information is

available, so again, during that period of time, any number of us could get up and debate with Ambassador Goldberg or somebody, we didn't have to be intimidated.... [but] we get marginalized, you know you don't see even on, even on public media, you don't see the range of people, usually it is a debate between Democrats and Republicans whether a particular military [action] is going to work or not.

Striving, then, to help educate the electorate via public peace and justice scholarship is seen by some as a worthy, if formidable and challenging, role for the academic who is otherwise only working with a handful of readers of academic writing plus whatever relatively small number of students learn from the professors, few of whom have the time or energy to put that knowledge into the democratic process in time to affect a particular emerging threat of war or injustice. From another participant, Will Larson, a historian who has engaged in public peace scholarship for decades:

I do I consider myself a public peace intellectual, I do a number of things in that regard, I am on the national board of Peace Action, I am on the national board of the National Priorities Project and I've been involved with peace movements for decades now. Furthermore, I've taken part in the activities in times I've been a leader in the activities of a group called the Peace History Society, which existed since the early 1960s, I am a former president of that group and I also served on the national board for many years and I also served as a co-editor of a journal that is co-published along with the Peace and Justice Studies Association, formerly

COPRED Consortium on Peace Research Education and Development, and that group of Peace History Society and its journal have been devoted for many years to not only discovering more about factors influencing the development of world peace and the obstacles to that development, but also these, Peace History Society and its journal have worked at disseminating that information through a variety of scholarly publications, the journal of course is one such publication, but also there have been a number of books that Peace History Society has turned out by biographical dictionary of modern peace leaders for example or the book edited by Charles DeBenedetti called Peace Heroes in Twentieth Century America, so, in a variety of ways that group has been active in promoting the study of how to get to a peaceful world, as well as publicizing its findings. Another way that I've been involved in being a public peace intellectual is in writing op-ed pieces, I've been doing that for some time now. I actually began by writing them for the History News Network, but then I began to expand my outreach for these op-ed pieces usually about world peace, through PeaceVoice and that has assisted me in reaching out to small city newspapers and interested websites, so in those ways, I think, plus making speeches all over the country and all over the world about peace issues, and especially about nuclear disarmament, I think I've been a public peace intellectual for decades now.

Clearly, there is a social sense of obligation and civic engagement by the public scholar and a concomitant sacrifice of personal career gain. This is in direct contrast to the usual charges that a public scholar is a publicity seeker who selfishly wishes the spotlight. In fact, it is often precisely the opposite. The public intellectual lets go of what might aggrandize a career in order to more swiftly and directly serve the public good, according to this line of thinking. In its most pure form, perhaps, the public peace and justice intellectual is simply motivated by some sense of fairness, inclusivity and obligation to protect and to help. From Naoko:

I had a friend who has sight impairment. I didn't know anything about the life of being blind, but getting to know him, I learned a lot about different things, and so one of the things that he taught me, was how he can distinguish different types of coins, and I didn't know, but the Japanese coins have a different wedge around the edge of the coins, and that's how he can tell, because all the coins are similar sizes, and I can't remember what was the point, but there was something about the coins and how the people who doesn't have a good eye sight uses that, and then also something about how the society is not mindful of all those kind of things. I can't remember what I was so angry about, but I was so angry about something that, like those people don't even know how people who cannot see, and so I think, I know that emotion, but I don't know the content of what I wrote (laughs).

This is not to label all public scholarship a free and anonymous gift to the public domain and academic writing as some commercial activity—the participant who offered his notions of letting go of idea ownership, after all, is the paid ED of his institute and public scholarship is expected from such institutes, and much of what academics write for journals is done without expectation of remuneration—but intellectuals know the difference between comments on the radio and citable words from a peer-reviewed journal. Those who act most frequently as public intellectuals may have actually crafted their careers so that they are at least partially rewarded for such activities. One participant who teaches in Women’s Studies gave an illustration that opened another new vista into potential public peace and justice intellectual activity, that is, taking academic intellectual content and translating it into publicly available and accessible, inclusive workshops:

I just got a grant to turn this class that I teach called Women Love and Self Care into a one- day workshop that we’re opening up to the public, we’re offering it for free, we’re opening up to the public, and my goal is to take that and to figure out how to re-package it a little bit, so men would feel invited as well, and then get that out there and maybe through women studies programs and across college campuses and that sort of thing, so I’m looking to take what I do, which is really broad, which is really accessible information that’s useful to everybody, but because I’ve taught in Women’s Studies, it’s always been labeled women.

From another participant, along the same lines, was the reminder of the “Teach-in,” which really was a workshop writ large, labeled a teach-in during the 1960s. Paul, an

emeritus public peace and justice scholar now in 2011, was a young faculty co-founder of that phenomenon then in the 1960s, and the name of it was a synthesis of the famous sit-in movements that desegregated the lunch counters and eventually all public places in Jim Crow South, plus a direct response to his university administrators who forbade any teacher from joining in the student strikes that were occurring in opposition to the war in Vietnam:

We had planned to close down the university, and all hell broke loose, and we finally said if they want us to teach we'll teach-in, and so we took over the university for a night, and that was the origin of the teach-in, and we managed to spread it across the country since then, and I think it's become an early interesting institution for, now for events that are not part of the usual program in universities.

Another permutation that emerged in the consideration of what constitutes public scholarship is the subtle framing factors when writing reports that are used by professionals and which may thus be technical and arcane, but also require an executive summary, which is written much more toward general audience comprehension, including nonspecialist journalists who will, in turn, communicate concepts to the general public. This slice of public scholarship has not been identified as such in the literature, and is certainly an esoteric element within the much broader consideration of the concept of public scholarship, but can be influential in some circumstances. From Naoko Miyagi, professor and researcher:

When I do a report to the agencies, it usually comes with like executive summary type of things, because I do have to report to the department directors, or council members or those kind of things, and so as part of the report I have to have a small part that is intended for general public or that could be used for general public, so I'm kind of mindful of the fact that those reports are public documents, and if the media wants to get a hold of it, they probably won't read the whole thing but they will probably read just the executive report, so when I do a presentation or when I write an executive report or executive summary, it's not quite for the general public, but I have that in mind.

One participant taught for many years at arguably the most prestigious university on the West Coast of the U.S. He directed a project that performed research on the conflicts in both Northern Ireland and Israel Palestine. His project partnered with other public scholars from various identity groups in both conflicts. They did research, they published reports with their partners, and he shared the findings of those reports with affected populations. He said that, "I do a fair amount of public speaking locally, and I've done a fair amount of public speaking in local forums in the Israeli Palestinian conflict and in Northern Ireland." The research was specifically on the barriers to dialog and negotiation, barriers that were sometimes acknowledged and therefore acted upon and sometimes unacknowledged and therefore festered. In his case, foundations supported his project for decades, making his public scholarship a part of his designed career. His academic writing—or the writing that was done in his role as an academic in partnership



with others in Israel Palestine and Northern Ireland—thus led to expressions of public scholarship via other activities, speaking to community groups in his case. Another participant, an Art professor, went outside his discipline to write a trade press book about peace which has spawned discussion groups across the country, and presented another example of writing leading to other forms of public intellectualism:

After I wrote the book [book title], we hired a publicist to get for me 25 radio interviews on progressive, small progressive FM radio stations, and that was an incredible experience for me, because I had a great deal of stage fright, especially in the first ones, and a huge tension headache every time, it was all done from my apartment, I didn't have to travel anywhere, except for the one that was done locally in Boston at MIT, I just picked up the phone and sometimes it was half an hour, sometimes an hour, and I, in spite of having the tension headache, because I wanted so badly to do a good job, I did enjoy this, it was good for me, I grew from it, and though I mean I certainly have regrets about wanting to make my arguments even more and anecdotes and supporting points even more powerful, so it was good.

For those who struggle with the definition of public peace and justice intellectualism within the context of all the other concerns, there may be a tension between the permanent perception of creating a piece of writing that can be dissected and even used as evidence to attack an intellectual on the one hand, and the perception of unrecorded speech as less dangerous ephemera on the other. Sometimes this may be

framed as a concern over the new ubiquity of public writing platforms, such as blogs, tweets, Facebook and other social media, public video/speaking platforms like Vimeo and YouTube, and sometimes the tension is expressed in terms of concern over academic rigor in public opinion writing in general and the worry about that rigor:

I have never attempted to engage the mainstream media, and I have seen colleagues, not necessarily friends of mine, who have attempted to do so, and I have truly agonized over what I see as the exchanges, because the dominant frames that have been in this more recent 10-20 year period established in terms of what is legitimate critical dialogue, has been reduced to everybody has an opinion, and some are more valid than others because they fit into a mainstream understanding of what it means to be an American, or what it means to have American values, and it's very stunting, and it's very ahistorical.

Over time I have observed that peace groups in the U.S. tend to be composed of white people and justice groups are more often composed of a diversity of citizens, and often led by people of color. This generalization has many important exceptions, of course, but it was again borne out by the public scholarship activities of the participants in this study. For example, the one scholar who self-identified as Caribbean African American reported that her ongoing public peace and justice intellectual activity associated primarily with a justice organization, specifically a group that assists unions. She also gave speeches calling for peace within that context, but her work was

intentionally situated in workers' rights, and her process toward that activity involved her entire history as a woman from the Global South.

Part of my having relocated to the United States made me question what my contribution was, because while I was in the Caribbean I was pretty much clear that I needed to make it different and improve, the question was if I am in the United States, then what does that contribution look like, what would it be, and who would then be the people I identify as my community or where I want to make the contribution, so over time you know, it didn't take a lot of time, I think not so much when I was a graduate student, because as a graduate student you have opportunities to join graduate student unions, you know the whole environment is for you to be critical, but being a working person on the outside, I migrated toward contributions that had to do with union organizing, and how workers were faring, and how women in the global economy were faring, and so with time I ended up becoming a board member of the Workers' Rights board, which is a job projects of Jobs With Justice, a national organization that attempts to negotiate between employers and employees using a lot of moral and ethical approaches about what's the right thing to do, it's in a sense to shame employers to do the right thing, so I became one of the board members, and it's a wide crew of people, you know community people, I happen to be one, I also got involved with the group, a national organization called jubilee USA, about cancelling Third World Debt.

She teaches about the effects of globalization, which include the coerced exploitation of workers from the Global South, so these are authentic connections for her and her expertise thus informs these advocacy organizations and their members. She also situated her public peace intellectualism within both her academic expertise and her justice work, clearly identifying public speaking as a form of public intellectual activity in her case:

I think given what interests I have as an academic, back in 2002 and in early 2003 when the protests against the invasion of Iraq were taking place, I was one of those who would speak out publicly at some of these protests about why we shouldn't do it, and I've also participated when we had the recent economic crisis, there was a forum in town, a town hall, trying to get people to understand what had triggered the crisis, and you know who was responsible, and what we should do about it, and I participated as a speaker as well, so that's my work as a public intellectual.

This orientation toward speaking as the primary public peace and justice intellectual activity was shared by a younger scholar who noted:

I've only spoken on, politically I've only spoken on mainstream radio and TV a couple of times, one for a protest that was happening downtown around Darfur, and then another for a protest related to city bus cuts, and another promoting the Clean Energy Works city campaign here, so I definitely do it.

Another young scholar demonstrated the aspirant enthusiasm for that sort of public peace and justice intellectualism:

I've never been invited to be on radio or anything like that, I would like to be though, I would love to have the opportunity to present that perspective, I really wish there was more openings, cause I would take advantage of that quite frankly, I would.

Indeed, the same young scholar carried on with his strong determination to put his knowledge into play publicly:

I've set up my whole life, you know, to do that. I studied human rights, and I did conflict resolution, and I work for a nonviolent consortium, I write for them, so I feel like, and I teach in the field, and I write, so I, my life is kind of, I've already made those choices I think a long time ago, but what I would like to do is set it up somehow so that I can work part-time in the movement. I'm concerned about getting too, I don't want moss growing on me at the university, and I look at somebody like George Lakey, who has had a foot in both worlds, he teaches at Swarthmore, he's an accomplished scholar, but that didn't stop him from keeping his feet on the ground and doing the work, and so something like that, I mean I look to that and I'm thinking in the future I want to figure out how to do that, and that, I don't know is it easier or harder, I don't know.

One young scholar injected the additional public peace and justice intellectual practice of using social media, and short video in that context. In this case, she referred to

her participation as a scholar, an activist, and a person of color in the campaign to legalize gay marriage:

[the advocacy organization] was doing it, with their campaign around marriage, so they would film with a little flip cam and then have you talk for less than a minute about why you think marriage is important, and then people would post it on their Facebook pages.

There were contrasting opinions about the definition of public intellectual that revolved around expertise and disciplinarity. Some saw public scholarship solely or mostly as translating academic knowledge from one's discipline into usable and accessible knowledge for the public. Some saw public intellectualism more as a chance to take rigorous critical thinking practices and apply them to more general analysis:

I just think it's the, it's that idea that, maybe the Emersonian idea that you trust yourself, that you trust that though you're not a specialist, you made some way, if you write honestly, you somehow represent the views of many people, I've certainly had that experience in reading other people with whom I recognize some kinship of thought, like Howard Zinn, or Erik Erickson, whoever it might be that I admire as a writer.

The wide range of platforms for public peace and justice intellectualism is matched by the similarly wide range of activities scholars engage in as an expression of their public peace and justice intellectualism. For some, the expertise is the focus, and the activities are almost described as a pro bono consulting service to the public. For others, lending one's professional name and stature to direct nonviolent civil society activism is

at least at times required or expected. Paul reflected on his activism in the complex context of teaching in a conservative Midwestern community during the height of the Vietnam War—after teaching in a more liberal Midwestern town—and eventually being shut out of tenure consideration but never knowing the precise reason until years later:

We had the first demonstration that they ever had on the Purdue university campus, they had a silent vigil for all of those people who had died in Vietnam, and the ROTC was assigned to take pictures of us, so we were in the paper, I was also the faculty sponsor of an SDS group, which was not like the groups that I knew in Ann Arbor, the Tom Haydens and Todd Gitlins and people like that, it was a little bit of a rag tag organization, and they invited an anarchist to speak at the Purdue campus and this anarchist promised that he would not bring a flag, but he did not promise he wouldn't destroy it, so he ripped up the flag, spit on it, and ... I thought well maybe that was what was upsetting, and then we...did a study of the power structure in Lafayette Indiana, we did it very professionally, and we didn't name any people in it, but we did a test of whether it was an elitist or pluralistic power structure

I was asked to debate about Vietnam, and you know I was really pretty young and brass, and I was debating the head of the political science department who warned me not to talk about peace in fuzzy things and made me swear that I wasn't a communist and then wanted me to talk about Vietnam rather than about peace, but he didn't have anything to say

about Vietnam, so I did then give a talk about Vietnam, and when it ended, I read what I told the audience and him was the Vietcong plans for taking over the South Vietnamese hamlets, and I asked him if that was so bad that America should be losing blood over that, and he said it was absolute tyranny, that we should definitely lose blood over it, and then I told him that what I had read was the U.S. pacification program.

Despite all this public peace and justice intellectual activity, as well as community organizing and direct action, it turned out that he was moved out of tenure consideration because he had a letter calling for peace published in *The New York Times*. He only learned of this many years later. His eventual relocation to a far more accepting university in a culturally tolerant, politically liberal city was his final career shift and he is now an emeritus faculty still engaged as a public peace and justice scholar.

The enthusiasm expressed by the younger scholars and the long history of public peace and justice scholarship narrated by the older scholars was contrasted by the two participants who were not full time teachers. One, the ED of the 'Fairplay' Institute, taught occasionally but was generally somewhat alienated from the academy and pursued his public peace and justice scholarship almost as an antidote to his perception of the academy as much as a countervailing voice to war and destructive conflict. Another, Luther, who was not a teacher, but a researcher and a peace activist, was the countervailing voice of discouragement and antagonism toward peace and justice education, from his standpoint as an older activist despairing of his perception of the lack of public response to a perfectly adequate and accessible level of information:



I am afraid that I am not very enthusiastic about that kind of activity because it feels to me like educating people, and I don't think it's that important educating anyone, because if people don't realize what is going on by now it's because they don't care and you will not persuade them to care, by telling them what facts are, it does not matter, I'd like to work on harder in our group on recruiting people, who already feel as we do to, you know, to become active but I am not sure how to do that.

This extreme discouragement about education coupled with a sense of duty to engage in activism contrasted with the discouragement and duty to educate expressed by Paul, the academic who has been a public peace, justice and environmental sustainability scholar for decades, who has paid serious prices for his public intellectualism, and yet who is pragmatic enough to continue even though the results are not necessarily evident nor satisfying. His narrative about this is barely logical at one level—he seems to be reaching to make connections—but it seems also that he is almost reassuring himself that his public peace and justice scholarship is what he must do:

I'm one of a number of peace social scientists, and my inclination is somewhat more on the activist side of the spectrum, but we communicate basically with ourselves, we're not really good at changing the nature of the public dialogue, it's not that we don't try, I've testified endless times on environmental impact statements at nuclear weapons testing, but I know when I go to do those testimonies, I'm going and there's a contractor that's hired for the nuclear weapons labs who are holding the

hearings, we are not even talking to the people at the lab, no less the department of energy, and so, I understand what my role is there, I'm putting things into the record that can be used for a lawsuit for the community groups, and I'm using this as helping the groups making this a public information event, so that the newspapers can pick it up, but I have no illusions that I'm really part of the process of getting into the structure of decisions and having my input actually delivered in a way that would change the nature of nuclear weapons development.

Table 4 is a compilation of the participant-reported costs and benefits to public peace and justice intellectualism. Each participant would construct and emphasize all these factors into a unique personal matrix that would be its own unique living document held mentally. This is the generalized matrix that emerges from this pool of participants.

Table 4: Costs and benefits of public peace and justice intellectualism.

Possible costs	Possible benefits
Denied tenure	Accelerated tenure
Loss of academic credibility	Enhanced public credibility
Time lost	Public influence gained
Public opprobrium	Public approbation
Discouragement	Encouragement
Student accusation of bias	Student approval of engagement

One participant offered the multiplier effect analysis of the relationship between teaching and public peace and justice intellectualism:

I think that it simply means that I'm trying to have an intellectual impact on the community and not merely on the scholarly community, so the general community is a place where I want to have an impact both with my scholarly work but also through students in their work in the community.

This has no direct relationship to the problem that prompted this entire inquiry, that is, why did peace educators not participate enough as public intellectuals challenging the—to us—obviously false arguments for invading Iraq? It is analogous to seeing a house ablaze and, instead of trying to save the child we see behind the window, I walk to the city hall to file my candidacy for the upcoming election of Fire Chief. Still, in the

wider context of the practice of public peace and justice intellectualism, this indirect effect cannot be dismissed as mere rationalization for lack of direct public peace and justice scholarship, since the effects of peace education can produce students who go on to themselves engage as peace analysts and activists. There is an effect. This shades into another of the themes, presented and discussed next.

**Professional constraints.**

“I am expected to do a lot of journal article writing but obviously I’m not doing enough according to the feedback that I got from my third year review committee.”

—Naoko Miyugi, on tenure and time pressures

Included in this major category of impediments to acting as a public peace and justice intellectual are several subthemes, all of them connected in various ways to professional barriers and all to each other, e.g., tenure strictures, promotion concerns, legitimacy of public scholarship, controversy of public peace and justice intellectualism, overwhelming time burdens and job security. Embedded in those professional constraints are a welter of deterrents that can paralyze a peace educator who would otherwise love to assist in helping inform a public dialog about matters that relate to peace education and that are either being debated on an underinformed basis or being ignored. These factors can relate to local issues, national and international issues, and the local manifestations of the more generalized phenomena.

For example, Greg Richardson, a peace educator who does not have tenure, expressed great concern about opening himself to public examination when an instance of

domestic terrorism occurred in his city, even though he had been published in a peer-reviewed volume of academic writings about terrorism and was thus at least professionally capable of commenting publicly about terrorism in some ways. His rationale for not being involved certainly did not have much to do with media failing to find him; a local paper had contacted him looking for an interview, which he declined. In general, he reported that he does think about crafting his own analysis, in accessible language, on issues about public policy that relate to peace education and offering to those pieces to mainstream press:

You know it's an occasional sort of thing, nearly not as much as I'd like to, and sometimes I'm kind of glad I didn't, ((laughs)), as an example today as I was looking at [a local paper] I saw a headline about homegrown terrorism, and clearly the headline was making a statement about the young man who was recently arrested here for the alleged plot to [commit an act of domestic terrorism] and that particular newspaper had indirectly tried to contact me for a comment, and I didn't ((laughs)), I didn't partly because I didn't feel like I was prepared enough to make a quick comment, I didn't know enough about the story, but I was also suspicious about that newspaper's slant on the news, and I really didn't want to be quoted out of context, so I think that's another worry in making statements to the media, the mainstream media, is how, you lose control over what you're putting out there, so in other words, you put a publication out there, you're asked to make edits, but you're still the final

person who gets to say how the article is going to look, when you're working with the mainstream media you're not the final person, somebody else is the final person, and you risk being portrayed inaccurately by the media, I'd feel more comfortable if I felt like I knew or I could trust the reporter.

Greg then discussed the overt, explicit media policies of his academic institution as expressed by a representative of the administration to a number of faculty in a meeting. The expressed directives and warnings that seemed quite heavy-handed to him and induced enough fear to produce a general deterrence, he thought, for others as well, something he identifies as an ethical issue at several levels:

We'd been giving a very clear statement that our interaction with the media should not spin out badly, ok, that it's the [daily paper of record for his city] test is what we're told, and if it looks bad in [that daily newspaper] it looks bad for the university and it looks bad for the academic being quoted in [that daily newspaper], so it becomes an ethical issue in higher education, because of the worry that money follows image, that your institution is trying to raise in the local community from alumni and other sympathetic people potentially, that seeing something in the media that could be spun badly makes the institution embarrassed, you know is dangerous on number of levels, so I think that's an unfortunate chilling effect on public engagement.

Several participants stressed the lack of time, especially those who were struggling with tenure, with university contractual obligations such as committee work and publishing and raising research funds, and with the sheer demands of teaching and advising in a shrinking economy and worry about student credit hours and practicum/career advising. Bryan Bixby, a professor whose work was largely funded by grants and who does direct peace work in both Northern Ireland and Palestine Israel that often echoes U.S. policy and therefore seemed relatively uncontroversial or even appreciated by his institutional administration, was conservative, and complex, in his assessment of the professional constraints, narrowing the verifiable impacts to a lack of time to pursue additional discretionary activities:

Your tenure as a faculty is graded on your scholarship and your work, and some teaching evaluations, many of the kinds of peace activities are interdisciplinary, and even though there's lip service given to that, it rarely plays into the kind of evaluations that grant tenure, so that I think in some ways having a large amount of public or presence, that draws our engagement intellectually with kind of interdisciplinary stuff does not help with the process. I'm not sure that it necessarily hinders it, except to the degree that it limits the work within the field upon which your tenure is going to be judged.

Naoko, also engaged in mostly uncontroversial public policy research and report-writing, spoke of collegial suggestions to compose an op-ed on her research, and of

driving to work, listening to the news, and thinking many times about writing an op-ed, but never following through:

Somebody told that maybe I should write an op-ed based on the [research she did applicable to public policy on labor] and I thought oh that's a good idea [rolls her eyes], yeah, I didn't do it, also right after the earthquake and tsunami, because I'm reading some of those, kind of real life experience of the government folks who I know of, struggling what to do with the information, ..., those are the experiences that I am seeing, how hard those people, the local government people are working, and I really want to try to kind of capture that as a story, but not quite sure what to do, and the stories [were] really kind of moving for me, and especially cause I work with the local government folks, I know that they are really really working hard, this is a really hard time for them... Those people suffer doesn't get recognized that much, the highlight goes to volunteers, because they are the goodhearted people who are helping people, the highlight goes to victims, the highlight goes to some of the national government efforts, but the sort of the day to day on the ground work that local government folks are doing doesn't, ... and so I was thinking maybe I should take that story and send it to [local daily newspaper], did I do that, no, so those are the recent memories of something that I thought of doing, but not doing, and I'm pretty sure there were many ((laughs)), it just sort of comes and goes.



Related to this is the idea that one's professional activities may be leading to a logical and useful engagement as a public peace and justice intellectual but that the public is simply not going to be able to access much that an intellectual does not voluntarily make accessible, above and beyond the expectations of the academy. Delores Vilacet," and African American Caribbean sociologist, framed it this way:

I think that's a difficult one, the discipline that I'm in, sociology, and the way it is in my institution, my institution is not by any means unique, the focus is on career development, you know how you get promoted, and as you do that you're expected to teach and do a good job training students to think, I see a lot of merit in that, but an institution's reputation, and the way an institution evaluates its workers is by productivity as measured in terms of how much research you do and how much publications you put out, peer-reviewed publications, and I see these both as legitimate activities to engage in, I think my frustration and the frustration of many of my colleagues is that the good work that ends up in journals is not easily accessible to a wider public audience, and so a lot of good work exists, a lot of insightful work exists, but we are not, the majority of us are not applied sociologists, so we never go to implement the work that we do.

Greg also felt that much of what gets written in popular or mainstream press by academics is simply regarded as having no professional value, even as civic engagement, especially because the use of the term 'serious' is culturally specific in the academy,

meaning ‘rigorously academic,’ and branding anything as less than serious is labeling it worthless except as someone’s private and inconsequential hobby horse:

Well I think that the worry of course is, this is not rigorous research, this is simply a letter to the editor and editorial writing kind of style, I don’t think it’s at all respected as serious academic work, people might appreciate with it if they agree with it and might be angry if they disagree, but I don’t think it’s serious.

Helen Rogers, a young African American peace and justice scholar, worried that she would become a stick figure, labeled and dismissed, if she engaged too much in the sort of peace and justice public intellectualism that was meaningful to her, and she recounted some students’ reaction to the scholarship of a researcher whose work she used in a course, work that some students dismissed as flawed methodology because they seemed to have decided that their professor was biased and would only cite biased sources:

I think sometimes you can really get minimized as a scholar, you know people can look at you and say well you’re just, a, you’re biased, well of course you think like that, ahm, and miss the, ahm, miss the you know weight of what you’re saying, ahm, and that it’s not, it’s not airy fairy, it’s not loopy goopy, it actually is based in the theoretical construct, and you know so I definitely have noticed, and I think I’d noticed really in like student evals, ahm, like how do students evaluate you and your work, and how students read a book that a friend of mine had written about cross

cultural communication and reconciliation processes and one of them said, well her research method was completely off, and it was not even true, and of course it was, her research method was fine, ((laughs)), you know, so, I do sometimes, I'm conscious of whether or not I will be perceived as the resident hippie in inverted commas, like in hippies get the, ahm, you know, treated like they missed the boat, ((laughs)), it's a much more stable boat than a lot of others ((laughs)), but you know I do worry about that.

Delores grew more direct and explicit about the difficulties inherent in the academic setting for those who might aspire to some form of public peace and justice scholarship, speculating on the magnitude of the problem beyond her personal case:

I wonder to what extent some of that is driven by personal choice or some of that is driven by the institutions structures we end up working at, so I think a lot of the public intellectuals I know already have tenure, the ones who continue to do the good work tend to do it outside the institution and don't have institutional support, so we do have structural problems why we don't have more public intellectualism. It doesn't get as much respect, it's not valued as highly, and people who do it, do it in a sense in spite of the odds or they have huge personal motivations of doing it, so what's regrettable is that there might be more who want do to it but have not found that balance or that extra motivation to get them to do it, and because of that combination of personal circumstances—you know, like, I don't think I have it in me, or I don't want to take the risk, on the one

hand, versus the other one where the institutions actually do not forbid it but they certainly make it difficult—we end up with losing a huge contribution of people who have spent a chunk of their life with thinking critically about how to make the world better and not having an opportunity or avenue to work on that, and that is regrettable.

She elaborated on that, adding her wish for, and hint at, a solution:

I think we have serious...rigidities, shall we say, in terms of how we get evaluated for tenure. I would like to think that some institutions have found a way in which they value the work that public intellectuals do, work that will not necessarily be published in peer reviewed journals, but as a serious social contribution that that gets validated, and I think to some extent it does, but it only gets validated after you have tenure, when academics can take the risk to do that, and do not have to worry about the job security. I think it is far more rare for people prior to tenure to feel that degree of freedom to engage as public intellectuals, so many people do it not as part of their career development, but as a parallel, hidden or not explicit in the institutions where they exist, and I think it's not until institutions can accept what these contributions are, and perhaps, I mean, I understand the difficulty of saying we'll value it the same as the publications, I don't know what the resolution for that would be, but certainly that kind of work that makes for a better society is significant and should be included.

The perspective of a public peace and justice intellectual who has no terminal degree but who has much more direct public experience, Faye Roswell, is somewhat philosophical, or perhaps fatalistic. Her perception of the trend of her institution, and thus her department of Women's Studies, is that it is moving away from teaching done by practitioners and toward the high value on Ph.D.s who publish in peer reviewed journals. She is frank about her perception of her limited and dwindling value in the shifting environment:

The department used to be a department that was actually trying to live from its practice, so it was really trying to engage the power structure from within and be the change, and at least try to exist as the change within the structure, that has gone over the last couple of years ((laughs)), and it's more becoming an academic exercise, it's because of the university shifting, and shifting and trying to be a research institution, or whatever it is going to try to be, and that, instead of resisting that, the leadership in the department is trying to figure out how to position us in that, and that means that everybody needs to have a Ph.D. and we all need to sound really smart on paper, but then the work gets lost, and so in some ways I am, and so I know that if I apply for this job today I wouldn't get it, I know that I wouldn't even be in consideration, but I also know that my courses are full ((laughs)), I get good reviews, and I also got a grant to do some stuff, and I'm not afraid to raise money, most of it because of my nonprofit background, so in that way I'm an asset to her ((laughs)), so they

really more put up with the rest of the stuff ((laughs)) than embrace it fully, and that's fine, that's fine with me as long I get to keep doing what I want to do and the way I want to do it, and students absolutely are transformed by the classes that I teach and the way I teach, and so my deal is that I'm going to keep doing it until they fire me, and then I'll do something else.

Greg Richardson drew it back, finally, to time. His institution, he says, expects a full teaching, grant-seeking, researching and academic publishing output from any professor, especially those interested in tenure and promotion advancement. This simply crowds the clock so completely that the little bit of time left, coupled with the fear of institutional reprisal for possible oppositional opinion expression, is not adequate for anyone interested in crafting a public peace and justice commentary or seeking other outlets of expression:

I think the biggest problem is workload issue, that the academic and bureaucratic [demands] of higher education keep you awfully busy if you take them seriously, and I do, so I think having the time to work in community forums, work with community organizations is essentially a time management problem and a priorities problem. The university likes community engagement, at least our university says they do, but they're not going to give nearly kind of credit for community engagement that they're going to give to publications, so they really have a bias toward the scholarly community as to where people should be doing their primary

engagement, so the community engagements are going to be secondary, just fit it in when you can, so that's the primary obstacle.

In sum, Greg asserted, there is a balance for and against, but the results of civic engagement as a public peace and justice intellectual gain very little for the academic who does this, but the potential losses are quite large, which then affects the decision-making process of the peace educator contemplating any participation in public scholarship on these issues, which are often controversial, unlike the civic engagement that the administration was really thinking about when it proclaimed that civic engagement is a good thing. Knowing that even tenured faculty face potential consequences for engaging rigorously as a public peace and justice intellectual can present a daunting obstacle to almost any faculty, Greg asserts:

I think on the positive side they're a pat on back, basically but they're not something that is going to help you towards promotion or credibility in the institutions. On the negative side you risk having the article backfire on you and your academic career. I really don't think there's, as much as people give lip service to civic engagement, this is not what they're thinking, they're thinking, it's fine go out and help a humanitarian organization, or help a company develop a product that you know will create more sustainable energy use, that's the kind of civic engagement that everyone can smile about, but when issues are controversial, I think people get a lot more nervous in higher education and they can play out badly for the academic.

Paul Masterson told of his experiences as a young public peace and justice scholar, a story that illustrates the disconnect between the explicit guidance to young scholars on matters of academic professional development in some regards, and little help in thinking about other matters that are critical to the progress of any academic. He was never instructed about seeking tenure, even though he worked in two fairly elite institutional environments. At the same time, he was also given no guidance on the potential consequences of public peace and justice intellectualism, even though this was chronologically in center of the era of both Civil Rights and the war in Vietnam. These dual lacunas helped produce great professional career instability for him as he practiced his public peace and justice scholarship trusting his institutions and his own integrity, not understanding that the two were separated quite significantly:

Because of my involvement in the teach-in, and the director of the mental health research institute let me know that he was not going to recommend me for tenure, and that was half of my appointment, so, I accepted a position at Purdue, a faculty's dream position, we had three highly selected students for six faculty, we created our own program of all of the labs and all of the facilities, it was in the college of industrial administration, and I was in my second year there, I felt that because I was associate professor that I had tenure, but never bothered to ask about that, I was called in one time by the dean, and he told me that, you know I had been doing a terrific job, my teaching is really excellent, the research is really excellent, but he thinks that in the long-term plans of the school that



I really didn't fit in, and that they wanted to honor the three year contract, but that I should be looking somewhere else and that they would be delighted to write me a great reference.

This cause and effect was documented for him much later in life:

The reason why I was thrown out of Purdue, was a former colleague then, who had been writing his memoirs, and he was checking on a detail, that was the first time I found out, that the benefactor of the school had written a letter to the dean that the faculty should not speak outside of their area of competence and should definitely not be associated with a radical newspaper like *The New York Times*, ((laughs)), I had a letter *In The New York Times*, so that was enough to move me out of there.

At the same time, Paul was engaged in several other public peace and justice activities, so he was unsure when he left that appointment what caused his removal. His discovery of this in retrospect reveals the influence of large donors on the academic integrity of institutions and upon the career development of young peace and justice intellectuals. He recounted many of the other activities he was engaged in and of his speculation with his wife about what was behind his termination, since his public peace and justice scholarship was frequent and in a conservative community that reacted violently at times:

So that got me some enemies in the local group and in the local community, and someone actually burned a cross where we lived, so but it

was actually just that letter to *The New York Times* that the benefactor to the school had (forced me to leave),

Naoko presented another related set of professional constraints for the professor who is on a unique and quite customized contractual arrangement with the university, involving directing a university-based institute as well as major grantseeking and public agency contract development to fund that institute, conducting collaborative research for public agencies seeking data driven decision-making guidance for public policy. She pointed out the idiosyncratic nature of her work, as contractually designed by the academic institution and by her, but the basically Procrustean bed of rigid expectations from the tenure process itself, with no adjustment for any of the realities constructed by the university itself:

I could go on forever, that's just a problem of the tenure system , and especially it's fresh in my mind, because I just finished my third year review, and I have a very different appointment, different is not the right word to say, I'm on the tenure track, but only half of my salary is covered by the hard money and then half is soft money.

Naoko notes that she does tailor her public agency contracts so that it consists of academically robust applied research, thus making her work at the university a half-teaching and half-research appointment, yet the research has other requirements that make it an awkward fit with tenure requirements, often simply creating very daunting time constraints, especially in an environment of public agency budget reductions and scarce funds:

The commitment of the university is just half of the salary, the rest is up to me, right, technically speaking, and I have, so to, half of my work is with the [institute she directs], so we have to go out and apply for the grant, do some business, marketing meetings, talk with people what we are doing, all sorts of things which will eventually come help me, so as part of my half soft money I really try to make sure that that is an applied research.

In some ways, Naoko points to a problem raised by other participants as well, that the civic engagement often touted as high value by many colleges and universities should only be pursued by tenured faculty. “Wait until you are tenured” seems to be the advice from tenure committees who are themselves expected to enforce a set of inflexible standards. Naoko spoke from direct experience recent to her narrative, about the:

...definite implication in terms of my scholarship, so for my third year review I tried to make a case, well look, the kind of products that I produce may look different, but by contract, I’m supposed to do those kind of things, I’m supposed to spend my time marketing the center and gearing up the business, but then the review committee basically says no that’s overextending your stuff, don’t do that, your scholarship only counts, the report doesn’t really count, all that counts is only when you turn those reports into a peer-reviewed journal article, and so focus on that before you get your tenure, I have a lot of sort of, you know, things I want to say about that, but, this is my third year, I have another two or three years to come up with tenure, so I really have to focus on what I should be

writing, and so the recent two examples I'm thinking about, maybe I should write an op-ed or maybe I should write for the general trade magazine or something like that, I just back off saying, you know I have very limited time, if I have to focus on any of the times that I have I should be writing for the journal article, so that's the reason, but when I get that review from the third year committee members, I mean I understand, that's the kind of value system the university and the current scholarship is evaluated, but there's a lot of contradiction in what we say as a rhetoric versus what the actual system values, and so this university says that we value the engaged work, sure, the university values the engaged work, only when it is turned into a peer reviewed journal article or a huge amount of grant money.

Naoko went on to observe that there is no credit given for helping to integrate students with the community, even the professional community which students aspired to join. There is an expectation that this integration will occur and her students clearly benefit from this exposure and involvement, but it is not valued in the tenure process. Similarly, she notes, although working collaboratively is not merely regarded as a good thing, professionally, it is required for public agency work, yet authorship of journal articles is still of low value except when the article is sole authorship. She has been the lead author in peer-reviewed articles that have been given only slight credit in her tenure process, despite the clear collaborative requirements not just of her research, but of her academic publishing. This raises numerous cultural questions, since the culture of public

agency work is collaborative, Naoko herself is from a collective culture and that cultural background has served her quite well in her success directing her university-based institute, especially as she frequently pairs professionals from her country of origin with U.S. professionals, but the tenure culture of the academy as understood and practiced in the European-originated U.S. academic system is entirely atomized to the individual, producing enormous competing cultural disconnects and pressures on the academic attempting to reconcile them all, demanding all of the energy and eliminating discretionary time that one might have hoped to give to more civic engagement in the form of public intellectualism:

They say, you have to work collaboratively, community engaged work yes, you have be collaborative, but one of the major messages that was reflected in my third year review, you don't have an article written all by yourself, you don't have any solo article, you might want to focus on writing a solo article, and I'm like, F word, really, ((laughs)), if you're doing a community work, you don't write a solo article, you have to write with people , and whether that's with your senior faculty members, well sure, I mean I cannot do the research just by myself, I'm a junior faculty, I need to have a senior faculty help me, so what's wrong with writing an article with the senior faculty as long as I'm taking charge of it, I involve so many students , I involve community members , what's wrong writing a co-authored article with all those people, no you have to write a solo

article, like god, ((laughs)), you can tell I have a lot to say, you caught me in the right moment ((laughs)).

Finally, Naoko said in this regard that there is a basic frustration with the utility of spending so much time and effort on academic journal writing. “how many actual practitioners read *Public Administration Review*, I want to know ((laughs)).” Her frustration was not only for her professional welfare, as she sought tenure in an academic institution that she felt rigidly overemphasized purely academic publishing, but for her students and her institution itself. The students, she felt, were denied her time and energy as they sought to develop professionally, so that she could keep and aggrandize her career. The institution suffered, she seemed to say, because withdrawal of her focus on making the students more employable in favor of meeting strict traditional academic expectations meant that she could not deliver the high post-graduation professional placement rates so crucial in our shifting educational and economic environment. Instead, she was ordered to labor in her own esoteric and arcane post-hole, to create academic products that are pure, granularized to individual authorial standards and peer-reviewed, but which exclude community partners and students just when her energy and expertise could best fuse them to the advantage of students and her academic institution’s reputation.

This changing economic environment was also noted by Paul in his narrative that incorporates themes of the rigors of institutional expectation against the work we feel obligated to do with and for students:

I found that I have to work harder to get my students into placements that they can work on, because there aren't as many options for them to do things that they'll be reimbursed for, I find that, in a major university, like the ones that I've been in like Michigan and Purdue and the University of California, there's always this expectation that you have an article in press and another that you are typing at any given moment, and, I think I've been able, I've been fortunately been able to do the work that I wanted to do, but I've also felt that I've had to sometimes do more in order to, in order to face the fact that I was going to be looked at with a lot more scrutiny, ... one time when I was in the school of social welfare, it was in a three year period in which I had completed one book and two anthologies and seven articles, ... so you know ... I did feel that I was under gun to prove myself.

Other participants were expressive about aspects of this as well, even those who had done all their solo peer-reviewed articles for first-tier academic journals and achieved tenure. One emeritus scholar who had been published many times in such top journals recalled a study that reportedly revealed that the average academic journal article is actually read by six people.

The potential consequences for public peace and justice intellectualism are often seemingly related more to the politics of a particular academic institution than to a generic set of rules, written or unwritten. Will Larson is a historian, widely published both academically, and, in his emeritus years, very significantly as a public peace and

justice intellectual. His increase in public scholarship is more a function of time availability than any political deterrence. His academic publishing and his teaching simply took most of his time during his career, though he was involved as a public peace and justice scholar whenever he could be, which produced his own story of career instability and consequence:

Right, well, I should mention that in terms of my own career, well the opened pieces as far as I can tell have caused me no grief, my earlier role in the peace movement and stirring up faculty and student opposition to the Vietnam war succeeded in getting me fired from my job at Vassar College, I mean, I was never told that formally, although I was told formally I was being turned down from tenure but in fact it that was quite clear that my role in the center was behind my being turned down for tenure at Vassar College, and in fact, along those lines, there were, the claims of detractors in my department in the senior rank, so only the senior faculty in the Vassar history department could vote on people at the ranks below them, and on tenure, so among the senior faculty, at least those who didn't like me, some of them liked me, but those who didn't like me, who were all conservatives and supporters of the Vietnam war, they charged me with being biased in my teaching, that, I wasn't objective enough and someone, of course objectivity for one person is another person's, sorry, lack of objectivity for one person's objectivity is another person's objectivity, it is a matter of what you think, it's controversial or not



controversial, so if I made certain negative comments about war in general and some else thought war was just great and was defending the United States against Soviet conquest, then my critical comments about war or talking about the vast slaughter of world war I for example, would have been viewed as biased teaching, right, so, in very clear ways there was a political bias against me, while they charged I was biased, I thought they were biased against me, as a dissenting intellectual, that they wanted to curb back academic freedom, and they did, they got me out of it, although I found another job and I survived in academic, life but by only in the context of swimming against the current.

Will was also clear that he observed this as a pattern during that era at that institution and in many others across the U.S., one that seemed quite clear and well established to him, and one that was buttressed by his own research, including documents obtained through the Freedom of Information Act:

Yes, there were numerous talented faculty members at Vassar College who were critics of the Vietnam War (and often participated in protests against it) who were either turned down for contract renewal or tenure. Meanwhile, much less outspoken individuals received new contracts or tenure. Even tenured faculty dissenters were under the gun. Although the administration didn't dare to fire them, it simply froze their salaries. And they got the message! My department chair – who, a Freedom of Information Act request revealed was an FBI agent – wrote disparagingly

of the dissenting faculty to top campus administrators, while reassuring these administrators that they (the administrators) were supported by “the silent majority” (a Richard Nixon term for supporters of his administration and of the Vietnam War). A similar crackdown on dissident faculty – especially dissident junior faculty – took place all across the United States.

Will also asserts that this is still a factor, not one relegated to that period in history:

Potentially I think there are tremendous negative effects that this public intellectual role could have on one’s career, this could be used against you, David Horowitz for example, has been working for years to discredit those public intellectuals writing about peace and social justice, so that, this could definitely backfire on faculty and get them fired particularly if they don’t have a tenure, or lead to investigations of what they are doing, since according to people like Horowitz, and his many conservative allies, who nearly passed or succeeded in getting passed a legislation in dozens of states that would restrict the political statements of faculty, examining what they do, examining their speeches, and so on, and then determining whether they’ve overstepped political boundaries, so, I don’t think it has hurt my career in any direct way, because by the time I was doing this, I was tenured and a full professor, and, furthermore it didn’t seem likely that I would be doing it very much longer in any case, since I was aging and getting close to retirement but for young faculty it might have a very

negative effect and young faculty knowing that, might feel this chilling effect and be unwilling to become public intellectuals.

Related, again, to tenure and promotion are the concerns about the impacts of student evaluations. Greg framed his concerns about this in a complex fashion, noting what generally might lead to positive evaluations, but also commenting on the negative evaluations that might occur because of the bias for peace in the case of most peace educators, as opposed to no perceived controversy in many other courses. Thus, if there is a background rate of better evaluations for all professors for certain more universal reasons and there is a background rate of negative evaluations about peace educators in particular, that is a net loss in student evaluations for peace educators. If that is exacerbated by the professor engaging as a public peace and justice intellectual, this can redound poorly on the tenure and promotion process for a faculty member, since student evaluations are an important consideration in that process:

Well the topic of student evaluations is a tricky topic. My own personal opinion is that students are very superstitious in their evaluations, that they're not entirely confidential, that they could somehow face repercussions from a negative evaluation of a professor, so my own personal opinion is that they tend to be inflated on the positive side, on the other hand you can get some negative evaluations who are just uncomfortable because of the student's peace position which tends to lower their rating unfairly, so I think it's unfair in two different directions, one with the inflation towards superstition and the other with the deflation

because of the professor's staked out position around the issue of peace, so you have a distortion of real evaluation in two directions, they don't necessarily cancel each other out because the teacher who is taking a more of a pro-active position on peace is taking a bigger risk in getting some real negative evaluations.

A novel notion that remains underdeveloped and intriguing is that the academics who teach and create in the creative arts may have far more latitude than those who focus on research and academic publishing, because those who create can teach about the creative process and practice it publicly with more allowance for artistic freedom because, like academic publishing, it is not a commercial activity. So, possibly, writing fiction or creating sculpture or paintings is a more protected form of public peace and justice scholarship. From 'Mike Wilson,' an art professor and painter:

I feel very grateful that I've been able to practice my art without any compromise except with my own inabilities to realize what I really want to do, I mean I painted what I really wanted to paint, within my technical limitations, rather than saying I painted little pictures of seagulls because that's what sells (laughs).

### **Journalism skills.**

Those many scholarly articles that I wrote reached small numbers of scholars and sometimes I had exchanges with them, via letter or on telephone or later by email, but the average scholarly article in scholarly journal, according to some studies that have been done, reaches about six

people, is read by six people, and therefore, I also felt that I was wasting my time writing for scholarly journals that I wanted to reach the general public and therefore, eventually I wrote far fewer scholarly articles and fewer scholarly books and I began to publish for the general public.

—Will Larson, now emeritus, about his transition from widely published peer-reviewed academician to public peace and justice scholar.

Peace educators are normally trained and deeply practiced in academic writing competencies, not journalism. The differences are profound enough to deter some peace educators from attempting to engage in any sort of public peace and justice intellectualism that involves writing for the public. There are several pieces of this problem. Editors of mainstream media will not accept academic writing, especially when that writing is often reaching conclusions that run counter to accepted assumptions. The new information the peace educator wishes to inject into the public discourse is often *prima facie* rejected because it is so counterintuitive and peace educators often lack the journalism skills to make it appear less counterintuitive, if not quickly sensible. Unless a peace and justice educator is also a journalism professor, has a degree in journalism, has been a practicing journalist, or has learned these skills as a peace and justice activist, the lack of journalism training can prevent many peace educators from attempting public peace and justice scholarship.

Participant “Mike Wilson” identified this series of challenges to himself in the mid-1980s, learned through trial and error, and has been widely published since. His

summary of his path to development of the necessary journalism skills involves the writing process as both translation and learning:

I kind of conceive of my mission as taking something from a certain level, esoteric level, and translating it into something more mainstream, and it's not, the way that it works is not because I think I know something special, or have a special line into something esoteric, it's much more that I want to understand the esoteric thing, and the best way for me to do that, is to think of myself as making this kind of bridge between whatever the concept is and, the world of the average person, and that has, that kind of goal has really helped me because I tended to be, and probably still am, a wordy writer, and it's been an exercise in trying to be more direct, and eliminate needless verbiage, so that's been a good discipline.

Paul Masterson framed the problem more as a distribution issue and as a systemic barrier inherent in a corporate media serving a corporate war system, unlikely to normally seek or accept cogent challenges to that war system:

I think that there are a lot peace academicians, they know how to do a piece of research, they know how to do an article, they are inclined to write an op-ed piece every once in a while for something, but many of those don't have the knowledge and the resources and the connections of how to break into the larger media, how to break into corporate entities.

Will Larson, a prolific public peace scholar, reached similar conclusions based on his experiences as an academic driven by a sense of duty to inform a public about peace matters:

Well, I guess the major one I've encountered is the barrier between my scholarly work, my research findings and reaching the general public, that is, I found that I could write what I thought were very important books and scholarly articles, but the books for the most part have never sold very well, ... for the most part there is only a limited public that ever reads, what I have to say, in spite of the fact that what I have to say is highly regarded by scholars in my field, I've got wonderful reviews in scholarly journals like the *American Star Article Review*, but that doesn't mean that people read what I write and therefore I sought to break out of that scholarly academic ghetto and to reach the general public, I began by trying to do that, by sending op-ed pieces to major newspapers, first *The New York Times* and *Washington Post*, and the *Boston Globe* and others, and I found that was very frustrating, I was sending them out and I would just never hear from ...those newspapers and particularly when the, the subject was timely, that was very annoying to put it mildly, because whatever I had to say about some current issue would be unpublished, and I missed the opportunity to publish it elsewhere, assuming I could place it elsewhere, so I became very frustrated with writing for the mainstream press and certainly for the major newspapers.

Each society, indeed each community, has norms that define intuitive logic. If that normative logic suggests that violence is the only legitimate and logical solution to a serious societal problem, or if that normative logic supports identity mistrust, peace and justice educators have a steep climb and, in the case of most mainstream media, a short period in which to do that climb, because editorial pages usually hold commentary pieces to 500-700 words. Similarly, talk radio is often so interruptive that participants either learn to speak in sound bites or they are overwhelmed and unable to properly contextualize the deeper points that are normatively contradictory to prevailing mores. Engaging as a public peace and justice intellectual takes far more skill than engaging as a public intellectual who is simply called upon to inform, who has a willing audience eager for their advanced knowledge and an editorial staff programmed to look for experts who can explain research in layperson's terms. By contrast, the peace educator will often be presenting what seems illogical and ridiculous. Reframing this new information is far more daunting than simply learning how to take multisyllabic Latinate out of an essay and replace it with simple monosyllabic Anglo Saxon words understandable by almost anyone. The assumptions and dominant paradigms are often hostile to the findings of peace and justice academics. Bryan Bixby describes that normative uphill struggle in some of its complexity, in this case to the people in the communities in Northern Ireland:

I think that one of the principal problems is actually conceptual, that I think, that I think that the kind of analyses and the approaches that we have developed at the Stanford Center on International Conflict and Negotiation aren't immediately intuitive, and so it usually takes a little bit,



there's usually a group of people who'd begin to understand the kinds of approaches and analyses we have, and that kind of extends out, it extended actually pretty far in Northern Ireland, so I think that for people who are part of the wider community or broader political process, there's some conceptual barriers that are difficult to communicate over.

Bryan explains further:

We basically are doing analysis that is, we call it barriers analysis, so what stands in the way, and then what are the strategies that overcome the barriers that either prevent progress in peace process, or progress in implementing a peace agreement or progress in negotiating a peace agreement or peace settlement.

Learning to take the findings of any research and express those findings so that they draw the public in rather than simply instantly repel them is a special set of journalist competencies that editorial writers hone over a professional career. Peace and justice research not only often produces findings that are oppositional to hegemonic social forces such as corporations and government, those findings often contend against embedded narratives that are often the very barriers that exist to block acceptable explanation of those barriers. Bryan explained further that the word peace is so malleable (see Key Concepts for definitions of positive peace and negative peace) that a peace educator is really using a different word with an entirely different meaning than a warrior or politician or militant member of the public might use when each uses "peace." Shifferd (2011) describes negative peace as the generals saying, "Peace is what we get after we

win the war.” “Larry Johnson,” a young scholar already involved in public peace intellectualism, suggests, “I think that there are people that are not open to the peace perspective to begin with, and it’s just kind of out of bounds, and in those cases it’s difficult to get that across.” This means all the coded or embedded assumptions must be disabused before knowledge can be effectively imparted, as Bryan describes:

Well I think that people normally associate peace with the achievement of the highest aspirations, and that in conflicts particularly in the Middle East and, or in the Northern Ireland conflict, I haven’t met someone who wasn’t for peace, even if they wanted to use violence to achieve that peace, but they in some way or another were for the attainment of goals, ideas, that they identified would constitute peace, and peace, generally that’s the problem itself, that you have to live with a peace that’s substantially different from that, especially if it’s a negotiated agreement, so the chief problem I think is that when you conceive of peace with the highest ideals, for the most part it means those who are your adversaries you have to defeat or they have to go away, and so how can you conceive of a peace which is actually inclusive of the other side that you want to make peace with, and I think that’s one of the conceptual barriers that I think that we run up against all the time.

Part of the problem, then, with becoming a public peace and justice intellectual is that the temptation is to avoid the normative battle, that is, to write accessible commentary or engage in public speech that is directed toward those with value affinity,

those members of the public who want a better explanation of what they already basically believe. They want more information and the alternative media provides outlets for those public peace and justice scholars. They can simple make their knowledge understandable to nonacademics instead of also trying to surmount normative barriers. Stephen Zunes, a public peace and justice intellectual, asserts that “Preaching to the choir is important, because the choir sometimes sings out of key.”<sup>6</sup>

Indeed, sometimes the choir seems to believe it is important to sing out of key, if by that Zunes includes believing and parroting false or exaggerated or biased select data in a misplaced if understandable desire to promote a certain agenda or argument successfully. “Larry” is aware of, and careful about, that:

the venues that are open to the peace perspective, limited to it, sometimes it seems like then those, you end up with the opposite problem, you end up with an audience that is looking for something I feel like I can't provide, in terms of they want a version of the peace perspective that is, thinking of a word here, they want a, ...maybe hyperbole, I guess is the word, there's an expectation for hyperbole or what I consider hyperbole, and you know from my perspective, I'd like to have a reasonable debate, I'd like to have a reasonable conversation that's grounded in research that reflects the values in the field in the process of having a conversation, I'd like all

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<sup>6</sup> Radio statement made by Zunes when he and I were guests on a radio program on public radio at Sienna College in Albany, New York in October 1999.

those things to be happening at once in my ideal world ((laughs)), but then again I take that ideal and then I say what's happening here, and how can I make contribution here to these people.

A peace and justice educator who writes for peace and justice media is offering a deeper understanding within a conceptual framework that is already built, but the journalism skills required to successfully engage the wider public require scaffolding construction in very short time. Participant "Mike Wilson," a successful public peace and justice intellectual who frequently places his writings in mass market publications, describes it this way:

I think a public intellectual is mostly an academic, but it doesn't necessarily have to be that, an academic who understands personal responsibility, to connect and make relevant the understanding, the conceptual and theoretical understanding, and make it relevant to the community in which they live, and community could be at various levels, it could be the more narrow community of where one physically lives or the institution where one is, but I think a public intellectual has a responsibility to communicate to a wider audience in the interest of making for a better society, introducing ideas and ways of thinking, critical thought particularly, that can lead us into imagining and then actually implementing a better society, and when I say better I particularly mean in quality of life, quality of life for everybody, in an inclusive way, a socially inclusive way.

Greg Richardson is blunt about his basic lack of journalism skills, also recognizing the challenge in learning to present digestible bites (though his peace educator point of view may be initially indigestible to the general public, which leads even more toward his stated problem, requiring more context in order to persuade):

I think I could use some coaching. I think I tend to be a little bit too chatty on live shows, say a radio show or TV program. I don't tend to speak in sound bites, which is really the preferred attention deficit way of communicating with the public, ...I think I need some coaching on that, that would make me feel more comfortable in that environment.

Another barrier is simply the initial one of deciding to try and then, at some point, succeeding, receiving enough approbation to feel encouraged to continue trying, and then to develop participation in the public arena of commentary composition. Helen says, simply, "So far, I haven't gotten into the habit of editorials," and later added, "I think sometimes that's about my confidence level." Confidence, then, is the product of success and success requires confidence—a tautological barrier requiring unilateral risk-taking, which adds to the list of impediments that build a high wall against public peace scholarship for many.

### **Pedagogical implications.**

The challenge to me is, do we understand the public, do we understand how to employ our intellectual capacity, do we understand the ultimate goal of what that employment would be, and I guess the last piece for me would be, do we understand what values that we have while we're

applying those goals, issues like, and again, I keep referring back to my issues, issues like inclusivity, issues like authenticity, issues like the transformation of consciousness, so those are values that then infuse my own internal conversation and then my conversations out there with others.

—Alan Smith, on how peace and justice educators approach collaborative learning with the public.

There are numerous educational, pedagogical and androgogical issues wrapped inside the questions of public scholarship. Does the public scholar who teaches have a view about the impact of her public scholarship on her students? Is that impact educational? Are students themselves likely to become better educators if their teachers are practicing public scholars? Is there a dialectical or ecological relationship among the students in their formal educational setting, the members of the public who are involved in learning from public scholars, and the public scholar? Is the public scholar teaching students in the institution in the same manner as teaching (persuading) members of the public? Does all this change if the public scholar is presenting a challenger viewpoint toward peace in a war system or toward justice in a society that may be experiencing or inflicting injustice? If the educational effects on students carry the “burden of conscience” is that a legitimate function of an educator?

While none of these questions are the particular research question that this dissertation attempts to probe and explicate, they all relate to concerns, content and issues raised by participants as they ruminated about public peace and justice scholarship. In

turn, then, these questions broaden the collective narrative developed in this research process, revealing another instance of the reverse funnel or hourglass process that is a signature of qualitative, interview-based methodologies, that is, to first narrow the inquiry and then follow the broad sweep of themes emergent from participant narratives about the narrow inquiry. Each of the aggregate themes coded in this process is itself branched into related subthemes, including this one, exploring the educational impacts of public peace and justice scholarship.

For the curmudgeon's view, Luther is cool toward the entire idea. He has no students; he is a researcher and a peace activist. His frustration with the long U.S. wars and a budget and culture so tied to militarism has made him angrily dismissive of peace education and public peace and justice scholarship:

I'm not so sure it is important. Even if they knew about peace alternatives, what would drive them to act? Altruism? I don't think so. If there was something like the draft around, that hurt them, then it would be real important to let them know what they could do about it. But if they, personally, are not hurt by what's going on, I doubt they will act no matter what their educational level. In fact, I think peace education in general is a waste of time, unless something else motivates people to act.

Those peace intellectuals with students feel differently. Paul Masterson is an emeritus peace and justice scholar who is quite humble about his public role and the effect it may have on students, but he acknowledged, perhaps with some wry humor, that the effects are real:

Well, I didn't think so for a while because I know since that my students were reading things that I wrote for newspapers and websites, those public sources, but just the other day in fact, I came across something written by one of the graduate students on my campus and I forgot in what place I saw it but he was writing to someone else, forwarding a piece I had written in fact and saying, here is a new piece by my favorite public intellectual, so I felt delighted that I was actually reaching not only the general public but even some of my students.

Is there a relationship between academic freedom and pedagogy for the public peace and justice intellectual? "Mike Wilson," a public peace intellectual who had a long career in both colleges and public high school, saw no impediments in his career to his academic freedom. "I don't think there was any problem," he noted. As documented in the section on professional constraints, there were many such problems for some of the other participants. For those committed to practicing public peace and justice scholarship, the solution was not to cease that practice but to seek employment in another institution which would not impinge on their practice. The professional pressures to be careful of accuracy and to teach and practice critical thinking seemed to enhance public peace and justice scholarship, not hamper it, which is theoretically how it should be in all cases. When there is no collegial examination and challenge, as is often the case in the partisan world of the engaged nonacademic activists, rhetoric can be overheated and claims can be hyperbolic. Public peace and justice intellectuals who survive the rigors of the academy are thus at least hypothetically best able to serve the public discourse by providing valid



information and careful analysis. This redounds well upon the abilities of the public peace and justice intellectual to provide helpful content to the public discourse directly, but what are the effects of “going public” upon the formal teaching inside the academy? There are numerous aspects to this question.

Academics who write for the general public—that is, produce op-eds or write books on the ‘trade side’ of the book publishing world—will likely experience a different dynamic when asked to engage with members of the public. “Mike Wilson” wrote a book on ending war that has proven popular with a certain strand of peace activists and the book has been a focus of study groups across the U.S. since its publication in about 2008. These groups are independent but one formed in his city and they asked him to lead the discussions. He agreed, but had a realization of the difficulty of combining the facilitation role with the role of guest expert:

I have led one group that read the book over a four week period. It didn’t go all that well because I was both guest-author and discussion leader, and that should have been two roles for two different people. A discussion leader has to be rigorous at keeping people on track and helping them go deeper.

Engaged pedagogy is a nominal aspect of many academies, but strategies to make it relevant and interesting to students are challenging. Naoko Miyagi, a bilingual, bicultural academic who teaches public policy and works directly with local and regional units of government in two countries, teaches cross-cultural competencies and has learned what most directly engages the working enthusiasm of her students. She gives

them a classroom assignment but also helps them to see that it may translate into real world action with public policy effects, and that if they produce something professionally valid, Naoko will offer it to the organization in question as a potentially usable product, thereby giving the students even more incentive:

In the kinds of things that I do I think it is seen more positive among the students, because my sort of engaged scholarship is very much with the organization, and so it's the government organization and such, and so when I bring those examples in the classroom they appreciate it, because it has a real application right in front of your face, and it also provides them with the opportunity to also be engaged, so for example I am teaching cross cultural communication for public administrators right now, and I couldn't really take them and do this project, but I am working with an \_\_\_\_\_ Youth Authority, and they're in a very early phase how to re-improve the cultural competency among their employees and also in communicating with the youth, and so I kind of take advantage of that and say, ok well, I'm this cross cultural communication class, and I'm not sure what they would come up with, but I kind of told the class that your assignment is to develop a training program with an \_\_\_\_\_ Youth Authority in mind, and so each class time you have different concepts of theories that we were addressing and you have to incorporate those things in the training, you can a choice on whether you are thinking about training their employees, or you're training the youth, or however, I'll give

you a flexibility, but think about that as a hypothetical situation, and then I said, I will take that product that you developed and show that to \_\_\_\_\_ Youth Authority, if they want to use your training, then you get a chance to actually do the training for them, they got so excited, and so, you know, because of the kind of engagement that I have, there are opportunities for me to involve students and in some cases make them excited about it, I think in general students buy it.

The diversity of the participant pool is revealed in the direct, observable differences in emergent analysis of those described conventionally as “people of color,” or those from the so-called “Developing World” (one term I am hereby rejecting in favor of the more accurate “Global South”—even if many of those so-classified are from north of the equator, in agreement with peace scholar Johan Galtung, who refers to the formerly colonized world as the ‘maldeveloped world’), and that diversity clearly connects their teaching to a new, richer body of experientially available frames for their students as well as the public in the Global North.

Delores Vilacet is African-Caribbean and came from a society she grew to see as quite unequal, exploited so obviously by the rich tourists and developers from the Global North. As she grew up, she believed it was her duty to advance educationally to better serve her nation, and came to the U.S. for her graduate work. It was in her graduate school years at the University of Wisconsin’s main campus in Madison, she said, that her analysis grew to understand the nesting and replicating of the models of exploitation even

in the Global North, that is, of the citizenry here, and to the corporate globalization of the overall model of exploitation:

It became apparent to me that what I thought was maybe in some ways unique to the colonial world or my awareness of certain parts of the colonial world was much broader than that, and some of the phenomena that I had assumed was strictly relevant to colonialism, I saw sort of the repeated race-class-gender distinction occurring within the United States, and so I was far more interested in how does any society evolve in such a way that we have these class differences or racial differences, what are the frames that lead us to accept them as a society, so all this is about hegemony, certain frames take root and people buy into them, but what for me was most fascinating is that at some point, at every point in history societies are dynamic, they never remain the same forever, you know you can have 300-500 years of colonialism and then something changes, so I was particularly interested in what caused these changes and the social movements, what triggers them, how you move from one point to another and I was particularly interested in tracking what are the triggers, you know what are the events, you know what is it about society that certain things can move us from one point to another.

Since Delores is a public peace and justice intellectual, then, and an officer in a national labor organization, her students are learning both the theory and the real world applications, testing, evaluation, and adjustments of those theories. Her public role is

directly affecting the richness of her students' knowledge base and possibly their own participatory opportunities. She can more effectively evaluate theory as it resonates with her original homeland observations, her formal education, and her ongoing observations of the inner workings of the relationships and stratifications within the hegemonic society—and her knowledge of how triggers of change develop and work. Without her public scholarship activities her students would be the poorer, in a more sterile and untested educational environment.

One participant, Alan Smith, is African American from one of the most devastated inner cities on the East Coast of the U.S.. As he rose intellectually out of his environment, working through college and graduate school, he developed and maintains an uneasy relationship with the academy and eventually created a career out of public peace and justice scholarship as founder and director of a nonprofit institute, “Fairplay” (pseudonym). He continues to teach college and university courses, as an adjunct, but more rarely as his institute experiences increased success and demand for his time in the U.S. and abroad.

Another venue for my teaching is through Fairplay, we have what I call the modules program, where there are pieces of information that people get over the course of some time, these are self-taught modules, and I had three, I'm up to maybe seven or eight now, but the three I had were inclusivity, leadership, and power, because people needed to learn inclusivity, people need leadership, where in the world was that taught, we taught the leadership of exclusivity, how to be leaders against, or opposing

someone or something, but how do we learn inclusive leadership, and then the third piece is power, because I realized that I've always been a student of power, but no one ever taught me power, when I first went to college, I thought I was going to learn power.

Peace educators, of course, view power from a very different standpoint, pursuant to the Pluralistic Theory of Power first proposed by Gene Sharp (1973), who defined power as practiced and latent, as normally exercised by a monolithic elite who control all the social institutions and subsystems "below" them. This power might be described as on the table every day, and usually left on the table by most members of society who are busy in their lives, but which is occasionally picked up by civil society, which is when that latent power becomes practiced power pluralistically from the bottom-up. Some peace and justice educators despair of the academy actually teaching and promoting this analysis, especially if, like Alan Smith, those educators never encountered that sort of teaching as they earned their degrees. Alan logically then broke mostly with the academic institutions and created his own institution to facilitate his own teaching of his version of pluralistic power, and he does so as a public peace and justice intellectual. He continues to search for ways to cross-fertilize institutions and their members with his insights into pluralistic power, moving at this time more toward institutions that appeal to people's spiritual sides, but drawing together the same pluralistic power lessons. He describes his journey, searching for teachings about power and where it has taken him:

I started off with economics and then went to political science, and then went to such and such, you can't find it in the university system, although

everyone assumes that people coming out of that system are powerful people, so I've been addressing the issue of power...In later days, I've been focusing much more of my time on the issues of what I would call societal spirituality, what does spirituality look like when you unhinge it from the dictates of exclusivist religion, every religion has this poison pill at the center of it that says our way is the only way of doing this, what would happen if you pull that out of each one of the religions, well they all would start leaking into each other, and you'd start realizing that they're all saying the same thing, which is very good, but also really bad for the collection plate, so this is one reason why it doesn't happen, so there's this tremendous force, this spiritual force that Gandhi was able to tap into, that King was able to tap into, that largely goes untapped in our society, of looking at how transcendental issues, how societally transcendental issues can affect how we actually live together and to remove the barriers that separate us, I've been spending a lot of my time in that mode.

Alan has taken this model of teaching and public scholarship employing assessment and workshops to many existing organizations in the U.S., but also to a large movement in Sri Lanka, a specific organized movement that is operating there as a legacy of Gandhian nonviolent power, and he sees his work in this regard as helping those organizations develop more pluralistic power practice. He has also brought U.S. students with him, who have thus benefitted from that learning experience and brought it back to the U.S.:

There's just an awful lot of workshops seminars, et cetera, of coming into other people's organizations, of taking an organization that already exists, that already has a trajectory and say, why don't you think about these ten things, and why don't you do these things this way, and by doing that, I can, I call it tuning the radio, Sarvodaya already existed, it existed for 40 some years before I found them, and they had a great program, great activities et cetera, but they were just a little bit off station, there was a lot fuzz in there, and so I was able to introduce just a few concepts and help them get to a much clearer signal, that's the largest organization; I've done that with organizations in other countries, I've done that with organizations here in this country.

Bryan Bixby works to develop public peace and justice intellectuals in the U.S. and in the two conflict zones he works in, Israel Palestine and Northern Ireland. This has a ripple effect on those students on both or all sides in those conflicts, as they observe their professors taking part in both activism and politics:

They're both, quite a few of, quite a few Israeli academic and Palestinian academics that are involved, there are some academics in Northern Ireland who we're in conversation with, a good number of them are either community leaders or political leaders.

Indeed, this so powerfully affects students that they inquire about career emulation, as Bryan explains:



It obviously affects students in the sense that those kinds of lessons and experiences and insights get translated into the classroom, so it does at that particular level. As well, I think it also acts as a kind of model for students who have those kinds of concerns and interests and are looking for how they might make a career for them, or explore them in their career and professional lives. I mean, one of the major questions that I used to get was, how can I do what you do? and that's a very difficult question, and I don't know how to fully answer that. There are, in some way it's a matter of being in the right place at the right time, and in some places it's kind of preparing yourself for being in that place at the right time, but it's hard to lay out a kind of career course that leads to the kinds of activities and engagement that I do.

When a student indicates a desire to craft a career that emulates that of the practicing public peace and justice intellectual, this is a powerful statement of approval worthy of consideration at the outcomes evaluation and policy level.

When ideas are only introduced into the classrooms or course content but not generally found in mainstream media, how does this affect students? What might happen to their critical thinking if the reverse is true, that ideas from the 'liberal media' are not a part of the considerations of students as they develop their philosophies, their notions of what is valid and invalid? Delores is concerned about this phenomenon and the dialectics:

The way we teach our students is critical, and when I talk about the way we teach, I know in the media that the understanding is somehow,

academics teach students what they want them to know, that it's very biased, it's very narrow, it's very liberal, the ultimate goal of an education is to teach people to think critically, to look at data and to be rigorous in its analysis, to consider alternative opinions, engage them fully, but coming away with some conclusion and some judgment based on one's understanding, that is always subject to evolution, and I think in terms of education that has to be key, I get very worried when I hear conversations about you know it's a liberal education, or certain things should not be taught or certain ideas should not be introduced, it suggests censorship and a very narrow perspective, and that worries me, so I think academia and people who are engaged in teaching at all levels, beyond just when we in academia, we speak of college and institutions of higher learning, I think from the elementary school and all the way through high school and into colleges we really want to encourage our students and our resource, future workers and people and community members, to be critical thinking people and not be afraid of new ideas, or people who are different from what you've grown up with, that's really important.

When asked if students are affected by a teacher's public peace and justice scholarship or intellectual activity in a public setting, and especially if students are affected by a teacher reporting results from direct civic engagement in the field by the teacher, most participants responded with a very forceful affirmative, both in the actual

words but also in emphatic tone and almost instant response. An example from Alan Smith:

Absolutely, there's no question but that my students have been impressed by the fact that this is not theoretical for me, this is really where the rubber meets the road, and it's like, it's one thing to say, when you are in facing the other you should do these things, it's another thing to say, three weeks ago I was in the Southern part of the island, and there was a guy holding a gun on me, giving me a command in Sinhalese, I had no idea if he was telling to stand up, sit down, put my hands up, down, you know, and I was like, I could get shot right now, simply from a misunderstanding, you know, and there's almost nothing that prepares you for that ((laughs)), it's almost like, you can't say well, in those situations you do such and such, and so I think that the most important thing I've been able to do with my students, is to give them a sense that the world is real, that the things that they're seeing on the headlines have people and lives and bodies behind them, you know, and to be able to say, that's a really good idea, in the real world it won't work, and this is why I think it won't cause I tried that and it didn't work, you know, I think that, and especially in our field, in conflict resolution, I think that it's become faddish now, I think ecology had its trajectory, I think conflict resolution will have a trajectory, and in the fad it's, people can write books about conflicts they've studied without

actually getting their hands dirty in an actual conflict, going into an actual conflict zone.

Similarly, Helen Rogers responds firmly that her students value her experiences as a public peace and justice scholar:

YES, yes, huge, ...I mean I think it is inspiring for students when their profs have taken the things they teach and walk that in their life, you know when you listen to profs teach you about racism, right, like and then, and then they're not doing anything about it... it feels kind of, oh well this is just a nice academic exercise, not, it's my responsibility to figure out how I can do something with it, you know I mean 'cause I was thinking about, you know we're teaching students all these things, and we're essentially teaching them like how to be engaged, you know, and,... we are helping educate the next generation of voters, I mean these are voters, like these are not just, you know and not from a standpoint of I want you to think like me, ... but I want you to think critically, and I want you to know about some of those issues that are out there, you know so I feel, I feel very much like it is our responsibility to be engaged, though I did find it interesting, I was listening to a friend of mine talk, and they teach ethnic studies, and his response was, I'm too busy to be an activist, I can't be an activist, and, and my thought was, you know, that is so sad, when like, you know, here is somebody teaching race gender and class, you know, I mean, ... I think that's also a different orientation, like I teach...this

material from the standpoint of, so this is where we're at, and how do we bring change here, how do we engage with it, how do we move ourselves forward, that's a different orientation.

Greg Richardson teaches about transforming destructive conflict to constructive conflict and his path to the academy was first via activism, the experiences of which he incorporates into his class content and analysis. This is always controversial and he too has an opinion about how it affects students, how it helps them think about learning, and how peace and justice professors can think about the differences among comfortable learning, uncomfortable learning, and unsafe learning environments and thus between what is acceptable content and what does not belong in a course or classroom:

I think on the upside it demonstrates the kind of moral commitments the university has towards the community into the world, I think that when it comes to morality there is no neutrality, that you need to express a high level of ethics, that's not going to be uniform across the campus, not everyone is going to have the precise same ethical code, but when you talk about peace, that must be a pretty high priority on everybody's ethical code, in my opinion, obviously there's variation of that what level of national defense and what level of protecting international resources that one is committed to, but along with a sustainable which overlaps peace and war issues significantly, we have a responsibility to the future, and so I think demonstrating that in the classroom is precisely how to model what it means to be an ethical human being, so I think it's extremely important,

on the downside, I think it makes some students uncomfortable who feel like their professor has lost their neutrality on ( ) and they are committed in a way that may keep them from being very sympathetic to people with different points of view, and I think that is disturbing for some students, but it's the kind of thing, it creates the kind of conflict that I think a skilled conflict manager, which I hope professors who are interested in peace are also skilled conflict managers, it's an opportunity to work with that discomfort, I mean the classroom unfortunately isn't a place where you're going to be 100% comfortable, we don't want people to feel unsafe, ...but feeling uncomfortable is kind of what education is about, you have to recognize your own limitations, you have to recognize your own errors in your thinking, you're confronted with your own shortcomings of understanding different points of view, it's all a bit uncomfortable, and the conflicts that come up with the teachers, they're all uncomfortable, but they're parts of good education, and again how that's managed is important, it's not the fact they're taking a position, but how they manage that position, that's the key issue.

Justifying the orientation of transformation from destructive to constructive conflict management methods is a reasonable justification for a bias in favor of a nonviolent solution, in favor of negotiation over warfare, but the orientation is a nuanced process, asserts Helen, who worries that there may be pat answers instead of critical

thinking, or that not enough context of the warriors is permitted and that we may be making our process more shallow sometimes as a result:

“I don’t want to be brainwashed” ((imitating student voice)), and sometimes I do, I do kind of just quietly think to myself, am I overstepping my bounds here, cause this is my show, that’s totally my show, you know, and it’s kind of like, you know how do I make sure that I’m respectful of people while I’m talking about some of the serious violence that we’re doing, and how do I be respectful of my, ahm, returning Iraq War vet, ahm, you know, and as she’s telling me that, you know, yeah it’s all well and good to talk about empathy but I don’t have time for it.

Using this self-challenge, Helen learns about how to learn, about how to take the apparent weaknesses and convert them to teaching strengths as she contemplates new teaching, new learning, and a new exploration with her students:

Because it is bridge building, right, I mean it’s really important bridge building, because they go back into the, part of me thinks that one would be really interesting would be doing maybe a two credit class on experiences of returning vets, like what is that experience, and acknowledging that that experience has to be embraced and validated, you know.

“Larry Johnson” teaches at a fairly conservative school we will call “Concealment University” and he therefore has a bit different issue, which is that he is not working with

just the outlier students who complain about a dominant liberal view; he must engage students whose default settings are situated firmly in Just War, homophobia, and for whom even basic social justice is a questioned concept as *laissez-faire* capitalism conflates with religion and with politics in a tangled knot that “Larry” must work carefully to untie, using a communication style that decodes and recodes information that would be provocative and alienating into provocative and interesting. Just as he translates academic peace and justice knowledge into publicly accessible op-eds (he writes them fairly frequently), he translates in a different but related fashion to his students:

My students at Concealment are by and large a conservative bunch, and they are upper middle class, they tend to be white upper middle class, Christian, Lutheran, Missouri Synod, which is a conservative branch, so these are people that are not accustomed to the peace perspective, and when I say things sometimes I see, surprise, you know, ((laughs)), I say things that surprise them, but I just keep trying, I keep trying to communicate with them so that they understand, and I can give you an example of that. I mean yesterday the United Nations passed a resolution on gay rights, saying that to abuse a human being because they happen to be gay is a human rights violation, ok so very important, very new and very cutting edge in terms of domestic U.S. policies. Way in front, and the UN I don't think of as a radical organization, so I started class and I bring it out there, and we are talking about human rights, we are using a human rights framework to talk about colonialism, so I tell them this is in the



news, and I could see different reactions from different people, I could see different people who were uncomfortable with that, but I think it's my job to affirm these development merely by presenting them in a way that people can hear, I just get up there and I just tell the truth, but I try to tell the truth in a way that people understand.

Do students who arrive with a radically opposing worldview receive the peace and justice viewpoint and accept that information? "Larry," a young ABD peace and justice scholar and adjunct professor, knows that some do; he was one of them just a few years ago as he came to that very university and encountered a peace and justice intellectual:

Absolutely, I'm a case in point, I showed up to Concealment and never thought about those things in my life, never, my first semester was in August 2003, never thought about these things, and by the end of that semester not only did I want to be a peace intellectual, I didn't know those words, but that's what I wanted to be, I wanted to be what I had seen, and become that which had changed me, because I'd discovered an entirely new way of looking at the world, and it happened for me, and I'm sure it happens for other people, and I have students from 2008 that still want to talk to me, and I don't think I deserve that, I don't know that I did so much for them than what has been done for me, but something happened for them, which I'm happy about, that's great, it doesn't happen for everybody though.

Failing to craft one's teaching to the needs and capacities of one's students can result in far more educational failures, misunderstandings and botched teaching opportunities than is necessary. While "Larry" noted that no teacher can hit it perfectly with all students on all days, he still stresses the desirability of translation into terminology and frameworks that any particular student body can grasp in terms understandable to that particular class grouping without sacrificing the actual information you are called to share as a conscientious teacher:

There might be concern that students would give negative evaluations if a teacher was radical or out of the left, I think that's possible, because it happened to a friend of mine, who is a peace intellectual who teaches, does get negative evaluations sometimes from students who perceive his statements as reflecting an ideological angle that they're uncomfortable with, and I think he does a pretty good job at speaking, I mean it's difficult, you're a professor, your job is to tell the truth as you see it, and your job is to tell the truth and that's your function in the world I would hope, and so you have to do that, and so there's no way around it, you cannot tell the truth as a professors, so I know that it happens, but it has not happened to me as far as I know.

Bryan works directly in conflict zones (Israel Palestine and Northern Ireland) and offers more on the indications revealed in student evaluations, acknowledging that he is not sure if high evaluations result from to his theoretical explications or from the

connection to his work with public peace and justice intellectuals in the field as translated back to students:

Student evaluations have to do largely with how the course has been meaningful and insightful and instructive to them, and you have professors who can do that very well, and you have professors who don't do it quite so well... If you combine the ability to teach with a curriculum that is interesting and if you can dock that up with real world experiences, that works very well, and I tended to get very high evaluations, but I don't know that just the activity itself correlates with how well students evaluate the curriculum and the teacher.

Alan notes the disconnect in his mind between the academic who crunches numbers using data from others and those who generate their own findings experientially, and seems to feel there is nothing that honestly connects the two, though each are valuable. His public peace and justice scholarship is a combination of workshops in the field with organizations who reach out to ask for his help and his public speaking and teaching in the U.S.. He describes meeting with a researcher on the topic of weighted voting, a problem in a project he was working on in Latin America:

We set up a meeting, so he came in, and I started describing this problem this issue that I had, you know we had these two groups that had disparate power and disparate numbers, and we wanted to figure out ways to weight the voting that people would have more equivalent representation, and this guy has got his jaw dropped, he says, you're working with real human

beings, and I'm like huh, and he says, I just doing statistical sampling, I'm doing computer modeling, he says you get to work with real human beings, ((laughs)), how's that working out ((laughs hard)), excuse me, I'm in the wrong room ((laughs)), so my ability to add a level of reality to students who are getting tons and tons of book knowledge but not a whole lot of practical stuff, I think that's important.

Bryan also pondered the implications of evaluations and worked his way around to noting that students who know of a public peace and justice bias associated by a particular professor may engage in a self-selection process that feeds into higher evaluations by the students who choose that professor:

Students who get to evaluate professors do so on the basis of having taken a course that they've, he or she's taught, that's been a choice by the student to take the course, and is somehow attracted to the material or the professor who's giving the lecture or the cleric facilitating the discussions, that kind of, that's the kind of arrangement, there's students, I'm sure who've looked at what professors do and don't like what it is that they do and don't regard or value their public stance, but they don't get to evaluate professors on the basis of that, my personal evaluation for people who engaged in peace activities or, some of them are, some of them I'm rather critical of, I'm guessing a little bit of the difficulty in answering the question is that people, students who have a particularly attitude because

of the stances that a professor has taken on certain stuff usually just don't take the classes.

Helen added another dimension—her own recollections of what sort of professor excited her toward learning and doing, which extends Bryan's idea of self-selection into the question of, Who tends to become engaged public peace and justice scholars? That is, if those who teach in the field of peace education were affected most strongly by the professors who themselves were practicing peace and justice intellectuals, is there a generational replication process at work?

As a student, you know looking at my teachers, my teachers who were very active, I definitely wanted to learn from them, and I wanted to, I found just their willingness to be engaged exciting, and I am, it made me realize too that it's about a lifestyle, it's not just about that you, you know, wake up one day and are you know, transforming the world, you know, but that there's a commitment.

Should teachers use the popular writings and speeches of public peace and justice intellectuals in coursework, or is that a devolution of the academic content? Delores mentioned Vandana Shiva and some other public peace and justice intellectuals who have been quite active in both their academic accomplishments and their public discourse contributions:

I've incorporated their work both because they have solid academic credentials, but they have been able to cross over to talk about the

significance of the application of the ideas in the real world, and for me that's very very significant.

Faye Roswell, an African American professor in Women's Studies, tells of her struggle to use the public peace and justice scholarship of bell hooks and others, many of whom present an alternative decolonizing approach to the academy, yet are being used inside a traditional or neotraditional academic setting. She observes that she has needed to work with student needs at several levels in order to help them succeed in all environments:

I was going to say, I don't think there are any negative effects ((laughs)), she says, but I recently had a student who got into grad school and said she didn't feel like she was ready, because I thought that some of the stuff that she wasn't getting in my courses, she would be getting somewhere else, and she really wasn't getting it, and so I think what's challenging for someone who is public scholar and tries to help students to engage in that way as well, is to figure out how to balance that, figure out where they're not totally writing to the academy, for the academy, but also are not totally sunk into I statements and it's all about me, you know I try to get them to find that balance in their writing, and I lean to this side more, because I figure in some other class they're going to get that other stuff, but what I'm finding is that they haven't, that she, this particular student didn't feel like she was getting it, so I'm starting to require a little bit more around outside sources and that sort of stuff I didn't do before, so that shifted my

teaching, I think the benefit of what I teach is that, students connect it to the real life, they connect it to the real world, they're not just regurgitating information, and here, and when I get them in my sophomore inquiry women's studies class, or my 300 level bell hooks class, many students—it's the first time they've had anything like that, and you know, they're like I can use I statements, and they like go into shock, because it's been forced out of them, and so I think that's what bell hooks does also, cause she uses like pop culture a lot to do cultural criticism, and so when we teach in that process, they can do it out there in the culture but they can also do it in their lives, and then they can envision how they can be the change that we want to create in the world, instead of just talking about how messed up things are.

This endless self-evaluation, experimenting with class content and requirements, as well as the ways to integrate the work of public peace and justice scholars—and to model that for students—is a constant but welcome challenge to teachers always engaging in formal or informal action research and application.

### **Policy/movement building exemplars.**

The ultimate goal of the public peace and justice intellectual's efforts in the public arena are to affect public or corporate policy. To do so, then, the purpose is to enrich the public conversation about these policy questions, and to assist in the movement building necessary to achieve public opinion changes toward more peace and more justice. In order to better assess potential impediments to this endeavor, we now turn directly to

these questions, beginning with Delores Vilacet, a sociologist, who notes that sociology, as a discipline, tends to encourage public intellectual expression and in fact produced several Nobel Peace Laureates. She assesses her discipline, the academy, and academics in the U.S. in particular, noting how much more potential academics have in the public policy world than we currently see practiced, and what might be helpful if we wish to see more contributions from academics to public policy deliberations:

Sociologists have changed how we think, our understanding of class analysis, or our understanding of how you develop frames, our understanding of hegemony, of marketing, of consumerism, of gender, a lot of these come from sociologists, and they do influence how we think, but I think so much more work has been done that is not apparent, and I think especially in a place like the United States. I do not know, I do not know where the failure has been, where the academy has encouraged or where the larger society, well, that would not be honest, but I think at some point in United States history we have truly valued public intellectuals, perhaps now we see it not so much as personal development and critical thought, we see it as an economic opportunity, so we've shifted how we understand educating people, but I think in many other countries there's a more direct connection between academics and public intellectuals and government policy makers. I think it is less so, and I maybe be wrong, but I think in the United States there is less motivation for people who are responsible for policy making to consult with



academics, or it might be that academics are not willing or not open to be out there and actually work collaboratively in terms of that civic engagement, so as an institution we say we are pretty much devoted to civic engagement, but I think it's tainted, and I think we do have issues of not having enough mutual respect, so academics tend to be somewhat arrogant when we approach communities about what work needs to be done, we are not as humble and open as we should be, and because of that we have created in essence a class difference, and that has damaged how much work we can actually do effectively.

Larry Johnson examines the confluence of theory and action, where the research is showing that, in fact, public policy is far more efficient using peaceful methods than using violence in mass conflict. He has read the research and realizes that without the services of public peace and justice intellectuals the general public will not learn of options, even if learning about them is first met with incredulity and counterpropaganda:

There are peace professionals working on the question is nonviolence a viable alternative to terrorism, and the answer as far as I'm concerned is yes, I mean you look at something like Freedom House Study 2005, Chenoweth et al., writing about the strategic logic of nonviolent action, I think by and large nonviolent action is, it holds up to scrutiny in terms of its efficacy, in terms of its ability to solve social problems and address social needs, but then, so then what you want to do is you want to take it a step further and say ok, here you have a social conflict, you want to

engage in social conflict, try nonviolent action, you know it's a viable alternative, and here's how you do it, you'd like to be able to think that you could do that with people, but the way that the current climate is set up is that your actions could be misconstrued, and that's unfortunate, and then quite frankly it doesn't stop people from doing it anyways.

Further, he remarks, the questions that often arise about how useful a violent 'wing' of a campaign or movement might be is best countered by peace and justice intellectuals familiar with the research on the so-called 'radical flank' effect who can then help both members of a movement and members of the general public understand the inadvisability of such strategies or tactics:

it's like a mixed method problem, and I'm not sure that the armed wing, nonviolent wing, although people have theorized about this, I think people have worked on this, but I'm not convinced that it is, I see no evidence to get on board with that, I think they're both undermining, the nonviolent action could be going forward, and instantly the entire moral and public foundation of that movement could be undermined immediately, so then the question becomes well how close do these people need to be before you can make those distinctions, and then how do you know, so it is complicate I guess, I'm just agreeing that it's a complex question, I'd like nonviolent action to be available and training to be free, and I'd like trainers to fly all over the world, even more than it's already happening, but special attention needs to be paid to this issue, because not only is

there strategic implications for the groups, there's a moral question too, I wouldn't want to be irresponsible, I'd be very careful.

Faye Roswell looks at public policy and public intellectuals as they affect peace and justice education, which she values as practical. While she notes about general public policy and public intellectuals that, "there's Dr. King and the Civil Rights Movement," she looks at contemporary practitioners as well. She cites one of her exemplars:

When I think of a public scholar I think of someone like bell hooks, who's been academic but also very much out there dealing with everyday people and everyday people's experiences and is really committed to getting some of the ideas developed within academia, into the real world, and to make it valuable to individual experience and not just knowledge that people regurgitate.

Some of the public peace and justice intellectual participants in this study take their analysis into the practice to test it directly. Alan Smith does some of his public intellectual work in the U.S and some in Sri Lanka. He offers an introspective view of his work in Sri Lanka:

To me, I see peace justice and conflict resolution as a subset of something else, and I'm working under something else, which means I'm also working on peace, justice, and conflict resolution, but the people that I look at, are people who are addressing that larger thing, and the larger thing in "Fairplay" language is creating a society that works for all, in the [Sri Lankan organization] language it is the awakening of all, and so I

would say in my 17 years of work with [Sri Lankan leader] and in my 11 years of working with his son \_\_\_\_\_, that these are people who have been highly highly influential in how I see the world, do my work, understand my own work, as I was saying about the students, I've gone over to Sri Lanka with these great grand ideas, and they're like fine, try it out over there, and we try it out, and it dies a horrible death ((laughs)), sweep it under the rug ((laughs)), and I learn a lot from that, and then we try some things out that are stunning successes, and I'm like way beyond what I had hoped for dreamt for the success.

Like Alan Smith, Bryan Bixby does much of his public peace and justice scholarship in conflict zones overseas. His work is geared toward affecting the discussions, norms, and policies first of his fellow academics from opposing communities in the conflict and then leveraging that toward the shifting of the public discussions, norms, and policies on opposing sides in the conflict to move the sides toward peace. He reports some success:

Well I have been engaged in two that have had some significant impact, I think that, I mean currently in Northern Ireland right now there is a great deal of thought about the notion of creating shared futures, and I think that we were in many ways useful and helpful in giving content, particularly content to those kinds of notions as they take place in the policies of Belfast City Council or other agencies, in fact that's what I am doing now, is working with the city statutory agencies on how would you give shape

to shared futures as a way of doing social cohesion, so I do think they've had those kind of impacts, I think that in the Israeli Palestinian conflict one of the major ways in which those who are engaged in trying to create peace there, the academics who try to do so, one of the major modes of analysis is the barrier analysis, which is quite prevalent there, and we had an impact in introducing that sort of framework to a great numbers of intellectuals and academics and community leaders there.

Delores Vilacet calls for more involvement of more public peace and justice intellectuals in the U.S., noting that a failure to utilize scholars as we engage in public discourse about public policy is both counterproductive and ahistorical:

When we think what happened in the New Deal, when we think of the rise of unions, in the Civil Rights Movement, where we had all this public intellectual engagement, one would come to today at U.S. media and think that never happened, and sometimes we tend to think it has always been that way, and it isn't, it's just that right now we have some very dominant frames that have been in some ways very successful in convincing people that there is only just a narrow way to think about the problems which we have, and curiously enough have created such an environment that people cannot even understand what's really happening, so they cannot understand what the impact is on them and what they can do to change it.

Mike Wilson, an active public peace and justice intellectual, worries a great deal about the effects or lack of effects of the knowledge of peace and justice educators on

public policy, relating it to many factors, not the least of which is the crafting of a message that is both tasteful to, and digestible by, the public, beginning with the peace and justice intellectuals who influenced him and crediting the philosophical peace approach of not declaring enemies nor objectifying opponents as more effective than the usual attack pieces:

I mean starting with the usual Gandhi and King, going to Philip and Daniel Berrigan, and, I was indispensably helped by the AFSC when I was doing my conscientious objection process, and, I was certainly very admiring of people who poured blood on missiles and did all those things, I felt they were incredible things, and I understand you did some of that too, I think the way it worked for me was that I became a CO but I had this other thing, which was a very difficult thing of becoming an artist and working as an artist, and then I had a family, so there was a sort of twenty year period when I wasn't doing very much, and then I began to have nightmares about being vaporized by a nuclear missile, and if a jet came overhead in the middle of the night I'd wake up in cold sweat thinking it was a missile, and then I did, at that point was when I got involved with Beyond War, and Beyond War had an orientation which in no way judged what the kinds of civil disobedience activities that peace activists were doing, but that was not into that itself, and very much into on a principle level not posing enemies and working with people that I was, had I not gotten into Beyond War, would never had any contact with, like highly

and successful and powerful businessmen from Silicon Valley, State Department Officials, we had a very, through a particular person we had a very tight relationship with Collin Powell which enabled us to do the whole thing with the Soviet Union, because you know we checked with State Department Officials before we went and we debriefed them when we got back and those sort of things, it was clear that we were not being used and that we had our heads on our shoulders and that sort of thing, and all this time I think I was going through a process of posing enemies a lot, and I can be made very angry by somebody like Dick Cheney and then kind of have to work on kind of bringing myself down, I was very very angry at the Supreme Court for the citizens united decision, and posed them as autistic, I was very angry at them for a decision having to do with, I think it was Greenpeace, somebody sued on behalf of whales, because the whales radar systems and ears were being knocked out by sonar experiments, and I was just amazed that supreme court very calmly came down in favor of the navy and against the whales, but in general, my process has involved not, my process has involved being, becoming alert when I do pose an enemy and trying not to ((laughs)), and that I think generally has been a very good thing, I mean even my anti-business prejudice is a good exercise not to do that, because I mean ultimately if I really think about it, I really really, I mean there are a lot of people in the military that I'd be very curious to sit down and talk to and figure out why

they thought the way they did and hope that they might listen to some of my ideas, and certainly the same is true for the business world, and even more so because there's tremendous opportunity in the business world for, to affect some of the changes we all want to make.

Some participants volunteered the names of various public peace and justice intellectuals who have inspired them and whose contributions have affected public conversations and public policy:

Well the people that I am most familiar with I think, they do have academic backgrounds, I think of Cornell West, I think of Arundhati Roy, who comes from a writing background but who has become such a persona on the international stage I should say, Vandana Shiva clearly certainly stands out, with Amartya Sen, Nobel Prize winner from India, he stands out. (Delores)

My hero when it comes to public engagement is Gore Vidal, and I think Vidal has had a sweeping amount of influence on the culture, I don't think he ever gets enough credit, I think that an intellectual of his stature makes a mark on history, just partly because he has access to people in power, but he has, he is such a beautiful writer, such a learned man. (Greg)

I mean of course I think of like you know Paulo Freire, Miles Horton, a lot of the Civil Rights Movement, of course the big names like Noam Chomsky. (Helen)



The Berrigan brothers, I can't think about what they did without just trembling at the knees, that's right off the top—what I was thinking is of their actions as the Catonsville 9 when they broke into the draft office back in the 60s, and poured Napalm on the draft records and put them on fire, that kind of, of, I shouldn't say violent but certainly, extremely graphic protest I think it's, is memorable and moving. It feels extremely powerful to me, anyway, it was a long time ago and I still, you know, think very highly of both of them. It's got everything in it, the civil disobedience, where they sat down and waited for the police, in fact, yeah we did something wrong and we are going to take the consequences, but what they did, had the combination napalm that they were using in Vietnam, and draft records which is, you know, the means by which we got people to use napalm and Vietnam, all tied together. (Luther)

Indeed, Luther is convinced that the only real peace education and the only effective peace action is direct action, often unsuccessful but sometimes effective:

What I am talking about is the Bradley Manning case where a month after our demonstration down in Quantico, he was moved to Fort Leavenworth I don't claim for a minute that he went there because of us, but there was a lot of people, you know, all over the world, in fact who were objecting over his treatment and, it seems to be that, it's got to have an effect, especially since there's been no explanations for why it's ok for him to be

out of solitary confinement now and he needed to be in solitary confinement before, what's the difference, nobody has ever said.

Luther also cited an example from his own student years that, for him, validated direct action over peace education:

There is an example of something that happened at the University of Maryland back in the 60s when I was there, I am not sure this is quite what you mean, but it's on my argument about where, not, we shouldn't be trying to make a rational case, and that is, some group of people had all stamp that you, you know, a rubber stamp and it said ROTC is evil, and they put this stamp message everywhere, there was in a vertical surface on campus, university of Maryland where you couldn't read ROTC is evil, ROTC is evil and about a year actually they started doing that they took ROTC off campus, maybe it's a coincidence but you know that kind of mindless repetition is the same message, with no intellectual content at all is what the right does and maybe it worked for the left that time.

Who are the public peace and justice intellectuals who have used their public scholarship to gain the ears of the decision makers? Mike Wilson offered a seemingly minor consideration in the possible effects of the activities of public peace and justice intellectualism, which is that if that is carried into actual activism one may be in contact with those who may be challenged to alter personal policies and perhaps will be motivated to make public policy changes as well, either in governmental agencies or in corporations:

My only experience is a sort of amazement of when I got in to Beyond War there were people who were very literally millionaires, who thought exactly the way I did, and so I, I'm sort of assuming that in their business life they did make changes, ((laughs)), I hope they did, and were, seemed to be using their gains for the general good, but again it's been a strange light, I've only moved in business circles through my peace activities and not directly by being a business man.

Larry Johnson offers an assessment of this possibility:

obviously one, like public intellectuals, I think like Stewart Brand, who's had a major impact on the environmental movement, both positive and recently more dubious impact, and the way that that works, I wrote my thesis on him, that taking him as a case study, how that works is that not only do public intellectuals kind of write books and articles and so on, but they also give advice to decision makers, I mean they're in the room, you know somebody like Brand has been cultivating these relationships with donors with foundations you know, he was a special advisor to Jerry Brown, so there's a clear line of connection you know, puts him in the room with somebody who is making important decisions, and he's always been doing that, and there's lots of people like him, not only in his clique of futurists and techno-futurists, but there's people, there's people that do that all around, and public intellectuals play an important role, not only in public opinion, by giving these things out, by teaching people what they,

information that they would not get otherwise, but part of that role is directly assisting decision makers, so there's a direct line of connection, I think.

Will Larson points out in his consideration of those he considers exemplars the international aspects of rousing public peace and justice intellectuals who have enough public recognition, moral authority, and credibility to affect public policy by their remonstrations, though it is unlikely that any politician will publicly make that attribution or affirm that causal effect:

It is very hard to correlate these things, since policy makers, particularly in the field of national security, are unlikely to say well I drew back from the brink of war, thanks to professor so and so, and indeed they may not have done it on a basis, it might have been very indirect, that is professor so and so, might have gotten wide publicity for his op-ed pieces or have gotten on television or done other things that mobilize various groups of people who then put pressure on the members of congress, who then in turn put pressure on the Pentagon or the White House to alter its policy or alter its planned policy, so it is very hard to point to something specific, I can say though that in terms of my own studies, particularly the world of nuclear disarmament movement that there is a very clear correlation between the social movements and the activity of many intellectuals in that social movement and arms control and disarmament, the world nuclear disarmament movement was a kind of movement that drew in many

intellectuals, people like Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, E.P. Thompson, they had a very strong appeal to the educated classes in this country and around the world, particularly between intellectuals and intellectuals who spoke out against nuclear arms race and I, even, at times found government leaders who were horrified by these intellectuals speaking out and they were upset about that, for example, Conrad Adenauer the, the prime minister or president of west Germany, well I forgot, in any case, Conrad Adenauer a political leader of west Germany, in one of his secret messages to the Eisenhower administration, maintained that he was very worried about the influence of Albert Schweitzer who was criticizing nuclear testing and causing him all sorts of grief about that, the west Germany public respected Schweitzer and therefore the west Germany government support for nuclear testing was in jeopardy at that point, and there are other things like that, so there are intellectuals Bertrand Russell certainly was a cardinal example who got under the skin of government officials who were so upset about what they were doing and they tried to discredit and destroy them in various ways.

For Alan:

Joanna Macy.

Sociologist Delores Vilacet addresses the sweep of what academics affect now:

I think at one point in the United States we had a war on poverty, more recently we had a war on drugs, that was a total failure, the word is finally

official, it was a total failure, but we had a war on poverty, and I think the war on poverty came out of academics looking at what was creating poverty and the need to understand, and the need to understand it. It starts, or the most significant point of entry for dealing with it effectively had to do with what children were experiencing, and if you could fix the experiences or improve the experiences of children in poverty, the implications for the next generations for their parents of what they would be capable of would be so significant, so there we have the war on poverty, certainly when we talked about the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, our discussions of what it mean to be a full citizen, who was, and where the skin color made a difference and where the people were inherently incapable of critical and higher thought, or incapable of certain kinds of development and achievements, I mean all of that comes out of intellectual discussion. Our understanding of the global economic environment and the ability to see through it and realize there's a dominant new economic, neoliberal model that drives it, and it's not just a model that's created out of nothing that's driving it, it's particular individuals well placed at very high level—international and national organizations have been able to commandeer what the language and understanding is about economic development and then impose it in a hegemonic way, so I think it's academic and intellectuals who can do that tracking of how we got to be in certain situations, how we got to be so

materialist and consumer driven, that now we seem to have this idea about undoing about what we know to be wrong in terms of environmental impact of what we do, the energy, the economic energy that drives us over the cliff when everything else we know tells us we should be doing it differently, I think we have seen as academics, and that's a broad community of people, we have been able to do that analysis that tells us there are different ways to do things, we also know, right now we have a couple of wars taking place and the Middle East, the Arab countries are all going up with huge amounts of social distress, well when we look at them and say, why now, what's happening, we look at the age demographic of the people in this country, the frustration over not getting jobs, being skilled and not getting jobs, we see a frustration that in spite of the fact that for many of these countries the leaders and the administrations have close relationships with the United States and one assumes they would, the United States, and these partnerships, would encourage democratic participation of citizens, it has not happened, so when we have these flare ups, and people say well what in heaven's name is going on, especially if you're living in the United States, and you're totally oblivious, then it is academics who explain the why now and why does it seem to have come from nowhere, it didn't come from nowhere, it has been brewing for a while, so I think in terms of how we understand what triggers a war and the fact that we consistently go to war and we make it this glorious project

all for patriotism and then come down, ten years down the line we have to deal with the people coming back from wars, the people who have suffered war in their country and the soldiers who are coming back from war who are so damaged from their trauma, that it is a huge social disinvestment, and that is not included in the cost of war, but it (really is), but intellectuals, academics already know that, but policy makers are not paying any attention to that, but we know it will happen, the question is when, and in some ways we already know from suicide rates, domestic violence rates, that the evidence is already out there, we talk a lot about post-traumatic stress disorder, there's not a lot being published, of the returning soldiers, these are the numbers of those who committed suicide, these are the numbers who have killed themselves and taken their families out, these are the numbers of who can't function, these are the numbers, we don't have that data yet, but we know there are people collecting that data.

Larry Johnson sees evidence that peace and justice scholars affect public policy, though it remains doubtful that the effects are enough to produce the changes he sees as necessary:

I can make a case either way, and in some ways I feel like it's getting better, because we have graduate programs all across the United States, teaching people things about conflict resolution and peace studies, we have all kinds of new foundations, we have scholars who have laid kind of



the intellectual foundation for an entire field, people like Kenneth Boulding, Elise Boulding, you know, Johan Galtung and all these people, these kind of heavyweights, and then I'm not sure that was that case a hundred years ago, I mean there were fewer, way fewer, and so part of me, the optimistic part of me says we're at an interesting point right now, we're at a point where the peace perspective is almost, is it, I don't know how to say it, but almost institutionalized, almost systematizing itself into the kind of matrix, the intellectual kind of matrix that's going on, and if that's true, I think well that's great, because that is going to have a long-term impact, that is going to be something that is systemic, and so I hope that that's true, and then on other days I think to myself, wow, another war in Iraq, now we're in Afghanistan, now we invade Libya, and I don't see the kind of rebel energy, that I would maybe five years ago would have assumed would come from something like that, and so then I'm like well on the one hand it's institutionalizing itself and on the other hand I'm seeking, I'm wishing there was more obvious impact, not impact but effects, I don't know.

Larry also points out that the peace and justice intellectual power is beginning to move from just the academy to institutes, to think tanks, and to unusual civil society organizations that combine research and practice, or at least teaching the practice to those activists on the ground who are fighting for public policy change or even the maximalist goal of nonviolent regime change:

There's another example of this institutionalization of the peace perspective, if you look at an organization like the ICNC or half a dozen other organization like it, really advancing a strategic framework and the tools, and really being deliberate about getting the message out in a way that is applicable to people's situations that doesn't require them to change who they are, or for the most part really getting this message out that nonviolence works, that it's a viable alternative, that it is tough, that it's not, it's addressing these misconceptions at the same time advancing a workable approach, that's really exciting, and so when you look at something like the Arab Spring in Egypt, the people, some of the organizers there were influenced by OPTOR, the organizers in Serbia, and the organizers in Serbia were influenced by people like Gene Sharp and so on, but that information is now totally out, it's out there, it's translated into a dozen languages, it's downloadable on the internet, people are giving it around, and then up until the recent supreme court ruling, which ostensibly had to do with the, providing assistance to terrorist organizations, and up until that I think that, I was really optimistic about trainers like flying all around the world, I had this vision of people going all over the world spreading information about nonviolence and making it relevant to concrete situations, and this recent supreme court ruling would make it impossible to provide nonviolence training to a group that had been identified as a terrorist organizations, which is really, I think I

understand, I read the opinion, I think I understand their perspective, however, it complicates the work of the nonviolence, the people of nonviolence, because, nonviolence, people that do nonviolence have always been subject to legal threat, maybe it's not so new as it seems.

**Potential solutions.**

Participants made many suggestions for possible solutions, including ideas offered in response to questions directly seeking solutions but also embedded in their own stories, perhaps because they are teachers and know how to explicate solutions in that fashion. Some of the potential solutions were regarding academic institutional policy and some focused on individual policy or practice solutions.

The ideas for personal solutions were wide-ranging, all of which could be done without altering basic extant academic institution policies. There was a strand that simply accepted the impediments and self-challenged to seek employment with supervisors who would approve of public peace and justice scholarship, crafting one's professional career to circumvent proscriptions on peace and justice expressions by seeking such placements. Larry, a young teaching peace scholar who had not yet even contemplated the tenure process, referred to setting up his professional life answerable to supervisors who would approve of his public peace and justice scholarship:

My boss, both of my bosses right now are thrilled and they love it, so I have no institutional problems in terms of, I don't have any problems with that, but I work in that closer peace community that you talk about, one of

my bosses is a nonviolence scholar and the other one is a social movement scholar, yeah, they're all about it.

When discussing exemplars of public peace and justice scholarship, one participant cited Michael True and noted that he had achieved tenure and then engaged in as much public peace and justice scholarship as he wished, which is another path to the individually crafted professional life allowing for public peace and justice scholarship despite the obstacles and without institutionally changing those obstacles:

The only person that comes to my mind is someone you probably know, is Mike True, and I taught at Assumption College where he taught, and he was a tremendous thorn in the side of this rather conservative Catholic college, I mean it's a good institution, it gives good education, but he could do what he did because he had tenure, and that was, in his case, was a very very important and worthwhile thing, I mean tenure is not something I'm in favor of in every case, but in this case it really worked to allow him to say what he really needed to say and is still saying in retirement.

From one participant who had lacked the self-confidence to speak out publicly:

I feel a lot more confident now, because I did the Western States Center Leadership training, it's like a year-long leadership training, and that was so beneficial for me, because it connected ah, being a, ahm, an activist with getting that message out, and it's technical assistant for activists, but one thing that I loved about it, coming from my CR background, it really

helped me frame what it is that I'm doing in this field, you know like when I'm looking at what people are doing, or how they are, you know what is the purpose of their protest, how do they get their policy out, or their message out about policy, or, you know, do they stay focused on just direct service, or do they organize? Just being able to understand that and articulate it has just given me so much more of a grounding, and a sense of confidence in speaking.

Another young scholar described his balancing process as he prepared material for a public that might easily be alienated by an aggressive approach:

I try to present the peace perspective without triggering the labels that turn people off, that's what I try to do, and sometimes it seems like what I'm saying is understated, but what I'm hoping is that, although I may not explicitly be saying something, that the peace perspective is part of that. Let me give you an example. I may use an example in a piece to illustrate a point and that example would be drawn from the political peace history, and so by including that example into what I'm saying, then I hope that not only am I suggesting that this history is a valid history, this history is a relevant history, but also I'm trying to mainstream those examples, I'm trying to say this is a mainstream example, this is not off on the fringe somewhere, and by including in this way, in this piece, I hope to make it successful.

This young scholar certainly solidly grasps the goal of the peace and justice messaging. The sense that peace and justice scholars are not merely presenting new information, but a new worldview in which to contextualize that information, runs through the narratives of several participants and the above quote from Larry is one well stated strategy, subtle and complex, that can assist the public intellectual who may find herself or himself yelling at the radio newscaster in the privacy of her home or silently screaming at the news during her bike commute to the university, and who undertakes to reach out into the public discourse with a peace and justice perspective that, she hopes, will succeed. When to be nuanced, ‘on background,’ and when to be boldly assertive is always a challenge, one that peace and justice scholars wrestle with constantly. The same young scholar noted, “My approach depends on who’s reading it.” Tailoring tone and couching information toward sophisticated Peace and Conflict Studies scholars and students is one competency; crafting the message for a mainstream audience of citizens is another. Bearing that in mind at all times improves chances for effectiveness. Also from this young peace scholar:

I find myself taking this understated approach, and then the idea would be that I hope that the values and the way that the piece is constructed and the worldview that’s reflected by what I’m doing would advance the peace agenda in a way that those people would be able to hear, because it’s all about trying to communicate in a way that other people can understand, trying to reach people where they’re at.

A mid-career peace scholar, untenured but intending to seek tenure, offered a two-step solution to the barriers that he perceived as structurally part of his academic institution. First, establish a university office in the form of a senior faculty committee for vetting, guiding, and approving faculty efforts toward public intellectualism, including oppositional peace and justice scholarship. Second, grant some credit in contractual job description, tenure and promotion for public intellectual activities:

If I was under tenure pressures, then I would feel like I could shift my priorities, so again there's two elements to that, one if you gain points toward tenure by doing this, that would be an incentive, and would change my priorities, the second is that if there was a committee on campus that could vet some of this work, then I feel like I would be protected by a group, not just a lone ranger out there, taking on these issues without any kind of backup, so if you have a group of senior faculty in a variety of departments, or people interested in this sort of issues and people willing to vet editorials or vet ideas for interactions with the media, then I would feel like that not only was I protected better by the institution, but their endorsement would also go in positively towards tenure considerations, and promotion considerations, all the way up the ladder, if you, once you get tenured of course you're an associate professor, and if you wanted to be promoted to full professor you'd still have to do things that the institutions values, and so you'd just simply have to change that value structure and when the value structure changes people's priorities change,

I mean I'm not saying people can't just make decision on their own, sometimes you really just don't want to risk your career.

One problem that is solved to some degree is the distribution of the commentary pieces by public peace and justice intellectuals, a problem identified and the solution identified as well by the two most prolific op-ed writers, Mike Wilson and Will Larson.

Mike phrased it thus:

I wanted to reach a mass market and I wasn't doing that, so when the opportunity to publish pieces for, first the history network and to have them distributed by PeaceVoice came along, I was delighted and I began doing that, and they enabled me to reach an audience of potentially of millions of people.

The distribution of op-eds to mainstream media outlets is one small piece of a very complex matrix of problems and suggested, potential, or partially existing solutions, reflected in Table 5 and discussed more fully in Chapter 5.



**Table 5: Public peace and justice intellectual problems and possible solutions.**

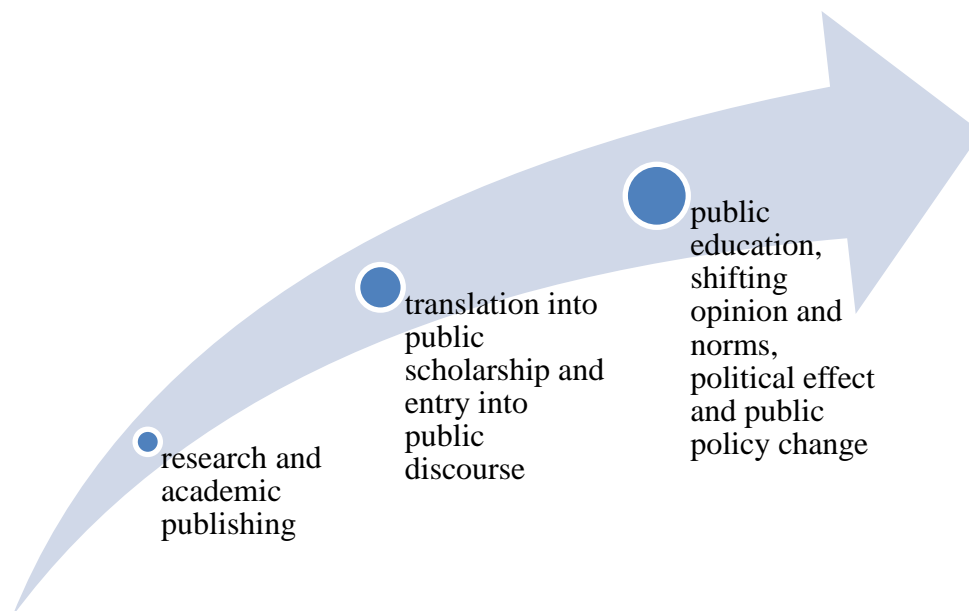
<b>Problem</b>	<b>Solution</b>
Lack of journalism writing skills	Trainings
Lack of op-ed distribution	Academic institution or civil society organization
Fear of career impact	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Academic freedom</li> <li>2. Promotion and tenure credit for public peace and justice scholarship</li> </ol>
Time constraints	Academic institutional support
Disciplinary rigidity	Greater understanding of need for interdisciplinary scholarship
Academic bias against 'popular' writing	Approval of demonstrated civic engagement by academic translating research into accessible public information
Opposition to public policy dissent	Democracy education stressing role of public challenger intellectuals

Table 5 is a matrix of many of the elements of the emergent grounded theory. Barriers or impediments to public peace and justice scholarship are participant-identified. Solutions are both participant-and researcher-identified, discussed more in Chapter 5.

### **Summary analysis.**

Figure 6 shows the most likely flow of public scholarship as it potentially affects public policy. Impediments can crop up at any of the steps, which is what this analysis examines.

**Figure 6: Public peace and justice scholarship flow from research to policy.**



As noted above, leadership and membership of peace movements in the U.S. in particular has historically been mostly white. Leadership and membership of justice movements—e.g., civil rights, human rights, women’s rights, children’s rights, racial justice and equality, workers’ rights, anti-torture, disability rights, sexual orientation rights, inmates’ rights, treaty rights—has been much more diverse. The focus of some of the participants not only maintained this categorization, it helped explicate it. The participants who are people of color were just as focused on peace as were the white participants, but beginning from a contextual perspective that is probably best embodied by the famous 1972 dictum of Pope Paul VI, “If you want peace, work for justice.”<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>7</sup> Derived from Old Testament Isaiah 32:17, “Justice will bring about peace,” which, interestingly, was issued in the years following the assassination of Dr. Martin

participants who focused first on peace were generally white. They provided the methods to seek justice—e.g. facilitating dialog amongst conflictual parties, connecting militarism to consumerism and wealth disparity—but began with peace and moved toward a discussion of justice.

For individuals, the draw of engaging as a public peace and justice intellectual is a mixed motivation not likely identical for any two scholars. Similarly, the deterrents are a mixed picture not precisely the same for the various scholars who participated in this study.

Some scholars are so accomplished that they are almost immune from serious threat to their positions as academics, though they may make choices toward public peace and justice scholarship that may preclude lucrative options. Robert Reich (2010) discusses this in an oblique fashion when he cites case after case of federal elected officials who have accepted large sums of lobbying money after they retired from elected office or were defeated in their re-election attempt. Reich, a public intellectual of prodigious output (radio, print, television, books), was Secretary of Labor in the Clinton

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Luther King, Jr., who worked first for justice and increasingly proclaimed for peace. This pattern of association of a more diverse leadership and membership in justice movements than in peace movements is ubiquitous, though not without exception, in the U.S. The entire Pope Paul VI peace speech:

[http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/paul\\_vi/messages/peace/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_mes\\_19711208\\_v-world-day-for-peace\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/messages/peace/documents/hf_p-vi_mes_19711208_v-world-day-for-peace_en.html)

administration and is Chancellor's Professor of Public Policy at the University of California at Berkeley. He is unabashedly pro-labor, advocates Medicare for all Americans, and is a strong supporter of free public education including at the university level, but he does not write strongly about peace nor is he too outspoken about the military budget, which is odd for an economist who seems 'left' or 'progressive' and wishes to pay for all the social programs he favors. Reich is mainstream enough to be asked 'into the room' to advise presidents, but if he were to alienate the military it may be that he believes this would hurt his credibility at the top levels. This is speculation, but serves as an example of how complex and unique each potential public peace and justice intellectual's case can be. Certainly it is safer for a professor the stature of a Noam Chomsky, Johan Galtung or Robert Reich to act as a public peace and justice intellectual.

## **Chapter 5: Discussion and Grounded Theory Development**

“At the core of the philosophical legacy of the Enlightenment lies a vision of rational individuals governing themselves through collective deliberation.”

—Elisabeth S. Clemens (2010)

### **Grounded theory and these data.**

Grounded theory is built from the data, not from testing a hypothesis, as noted in Chapter 3, Methodology. This inductive method appears almost the reverse of the classic scientific method and yet is one of the best qualitative research methods to explore that which has not been much examined, the topic of this dissertation certainly qualifying. Literally, searching in all the available databases through massive numbers of decades of academic journal articles for the keyword phrase public peace intellectual produces zero results, indicating the difficulty in finding and defining the contours of this inquiry inside the literature. How this methodology has been particularized and employed to seek some understanding of the presenting problem—i.e., how peace and justice educators can help enrich and inform public discourse—is a process of checks and balances, interpretations and groundtruthing, which has now produced the first research that directly addresses the problem by looking at the impediments peace educators themselves identify and explicate. What follows, then, is a distillation of that long process of design, approval, data gathering interviews, data coding and analysis. This grounded theory is not meant to improve upon, enrich, add to or alter any previous theory, though it will be considered in part by the lights of findings related to aspects of its central inquiry, e.g., the defense of public intellectualism by more scholars in more disciplines (e.g., Clemens, 2010, in

Sociology; Sabloff, 2011, in Anthropology; Zarefsky, 2011, and others in Rhetoric). It is a first offering of research into this specific question and is approached with that recognition of initiative, novelty of synthesis, rejection of the *non plus ultra* boundary line of the potential for public peace and justice scholarship, the desire to make some small but authentic epistemic contribution, appreciation for the generosity of the participants, and humility. The theories of war and positive peace—peace and justice by peaceable means—have undergone a great deal of change as research and events have informed those theories. While public peace intellectuals of 100 years ago were proposing that peace would almost automatically follow increased trade—the liberalism notion that economic forces would militate an end to war—new research and observable practice give a *de novo* analysis—almost exactly backward from that erroneous original assumption—that is generally accepted (Rowe, 2005). And we know that there is a distinct, significant statistical advantage to waging conflict with assertive strategic nonviolence compared to waging it with violence (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011). These are the sort of sweeping concepts public peace intellectuals need to inject into the public discourse, which currently has a very different narrative. In the light of these findings—not the direct focus of this study, but closely and importantly related—this study acquires more significance.

Looking at a related set of findings from Ukraine, Alexandra Hrycak and Maria G. Rewakowicz (2009) report that democratization in the former Soviet Socialist Republic of Ukraine is influenced by intellectuals, but the usual hegemonic intelligentsia—oftentimes the very same academics who created and maintained

knowledge production in the service of the U.S.S. R.—still manage to marginalize the challenger public intellectuals by creating conditions inimical to the penetration of new thinking. The oppositional intellectuals have opened new and diverse strands of democratic and feminist thinking there, so the findings are mixed. Even changing out an entire government and dissolving an erstwhile empire into many reconstructed nation-states does not necessarily replace the core of the dominant intellectual population and the institutional practices that preserve their approach. If this is a soluble problem, it certainly requires more inquiry.

As the data emerged from the narrative interviews analysis, it was necessary to move into a combination of structural analysis—e.g. number of references to a theme, length of narrative elaboration of each theme—and the anticipated thematic categorization (Callahan & Herring, 2011). As discussed below, some of the results were not anticipated, especially the structural categorization elements that helped prioritize the seriousness of the participant-identified impediments to public peace and justice scholarship.

### **Grounded theory findings.**

In keeping with one of the precepts of grounded theory research—follow the data without preconception—this set of findings may be understood as falling in two categories, the perceived impediments to public peace and justice scholarship originally identified as the line of inquiry, and policy implications for individual educators, academic institutions, and media organizations. The second category of findings, in retrospect, is the natural concomitant to the initial question, especially since, as grounded

theory leads the researcher toward the most fertile data sources, open-ended questions centered on the primary inquiry tend to produce data that follow the thinking of the research participants more than the thinking of the grounded theory research designer. While this method is not precisely narratology, ethnography, nor storytelling, elements of those qualitative methodologies are performed a part of grounded theory process and contribute to data gathering as well as analysis. The inquiry leads to the stories and the stories lead to the data. This is how the two categories of findings emerged. Like any emergent theory, it is created to evolve. This is not an eternal and immutable Law of Gravity but rather a process that, it is hoped, develops a new dialectic, a new relationship between the problems identified by our participants and attempts to mend those problems, lower those barriers, and remove those impediments, by peace educators and by administrators enlightened and challenged by these preliminary findings.

It may be necessary to reiterate that the hope is not simply that intellectualism *per se* is valued by the academy, the public and the political process. We see Ph.D.s and J.D.s now engaged in the most bitter, polarized and often petty adversarial squabbles at nearly all levels in our political arenas. The lack of civil discourse in our political debates actually has a great deal of history in the U.S., of course, from the pre-Revolutionary ad hominem attacks the Founding Fathers occasionally launched against each other or others—despite the hagiographic awe reserved for them by some academic essayists (e.g. Wood, 2003)—to the pre-Civil War beating of abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner by a Southern slavery-supporting Senator, down to Ph. D. Newt Gingrich saying that “I don’t



want to bloody his nose, I want to knock him out,” about President Obama.<sup>8</sup> This is the slippery slope toward the association of public intelligentsia in support of dictatorial brutal rulers (Hassner, 2003), the negative terminus of that slope in line with what Smith (2011) described as “Gramsci’s observation that the development of the masses and that of intellectuals is a dialectical process” (p. 2). Public peace and justice intellectualism is quite separate from that battleground, much more in line with what C. Wright “Mills declared the goal of his craft to be acts of translation and empowerment” (Katznelson, 2003, p. 189), and requires far more advanced policy discussions at the conclusion of germane research.

***Perceived impediments to public scholarship.***

In order to enable and create public peace intellectuals who can help inform national discourse in a democracy, it is necessary to understand the obstacles academics perceive. As identified by participants and illustrated in Table 5, these include job security/academic freedom, tenure and promotion priorities, time constraints, disciplinary rigidity, academic bias against validity of publicly accessible ‘popular’ writing, lack of support for honest challenger messaging as appropriate civic engagement, mainstream media hostility to oppositional analysis, and lack of training in writing or speaking persuasively to the general public about technical matters and findings from peace and justice research. For these reasons, academics are often unlikely to be able or willing to engage as public peace and justice scholars, which perpetuates a lacuna in public

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.rawstory.com/rs/2012/01/17/gingrich-on-obama-i-want-to-knock-him-out-not-just-bloody-his-nose/>

discourse about crucial matters germane to peace and justice research and the public policies in those areas (Paige, 2011). Some academics report several barriers to their capacities and willingness to engage as public peace and justice scholars occurring simultaneously or serially, primarily a fear of career impact due to lack of academic institutional support for public peace and justice scholarship. Academics report secondary but important obstacles including self-perceived lack of personal competency in translating academic information into accessible information in either writing or speaking, assumption of rejection of peace and justice message by corporate media, and lack of time to write and place commentary. This synthesis or serial set of barriers can and does often affect the academic's decision to forego the attempt to engage as a public peace and justice intellectual. For scholars who specialize in science and technology, especially in democracies in which the public will help make decisions that affect resources devoted to science and the technologies approved by the public, public intellectualism is naturally encouraged (Fisher, 2011), making public scholarship uncontroversial in most cases, unless methodology fraud is uncovered. For peace and justice scholars, most of whom are located in the more contentious sectors of the social sciences, however, the pressure is greater to avoid public scholarship, an ethical conundrum to many of these academics who face these hard personal choices.

One shifting factor, especially in the recent past (Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011; Paige & Pim, 2008), is the notion advanced by Margaret Mead in 1940, that war is an artifact of human invention and that it is possible to thus do away with it. Indeed, concluded the World Health Organization (2002), "Violence is often predictable and

preventable” (p. 8). The advancements in research around this question relate to the grounded theory in that public perception of the inevitability of war is very slowly diminishing, possibly affecting the perception of barriers to intellectuals who wish to publicly contribute to this conversation in what is hoped will become a positive feedback loop of public peace education leading to the desire for more public peace and justice scholarship leading to a more informed public and so forth. This dialectical relationship will be an evolving piece of this grounded theory as it morphs over time and in various cultures. Peace educators such as Fidelis Allen of Nigeria, for example, report a steady increase of public acceptance of the possible substitution of nonviolence for violence as the curricula and workshops and media coverage increases (Allen, 2008). This process will produce an evolving grounded theory.

***Policy implications for individuals, academic institutions, and media.***

Table 5 lists policy solutions to the identified impediments to public peace and justice intellectualism. Some of these possible policies are achievable by an individual academic, some by academic institutions, some by media institutions, and some by civil society organizations. Most are identified by one or more participants and all are supported at least tangentially in the literature, even if the literature is scant in some cases. To encourage more public peace and justice scholarship:

- Individual academics could practice public peace and justice scholarship and seek to learn and develop the skills of both translation from academic expression to accessible language, and persuasive speaking and writing. They can seek to frame their public peace and justice scholarship as civic

engagement that reflects well on the department and institution to which they belong. These trainings, suggested by two participants, can be provided by an academic's institution or by a civil society organization.

- Academic institutions could institute policies guaranteeing robust academic freedom for all faculty, could develop strong public writing and speaking support instruction for faculty, could create opportunities to practice peace and justice scholarship through the public relations offices, and could include public peace and justice scholarship as creditworthy in promotion and tenure considerations. Public peace and justice scholarship should be supported contractually for each academic, even if it is not a serious P&T factor. All these policies could be implemented at departmental and institution-levels. The academic institutions could be joined and encouraged in these efforts by faculty unions and academic associations. This can be valuable even if done on an individual departmental basis, with ascending value as it becomes more widespread. Most participants called for at least one of these solutions and some mentioned nearly all of them.
- Private foundations currently funding either peace research or peace initiatives could be encouraged to explicitly value and link research and the public peace and justice intellectual components that put the research into public knowledge. The linkage is crucial. If research funds mandate

metrics of publicly accessible findings this would facilitate acceptance in the academy, at least at the administrative level.

- Robust distribution makes the impact of each public peace and justice intellectual more certain and more effective. It can also reduce fear of rejection and fear of time lost. Three participants suggested more such distribution services as a function of the academic institution. Three more participants noted the distribution service of PeaceVoice, a CSO created and maintained by the researcher.
- Media editors could reach out to both academic institutions and individual faculty to seek to develop and utilize a growing stable of public peace and justice scholars.
- CSOs could also serve as speaking and writing training service providers, as a turn-to organization by television, radio, print and online editors who want expert opinion, and as literary agents for analysis and commentary pieces from peace and justice intellectuals.

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

I have concluded—with all appropriate reflexivity—that this research reveals some serious problems for our democracy, for our hopes of achieving peace, and for academic freedom. The list is a set of barriers to public peace and justice scholarship that auger trouble and will require structural fixes, not mere patching here and there.

First, those who propose nonviolent challenges to public policy based upon their research, expertise, and experience should be encouraged and not, as we have seen from the data culled from this study, punished or thwarted. This is not a recommendation to encourage or enable violent rhetoric from any quarter—that is antithetical to the basic mission of peace education and research, and any public scholarship that flows from those activities. When the voices of peace and justice academics and educators are missing from the public discourse, we have exactly what we see currently: war and the constant threat of war with no realistic alternatives proposed. Literally nothing is more costly to the U.S. polis, society, ecology,<sup>9</sup> and economy. The U.S. spends more on its military than any other nation; indeed, it accounts for more than 41 percent of all global military expenditures,<sup>10</sup> even though asymmetric warfare renders this mighty military machine relatively and increasingly useless in achieving peace and justice. See Figure 7. The U.S. has military bases on the sovereign soil of more than 150 of the world's 193 nation-states (Lutz, 2009). Public peace and justice intellectuals know of workable

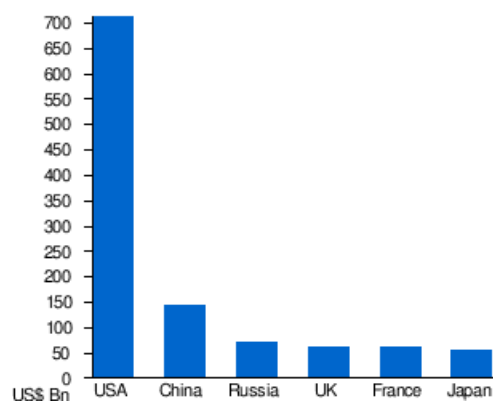
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<sup>9</sup> [http://www.nctimes.com/news/local/military/article\\_78dc31fe-50a5-51cb-b981-a337f000971d.html](http://www.nctimes.com/news/local/military/article_78dc31fe-50a5-51cb-b981-a337f000971d.html)

<sup>10</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_countries\\_by\\_military\\_expenditures](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_military_expenditures)

alternatives. This information is desperately needed. This study pinpoints the problems in delivering that information to the electorate.

**Figure 7: Top six military budgets**



Note: World's top six military budgets. Sourced from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute.<sup>11</sup>

The search for answers to questions that have driven this research is not a search for an immutable law, but rather for a grounded theory that begins to explain a general problem by achieving data saturation from the analysis of the narratives of interviews with a reasonably sized group of participants. Data saturation does not produce unassailable theory; it can produce valid grounded theory that is, by definition, seeking evolution as it seeks new ground. The concluding chapter, then, includes a discussion about all the obvious and some of the less obvious limitations to this study. It is important to discuss the inevitable Archimedean problem of weightless neutrality—the fly landing on the bridge changes the position of the bridge and bends it down—as well as the problems of the observer changing the observed and the related Heisenberg uncertainty

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principle, which, in this case, might suggest that inquiring about the impediments to public peace and justice intellectualism might affect those barriers somehow, changing the ability to measure the existence and characteristics of the obstacles. Indeed, for example, an assumption that peace scholarship must precede a peace analysis and that might lead, ultimately, to some measure of public peace scholarship is, in some cases, backward, that is, some educators have become peace activists—beginning most vigorously during the Vietnam War—and only then, with public and student pressure, have they sought to develop peace scholarship (Howlett, 2003). There are certainly ethical considerations about prompting academics to consider risking their careers in order to achieve something for the universal good—especially if that universal good is not a product of consensus but rather one of the contentious opinion of the researcher. The ultimate challenges to a grounded theory approach revolve around the issues of obtaining the desired results. Are the findings really groundtruthing or are they bent toward what the researcher wished to find?

Assuming these validity threats can be satisfactorily addressed, how, then, does this grounded theory fit into existing theory? This challenge is serious, since there is no research on this particular inquiry, so a return to the literature will likely be required to examine points of contact, overlap, or contention in the bodies of theory that mostly closely relate to the grounded theory developed in this research.

Bearing in mind the novelty of these findings, then, as well as how the findings relate to extant theory and germane policies, what significance might this research have? Finally, to properly leave this research, it is necessary to acknowledge where the most



productive future research may lie. The questions addressed by this research, as with any proper research, raise new questions that can best be answered by new research.

This chapter, then, will offer conclusions that include:

- reflexive contextual disclaimers and caveats about alternatives to this grounded theory
- this grounded theory and existing theory
- suggestions for further research

**Reflexive disclaimers, validity, and alternatives to this grounded theory.**

“A small book confronting a large subject requires a thousand qualifications. I will skip most of them, but several are in order.”

—Russell Jacoby (1987), *The last intellectuals: American culture in the age of academe* (p. x)

The potential validity threats to this research and the grounded theory derived from it might include:

- my own predispositions as a result of my experience and education. I have been an activist for 44 years and a peace educator for 30. I have worked with peace educators to help them develop a public voice and have been sought out to offer workshops and even one conference keynote address on this. My professional journalism preceded my MA in journalism from the University of Wisconsin-Superior and much of that paid work was

writing columns and commentary. I have strong opinions about media, peace and justice activism, peace educators/education, and the intersectionality of those societal phenomena. I was guided substantially by my committee and others on techniques to avoid that contamination of my approach at all points in the research by bracketing, that is, by suspending all prejudgments, which I believe I did. I believe this is valid, especially since I was quite surprised by the direction the participants took and I followed them dutifully, which in turn substantively altered the findings and the grounded theory that emerged. I was surprised that the perception of a hostile corporate media was not the first obstacle mentioned by participants, nor was it a barrier even much mentioned. That I was willing to set aside my bias and just listen and then code the data accurately is at least somewhat evident by my expected findings being so different from the actual results. Perhaps this is only important to me as a researcher, but it certainly, at least, is that. “Thought shrivels,” wrote Jacoby, “when it honors friends and labels before thinking” (p. *xiii*).

- my professional relationships with some of the participants in this study. Like journalism, and like mediation (which I teach and practice), I have had to ask myself before interviewing at least four of the 12 participants, “Can I set aside personal opinions, history, and professional relationship with this participant in order to approach the interview with ‘innocence’ and neutrality, as a researcher?” In at least one case the answer was no and

that person was then removed from consideration as a potential participant. I believe I've honestly and professionally managed this challenge to the validity of this research.

- the non-random selection of the participants. Clearly, developing grounded theory about a phenomenon such as public peace and justice scholarship requires at least some participants who have actually achieved that role and practice or have practiced it, some who aspire to it, and some representation of those who have no such aspirations, but who are potentially public peace and justice intellectuals. My letter of inquiry to the membership of our Peace and Justice Studies Association did cause self-selection and that group was closer to random than the final group turned out to be, but the final groups was produced by bringing in participants who are far more diverse in gender, ethnicity and national origin. In conjunction with the other aspects of managing validity threats, I am convinced that the addition of these participants invited for their qualifications and diversity have actually seriously strengthened the validity of this study.
- the relatively few number of participants may represent an inadvertently skewed sample of peace educators, though data or theory saturation was evident, suggesting validity. This number of participants is an acceptable number in grounded theory methodology, but that doesn't completely answer that question, which remains. Indeed, this is a feature of grounded

theory, which is meant to seek improvements as more research is conducted. In the opinion of this researcher, much more research is needed and improvements are welcome to this initial grounded theory about the impediments to public peace and justice scholarship and potential solutions to those barriers.

- the relative lack of diversity of the participants. There were no Hispanic, South Asian, Native American nor Pacific Islander participants. This regrettable deficit can best be addressed by further, expanded research that pursues the same or similar concerns to entirely new and more diverse groups of participants. While it is true that the invitation to Peace and Justice Studies Association yielded no members of the above-mentioned ethnic groups, any new research which includes invitations to larger academic associations such as those representing the much larger traditional disciplines such as sociologists or political scientists might result in a richer diversity of participants. It is also possible to envision similar studies that include different categories of diversity, such as sexual identity/orientation and type or nature of disability. Unique concerns to certain groups of academics might produce a more nuanced grounded theory that would be of greater utility. Gaining access to certain sections of larger academic associations than PJSA would help make future research more robust.

Alternatives to this grounded theory might include:

- a clear primary focus on the corporate nature of mainstream media and the overwhelming tilt toward rejection of peace and justice analysis due to unwillingness to interfere with systems of war profiteering and corporate exploitation of human and natural resources. While elements of this problem exist, worse in some situations than others, it is not evident in the data to any appreciable degree. It is possible, however, that with a very different group of participants and a different set of questions, this might emerge as the primary problem. For instance, if a group of participants were chosen from a self-assessed pool of academics whose a priori assumptions presupposed a corporate agenda that would exclude their analysis in all or virtually all cases, the resulting grounded theory would reflect that. Or, if the interview questions only focused on ‘leading the witness’ toward that consideration of corporate control of the media message, the results would likely reflect that built-in bias. I hope and believe that what I learned to do as the interviews proceeded—which was to ask more open-ended questions and simply listen—helped to mitigate any such tilt.
- a self-focus on authorial inadequacies. Given another group of participants who were drawn from a self-assessed pool of unsuccessful aspirant public peace and justice intellectuals, and given a different set of specific questions focusing on the skills of the participants, the emergent grounded theory might focus on personal lack of capacity to produce publishable

commentary pieces of writing for popular press. I do not believe this actually erodes the validity of this study, especially since the methodology of the interviews shifted more to open-ended inquiries first into the life stories of participants as their lives related to the overall subject of public peace and justice scholarship.

**This grounded theory and current theory.**

Grounded theory can be used to sharpen, alter, or challenge theories by providing grounded knowledge from a group of participants who offer accounts of direct experiential knowledge. So, for example, a team of researchers (Coleman, Hacking, Stover, Fisher-Yoshida, & Nowak, 2008) interviewed some 17 professional mediators about their experiences in working with the parties in intractable conflict. Their research, employing grounded theory methodology, offered deeper insights into the ripeness theory of intractable conflict first proposed by Zartman in 1989. This helped make that original theory more robust by revealing aspects of it that would or would not likely apply to certain types of conflict under certain types of circumstances. The cumulative knowledge of those 17 experts was synthesized in that manner to ramp up a stronger, more experientially based ripeness theory that can then benefit those who work with intractable conflict as they seek a transformation toward resolution. Grounded theory thus aids in improving the original theory by infusing it with practitioner-gained, researcher-extracted collective experiential learning.

In this study, however, the starting point had no precedent. While opinions about public peace and justice intellectualism can be found in the literature, no direct research

on this specific question (What do peace and justice professors believe about civic engagement, public scholarship, and any perceived impediments to their individual or collective participation in those activities?) exists except this project itself. Placing this research into context means looking at related work, not replicable studies nor the same inquiry. This research is preliminary in that it required the same process of interviewing practitioners (peace educators in this case) to gain their collective experiential knowledge, but then required whole-cloth creation of a new theory, offered with some hope that more such research will come to pass.

The published opinions of those from various disciplines who have practiced, facilitated, observed and analyzed public intellectualism in their disciplines are worth noting. Jeremy A. Sabloff (2011), an advocate for more public intellectualism in his field, anthropology, asserts that the key barrier is the weighting of promotion and tenure components. He believes, “With a concerted effort by the profession, all forms of public outreach might be able to rise in significance” (p. 411). He gives only anecdotal evidence, but he is a senior scholar in his discipline, giving at least some credence to his assertions. His assertions agree with the dominant views of the participants of this study. As anthropology is a key discipline in the transdiscipline of Peace and Conflict Studies, Sabloff’s assertions are affirming.

Curtis W. Hart (2011) examines one example of a public intellectual, German-born theologian Paul Tillich (1886–1965). Tillich fled Nazi Germany in 1933 and became an influential transdisciplinary public scholar in theology, psychiatry and psychoanalysis, contributing to all three disciplines and engaging in public scholarship,

effectively elevating public understanding and discourse in that confluence. This historical example is illustrative of the potential for, as Tillich himself put it, “standing on the boundary” of disciplines (Tillich, 1913, p. 36, qtd. in Hart, 2011, p. 647). In a secondary sense, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s citation of Tillich in his Letter from Birmingham Jail<sup>12</sup> brings Tillich squarely into the ambit of peace and justice intellectualism.

Are there no limits to academic freedom? Should anyone who manages to become a teacher be encouraged to express any opinion publicly? That is not the question that this dissertation means to address, yet it must arise when the academy considers its policies, its weighting of components of promotion and tenure. In the end, it might be argued, the public expressions that are grounded in academic findings and only made accessible by an educator are always performing a public service. This study explores the public intellectualism of those, like Margaret Mead or Linus Pauling, translate scientific research findings into publicly accessible formats, written or spoken. This does not contemplate the academic freedom of someone who skews science and misuses it to call for genocide, for instance. Indeed, if the basic beginning point of the field of Peace and Conflict Studies is to develop methods for transforming destructive conflict into constructive conflict—that is, to research and develop methods by which peace and justice can be achieved by peaceable means (e. g. Kriesberg, 2007)—then at least that

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<sup>12</sup> “Paul Tillich said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man’s (sic) tragic estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus it is that I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong.”

[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles\\_Gen/Letter\\_Birmingham.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Articles_Gen/Letter_Birmingham.html)



discipline is one which should be completely open to crediting its academics who participate in the development part of R & D. The public can only gain by exposure to findings that might logically reduce conflict costs and maximize sustainable gains (e.g. Chenoweth & Stephan, 2011).

Using grounded theory to explore questions of conflict can reveal new categories of information not sought by the researcher, but gained by giving permission to the participants to honestly express themselves addressing open-ended questions. For example, a research team in Northern Ireland examined the essays of several dozen youth, some Catholic and some Protestant, for reasons they may have for engaging in sectarian violence, or terrorism (Muldoon, McLaughlin, Rougier, & Trew, 2008). Beyond the scope of the essays was an unasked but frequently answered question about the moral or ethical approval or disapproval of those activities. Unbidden, then, the researchers found frequent expression of disapproval of such tactics, especially strongly and more frequently from the girls. Grounded theory can suddenly impinge on theories found outside the scope of the intended research inquiry, which was certainly the case in this dissertation research.

From the research currently underway in developing peace journalism, it is probable that, indeed, public peace and justice intellectuals are going to be able to assist in elevating the public discourse much more quickly by writing commentaries and engaging in public speaking than by becoming sources for reporters and editors, if the findings from research into the coverage of three Asian conflicts can be generalized to other media elsewhere. Seow Ting Lee, Communications and New Media, National

University of Singapore, did a textual analysis of 1,973 newspaper stories on three conflicts—India and Pakistan’s dispute over Kashmir, the Tamil Tigers movement in Sri Lanka, and the Indonesian civil wars in Aceh and Maluku—and found that the requirements of peace journalism, including contextualizing conflict in order to avoid conferring assumptive culpability on any one particular conflict party exclusively, are often structurally at odds with the normal practice of journalism (2010). Changing the structure of the profession of journalism, while a very worthy goal from the standpoint of Peace and Conflict Studies and its goal of conflict transformation, is a long range prospect; achieving the exposure via op-eds is a shorter timeline goal.

Grounded theory regarding the value of internal journalism—that is, the intraorganizational news reportage and persuasive writing—to the creation of successful social movements is not directly comparable to this particular study, but it is related. In one grounded theory study of 25 years of internal newsletters of the largest and most successful social movement in Brazilian history—the land reform movement that ultimately reclaimed and redistributed enormous tracts of unused arable private lands for use by peasants—the thematic analysis showed the value of ‘propaganda’ to the emerging collective education, training, recruitment, ‘conscientization,’ and resistance development of the movement (Meek, 2011). By extension, we might surmise that a related counter-hegemonic discourse would not only be fed by public peace and justice scholarship, but that a dialectical relationship would tend to create a positive feedback loop between the members of a movement and the members of the general public, with the bluntness and positional nature of the external and internal journalism very different from each other

but the overarching goal—education and development toward change—the same in both cases.

With regard to grounded theory examination of civic engagement, Piercy, Cheek, and Teemant (2011) conducted somewhat related research into late-life volunteering, which corresponds to the typical respondent to my Peace and Justice Studies Association call for participants, several of whom were emeritus peace and justice scholars. What Piercy, Cheek, and Teemant found in their 38 interviews was data that led to findings that the participants experienced many things from their increased volunteerism, including expanded social networks, “altered personal perspectives, with lessened materialism and self-focus, greater appreciation of cultural differences, and finding existential meaning in service” (p. 550). This is consistent, even if only tangential, with the greater participation in this study by older scholars. Until this process was well underway, I would not have predicted this and so only began to look for this in the literature once the data was analyzed. The connections suggest a relationship to the grounded theory findings in the Piercy, Cheek, and Teemant research.

All these findings, relationships, and comparisons help point to the significance of this first research and help point toward the need for more research.

### **Significance and further research.**

Applying the counterfactual is helpful in assessing significance. What if we considered the removal of public environmental intellectual Rachel Carson from the public discourse? Would there have been a National Environmental Policy Act by 1969, or even by 1999? What if we imaged the open-air nuclear testing without the

countervailing public discourse prompted in large part by public intellectuals such as Albert Schweitzer and Linus Pauling? Would there have been a 1963 Partial Test Ban Treaty? To encourage and enable public peace and justice intellectualism is to invite such speculation; could some new public peace and justice scholar be influential enough to avert even one smallish war, saving only a few thousand lives? I suspect most educators would agree that would be a worthy goal and many would deem it achievable with enough cogent factual public peace and justice participation in the public discourse. If this research prompts even one institution to consider policy changes that support such development, the results might literally save lives, certainly significant. If this research helps others to do more research which then results in broader policy changes toward more open flow of peace and justice research into our national conversation, that will be significant.

Conflict, wrote Notre Dame conflict researcher John Paul Lederach, is “a motor of change” (2003, p. 5). On the other hand, public policy and academic policy are often bereft of sustainable, constructive analysis of conflict management. We see the results: war and extreme political polarization, a vast mass in many countries who feel so unheard that they are taking to the streets and the village squares. If our peace researchers were able to engage the public with greater frequency, that motor of change might be far more transformative and collaborative, certainly a potential of great significance. Jeremy A. Sabloff (2011, p. 409) is making a parallel argument for anthropologists as public intellectuals:

Although the general topic is far from new, as there have been a wide variety of important efforts in the field to increase our public presence and to influence public policy issues, I place my focus on one key aspect that I contend has great promise and that the profession has regrettably neglected to date: the critical role that anthropological public intellectuals might have in today's world. As it has often been argued, anthropology in all its variety is at its root a discipline of critique that throws new light on seemingly intractable modern problems. But our critiques will not achieve their full potential if they are not readily accessible to the general public. We can change that.

Peace educators can change that too, using this research and other analyses (e.g. Sabloff). One line of inquiry that might help young scholars think about crafting a career to allow for public peace and justice scholarship is, "What were the decisions made by public peace and justice scholars that allowed them to pursue public scholarship as a legitimate part of their careers?" Examining motives, intentions, reasoning and results could be a valuable career consideration instrument.

Sociologists (e.g. Karger & Hernández, 2004; Woehrle, Coy & Maney, 2008) urge academics in the field of social work to reformulate and recommit to a mission that includes being a part of the public discourse by becoming much more involved public scholars. UK education researcher Ivor Goodson (1999) makes a similar strong case for repositioning and rejuvenating educational research by squarely facing attacks from the "New Right" (p. 277) so that it becomes a part of the public intellectual argument. This

same admonition and encouragement would apply to peace professors. Like cancer researchers who learn about the disease in order to fight it, peace educators know about violence and nonviolence, about destructive and constructive conflict methods, and this research is meant to encourage them to engage in the fight against the pandemic of violence. Peace professors face special challenges that this research may highlight. For example, unlike a medical researcher, a peace researcher may be directly challenging the most violent in the war system. Fear of reprisal can inhibit or deter; most peace professors are aware of instances such as the G. Gordon Liddy plot to assassinate columnist Jack Anderson, the federal phone taps of *The New York Times*, and other vengeful acts of a militaristic government against the media and members of the media who challenged the warmakers (Kurtz, 1993). The more quotidian fear of loss of job or career impacts may be more of a daily factor—ironic when contrasted to institutional approbation for public scholarship around promotion of health by medical scholars.

Civic engagement for oppositional messaging promoting peace and justice by peaceable means is a special consideration and it is hoped that this research will open a search for ways to mitigate such obstacles.



## Epilogue

As I was finishing this dissertation, a book arrived in the mail by a frequent contributor to PeaceVoice, the online public peace intellectual op-ed distribution service that I founded and still direct. Historian Dr. Lawrence S. Wittner (2012) released his memoirs in this new book, *Working for Peace and Justice: Memoirs of an Activist Intellectual*, published by the University of Tennessee Press. It is indeed the life story of a public peace intellectual with working class roots who has fought for labor rights, against racism, against apartheid (the memoir includes some great photos, including one of him handcuffed in the back of paddywagon in the struggle to get the US to stop supporting apartheid in the 1980s), and against nuclear weapons. His scholarly works reflect his activist interests and vice-versa. Year by year, step by step in his rise in academia, he proved his scholarly abilities and took his knocks for his public expressions and activism. Fired from Vassar, nearly blacklisted for his activism, long denied tenure where he was almost grudgingly employed at the State University of New York-Albany, he survived, published widely in peer-reviewed journals and academic monograph presses as both sole author and editor, and eventually gained tenure and is now emeritus. In his revelatory memoir he writes that PeaceVoice finally solved his distribution problem to mainstream American press (p. 226), a gratifying confirmation from arguably the most prolific public peace academic currently practicing in the U.S.

This integration of activism, scholarly work and teaching is extraordinarily rewarding yet quite challenging. Activists frequently seem to feel that academics don't walk the talk, academics frequently critique activists' lack of reflection and analysis, and

the media tends to ignore both—except for activists who commit violence or property damage and who then discredit their campaigns. Indeed, this instantly got worse following the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, and the ‘radical’ elements of the global justice movement in particular exacerbated that tremendously, the most egregious and personally dismaying to me being the pronouncement by academic and self-styled “revolutionary” Ward Churchill that those who died in the World Trade Center were “little Eichmanns” and the suicide terrorists were “brave combatants.”<sup>13</sup> The damage to the global justice movement was swift and crippling, making it simple and easy to smear the entire movement with the terrorist brush. Almost as devastating was the impact on academic freedom, as Churchill was eventually fired from his teaching position in Colorado but the incident launched a controversy over academic freedom, ignoring the vast difference between academic freedom to promote nonviolent public policy oppositional conclusions and the license to promote violence, even violence against civilians. Those dual problematic outcomes have preoccupied me for years, prompting, in part, this dissertation, and also a 2003 book, *Meek Ain’t Weak: Nonviolent Power and People of Color*. Facing history is how we come to face the future and with however many years I have left as an active intellectual activist, I will promote public peace and justice scholarship and try to walk the talk. As the only teaching professor in my academic association to spend time in prison for nonviolent resistance to militarism and the only one to get arrested six times in opposition to the invasion of Iraq, I know how my stubborn activism can push my colleagues and either overwhelm them or alienate

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<sup>13</sup> [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ward\\_Churchill\\_September\\_11\\_attacks\\_essay\\_controversy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ward_Churchill_September_11_attacks_essay_controversy)



them, so I continue to try to find more sensitive yet compelling ways to activate them. The latent power of intellectuals is not particularly evident in the US, though I have very much enjoyed my association with the European academics who have twice taken themselves en masse to confront the British Trident at Faslane in the country of my ancestors, Scotland. I even tried to get arrested there but the local activists have done such outstanding reconciliation that the Scots generally refuse to arrest anyone there. Indeed, even with its global reach and massive financial sunk costs, I believe civil society will shut down the British Trident at Faslane, and I am proud of European peace scholars for being a strong component of that. And so with the completion of this dissertation I now hitch up my academic trousers and march into the fray again, grateful for the learning I've done and for the guidance from my Chair and all others involved. This will make my teaching, writing, and activism more robust with a new depth and breadth.

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## Appendix: Coded sections of transcripts

### *Theme: Tenure/Career Stage/Career Impacts.*

I am the executive director of Fairplay institute, that actually had a name enhancement, Fairplay institute for societal transformation, I finally all this time figured out what it is I do

I teach at you know the undergrad and grad levels in the conflict resolution department a West Coast university, I also teach or have taught at American University, (59)

My name is ["John Anonymous,"] and I've been teaching, well I've taught peace studies from the early 80s up until a couple of years ago, and the reason we had been teaching a class on national conflict resolution management at Stanford for the last 4 5 years

and I'm retired, and I'm retired in part because of the budget crunches of the last 4 or 5 years, so we don't get the kind of financial support in order to do things that we were used to be able to do, so that's one of the biggest problems, for the most part I don't think that the kind of work we do falls within the domain of the academic fields, at least as they conceive in a kind of normal standard type of way, it tangential to have a conceivable field, and there is no kind of ongoing financial stable support for it

there's probably no negative role, negative role in the sense that it did something negative or in some way censorial against me, it hasn't necessarily supported robustly the stuff that I've done, but it's never acted in any to try to limit or discourage that, and many institutions, they've acted with small grants and support to encourage that, it's never been anything great, I don't wanna make it out into some kind of overwhelming fabulous support, but in ways in which people could help and were inclined to do so, they did,

T: generally speaking, what are the career impacts of civic engagement for peace on professors?

J: well that's complex, and I don't know that I have a general statement about that, I, I, there had been, I mean at least at Stanford, your tenure as a faculty is graded on your scholarship and your work, and some teaching evaluations, many of the kinds of peace activities are interdisciplinary, and even though there's lip service given to that, it rarely plays into the kind of evaluations that grant tenure, so that I think in some ways having a large amount of public or presence, that draws our engagement intellectually with kind of interdisciplinary stuff does not help with the process, I'm not sure that it necessarily hinders it, except to the degree that it limits the work within the field upon which your tenure is going to be judged (392 words)

I teach courses on the sociology of globalization, which examines the adverse, mostly the adverse social and economic impact of the way global economic models have evolved, particularly around trade, I am also an environmental sociologist, so I am interested in people-nature relationships, and in substantive areas of my work I am

particularly interested in people-nature relationships when resources start to disappear, when they start to decline, so the conflict that arises out of that, and I'm a feminist, so I do use feminist scholarship, I pay a lot of attention to issues around gender, race and class, and I teach methodology as well, qualitative research methods,

I think that's a difficult one, the discipline that I'm in, sociology, and the way it is in my institution, my institution is not by any means unique, the focus is on career development, you know how you get promoted, and as you do that you're expected to teach and do a good job training students to think, I see a lot of merit in that, but an institution's reputation, and the way an institution evaluates its workers is by productivity as measured in terms of how much research you do and how much publications you put out, peer-reviewed publications, and I see these both as legitimate activities to engage in, I think my frustration and the frustration of many of my colleagues is that the good work that ends up in journals is not easily accessible to a wider public audience, and so a lot of good work exists, a lot of insightful work exists, but we are not, the majority of us are not applied sociologists, so we never go to implement the work that we do

I think we have serious ( ) rigidities, shall we say in terms of how we get evaluated for tenure, I would like to think that some institutions have found a way in which they value the work that public intellectuals do, work that will not necessarily will be published in peer reviewed journal, but as a serious social contribution that that gets validated, and I think to some extent it does, but it only gets validated after you have tenure, when academics can take the risk to do that, and do not have to worry about the job security, I think it is far more rare for people prior to tenure to feel that degree of freedom to engage as public intellectuals, so many people do it not as part of their career development, but as a parallel, hidden or not explicit in the institutions where they exist, and I think it's not until institutions can accept what this contributions are, and perhaps, I mean, I understand the difficulty of saying we'll value it the same as the publications, I don't know what the resolution for that would be, but certainly that kind of work that makes for a better society is significant and should be included.

I wonder to what extent some of that is driven by personal choice or some of that is driven by the institutions structures we end up working at, so I think a lot of the public intellectuals I know already have tenure, the ones who continue to do the good work tend to do it outside the institution and don't have institutional support, so we do have structural problems why we don't have more public intellectualism, it doesn't get as much respect, it's not valued as highly and people who do it, do it in a sense in spite of odds or they have huge personal motivations of doing it, so what's regrettable is that there might be more who want do to it but have not found that balance or that extra motivation to get them to do it, and because of that combination of personal circumstances you know like I don't think I have it in me or I don't want to take the risk on the one hand, versus the other one where the institutions actually not forbid it but they certainly make it difficult, we end up with losing a huge contribution of people who have spent a chunk of their life with thinking critically about how to make the world better and not having and opportunity or avenue to work on that, and that is regrettable.



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I have my Masters in Education, I've been teaching since 2005, and I teach in the Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies Program

)), the department used to be a department that was actually trying to live from its practice, so it was really trying to engage the power structure from within and be the

change, and at least try to exist as the change within the structure, that has gone over the last couple of years ((laughs)), and it's more becoming an academic exercise, it's cause of the university shifting, and shifting and trying to be a research 2 or whatever it is going to try to be, and that, instead of resisting that, the leadership in the department is trying to figure out how to position us in that, and that means that everybody needs to have a PhD and we all need to sound really smart on paper, but then the work gets lost, and so in some ways I am, and so I know that if I apply for this job today I wouldn't get it, I know that I wouldn't even be in consideration, but I also know that my courses are full ((laughs)), I get good reviews, and I also got a grant to do some stuff, and I'm not afraid to raise money, most of it because of my nonprofit background, so in that way I'm an asset to her ((laughs)), so they really more put up with the rest of the stuff ((laughs)) than embrace it fully, and that's fine, that's fine with me as long I get to keep doing what I want to do and the way I want to do it, and students absolutely are transformed by the classes that I teach and the way I teach, and so my deal is that I'm going to keep doing it until they fire me, and then I'll do something else (319 words)

### ***Translation Challenges.***

, I think that one of the principal problems is actually conceptual, that I think, that I think that the kind of analyses and the approaches that we have developed at the Stanford Center on International Conflict and Negotiation aren't immediately intuitive, and so it usually takes a little bit, there's usually a group of people who'd begin to understand the kinds of approaches and analyses we have, and that kind of extends out, it extended actually pretty far in Northern Ireland, so I think that for people who are part of the wider community or broader political process, there's some conceptual barriers that are difficult to communicate over

J: well in a certain sense that's true, I mean I think, it's a little hard to answer the question without going into more detail of what are the kind of things that we do, we basically are doing analysis that is, we call it barriers analysis, so what stands in the way, and then what are the strategies that overcome the barriers that either prevent progress in peace process, or progress in implementing a peace agreement or progress in negotiating a peace agreement or peace settlement,

well I think that people normally associate peace with the achievement of the highest aspirations, and that in conflicts particularly in the middle east and, or in the Northern Ireland conflict, I haven't met someone who wasn't for peace, even if they wanted to use violence to achieve that peace, but they in some way or another were for the attainment of goals ideas, that they identified would constitute peace, and peace, generally that's the problem itself, that you have to live with a peace that's substantially different from that, especially if it's a negotiated agreement, so the chief problem I think is that when you conceive of peace with the highest ideals, for the most part it means those who are your adversaries you have to defeat of they have to go away, and so how can you conceive of a peace which is actually inclusive of the other side that you want to make peace with, and I think that's one of the conceptual barriers that I think that we run up against all the time (376 words)

I think a public intellectual is mostly an academic, but it doesn't necessarily have to be that, an academic who understands personal responsibility, to connect and make relevant the understanding, the conceptual and theoretical understanding, and make it relevant to the community in which they live, and community could be at various levels, it could be the more narrow community of where one physically lives or the institution where one is, but I think a public intellectual has a responsibility to communicate to a wider audience in the interest of making for a better society, introducing ideas and ways of thinking, critical thought particularly, that can lead us into imagining and then actually implementing a better society, and when I say better I particularly mean in quality of life, quality of life for everybody, in an inclusive way, a socially inclusive way (142 words)

***Theme: Public peace intellectualism.***

S: I thought about that a little bit, because someone many moons ago described Fairplay as a public philosophy

what I'm doing is something different, and therefore I think that the role of the public intellectual would be along this line, where the idea or ideas aren't owned, in fact you actually want them to be widely held, and so I don't, once to me the ideas are out there, they're out there, they're fair game now, and actually to me, I would want to see that those ideas influencing and changing the public discourse, so the terms that I use of keepers, breakers and menders, I want other people start talking like that, you know that way, and, and it's not even necessary to, refer that back to me, it's like now that you've got the idea, it's your idea or the idea is out there in the world, so, so the, and I think that another aspect of the public part of being a public intellectual is understanding of what is true and real as opposed to how many angels dance of the head of a pin, an awful lot of that conversation going on, and I try my very very best not to pay any attention to any of it, I, I'm much more interested in the kinds of ideas that actually want to produce a change in society, so we've got ideas that have been around for hundreds of years, you know, capitalism, communism, democracy, socialism, communism, you name it, and in my humble opinion, I don't believe that those are the ideas that are going to drive the 21 century, the ideas that will drive the 21st century are being fought right now, they weren't fought a few hundred years ago, so the idea of actually understanding the public part of public intellectual, and then maybe the intellectual of public intellectual, that is not, again, how many angels dance of the head of a pin, it is what are the thoughts that we need to think right now, and then what are the actions we need to take from these thoughts right now, in order for us to achieve our goals and visions, so then the other part of this, to me a public intellectual has goals and visions, and my personal goal, and my organizational goal is how do we create a world that actually works for all beings

I just went to my computer and I compiled a thousand memos, 150 training powerpoints, and some of the stuff is to me unbelievable, it's like WOW, and that's the body of material that I want to be the next book, so Seven Seeds for New Society is for me the outline of these 1,000 memos and 150 powerpoints, it's like, this is getting us to a relational society, a society that is not any of the isms, not communism, not capitalism, not anything else, it's a whole new thing, in addition to that, there are articles that I've written in various, it's interesting, I don't think backwards, somebody asks me for an

article, I do it, puff, it's gone, but most of time those are organizations that I would probably say were spiritually or transcendently oriented, then the next level would probably be local governments looking at some ways of dealing with their employees or issues like that,

I've always found myself much more in a reactive mode as opposed to saying this would be a key industry, key activity, that if these folks get inclusivity or if they get how to create a world that works for all, that we can then take that to such and such, most of the time it's, I get an email, do you want to be part of this forum to discuss such and such, and I'll look at my calendar and say yes I got a few hours or no I don't have any time and that's it, but I probably need to be more choice full (671 words)

I mainly write papers for our partners, and we work in two areas, mainly in northern Ireland and the Israeli and Palestinian conflict, and much of our work has been partnering with individuals and organizations over there, and so I write specifically for them, and analyzing the challenges that we face and the kinds of strategies that we got to develop

T: and those papers, who's the audience for those papers now?

J: well, they are twofold, one is that they are primarily directed toward partners on how to enrich the kind of dialogue that we have the people we are in conversation with, but then we also use them as papers in the courses that we teach, and also we put them on the web, on a website

I have, I've had a couple of articles published and written an editorial or two that's been published.

T: do you consider yourself a practicing public peace intellectual?

J: yes

I do a fair amount of public speaking locally, and I've done a fair amount of public speaking in local forum in the Israeli Palestinian conflict and in Northern Ireland, so I've been on the radio a couple of times, yeah (200 words)

I don't think it was ever a conscious decision on my part, I think one of the things I discovered being a teacher in a classroom and having to teach students who have very different experiences from what I grew up with, and students who come from different parts of the United States, including internationally as well, but students from rural areas from urban areas from big cities from not so big cities, you know students in spite of the fact that they are all, or most of them are Americans have very different experiences, what I found particularly fascinating was in some ways the deficit some students had in understanding the United States' role as a country in a wider global context, and trying through critical conversations, help students understand that even though we say the United States, there are internal divisions in the United States, and what is projected on a global stages is representing the United States is not necessarily a good representation of what people within the United States want, or what people within the United States understand, so I found that classroom environment particularly stimulating, and I would have great conversations, discussions you know in class and private conversations with

students, but part of my having relocated to the United States made me questions what my contribution was, because while I was in the Caribbean I was pretty much clear that I needed to make it different and improve, the question was if I am in the United States, then what does that contribution look like, what would it be, and who would then be the people I identify as my community or where I want to make the contribution, so over time you know, it didn't take a lot of time, I think not so much when I was a graduate student, because as a graduate student you have opportunities to join graduate student unions, you know the whole environment is for you to be critical, but being a working person on the outside, I migrated toward contributions that had to do with union organizing, and how workers were faring, and how women in the global economy were faring, and so with time I ended up becoming a board member of the workers rights board, which is a job projects of jobs with justice, a national organization that attempts to negotiate between employers and employees using a lot of moral and ethical approaches about what's the right thing to do, it's in a sense to shame employers to do the right thing, so I became one of the board members, and it's a wide crew of people, you know community people, I happen to be one, I also got involved with the group, a national organization called jubilee USA, about cancelling Third World Debt, originally the idea was somehow there would be a huge impact in 2000 to cancel all Third World Debt, it didn't happen, the group evolved into becoming jubilee USA, so there's a US branch, First World branch and organizations throughout the Third World, so I serve on the national council, so these have been the two primary ways that I have served, but I think given what interests I have as an academic, back in 2002 and in early 2003 when the protests against the invasion of Iraq were taking place, I was one of those who would speak out publicly at some of these protests about why we shouldn't do it, and I've also participated when we had the recent economic crisis, there was a forum in town, in Portland, a town hall, trying to get people to understand what had triggered the crisis, and you know who was responsible, and what we should do about it, and I ( ) as a speaker as well, so that's my work as a public intellectual

: I have never attempted to engage the mainstream media, and I have seen colleagues, not necessarily friends of mine who have attempted to do so, and I have truly agonized over what I see as the exchanges, because the dominant frames that have been this more recent 10-20 year period established in terms of what is legitimate critical dialogue, has been reduced to everybody has an opinion, and some or more valid than others because they fit into a mainstream understanding of what it means to be an American, or what it means to have American values, and it's very stunting, and it's very ahistorical, (751 words)

my own personal writing, none of it's been published yet,

well I don't know if I would call myself a peace and justice intellectual, but I think I am one, because you know my work is all about creating beloved community, which is the notions of peace in justice are embedded in that, I think what's also key into what I do, is the whole idea of feminist ideas and feminist practices, so I think those are key peace and justice, so part of my work is to reclaim feminism, and also tell folks how to figure out how reclaim it outside the academy, and so, and again it's all connected to

peace and justice, but I don't know that I use peace and justice as part of my title or anything like that, but you know, it's all the work, it's all connected, cause without peace and justice, we don't have the love of community

I probably do consider myself an aspirant, what you said, public intellectual, because I think that I have stage presence, and I think that I have an important message that has sort of been forgotten, and so really I'll talk to whoever will listen to me, but for 5 years I was executive director of the Oregon Commission for Women which is a state agency that does advocacy and that has led me to have certain connections, so I'd often spoke at the AmeriCorps kick-off day, where they have the AmeriCorps members from all the state come, and I talked about love, and I talked about beloved community, and I've talked about living by a love ethic, so I used some of my past connections to get out there more, I just got grant to turn this class that I teach called Women Love and Self Care into a 1 day workshop that we're opening up to the public, we're offering it for free, we're opening up to the public, and my goal is to take that and to figure out how to re-package it a little bit, so men would fit invited as well, and then get that out there and maybe through women studies program and across college campuses and that sort of thing, so I'm looking to take what I do, which is really broad, which is really accessible information that's useful to everybody, but because I've taught in Women's Studies, it's always been labeled women bla bla bla, and so I think I, last time I did AmeriCorps, I did an opening lecture called, the sacred art of self-care, and so I think that's is what it's going to be renamed into, and really I'm still going to use all about love by bell hooks as sort of the primary text, and chose the ideas of Erich Fromm from the art of loving, and Scott Peck from a road less traveled, to talk about living by a love ethic, and so that's how I see myself launching my public intellectual life.

most of it right now is focused on speaking and the sort of public lecture piece, but I'm also, like for this workshop, I'm developing my own material around some of the practices that I teach, and so, maybe eventually someday that will appear in some public forum, but not right now, that's not my main focus right this moment, when they give me a sabbatical, that's when I'll write it ((laughs)) (573 words)

***Theme: Pedagogical implications.***

the challenge to me is, do we understand the public, do we understand how to employ our intellectual capacity, do we understand the ultimate goal of what that employment would be, and I guess the last piece for me would be, do we understand what values that we have while we're applying those goals, issues like, and again, I keep referring back to my issues, issues like inclusivity, issues like authenticity, issues like the transformation of consciousness, so those are values that then infuse my own internal conversation and then my conversations out there with others

another venue for my teaching is through Fairplay, we have what I call the modules program, where there are pieces of information that people get over the course of some time, these are self-taught modules, and I had three, I'm up to maybe seven or eight now, but the three I had were inclusivity leadership and power, because people needed to learn inclusivity, people need leadership, where in the world was that taught,

we taught the leadership of exclusivity, how to be leaders against, or opposing someone or something, but how do we learn inclusive leadership, and then the third piece is power, because I realized that I've always been a student of power, but no one ever taught me power, when I first went to college, I thought I was going to learn power, and I kept changing my major, every semester saying, that crap ain't power, you know I started off with economics and then went to political science, and then went to such and such, you can't find it in the university system, although everyone assumes that people coming out of that system are powerful people, so I've been addressing the issue of power (at     ), in later days, I've been focusing much more of my time on the issues of what I would call societal spirituality, what does spirituality look like when you unhinge it from the dictates of exclusivist religion, every religion has this poison pill at the center of it that says our way is the only way of doing this, what would happen if you pull that out of each one of the religions, well they all would start leaking into each other, and you'd start realizing that they're all saying the same thing, which is very good, but also really bad for the collection plate, so this is one reason why it doesn't happen, so there's this tremendous force, this spiritual force that Gandhi was able to tap into, that King was able to tap into, that largely goes untapped in our society, of looking at how transcendental issues, how societally transcendental issues can affect how we actually live together and to remove the barriers that separate us, I've been spending a lot of my time in that mode, looking at that, and teaching that, ok, so we talked about the university, and we talked about CommonWays trainings, and then there's just an awful lot of workshops seminars et cetera of coming into other people's organizations, of taking an organization that already exists, that already has a trajectory and say, why don't you think about these ten things, and why don't you do these things this way, and by doing that, I can, I call it tuning the radio, Sarvodaya already existed, it existed for 40 some years before I found them, and they had a great program, great activities et cetera, but they were just a little bit off station, there was a lot fuzz in there, and so I was able to introduce just a few concepts and help them get to a much clearer signal, that's the largest organization I've done that with organizations in other countries, I've done that with organizations here in this country,

S: Absolutely, there's no question but that my students have been impressed by the fact that this is not theoretical for me, this is really where the rubber meets the road, and it's like, it's one thing to say, when you are in facing the other you should do these things, it's another thing to say, three weeks ago I was in the Southern part of the island, and there was a guy holding a gun on me, giving me a command in Sinhalese, I had no idea if he was telling to stand up, sit down, put my hands up down, you know, and I was like, I could get shot right now, simply from a misunderstanding, you know, and there's almost nothing that prepares you for that ((laughs)), it's almost like, you can't say well, in those situations you do such and such, and so I think that the most important thing I've been able to do with my students, is to give them a sense that the world is real, that the things that they're seeing on the headlines have people and lives and bodies behind them, you know, and to be able to say, that's a really good idea, in the real world it won't work, and this is why I think it won't cause I tried that and it didn't work, you know, I think that, and especially in our field, in conflict resolution, I think that it's become faddish

now, I think ecology had its trajectory, I think conflict resolution will have a trajectory, and in the end it's, people can write books about conflicts they've studied without actually getting their hands dirty in an actual conflict, going into an actual conflict zone, I'll tell you a story ((laughs)), this was years ago, when I was doing the work with the Three Valleys Project, and I was trying to come up with a way of weighing votes between the Anglo land owners and the Latino farm workers, one to one voting just wasn't going to cut it for a lot of reasons, and so I was speaking to the President of PSU at the time, I think her name was Judith Ramsey, and she said how's your work going, and I was telling her, you know what I, and she said, well professor so and so in the math department is working on weighted voting right now, you should talk with him and get his ideas, and I said great, somebody might help me solve my problem here, so I call him up and said I heard you doing initiatives with weighted voting, so he said yeah and we set up a meeting, so he came in, and I started describing this problem this issue that I had, you know we had these two groups that had disparate power and disparate numbers, and we wanted to figure out ways to weight the voting that people would have more equivalent representation, and this guy has got his jaw dropped, he says, you're working with real human beings, and I'm like huh, and he says, I just doing statistical sampling, I'm doing computer modeling, he says you get to work with real human beings, ((laughs)), how's that working out ((laughs hard)), excuse me, I'm in the wrong room ((laughs)), so my ability to add a level of reality to students who are getting tons and tons of book knowledge but not a whole lot of practical stuff, I think that's important, and that's one of the reasons why two of the students went over to Sri Lanka, because I was able to paint a picture of what is actually going on over there. (1,254 words)

they're both, quite a few of, quite a few Israeli academic and Palestinian academics that are involved, there are some academics in Northern Ireland who we're in conversation with, a good number of them are either community leaders or political leaders

well it obviously affects students in the sense that those kinds of lessons and experiences and insights gets translated into the classroom, so it does at that particular level as well, I think it also acts as a kind of model for students who have those kinds of concerns and interests and are looking for how they might make a career for them, or explore them in their career and professional lives, I mean one of the major questions that I used to get was, how can I do what you do, and that's a very difficult question, and I don't know how to fully answer that, there are, in some way it's a matter of being in the right place at the right time, and in some places it's kind of preparing yourself for being in that place at the right time, but it's hard to lay out a kind of career course that leads to the kinds of activities and engagement that I do

student evaluations have to do largely with has the course been meaningful and insightful and instructive to them, and you have professors who can do that very well, and you have professors who don't do it quite so well, that if you combine the ability to teach with a curriculum that is interesting and if you can dock that up with real world experiences, that works very well, and I tended to get very high evaluations, but I don't



know that just the activity itself correlates with how well students evaluate the curriculum and the teacher

students who get to evaluate professors do so on the basis of having taken a course that they've, he or she's taught, that's been a choice by the student to take the course, and is somehow attracted to the material or the professor who's giving the lecture or the cleric facilitating the discussions, that kind of, that's the kind of arrangement, there's students, I'm sure who've looked at what professors do and don't like what it is that they do and don't regard or value their public stance, but they don't get to evaluate professors on the basis of that, my personal evaluation for people who engaged in peace activities or, some of them are, some of them I'm rather critical of, I'm guessing a little bit of the difficulty in answering the question is that people, students who have a particularly attitude because of the stances that a professor has taken on certain stuff usually just don't take the classes (464 words)

I think given in any academic's existence who you are and where you've grown up and what experiences you've had in some fundamental way shapes what interests you have as an academic and as an intellectual, I am from abroad, I am from the developing world, I am from the Caribbean, and having grown up through my teenage years in the Caribbean I was particularly interested in why some countries were poor and others were not, and of course being literally in the back yard of the United States, on is interested why some countries are rich why some are poor, the impact of colonialism, does that not create an economic structure that traps it in countries in certain locations, and that's one of the main reasons why countries remain poor, rather than people who are lazy and not entrepreneurial and those sorts of things, so I was particularly interested in economic history of developing countries as an undergraduate, but when I began my graduate work, it evolved from a more narrow understanding of my particular region of the world, because I actually came to the United States for my graduate work, and then it became apparent to me that what I thought was maybe in some ways unique to the colonial world or my awareness of certain parts of the colonial world was much broader than that, and some of the phenomena that I had assumed was strictly relevant to colonialism, I saw sort of the repeated race class gender distinction occurring within the United States, and so I was far more interested in how does any society evolve in such a way that we have these class differences or racial differences, what are the frames that lead us to accept them as a society, so it's all this about hegemony, certain frames take root and people buy into them, but what for me was most fascinating is that at some point, at every point in history societies are dynamic, they never remain the same forever, you know you can have 300 500 years of colonialism and then something changes, so I was particularly interested in what caused these changes and the social movements, what triggers them, how you move from one point to another and I was particularly interested in tracking what are the triggers, you know what are the events, you know what is it about society that certain things can move us from one point to another

well, in that sense you know, I don't know if it's enough, but ( ) the way we teach our students, is critical, and when I talk about the way we teach, I know in the media that the understanding is somehow, academics teach students what they want them

to know, that it's very biased, it's very narrow, it's very liberal, the ultimate goal of an education is to teach people to think critically, to look at data and to be rigorous in its analysis, to consider alternative opinions, engage them fully, but coming away with some conclusion and some judgment based on one's understanding, that is always subject to evolution, and I think in terms of education that has to be key, I get very worried when I hear conversations about you know it's a liberal education, or certain things should not be taught or certain ideas should not be introduced, it suggests censorship and a very narrow perspective, and that worries me, so I think academia and people who are engaged in teaching at all levels, beyond just when we way academia we speak of college and institutions of higher learning, I think from the elementary school and all the way through high school and into colleges we really want to encourage our students and our resource, future workers and people and community members to be critical thinking people and not be afraid of new ideas, or people who are different from what you've grown up with, that's really important

I've incorporated their work both because they have solid academic credentials, but they have been able to cross over to talk about the significance of the application of the ideas in the real world, and for me that's very very significant. (705 words)

I was going to say, I don't think there are any negative effects ((laughs)), she says, but I recently had a student who got into grad school and said she didn't feel like she was ready, because I thought that some of the stuff that she wasn't getting in my courses, she would be getting somewhere else, and she really wasn't getting it, and so I think what's challenging for someone who is public scholar and tries to help students to engage in that way as well, is to figure out how to balance that, figure out where they're not totally writing to the academy, for the academy, but also are not totally sunk into I statements and it's all about me, you know I try to get them to find that balance in their writing, and I lean to this side more, because I figure in some other class they're going to get that other stuff, but what I'm finding is that they haven't, that she, this particular student didn't feel like she was getting it, so I'm starting to require a little bit more around outside sources and that sort of stuff I didn't do before, so that shifted my teaching, I think the benefit of what I teach is that, students connect it to the real life, they connect it to the real world, they're not just regurgitating information, and here, and when I get them in my sophomore inquiry ( ) women's studies class, or my 300 level bell hooks class, many students it's the first time they've had anything like that, and you know, they're like I can use I statements, and they like go into shock, because it's been forced out of them, and so I think that's what bell hooks does also, cause she uses like pop culture a lot to do cultural criticism, and so when we teach in that process, they can do it out there in the culture but they can also do it in their lives, and then they can envision how they can be the change that we want to create in the world, instead of just talking about how messed up things are (366 words)

***Theme: Public policy/movement building.***

S: because to me I see peace justice and conflict resolution of a subset of something else, and I'm working under something else, which means I'm also working on peace justice and conflict resolution, but the people that I look at, are people who are

addressing that larger thing, and the larger thing in common way language is creating a society that works for all, in Sarvodaya language it is the awakening of all, and so I would say in my 17 years of work with Dr. Ariyaratne and in my 11 years of working with his son Vinya Ariyaratne that these are people who have been highly highly influential in how I see the world, do my work, understand my own work, as I was saying about the students, I've gone over to Sri Lanka with these great grand ideas, and they're like fine, try it out over there, and we try it out, and it dies a horrible death ((laughs)), sweep it under the rug ((laughs)), and I learn a lot from that, and then we try some things out that are stunning successes, and I'm like way beyond what I had hoped for dreamt for the success, so those are just two people that come to mind immediately, and they've got impeccable credentials in the peace and nonviolence and social justice and conflict resolution world, I'm trying to think of someone here, in the United States I lean on, and you know this is a kind of thing where 25 names come to me after you turn the tape off, no one's coming to mind immediately, I was thinking of Joanna Macy, but that's kind of like to easy, to I guess I should say Joanna Macy (290 words)

well I have been engaged in two that have had some significant impact, I think that, I mean currently in Northern Ireland right now there is a great deal of thought about the notion of creating shared futures, and I think that we were in many ways useful and helpful in giving content, particularly content to those kinds of notions as they take place in the policies of Belfast City Council or other agencies, in fact that's what I am doing know, is working with the city statutory agencies on how would you give shape to shared futures as a way of doing social cohesion, so I do think they've had those kind of impacts, I think that in the Israeli Palestinian conflict one of the major ways in which those who are engaged in trying to create peace there, the academics who try to do so, one of the major modes of analysis is the barrier analysis, which is quite prevalent there, and we had an impact in introducing that sort of framework to a great numbers of intellectuals and academics and community leaders there, so I mean I think those are two that I know concretely about, I actually think that this stuff that Schultz and Kissinger and Nunn had been doing on reaching zero nuclear weapons, we've had some, not so much us, but the framework we've used had some positive impact on the kind of analyses they were doing (243 words)

sociologists have changed how we think, our understanding of class analysis, or our understanding of how you develop frames, our understanding of hegemony, of marketing, of consumerism, of gender, a lot of these come from sociologists, and they do influence how we think, but I think so much more work has been done that is not apparent, and I think especially in a place like the United States I do not know, I do not know where the failure has been, where the academe has encouraged or where the larger society, well, that would not be honest, but I think at some point in United States history we have truly valued public intellectuals, perhaps now we see it not so much as personal development and critical thought, we see it as an economic opportunity, so we've shifted how understand educating people, but I think in many other countries there's a more direct connection between academics and public intellectuals and government policy makers, I think it is less so, and I maybe be wrong, but I think in the United States there is less motivation for people who are responsible for policy making to consult with

academics, or it might be that academics are not willing or not open to be out there and actually work collaboratively in terms of that civic engagement, so as an institution we say we are pretty much devoted to civic engagement, but I think it's taunted, and I think we do have issues of not having enough mutual respect, so academics tend to be somewhat arrogant when we approach communities about what work needs to be done, we are not as humble and open as we should be, and because of that we have created in essence a class difference, and that has damaged how much work we can actually do effectively,

when we think what happened in the New Deal, when we think of ( ), when we think of the rise of unions, in the Civil Rights Movement, where we had all this public intellectual engagement, one would come to today at US media and think that never happened, and sometimes we tend to think it has always been that way, and it isn't, it's just that right now we have some very dominant frames that have been in some ways very successful in convincing people that there is only just a narrow way to think about the problems which we have, and curiously enough have created such an environment that people cannot even understand what's really happening, so they understand what the impact is one them and what they can do to change it.

well the people that I am most familiar with I think, they do have academic backgrounds, I think of Cornell West, I think of Arundhati Roy, who comes from a writing background but who has become such a persona on the international stage I should say, Vandana Shiva clearly certainly stands out, with Amartya Sen, Nobel Prize winner from India, he stands out

so I think at one point in the United States we had a war on poverty, more recently we had a war on drugs, that was a total failure, the word is finally official, it was a total failure, but we had a war on poverty, and I think the war on poverty came out of academics looking at what was creating poverty and the need to understand, and the need to understand it, it starts, or the most significant point of entry for dealing with it effectively had to do with what children were experiencing, and if you could fix the experiences or improve the experiences of children in poverty the implications for the next generations for their parents of what they would be capable of would be so significant, so there we have the war on poverty, certainly when we talked about the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, our discussions of what it mean to be a full citizen, who was, and where the skin color made a difference and where the people were inherently incapable of critical and higher thought, or incapable of certain kinds of development and achievements, I mean all of that comes out of intellectual discussion, our understanding of the global economic environment and the ability to see through it and realize there's a dominant new economic, neoliberal that drives it, and it's not just a model that's created out of nothing that's driving it, it's particular individuals well placed at very high level international and national organizations have been able to commandeer what the language and understanding is about economic development and then impose it in a hegemonic way, so I think it's academic and intellectuals who can do that tracking of how we got to be in certain situations, how we got to be so materialist and consumer driven, that now we seem to have this ( ) about undoing about what we know to be

wrong in terms of environmental impact of what we do, the energy, the economic energy that drives us over the cliff when everything else we know tells us we should be doing it differently, I think we have seen as academics, and that's a broad community of people, we have been able to do that analysis that tells us there are different ways to do things, we also know, right now we have a couple of wars taking place and the Middle East, the Arab countries are all going up with huge amounts of social distress, well when we look at them and say, why now, what's happening, we look at the age demographic of the people in this country, the frustration over not getting jobs, being skilled and not getting jobs, we see a frustration that in spite of the fact that for many of these countries the leaders and the administrations have close relationships with the United States and one assumes they would, the United States, and these partnerships would encourage democratic participation of citizens, it has not happened, so when we have these flare ups, and people say well what in heaven's name is going on, especially if you're living in the United States, ( ) and you're totally oblivious, then it is academics who explain the why now and why does it seem to have come from nowhere, it didn't come from nowhere, it has been brewing for a while, so I think in terms of how we understand what triggers a war and the fact that we consistently go to war and we make it this glorious project all for patriotism and then come down, ten years down the line we have to deal with the people coming back from wars, the people who have suffered war in their country and the soldiers who are coming back from war who are so damaged from their trauma, that it is a huge social disinvestment, and that is not included in the cost of war, but it (really is), but intellectuals, academics already know that, but policy makers are not paying any attention to that, but we know it will happen, the question is when, and in some ways we already know from suicide rates, domestic violence rates, that the evidence is already out there, we talk a lot about post-traumatic stress disorder, there's not a lot being published, of the returning soldiers, these are the numbers of those who committed suicide, these are the numbers who have killed themselves and taken their families out, these are the numbers of who can't function, these are the numbers, we don't have that data yet, but we know there are people collecting that data. (1,286 words)

when I think of a public scholar I think of someone like bell hooks, who's been academic but also very much out there dealing with everyday people and everyday people's experiences and is really committed to getting some of the ideas developed within academia, into the real world, and to make it valuable to individual experience and not just knowledge that people regurgitate.

because I think about folks like bell hooks and Cornell West, can recognize their effect on people's lives, but I don't know that I can tie their work to public policy, you know there's Dr. King and the Civil Rights Movements, but I'm thinking more of someone who's still living and still doing this work, (118 words)

***Theme: Possible solutions.***

almost anything they're not doing now, I mean, I really like and respect my chair, for a number of reasons, not just his intellectual learning and stuff like that, but his ability to wage through bureaucratic nonsense garbage fecal matter, just put it all up and just give you a big spoon ((laughs)), and I don't that kind of patience, you know, and like I

was telling you earlier about the situation where the university officials wanted me to use the, to get everyone assigned the human subject forms, when I am dealing with undocumented aliens who are not going to sign anything, not even going to come to a meeting where they have to sign anything, it's like, academia kind of exists here, it floats above any levels of reality, it doesn't touch the ground ever, and those of us who have our hands, feet and hearts on the ground, that's just not an environment I can work with, so I was telling you, about the school for international training, they were working with Sarvodaya on doing development training work, and so they had like 30 40 students on the island, and they had a year course, and the war gets hot in 2006, so there's a lot of fighting going on, and there's some risk, I mean like, in the town that I live and work in Moratuwa, buses were blowing up, and as soon as it happened they pulled the plug, ok all the students will finish their work in Vermont, not in Sri Lanka, and a number of the students, and I am so proud to say, my student Elaine, rebelled, and said, you know, the person doing the risk assessment is some lawyer sitting down at the insurance company in America, they've never been to Sri Lanka, and Elaine, her argument was, well we can leave, but the Sri Lankans can't, do you want to give us a real education or do you want us to like we're only going to be here when it's nice, and I think half the students, so they changed it to they strongly recommended that you leave, and they gave students the option to opt in, and half the students opted in, so she finished her studies right there in Sri Lanka, so I, so those are ways that academia gets in the way of doing effective action, but then again I don't think that, I think that when effective action has always been seen up her as some kind of intellectual pursuit or you're studying something inside of a test tube, you're not dealing with the reality that people are facing, then that seems reasonable,

a continual relationship of teaching learning teaching learning, doing, going out coming back et cetera, and so this would be a way of connecting in the lifelong learning, you know that I will continually will have a relationship to this institution, now he went on to not do that, I am still completing it (505 words)

I think that fixed term people should be treated more like tenure track people, I think that if we, I think we're in a position where we could have that option, so either they can say yes, teach 12 credits a term or no, teach 8 credits a term, but work on these, what writing pieces or what intellectual thing are you going to be developing during the rest of the time, I think that would be an easy flex for the university to make in order to give us the opportunity to do that, but right now they want us to teach 12 credits a term, they want us to serve on 15 committees, and then, and then what, you go home and lay down ((laughs)), so I think that, I think if they appreciated who you were more, they would, they could do that,

I think that the mission statement of the university and the way it was originally envisioned is genius, and it really does the work of combining academics and serving real life people, and so I'm sad that, you know it's basically been gutted and continues to be transformed at the whim of people coming in here to make a name for themselves and trying to figure out how they can do that, instead of really coming in here because they embrace the principles that we stand by, and so I think that we as a university would be

better served to hold people to, this is who we were when you came here, and I'm not sure how we could go about doing that, but, because I think it's losing kind of what's really brilliant about it, and the fact that we're in the city and have this great mix of young and aging students and all that kind of stuff, that's why this model works, or has the potential work, so that saddens me a little bit, but I think that, yes that's we got to figure out to do (338 words)