

Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences

ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
THE HEART OF THE MATTER

Featuring Richard H. Brodhead

DISTRUST, POLITICAL
POLARIZATION, AND AMERICA'S
CHALLENGED INSTITUTIONS

Featuring Henry E. Brady,
Tracey L. Meares, Lee Rainie,
and Kay Lehman Schlozman



The Humanities and the Rise of the Terabytes

Featuring Danielle Allen and Jeffrey Brown

SPRING 2023

WAYS TO ENGAGE

WITH THE ACADEMY

There are several ways members may be involved in the life and work of the Academy.

Participate in the Member Election Process

Members may submit nominations, vote for candidates, and serve on selection panels.

Connect Locally

A national network of Local Program Committees and Representatives provides opportunities for members to connect with the work of the Academy and with each other in the communities where they live.

Contribute to *Dædalus*

Each issue of *Dædalus*, the Academy's quarterly journal, explores a single theme or subject from a multidisciplinary perspective in essays written by Academy members and other experts. Members are encouraged to propose topics for issues of *Dædalus* and to serve as guest editors.

Attend an Event

The Academy holds events in person and virtually. These gatherings bring members and others in their communities together to explore important topics through an interdisciplinary lens that draws on the Academy's breadth and expertise.

Share the Academy's Work

Members play a vital role in disseminating the Academy's work to policy-makers, the media, scholars, students, and leaders in higher education, nonprofit organizations, business, and philanthropy.

Stay in Touch on Social Media

The Academy shares news, events, and updates on Facebook and Twitter. Follow, tag, and retweet to stay up to date and help promote the Academy's work.

For more information about becoming involved, please contact Laurie McDonough, Morton L. Mandel Director of Membership Engagement, at lmcdonough@amacad.org.

Institutions and the people who lead them cannot fulfill their missions if they have lost legitimacy in the eyes of the people they are meant to serve. Below: Protestors reject the authority of the Supreme Court's decision to repeal the right to an abortion in *Dobbs v. Jackson Women's Health Organization*, Washington, D.C., June 24, 2022.



Features

23 On the Tenth Anniversary of *The Heart of the Matter*

Richard H. Brodhead

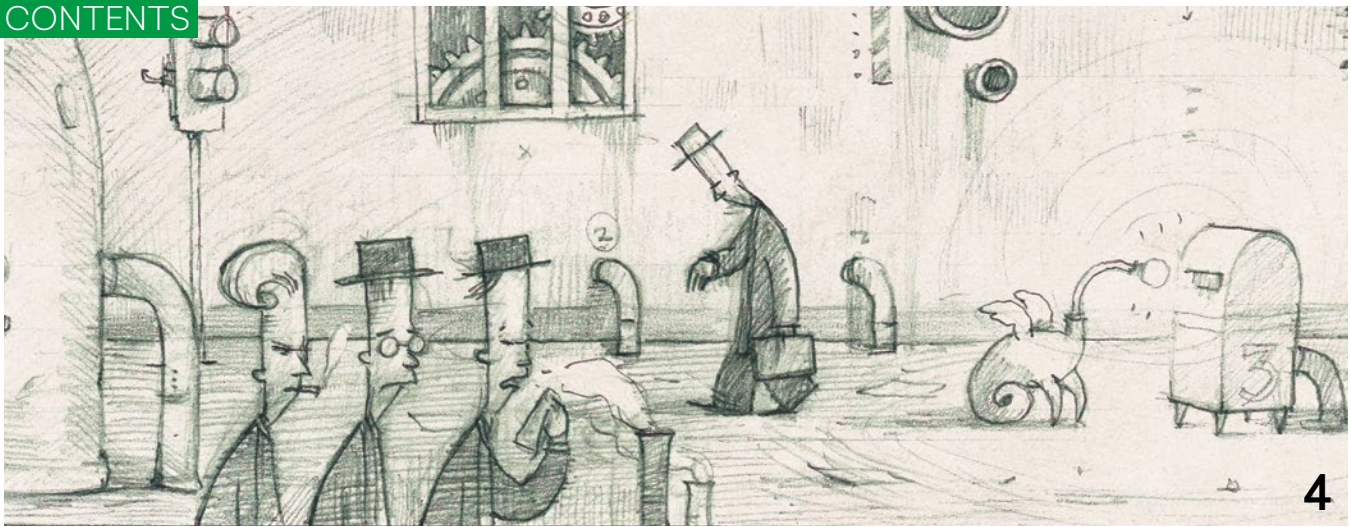
30 The Humanities and the Rise of the Terabytes

Morton L. Mandel Conversation
Danielle Allen and Jeffrey Brown

42 Distrust, Political Polarization, and America's Challenged Institutions

Morton L. Mandel Conversation

Henry E. Brady, Tracey L. Meares, Lee Rainie, and Kay Lehman Schlozman



Our Work

- 4** *Dædalus* focuses on “Creating a New Moral Political Economy”
By *Dædalus* Editorial
- 8** Understanding New Nuclear Dangers and Emerging Risks
By Doreen Horschig
- 12** Identifying Barriers to Climate Action
By Kelsey Schuch
- 15** Undergraduates Apparently Undeterred by the Pandemic
By Robert B. Townsend
- 18** Introducing America to Americans: New Photojournal from the Commission on Reimagining Our Economy
By Jonathan D. Cohen



Members

- 65** Noteworthy

Departments

- 3** From the President
- 68** From the Archives



“ Spring is always a special time at the Academy, particularly because it is when we elect a new class of Academy members. In April, we were pleased to welcome more than 260 innovative thinkers across a wide range of fields and professions.

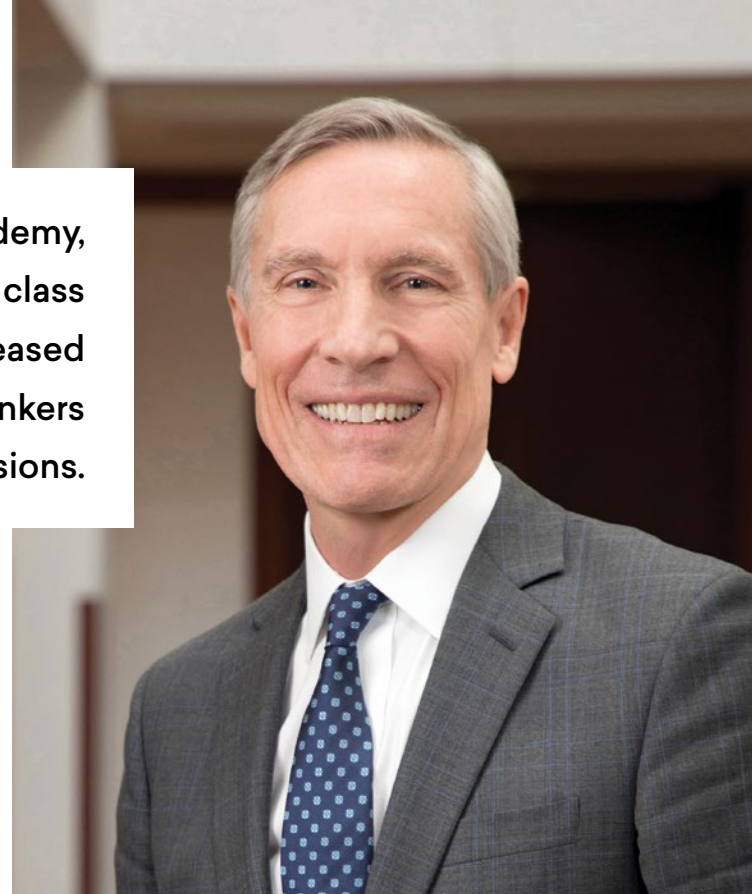
From the President

I hope this spring issue of the *Bulletin* finds you well and enjoying this season of renewal. Spring is always a special time at the Academy, particularly because it is when we elect a new class of Academy members. In April, we were pleased to welcome more than 260 innovative thinkers across a wide range of fields and professions. We look forward to celebrating them during Induction Weekend on September 29–30, 2023, when they will join the Class of 2022 in signing the Academy’s Book of Members.

Our new members join the Academy at a particularly exciting moment. As you will see in the pages that follow, our two major commissions, the Commission on Accelerating Climate Action and the Commission on Reimagining Our Economy, have been at work for nearly two years and are now releasing their first work products.

In 2021, the Academy assembled the Commission on Accelerating Climate Action to identify the key barriers to meaningful action on climate change in the United States and to propose policy recommendations to address them. The Commission consists of a diverse group of members of native and indigenous communities, youth leaders and activists, faith community leaders, security experts, private sector employees, artists and humanists, and government leaders from both sides of the aisle. This issue of the *Bulletin* provides an overview of three of the Commission’s first work products: briefs focusing on effective climate change communication; climate change security risks and opportunities; and barriers to private sector action.

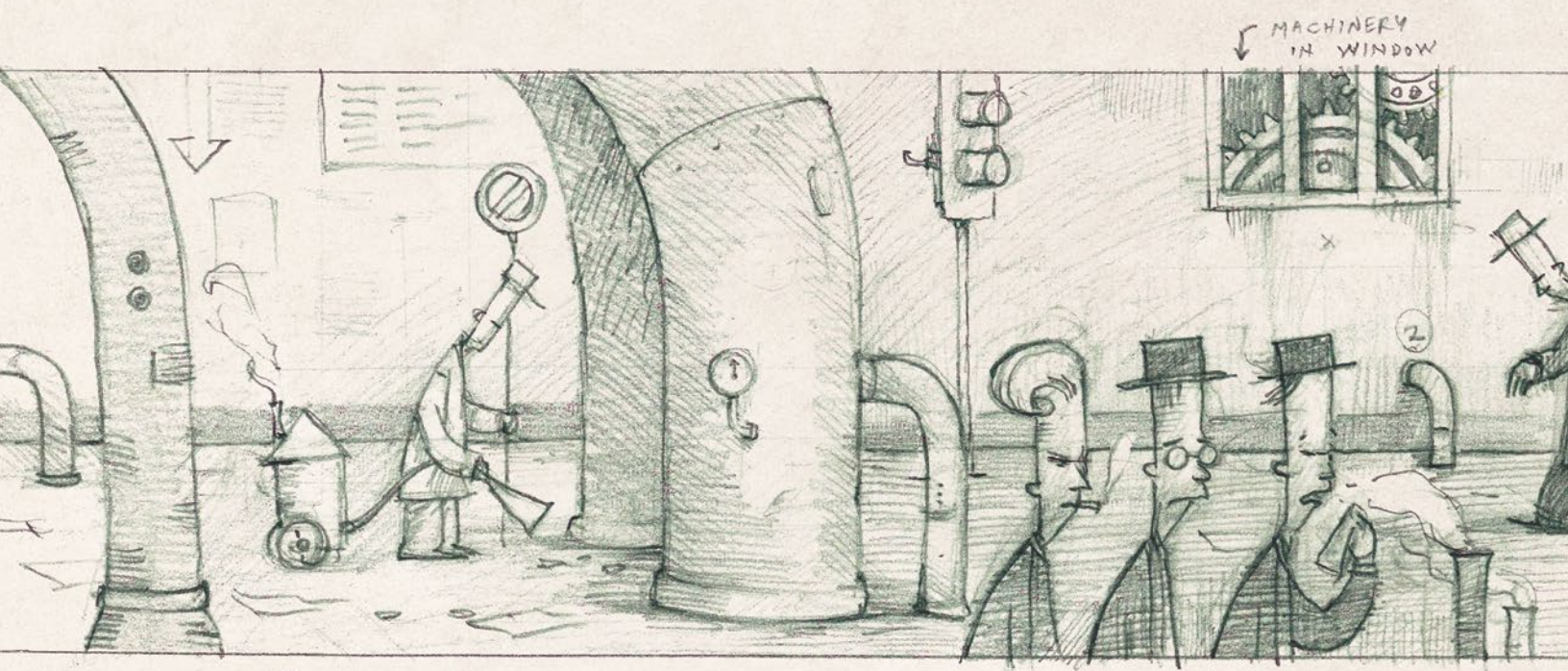
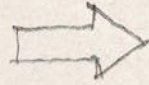
Also in 2021, the Academy launched the Commission on Reimagining Our Economy to rethink the principles, metrics, narratives, and policies that shape the nation’s political economy. Like the climate commission,



the Commission on Reimagining Our Economy is an interdisciplinary and cross-partisan group comprising scholars, journalists, artists, and leaders from the faith, labor, business, and philanthropic communities. This issue of the *Bulletin* spotlights one of the Commission’s first major work products, *Faces of America: Getting By in Our Economy*, a photojournal that features quotes from listening sessions that the Commission conducted around the country.

There is exciting news to report related to the Academy’s leadership as well. I closed my message in the 2022 Annual Report with a tribute to the extraordinary service of Nancy Andrews, who will conclude her tenure as Chair of the Academy’s Board on June 30. I would like to close this message by recognizing her recently announced successor, Justice Goodwin Liu of the Supreme Court of California. Since his election to the Academy, Justice Liu has rendered exceptional service to our organization in a number of roles, including serving as a member of the Making Justice Accessible project, the aforementioned Commission on Reimagining Our Economy, the Committee on Anti-Racism, the membership section panel on Law, the Institutional Policy Committee, and the Board and Trust. I could not think of a better leader to help guide the Academy into its next era. I look forward to working with Justice Liu, our new members, and everyone in the Academy community to advance our work in service to the nation and the world.

David W. Oxtoby



Shuster 2008

↑ WAITING COMMUTERS.

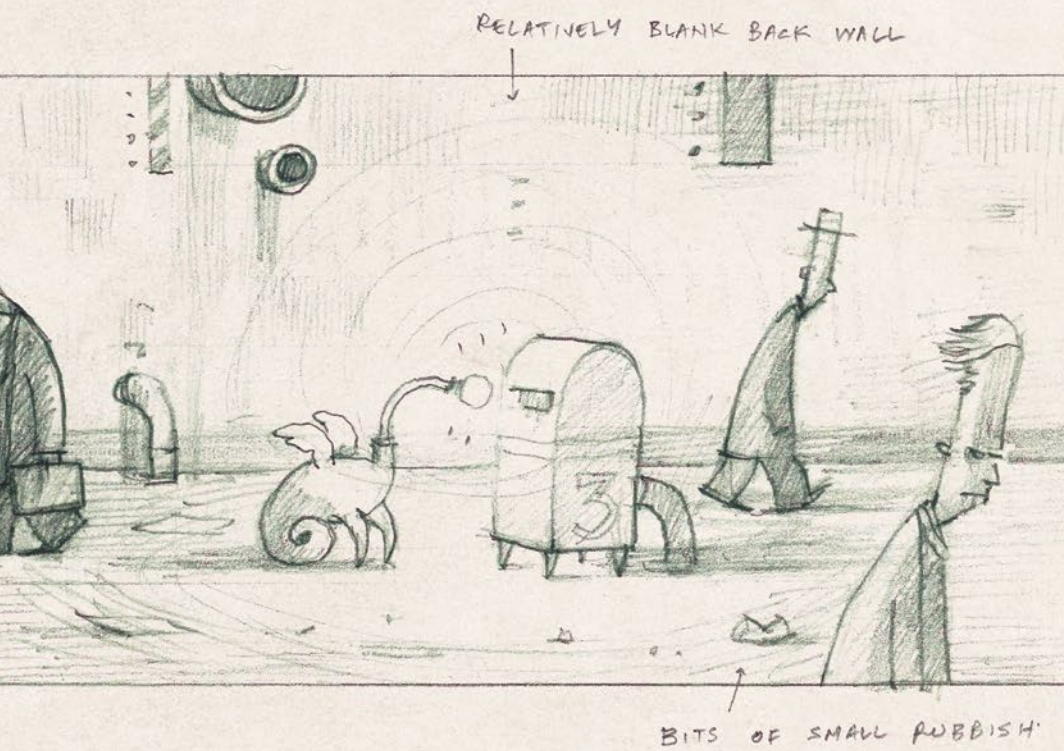
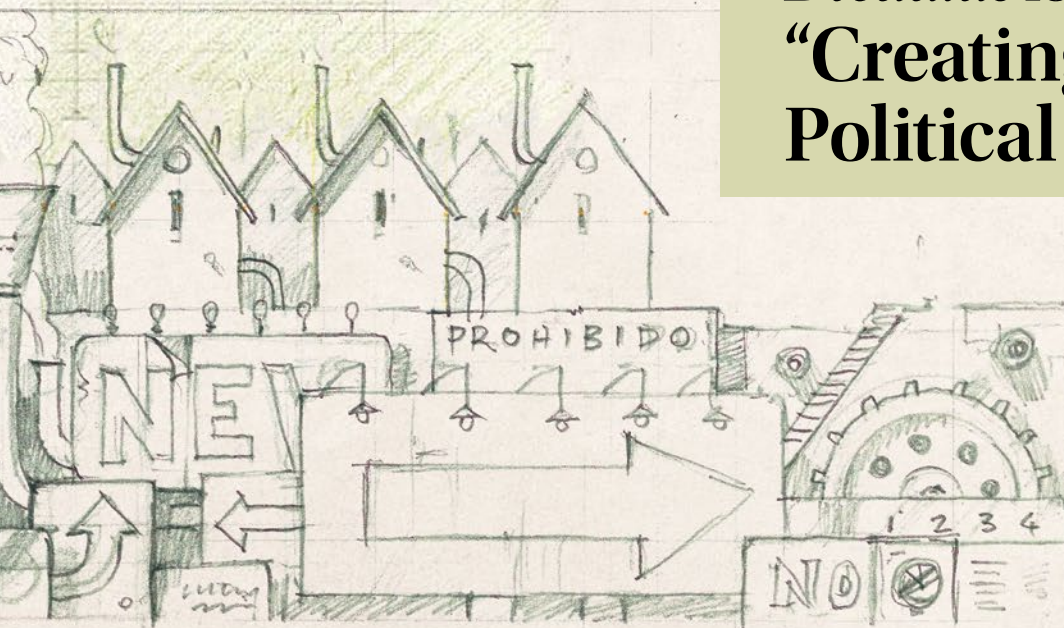
Dædalus focuses on “Creating a New Moral Political Economy”

By Dædalus Editorial

Capitalist democracy needs rethinking and renewal. Our current political economic framework is fixated on GDP, individual achievement, and short-term profit, all the while heightening barriers to widespread prosperity. Faced with mounting climate crises and systemic discrimination, how can we reconfigure our systems to secure economic well-being for all? What steps must we take to ensure our new approaches are (and will remain) sustainable?

The Winter 2023 issue of *Dædalus* on “Creating a New Moral Political Economy,” guest edited by Margaret Levi and Henry Farrell, offers a range of ideas to combat unequal footing across the polity,

These images, which are printed on the inside covers of the *Dædalus* volume, are by the Australian artist Shaun Tan. They are taken from a storyboard for the Academy Award-winning short film *The Lost Thing*, based on Tan’s book of the same name. Tan says that *The Lost Thing* incorporates “ideas about social apathy and dehumanizing economic policies,” depicting a city where “all value and meaning is so clearly defined, it leaves no room for alternative ideas and inventiveness.” But those who follow the clues can discover the door to a place where the things that don’t fit can be found. Tan’s image captures what we wanted to create with this issue—a first sketch of a political and economic world that seems morally exhausted, but that has wonderful possibilities for change if only we lift up our eyes. *Tram Window Landscape* storyboard © 2008 by Shaun Tan. Film © 2010 by Passion Pictures Australia and Screen Australia.



marketplace, and workplace. Across eleven main essays and twenty-two responses, the contributors ask us to rethink the collective goals of a society and its means of gauging success. In dialogue with each other, the authors spark a new discourse that places the health and well-being of the people on par with the wealth of nations.

To achieve this new vision of the economy, the contributors suggest various collaborative actions. As Margaret Levi and Zachary Ugolnik write in their introduction, “All [the essays] in this volume evoke some form of sociality and cooperation as linchpins of their arguments . . . The starting

Among these calls, Jenna Bednar suggests we need to shift our attention from metrics such as GDP to the material benefits of human flourishing. A similar perspective comes from Alison Gopnik, who describes a revamped approach to considering and compensating various forms of care. Natasha Iskander and Nichola Lowe argue for “biophilic institutions” that address the need for sustainable business practices that protect both employees and the planet. Grieve Chelwa, Darrick Hamilton, and Avi Green call for more expansive economic policies that include racial justice alongside class consciousness.

Rebecca Henderson argues that firms have a responsibility to their employees, shareholders, and society to adopt moral and sustainable business practices; she identifies several opportunities for intervention.

Exploring democratic governance, regulation, and what we owe the future, Debra Satz considers the ways unregulated markets have affected democratic culture and institutions. Henry Farrell and Marion Fourcade suggest algorithms have had a large hand in shaping digital marketplaces, drawing lessons from modernism to devise ways to protect users from the onslaught of surveillance and the misapplication of algorithmic and AI decision-making. Closing the volume, Federica Carugati and Nathan Schneider pull from older epistemologies to expand our connection to knowledge as both descendants and ancestors.

Patterns emphasizing ongoing connections recur throughout the volume, reinforcing the need to commit to supportive social movements that prioritize collective, equitable, and respectful responsibility for care of the earth and its people. Together, the authors meet the challenge set by Levi and Ugolnik: “the establishment of a political economic framework that offers a revised form of capitalist democracy, one that ensures the flourishing of all, whose morality truly represents commonly held and cherished values, and yet recognizes and respects difference.”

&

“Creating a New Moral Political Economy” is available on the Academy’s website at www.amacad.org/daedalus/creating-new-moral-political-economy. *Dædalus* is an open access publication.

“To truly secure human flourishing in America, we must set our nation on a different course. We must redirect our government’s energies from the pursuit of profit for some to the pursuit of happiness for all.”

Joseph Kennedy III, “Power to Pursue Happiness”

place of a moral political economy is the twofold assumption that, first, humans are social animals albeit intentional, boundedly rational, and individuated, and, second, they benefit from reciprocity and cooperation.” This focus on collaboration is evident in both the content itself and the synergy inherent in the call and response between the main essays and those written in reply.

On meaningful work and the workplace, John S. Ahlquist says we need to retire subjective rhetoric about “good jobs” in favor of that of “decent jobs.” Richard M. Locke, Ben Armstrong, Samantha Schaab-Rozbicki, and Geordie Young compare the ethics and outcomes of two meat-packing corporations’ approaches to retaining employees during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Winter 2023 issue of *Dædalus* on “Creating a New Moral Political Economy” features the following essays:

Mobilizing in the Interest of Others

Margaret Levi & Zachary Ugolnik

Foundations of an Expanded Community of Fate

Samuel Bowles & Wendy Carlin

**Reimagining Political Economy Without
“Yanking on a Thread before It’s Ready”**

Mariano-Florentino Cuéllar

Governance for Human Social Flourishing

Jenna Bednar

All (Cautiously) Hail—and Scale—Community!

Perna Singh

Power to Pursue Happiness

Joseph Kennedy III

Caregiving in Philosophy, Biology & Political Economy

Alison Gopnik

Care Is a Relationship

Anne-Marie Slaughter

Egalitarian Pluralism

Steven M. Teles

**Biophilic Institutions: Building New Solidarities
between the Economy & Nature**

Natasha Iskander & Nichola Lowe

Biophilic Markets

Eric D. Beinhocker

Biophilia & Military Degrowth

Julie Livingston

Making Decent Jobs

John S. Ahlquist

Eudaimonic Jobs

Suresh Naidu

Mutual Aid as Spiritual Sustenance

Michelle Miller

**Supply Chains & Working Conditions During the Long
Pandemic: Lessons for a New Moral Political Economy?**

Richard M. Locke, Ben Armstrong,
Samantha Schaab-Rozbicki & Geordie Young

Doing Well by Doing Right

Joshua Cohen

Unchaining Workers

R. Alta Charo

**Identity Group Stratification, Political Economy &
Inclusive Economic Rights**

Grieve Chelwa, Darrick Hamilton & Avi Green

**Reducing the Transactional Value of
Identity & Race**

Henry Farrell & Margaret Levi

**Neoliberal Fragility: Why It’s So Hard for (Some)
Economists to Talk about Racism**

Manuel Pastor

Democracy & “Noxious” Markets

Debra Satz

Is There a Proper Scope for Markets?

Marc Fleurbaey

**How Should We Govern Housing Markets in a
Moral Political Economy?**

Chloe Thurston

Moral Firms?

Rebecca Henderson

Are Moral Firms Committed Firms?

Colin Mayer

Can Firms Act Morally?

Margaret O’Mara

The Moral Economy of High-Tech Modernism

Henry Farrell & Marion Fourcade

The Structuring Work of Algorithms

danah boyd

High-Tech Modernism: Limits & Extensions

William H. Janeway

Governance Archaeology: Research as Ancestry

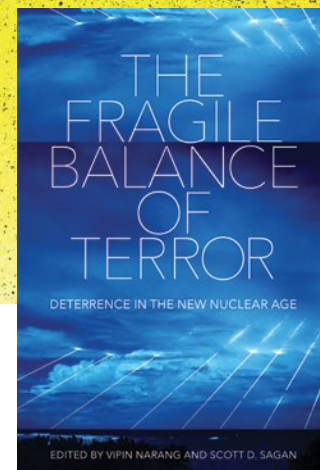
Federica Carugati & Nathan Schneider

**Taking Responsibility for Tomorrow: Remaking
Collective Governance as Political Ancestors**

Lily L. Tsai

In Search of Ontologies of Entanglement

Ann Pendleton-Jullian & John Seely Brown



Understanding New Nuclear Dangers and Emerging Risks

By **Doreen Horschig**, former Raymond Frankel Nuclear Security Policy Fellow at the Academy

The world is witnessing the emergence of new nuclear states that have acquired or are pursuing nuclear capabilities. These new nuclear actors pose significant threats to global security as they challenge the existing nuclear order and nonproliferation regime. Because of North Korea's provocative behavior and aggressive rhetoric, its nuclear program has been

a cause for concern for the international community. Pakistan's and India's nuclear weapons are a source of instability in South Asia, where tensions between the countries remain high. Iran's nuclear program, which Iran insists is entirely for peaceful purposes, is a major concern for other states in the Middle East and presents the risk of a regional arms race.

In January 2023, the Academy's project on Meeting the Challenges of the New Nuclear Age: Deterrence and New Nuclear States published *The Fragile Balance of Terror: Deterrence in the New Nuclear Age*, an edited volume of essays that discusses this new nuclear era and its emerging challenges.¹ Coeditors **Vipin Narang** (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and **Scott D. Sagan**



(Stanford University) along with several security experts examine how this era opens paths for nuclear instabilities that were not present during the Cold War. This new nuclear age is characterized not simply by a larger number of nuclear actors but also by important changes in the relationships between them.

The authors in the volume highlight the concerns that arise from the increasing number of nuclear weapons states in the twenty-first century. Characterized by domestic unrest, unpredictable leadership, and volatile locations, the modern deterrence system has become increasingly fragile. Technological advancements have amplified arsenal

vulnerability and misinformation, heightened multinational nuclear rivalries, and increased the speed at which autocrats can make arbitrary and potentially life-threatening decisions.

The Fragile Balance of Terror was written before the Russian invasion of Ukraine began. Because of the ongoing war, the volume's lessons about risks and dangers of new nuclear crises are relevant to the challenges we face today. The collection reminds us of the increasing dangers on the Korean Peninsula, in South Asia, and potentially in the Middle East if Iran is not brought back into negotiations. The authors identify, characterize, and analyze the unique challenges the United States and other states face in this new nuclear age.

In her essay, **Caitlin Talmadge** (Georgetown University) explains that the current nuclear age provides more opportunities to stumble into a nuclear war. The presence of multiple nuclear competitors – arrayed in a great-power triangle or in several regional dyads or triangles, and the interactions between them – raises greater risks of miscalculation about what other states see as their core interests and what constitutes a challenge to the status quo. **Rose McDermott** (Brown University) points out that personalist leaders who control nuclear weapons are another risk in this new era because they are easier to antagonize, are more prone to conflict, and are less willing to hear counterarguments.

There are also new tools that change the dynamics of how leaders and governments of nuclear states interact. **Heather Williams** (Center for Strategic and International Studies) and **Vipin Narang** analyze how social media platforms affect international politics, particularly crises involving one or more nuclear powers. Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp – and their local

variants – amplify nationalism and disinformation, thereby either accelerating or decelerating nuclear crises in novel ways. **Amy Zegart** (Stanford University) describes how open-source intelligence (OSINT) can inject and amplify errors that are created intentionally by adversaries and unintentionally by inexperienced amateurs. However, OSINT can also bring distinct advantages, such as greater accessibility to observe global developments, more sharing of unclassified information, and more diversity in analytical perspectives.

The second part of *The Fragile Balance of Terror* focuses on the enduring challenges that have confronted nuclear states: that is, achieving reliability, survivability, and command and control over their nuclear forces. In contrast to the “old” nuclear states, the new ones tend to value political gains and displays of force – like nuclear explosions, missile flight tests, and other military exercises – over the increased reliability of their programs, which relegate technical considerations to the periphery, as **Jeffrey Lewis** (Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey) and **Ankit Panda** (Carnegie Endowment for International Peace) explain. The balance of terror may be deliberated in the political calculations of leaders rather than in the calculations made by analysts surrounding these issues.

Christopher Clary (University at Albany, State University of New York) explores techniques historically used by nuclear weapons states to ensure a survivable second-strike in the event of a widespread adversarial counterforce attack. He finds that nuclear forces among new nuclear powers are likely to survive a nuclear first-strike and that future strains will not be worse than those faced during past nuclear eras. However, he notes that concerns about survivability will likely

intensify. Giles David Arceneaux (University of Colorado) and Peter Feaver (Duke University) urge policy-makers to consider how command and control systems interact with those of their adversaries to resolve crises successfully. This has become even more important because new nuclear states are unlikely to have static command and control arrangements, which raises nuclear risks that scholars and analysts have previously overlooked.

Mark Bell (University of Minnesota) and Nicholas Miller (Dartmouth College) explore the lessons new nuclear states have learned

nuclear states adopting a restrained nuclear posture.

Overall, the volume suggests that U.S. analysts cannot use Cold War-era theories, metrics, and policies to understand today's nuclear dangers and emerging risks. To mitigate the danger of deliberate or inadvertent nuclear use, attention must be focused on aspiring nuclear states beyond the United States, Russia, and China. U.S. policy-makers have struggled to respond effectively to the risks posed by new nuclear states. Countries with aggressive nuclear postures could ultimately alter regional balances of power and

The Academy is also sharing the volume's findings with policy-makers and congressional audiences. In October 2022 and January 2023, several authors visited the offices of Senators Edward Markey, Jeff Merkley, and Jon Ossoff and Representatives Chuck Fleischmann, Ted Lieu, and Michael McCaul to brief the members of Congress and their staff on nuclear security issues. On January 25, 2023, the Academy, in partnership with The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists and the Council for a Livable World, organized a briefing on "The Doomsday Clock and Today's Nuclear Landscape" to inform congressional staff about the aspects of today's nuclear landscape that inspired The Bulletin to set its nuclear Doomsday Clock at 90 seconds to midnight.⁴ Over fifty staffers attended the briefing, which featured Scott Sagan (Stanford University), Siegfried Hecker (Stanford University), and Sharon Squassoni (George Washington University).

Other outreach activities included in-person events at the Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs on March 27, 2023, and at the Academy on March 28, 2023. The latter event featured Heather Williams, Christopher Clary, Matthew Bunn, and other experts who discussed the book's implications on deterrence amid the war in Ukraine and other global tensions.

In addition, author Rose McDermott discussed her chapter on the podcast *Horns of a Dilemma*, produced by War on the Rocks and the *Texas National Security Review*. She explains how the leadership of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky and Russian President Vladimir Putin shaped the onset and current progress of the Russian invasion of Ukraine.⁵ In addition, David Arceneaux wrote on the risks of new

The Russian war in Ukraine and other veiled nuclear threats have thrust the dangers posed by nuclear weapons back into public consciousness. The simmering tensions on the Korean Peninsula and between India and Pakistan, the failure to curb the Iranian nuclear program, and the specter of Chinese military action over Taiwan only add to the fragility of the current global nuclear order.

from the actions of established nuclear powers, and they conclude that nuclear states rarely learn the right lessons. In the post-conflict period or after crisis de-escalation, nuclear states tend to believe that they escaped significant escalation because of their own skill, rather than luck, which reinforces their belief and support for nuclear use in future crises. The theory of nuclear learning does not offer a reliable path to stable relations among nuclear-armed states in the new nuclear era, and this has implications for policy-makers not to rely on new

significantly constrain and undermine the U.S. ability to operate in strategic theaters such as the Middle East, the Gulf Region, and East Asia.

Two events celebrated the publication of *The Fragile Balance of Terror*: a panel discussion on January 26, 2023, at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington D.C.,² and a seminar on February 2, 2023, at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University.³ Online and in-person participants included members of the diplomatic community as well as researchers and practitioners.



Speakers and participants at *The Fragile Balance of Terror* launch event at the Academy on March 28, 2023.

nuclear states' command and control systems for the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*.⁶ There is also a forthcoming appearance of Jeffrey Lewis and Ankit Panda on the *Arms Control Wonk* podcast⁷ and a policy brief by Rose McDermott in *Lawfare*.

As we learn from *The Fragile Balance of Terror*, we need new thinking about new nuclear states, especially new players such as personalist regimes, revisionist regional powers, and asymmetric global powers. The volume poses several questions for the future of the global order:

- What knowledge and experiences are transferable from the Cold War?
- Which concepts guiding arms control will remain relevant in a new nuclear age?
- Can nuclear deterrence hold for the next decade?

The Russian war in Ukraine and other veiled nuclear threats have thrust the dangers posed by nuclear weapons back into public

consciousness. The simmering tensions on the Korean Peninsula and between India and Pakistan, the failure to curb the Iranian nuclear program, and the specter of Chinese military action over Taiwan only add to the fragility of the current global nuclear order. Whether nuclear deterrence will remain robust in an era rife with new risks is not yet certain.

ENDNOTES

1. To access a free copy of *The Fragile Balance of Terror*, visit <https://d119vjm4apzmdm.cloudfront.net/open-access/pdfs/9781501767036.pdf>.
2. For a summary of the January 26, 2023, event, please visit the Academy's website: <https://www.amacad.org/news/book-launch-csis-fragile-balance-terror-deterrence-nuclear-age>. To watch a recording of the event, please visit CSIS's website: <https://www.csis.org/events/book-event-fragile-balance-terror-deterrence-nuclear-age>.
3. To watch a recording of the seminar on February 2, 2023, please visit CISAC's website: <https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/events/rose-mcdermott-and-amy-zegart-february-2023>.

4. The Doomsday Clock is a symbolic representation of how close humanity is to a global catastrophe, with midnight representing the end of the world. The clock is maintained by the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists and is used to raise awareness about the dangers of nuclear weapons, climate change, and emerging technologies.

5. To listen to Rose McDermott's discussion of her chapter on the podcast *Horns of a Dilemma*, visit <https://warontherocks.com/2023/03/dealers-in-hope-leadership-in-the-russia-ukraine-war>.

6. To read David Arceneaux's article in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* on the risks of new nuclear states' command and control systems, visit <https://thebulletin.org/2023/03/some-countries-plan-to-decentralize-control-of-nuclear-weapons-in-a-crisis-heres-why-thats-dangerous>.

7. To learn more about the *Arms Control Wonk* podcasts, visit <https://www.armscontrolwonk.com/archive/author/podcast>.



For more information about the Academy's work in nuclear weapons and arms control, visit www.amacad.org/nuclear.



Identifying Barriers to Climate Action

By **Kelsey Schuch**, *Hellman Fellow for Science and Technology Policy at the Academy*

It's 8 am on a sunny day in Miami, Florida, and the former chair of Shell is discussing mitigation with Indigenous leaders over arepas. Nearby, a reverend and youth activists chat about sea walls as they enjoy their coffee outside in the 70-degree weather. The diversity of these individuals, who are members of the Academy's Commission on Accelerating Climate Action, speaks not only to the convening power of the Academy, but also to the growing interest in climate from sectors across America.

In January 2023, Commission members gathered in Miami, a community on the frontlines of climate change, to discuss ways in which the United States can accelerate action and policy to mitigate and adapt to climate change. While in Miami, Commission members saw climate change impacts firsthand and met with local advocates committed to protecting their communities.

The Commission, chaired by **Mustafa Santiago Ali** (National Wildlife Federation), **Christopher Field** (Stanford University), **David**

G. Victor (University of California, San Diego), and **Patricia Vincent-Collawn** (PNM Resources), aims to answer two key questions: 1) How can the United States accelerate climate mitigation and adaptation strategies for all Americans regardless of race and socioeconomic background? 2) What policies would most effectively and equitably remove barriers to climate action?

To answer these questions, the thirty-one members of the Commission laid out a comprehensive



plan to understand the barriers preventing whole-of-society climate action. These initial conversations in the fall of 2022 led to the formation of three working groups in key areas: Communication, the Private Sector, and Human and National Security. Following seventy interviews with climate professionals with a broad diversity of expertise and disciplines, the working groups produced white papers and briefs outlining hurdles to climate action.

The Communication working group's brief and white paper on *Proven Principles of Effective Climate Change Communication* identify key principles of climate communication and evaluate real-world examples that embody these principles. The publications examine

how to communicate climate issues more effectively to the broader public, with emphasis on how media and identity can shift perceptions. Climate messengers that are trusted and relatable can more effectively connect with their audiences. Tailoring aspects of identity to highlight nonscientific personas is critical, particularly for scientists and experts who typically are perceived as elite. For example, broadcast news plays an important role. Trusted local figures like meteorologists and news anchors have demonstrated success when prioritizing and framing climate issues in a locally relevant way. By following the best practices identified by the working group, climate communicators can better

reach new audiences and overcome misinformation.

The Private Sector working group's brief, *Barriers to Private Sector Action*, investigates factors preventing businesses and companies, whose resources and influence will be essential, from taking climate action. The brief identifies five barriers: profitability, political fragmentation and polarization, limited expertise, underrecognition of investment opportunities, and ineffective corporate structure. With many companies being risk averse, these perceived barriers and costs to taking climate action often obscure the potential benefits. Embedding climate expertise within a company's workforce connects the benefits of climate-friendly actions to an organization's broader strategy



Christopher Field, John Paul Mejia, Kealoha Fox, and David G. Victor participate in discussions at the Commission meeting in Miami.

The Commission on Accelerating Climate Action aims to answer two key questions: 1) How can the United States accelerate climate mitigation and adaptation strategies for all Americans regardless of race and socioeconomic background? 2) What policies would most effectively and equitably remove barriers to climate action?

and can help incorporate these actions into practice.

The Human and National Security working group's brief and white paper on *Climate Change Security Risks and Opportunities* focus on how climate change threatens national security, including failing infrastructure, food insecurity, public health problems, and concerns about military and training facilities. These publications explore the interconnectedness of climate factors and how cooperation between different levels of government and affected frontline communities is necessary for planning and decision-making. Case studies focusing on

the Colorado River Basin and the Gulf Coast exemplify the complexity and range of issues that must be considered at regional scales when addressing climate risks to human and national security.

All of the publications of the working groups take an important first step in addressing the climate crisis by diagnosing specific barriers to action. They represent a unique and wide-ranging audience that leverages the diversity of the Commission and helps suggest a novel way forward for climate action that will be just, pragmatic, and accountable. With this research, the expertise of the Commission members,

and their experiences working together and with climate advocates like those in Miami, the Commission has made considerable progress in thinking about how to overcome these barriers. The final report of the Commission on Accelerating Climate Action, to be released in fall 2023, will take the crucial next step and provide recommendations for overcoming these barriers.



To learn more about the Commission on Accelerating Climate Action, please visit www.amacad.org/project/accelerating-climate-action.



Undergraduates Apparently Undeterred by the Pandemic

By **Robert B. Townsend**, *Codirector of the Humanities Indicators and Program Director for Humanities, Arts, and Culture at the Academy*

Despite the many challenges to higher education during the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of bachelor's degrees awarded by every field except the humanities increased through the end of the 2021 academic year. According to a new analysis of federal data by the Academy's Humanities Indicators project, the total number of bachelor's degrees conferred increased by 2.6 percent from 2019 to 2021, with the largest increases found in both engineering and the health and medical

sciences (each increasing by 6.7 percent; see Figure 1). (For additional information on the disciplinary categories assigned in each discipline, visit <https://www.amacad.org/humanities-indicators>.)

The only field awarding a smaller number of bachelor's degrees in 2021 was the humanities, as the number of new graduates fell by 4.4 percent after 2019. Unfortunately for those in the field, the decline is part of a larger pattern that extends back a decade. Since 2012, the annual number of baccalaureate degrees

fell by 18.3 percent (from 236,826 degrees in 2012 to 193,487 in 2021). Two other fields also experienced declines after 2012: the number of bachelor's degrees in education decreased by 10.5 percent in 2021, and the number of graduates in the fine and performing arts declined by 6.0 percent. However, both fields have reported modest increases in 2020 and 2021.

The same data tabulations from the Humanities Indicators served as the basis for a recent article in *The New Yorker* with the apocalyptic title

“The End of the English Major.”¹ Somewhat lost in the label is evidence that almost every discipline in the humanities has been declining since 2012. The number of graduates in history, religious studies, archaeology, and area studies fell by one-third or more over that nine-year span, and degrees in languages and literatures other than English decreased by 31 percent.

What the data cannot answer is why the number of bachelor’s degrees in most fields continued to rise through the pandemic, while the humanities continued to fall.

1. Nathan Heller, “The End of the English Major,” *The New Yorker*, March 6, 2023, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2023/03/06/the-end-of-the-english-major>.

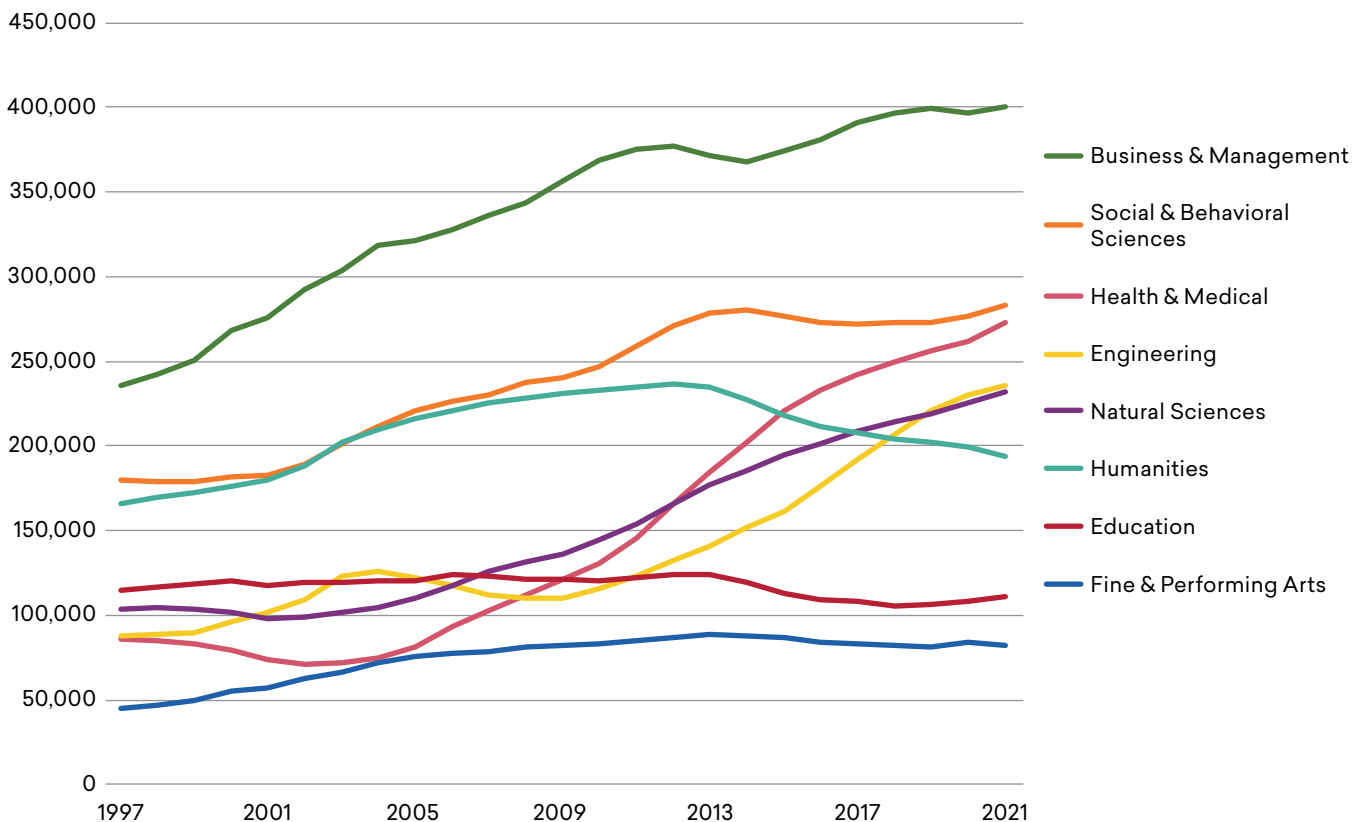
The *New Yorker* article points to latent job fears among potential humanities majors (despite recent findings from the Humanities Indicators showing that humanities graduates are similar to other college graduates in their levels of unemployment, earnings, and job satisfaction). The article also lays blame on other structural and cultural changes, such as the decline in long-form reading and shifts in general education course requirements, though the data to validate those causes remain indirect.

For higher education as a whole, there is good news in the demographics of the students earning degrees. The representation of students from traditionally minoritized racial and ethnic groups

increased throughout the pandemic, rising to 37.5 percent of the graduates in 2021 – the largest share on record, though still lower than the representation in the population of young Americans. This assessment relies on the categories deployed and collected by the U.S. Department of Education, and includes Hispanic or Latino (any race), American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, and Two or More Races.

Nevertheless, the increase in representation reflects growth of more than 12 percentage points in every field since 1997, and the share is more than doubled among those earning bachelor’s degrees in

Figure 1. Bachelor’s Degree Completions, by Field, 1997–2021



Source: U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Data System. Data analyzed and presented by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences’ Humanities Indicators.

education, the fine and performing arts, the health and medical sciences, as well as the humanities. Much of the recent growth is due to a sharp increase in the number of Hispanic/Latino students.

The share of women earning degrees (again relying on the gender binary categories collected by the U.S. Department of Education) also rose to the highest level on record in 2021, with women accounting for 58.4 percent of the bachelor’s degrees conferred – significantly higher than their share in the college-age population. As of 2021, women represented a 58 percent or greater share of the students earning degrees in every field except business (in which they accounted for 46.8 percent of the degree recipients) and engineering (just 23.2 percent).

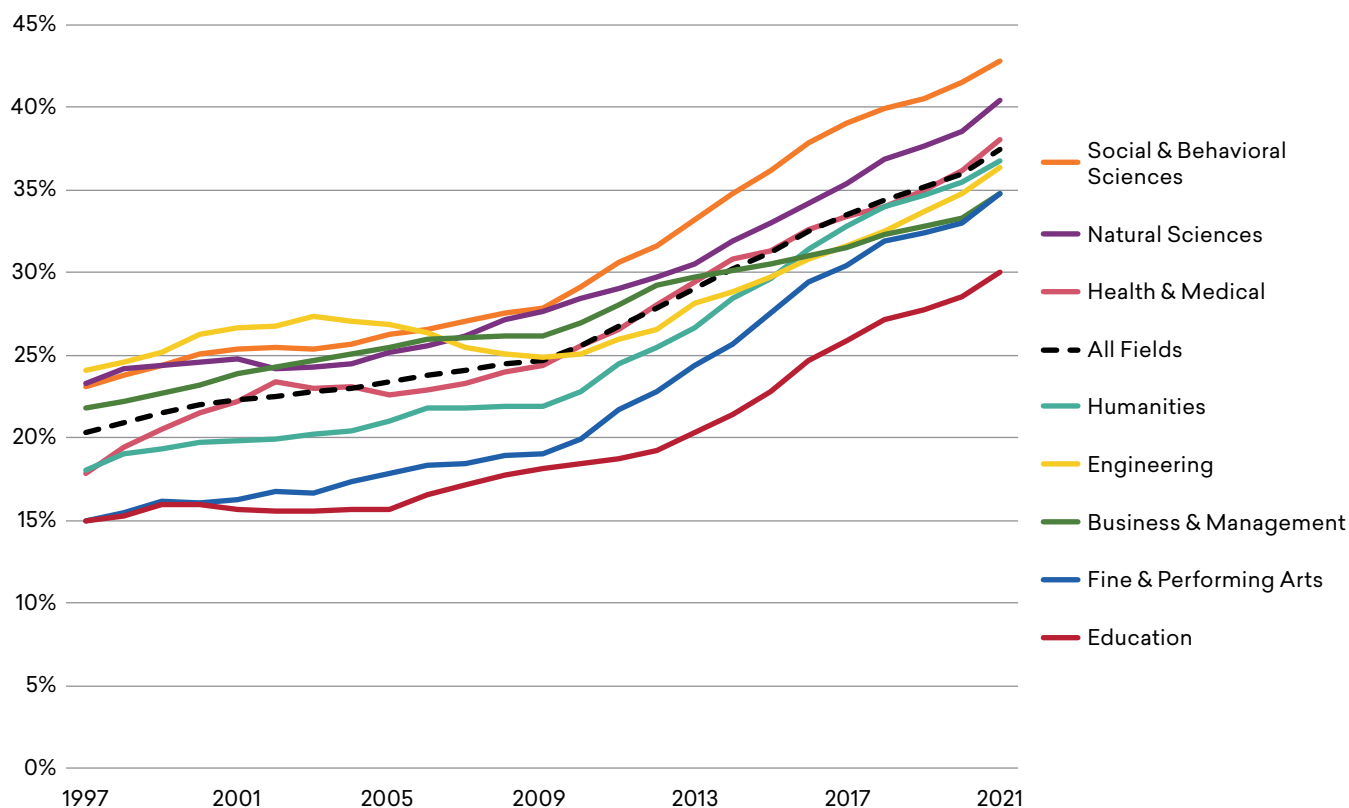
What lies ahead remains a question, not just for the humanities but for the academy at large. Reported degree awards are a lagging indicator, showing two years after the fact how many students who had started their studies four or more years ago completed their degrees. It does not reflect how many students dropped out because of the challenges and pedagogical changes of the pandemic. It also does not tell us how many students who started in 2019 and 2020 have had their college studies hobbled by the challenges they experienced due to the closure of their high schools during the pandemic. (In a series of focus groups with department chairs in March 2023, the Humanities Indicators staff heard frequent laments about the effects of learning loss on recent

admissions into their programs.) And separate studies from the National Student Clearinghouse show a substantial decline in the number of students in college (with community colleges particularly hard hit). Given all those troubling signs, the Humanities Indicators staff will be watching these trends closely, and reporting on them again in the future.



For questions about this report or any other aspects of the work of the Humanities Indicators, please contact the codirector of the project, Robert Townsend, at rtownsend@amacad.org. For more information about the Humanities Indicators, visit www.amacad.org/humanities-indicators.

Figure 2. Percentage of Bachelor’s Degrees Awarded to Members of Traditionally Underrepresented Racial/Ethnic Groups, 1997–2021



Source: U.S. Department of Education, Integrated Postsecondary Data System. Data analyzed and presented by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences’ Humanities Indicators.



Super Burger in
Porterville, California.

Introducing America to Americans:

New Photojournal from the Commission on Reimagining Our Economy

By **Jonathan D. Cohen**, *Joan and Irwin Jacobs Senior Program Officer for American Institutions, Society, and the Public Good at the Academy*

In the 1930s, amid the greatest economic crisis in American history, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt launched numerous initiatives to help the nation get back on its feet, among them a superb documentary photography project. Included in the alphabet soup of agencies and programs created by Roosevelt and Congress to fight the

Great Depression was the Farm Security Administration (FSA). From 1935 to 1944, the FSA commissioned over a dozen photographers to record conditions in the country's hard-hit rural areas as well as government efforts to modernize American agriculture. Under the direction of economists Roy Stryker and Rexford Tugwell,

the photographers – most famously Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, and Gordon Parks – captured images that came to define not just rural America but an entire period in the nation's history. Their mission was to “introduc[e] America to Americans,” to highlight people whose stories had long been overlooked but whose well-being was no less

Note: This text is an adapted version of the introduction to *Faces of America: Getting By in Our Economy*, a photojournal prepared by the Commission on Reimagining Our Economy, slated to be released this fall.

“The essential workers . . . the people who work at the grocery stores, fast-food restaurants, the gas stations. People who work at [utility companies], that keep the electric on, the water on, those type of people. The people who get the least, the little people. We’re the ones that keep the world moving and keep things going.”

— Whitney, Cosmetologist and Waitress, Kentucky

crucial to the state of the nation and its economy.¹

The economic situation in the United States in 2023 bears little resemblance to the catastrophic levels of unemployment, poverty, and displacement that defined the Great Depression. However, many challenges facing Americans today would feel familiar to the FSA photographers of the 1930s. The byword for the Roosevelt administration was improving financial “security.”² Even after significant improvements over the last few decades and renewed progress thanks to government programs during the COVID-19 pandemic, many households still lack financial stability. Census Bureau data show that, in October 2021, nearly one-in-ten adults reported that their household did not get enough to eat, while one-in-seven reported that they were behind on their rent.³ The FSA focused on the South and Southwest because those areas had been left behind economically. Today, the nation still has many places – rural, suburban, and urban alike – that do not have the same access to opportunity and growth as other parts of the country.

These economic problems are intertwined with a host of challenges facing American democracy. Since the nation’s founding, the American economy has been strongly shaped by government policies – though the degree to which the government should shape the market is a matter of ongoing debate. Over the last half century, the nation’s economic arrangements produced overall

growth, which benefited many people. However, many of those who did not benefit from this growth – and even many who did – feel left out of institutions they believe do not look after their interests. Or their financial situation means they are unable to spare the time and resources to get involved in their government and community. As Americans become less civically engaged, their institutions become even less representative, leading more people to disengage, and so on. These challenges are not only institutional: in a period of political polarization and persistent inequality, Americans increasingly feel they have little in common with one another.⁴

At this moment, it is important once again to introduce America to Americans.

A forthcoming Academy publication sets out to do just that. A product of the Academy’s Commission on Reimagining Our Economy (CORE), *Faces of America: Getting By in Our Economy* is a unique photojournal made up of images and quotes that capture life in the twenty-first-century American economy. As the FSA documentarians understood, the nation’s financial well-being cannot be adequately captured in charts, graphs, and regression analyses. Vital to understanding the economy is understanding the people who make it work: their struggles, their values, their aspirations. While policymakers and journalists often track how the *economy* is doing, the aim of the CORE project is to direct a focus

onto how *Americans* are doing. *Faces of America* represents the Commission’s effort to reimagine typical images of the economy and to ensure that the voices of everyday Americans are placed at the center of policy discussions.

The photographs and quotes that comprise the photojournal derive from two distinct Commission undertakings. Over the course of its work, the Commission identified a lack of images that truly reflect the state of the American economy. Stock images too often offer dramatized depictions of the very rich, the very poor, or the contrast between the two. Though photographers and photojournalists capture moving images of individual Americans, stories about specific economic issues (for example, a baby formula shortage) may feature particular characters (an anxious mother holding an infant) without providing additional context about the subject’s life.

To provide a more complete look at Americans’ well-being, the Commission engaged four photographers to capture what it looks like to try to get by in the United States today. Specifically, the photographers were assigned to photograph Americans earning around the national median income (\$70,784 for a household in 2021), creating images that reflect the themes of economic security and insecurity, economic opportunity, economic distribution, and political voice.⁵ These categories offer the opportunity to generate a nuanced picture of how Americans are faring in the



Fixing a broken AC condenser on a used car in Dearborn, Michigan.

“I guess financial well-being is for me is basically being able to take care of my everyday expenses and also having emergency savings because the way the economy is going right now, you don’t know where it’s going to be tomorrow, next week . . . So it’s basically about being financially stable. It’s not about being rich, but it’s about being able to take care of your everyday needs without stressing.”

— Marsha, Human Resources Generalist, Indiana

twenty-first century: the stability of their finances, how they feel about their chances for the future, how well off they are relative to each other, and their ability to participate in the nation’s democratic systems. The photographers – Caroline Gutman, Maen Hammad, Cindy Elizabeth, and Adam Perez – worked under the direction of Nina Berman

(Columbia Journalism School), who provided guidance for their field-work and helped curate the images submitted to the Academy.

Each photographer was assigned a single location, which they visited multiple times between July and September 2022. The Commission identified four specific sites, all of which fall around the national

median income but differ from each other in other ways:

Williamsport, Pennsylvania

A small city in the Northeast
Photographer: Caroline Gutman

Dearborn, Michigan

A suburb in the Midwest
Photographer: Maen Hammad



“There’s a lot of poor in this area and there are some areas where there is no support. What can we do? We don’t have advocates to help us or stand up for us. And if we do, we can’t find them. We can’t get in touch with them because we don’t have phones. And when you do finally get back in touch with them, they can’t follow through. . . . We’re so far down on the economic chain that we don’t have nothing. It seems like our voices don’t matter.”

— Reuben, Former Welder, Texas (pictured)

Third Ward, Houston, Texas

A neighborhood in a large city in the South

Photographer: Cindy Elizabeth

Tulare County, California

A rural area in the West

Photographer: Adam Perez

Each location has notable characteristics. Williamsport is internationally known as the home of the Little League World Series; Dearborn, a major suburb of Detroit, is the city with the largest percentage of Muslim residents in the country; Houston is the nation’s fourth largest city and its historically Black Third Ward is at the forefront of the

city’s changing urban landscape; and Tulare is the second most agriculturally productive county in the United States. Given the differences in geography and in community type, these four areas, though hardly representative of the entire nation, offer a useful cross section. In these sites, the photographers found images that reflect the experiences of

Americans from all walks of life and from many parts of the country.

In addition to photographs, *Faces of America* features quotes from Americans collected by the Commission. Between February and September 2022, the Commission convened thirty-one listening sessions: recorded conversations with small groups of people to discuss their lives and the ways they would reimagine the American economy. Many of these conversations were with people whose perspectives are not typically central to economic policy, including service, care, and airport workers; tribal leaders; teachers; small business owners; community college students; and people experiencing homelessness and mental and physical health challenges.⁶

The sessions provided a rich view of Americans' economic experiences, expressed in their own words and in conversation with people like themselves. Session leaders asked participants to share the values that are important to them, to discuss what they thought contributes to their well-being and the well-being of their communities, and to state one thing they wanted other people – including their elected representatives – to hear. Many of the same themes showed up across very different groups, for example, how current economic structures offer logistical and emotional barriers that prevent mobility; criticisms of the design and administration of programs designed to help the neediest Americans; and the belief that greed sits at the heart of the economy. As in the photography project, the Commission did not seek to capture a statistically representative cross sample of the country, but to ensure it heard from a diverse array of voices.

Faces of America is divided into three sections that correspond to the values that inform the Commission's work. The first section, Opportunity, features the ways Americans are building better lives for themselves: through their work, through training and education, and by starting businesses. Section two, Sufficiency, highlights the ways Americans are meeting their basic needs, as well as their efforts to achieve stability, to provide for their families, to secure time that is their own, and to craft a foothold in communities undergoing dramatic changes. The final section, Democracy, is concerned with the extent to which Americans feel their voice matters and how much power they have to improve their local government and their nation. *Faces of America* will be released in the fall of 2023, and a copy will be mailed to every Academy member. Anna Deavere Smith – a member of CORE – is authoring the foreword. The Commission's final report, which will also utilize the photographs as well as quotes from the listening sessions, will be released in the fall of 2023 as well.

Taken together, the photographs and images that make up *Faces of America* aim to encapsulate the feeling of economic life in the United States today. The people included in the photojournal are often overlooked when policymakers, journalists, and others talk about the economy. And yet the economy should exist to serve the people in the photographs and from the listening sessions. By introducing these Americans to America, the Commission hopes to offer a different portrait of how Americans are doing and how the nation's economy and democracy might be reimaged.

ENDNOTES

1. The photography project began in 1935 under the Resettlement Administration, which was reconstituted into the FSA two years later. Jerrold Hirsch, *Portrait of America: A Cultural History of the Federal Writers' Project* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 23.
2. David Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 245, 365.
3. Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, "Tracking the COVID-19 Economy's Effects on Food, Housing, and Employment Hardships," <https://www.cbpp.org/research/poverty-and-inequality/tracking-the-covid-19-economys-effects-on-food-housing-and>.
4. American Academy of Arts and Sciences, *Our Common Purpose: Reinventing American Democracy for the 21st Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2020).
5. Jessica Semega and Melissa Kollar, U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, P60-276, *Income in the United States: 2021* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office, September 2022).
6. The Commission held listening sessions both in person and virtually. To recruit participants, Commission members drew on personal and professional networks. In addition, the Academy hired four University of Wisconsin students to conduct listening sessions, and staff drew on the Academy's network to ensure that the participant list included diversity along lines of geography, race, ethnicity, age, political beliefs, and occupation. For most listening sessions, the Commission offered participants gift cards as compensation for their time.



For more information about the Academy's Commission on Reimagining Our Economy, visit www.amacad.org/project/reimagining-american-economy.



On the Tenth Anniversary of *The Heart of the Matter*

On March 30–31, 2023, the Academy gathered humanities scholars and leaders at the House of the Academy in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to mark the tenth anniversary of the release of *The Heart of the Matter*, the final report of the Academy's Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences. The goal of the meeting was to reflect on what has happened to the humanities over the past decade and to consider future directions for the field. To provide context for the conversation, **Richard H. Brodhead** (who cochaired the Commission with the late John Rowe) offered the following reflections, describing what shaped their thinking a decade ago and what has changed in the years since.





Richard H. Brodhead

Richard H. Brodhead was the President of Duke University from 2004 to 2017 and served as the William Preston Few Professor of English. He previously served as the Dean of Yale College from 1993 to 2004 and as the A. Bartlett Giamatti Professor of English at Yale University. A scholar of American literature and culture, he was elected to the American Academy in 2004 and served as cochair of the Academy's Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences.

I led the American Academy's Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences (true confession: it was never about the social sciences) and coauthored its report, *The Heart of the Matter*. This was absorbing work, but I have seldom looked back on it, and would never have realized we had reached the report's tenth anniversary had Rob Townsend not brought it to my attention. At Rob's invitation, I reflect here on what we thought we were doing and how that work looks ten years on.

If in the future anyone should look back at *The Heart of the Matter* through a historical lens, it will be clear at once that an ur-text provoked and informs this report. In 2005, the National Academies of Sciences and Engineering and the Institute (now, National Academy) of Medicine (NASSEM) convened a Committee on Prospering in the Global Economy of the 21st Century. The committee,

chaired by Norm Augustine, CEO of Lockheed Martin, included twenty-five leading figures from science, business, and the academy. After two years of deliberation, they issued a report entitled *Rising Above the Gathering Storm*.

This report did not invent the idea of STEM. That term, an improvement on the non-starter early acronym SMET, was apparently coined by a National Science Foundation program officer in 2001. But the *Gathering Storm* report did put the STEM idea in mass circulation and pushed it high up on the national agenda. Its argument was that thanks to large investments made in generations since World War II, America now took for granted an unprecedented state of health and economic prosperity. But there was a long lead time between these investments and their payoff in daily life: educating a student into a worker capable

In the United States, the dynamism of a culture of innovation has come in large part from our distinctive liberal arts tradition, in which students are exposed to many different forms of knowledge and analysis, laying down a mental reservoir that can be drawn on in ever-changing ways to deal with the unforeseeable new challenges.

Humanities have played as rich a role in this process as the sciences. ”

of making fundamental discoveries in science or technology was the project of decades; it took a similar amount of time for a biomedical research discovery to be tested and approved for real-world application. The fact that the United States had for some years been reducing such investment meant, the report warned, that we were stumbling blindly toward an abyss. To avoid a precipitous decline in economic dynamism and in quality of life in the future, the nation needed to start investing now in all the elements that sustain a science-based culture of innovation. Recommendations followed for strengthening STEM in K-12 education; for higher education; for R&D operations in the academy, industry, and national labs; and for improvements in the policy environment.

I and many other university leaders applauded this report and lobbied for it vigorously, while noting that the nation's cultural and economic health did not depend on STEM alone. In the United States, the dynamism of a culture of innovation has come in large part from our distinctive liberal arts tradition, in which students are exposed to many different forms of knowledge and analysis, laying down a mental reservoir that can be drawn on in ever-changing ways to deal with the unforeseeable new challenges. Humanities have played as rich a role in this process as the sciences. Steve Jobs said the most memorable course he took at Reed before he dropped out was a class in calligraphy, introducing him to the aesthetics that are as crucial to the appeal of Apple products as any technical features.

I spoke about the state of the humanities and the need to advance them in complement with STEM in a 2010 talk at the National Humanities Center. Leslie Berlowitz, president and chief executive officer of the American Academy at the time, was in the audience. When the Academy decided to launch the Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences, Leslie invited me to chair it together with Exelon CEO John Rowe.

The NASEM committee's imprint is obvious at every turn. As with that committee, the American

Academy solicited letters from a bipartisan group of senators and congressmen inviting this work and proclaiming its importance to the nation's agenda. (In our case, the senators were Lamar Alexander, R-Tenn., and Mark Warner, D-Va., and the congressmen were David Price, D-N.C., and Tom Petri, R-Wisc.) We too then proceeded to the gathering of notables – in our case, fifty or more, including a dozen university and college presidents but also an architect (Billie Tsien), a recent governor (Phil Bredesen), a filmmaker (George Lucas), a judge (Diane Wood), a journalist (David Brooks), a general (Karl Eikenberry), and more. Only one invitee declined to join the Commission. Attendance remained high every time we met.

From these discussions, we arrived at a report with two aims: to articulate the value of the humanities in a way that would resonate with multiple publics, and to advocate a continuum of support reaching across an individual's lifespan and a broad institutional landscape. Similar to the *Gathering Storm* report, *The Heart of the Matter* made recommendations for K-12 education, since the humanities require a strong foundation of elemental literacy; for colleges and universities; for the archipelago of institutions – museums, libraries, local historical societies, and many more – that sustain the humanities experience across the life course; and for support of global learning.

But if *Rising Above the Gathering Storm* loaned our report its structure, a different, later historical development shaped its message. The earlier report came out of the long period of prosperity stretching from the early 1990s, with only one brief interruption in 2001, to the year of its appearance in 2007. Our work had a very different context: namely, the financial crisis of 2008 and its aftermath, the Great Downturn. These years were marked by a painfully slow economic recovery; a stranglehold on discretionary federal spending thanks to the policy labeled sequestration; growing public doubt that good times would ever return – and, in their wake, the emergence of an embittered, harshly narrowed view of the value of higher education.

Anti-intellectualism, of course, has a long history in the United States, but these years saw something new: a truculent assertion that higher education just wasn't worth it, or was only worth it when something learned on Day 1 could be put to use in a good-paying job on Day 2. This short-term utilitarian thinking was so ardently proclaimed by leading thought journals as to take on the status of a "general truth," such that one could hear these views parroted even by well-educated people whose experience could have taught a different tale. It was especially warmly embraced by state legislators – like the group who required each state college to publish a table showing the first-year-out salary of every graduate broken down by college major. The savage hacking of public university budgets post-2008 was soon to follow.

The work of the Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences took place against the background of this sudden erosion of public faith in a broad education of which humanities forms an integral part. In consequence, our report is not fundamentally addressed to academics, nor is it organized around the cartography of disciplines, departments, and subfields that structures the humanities in academic understanding. The report aims to reach beyond the choir of the converted to carry this forgotten truth to the public at large.

Several strategic decisions followed from this aim. First, we agreed that we needed to make a positive case in a positive tone. Whether or not the humanities "are" in crisis, we did not regard the rhetoric of crisis or "nobody loves us" as likely to win the public's heart.

Second, we were mindful that many key words that are deeply meaningful to humanities converts – even the word "humanities" itself – are alien and even alienating to those outside the pale. As advocates, we strove to name these virtues in their most fundamental and familiar forms, not by the terms of the trade. Donna Shalala proposed that we speak not of liberal arts but of "broad education," the sort advanced by the Morrill Act in the mid-nineteenth century or the GI Bill in the mid-twentieth.

Third, the Commission agreed that the intrinsic versus instrumental debate so familiar to academics is a false dichotomy sterile in its yield. The report's language strives to make clear that the humanities promote personal enrichment, pleasure, appreciation, and reflection – key ingre-

dients for human flourishing. But it does not follow that the humanities have no useful role in the social world. The knowledge and skills the humanities promote are essential in any number of real-world contexts, and saying so was crucial to our case. Commission member Jim McNerney, CEO of Boeing, told us that to work at a high level in his company, one would of course need engineering training – but that people would never advance beyond a certain level unless they also had well-developed skills in communication and cross-cultural understanding, humanities products par excellence. Commission member Karl Eikenberry, who has commanded troops in both Iraq and Afghanistan and served as U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan shortly before our hearings, told us that weapons alone could never accomplish a military objective overseas. Without the knowledge of foreign languages, histories, cultural value systems, and religious beliefs, a war conducted at the level of force alone was doomed to be counter-productive.

“ Our hope, in short, was to change the national conversation: to project a positive, aspirational discourse over against an impoverished, narrow view of education passing itself off as shrewd and profound.

Fourth, all of our recommendations aim to press humanists to connect outside their familiar spheres: speaking to other publics, inserting ourselves in other communities, reminding people of the things that depend on humanistic input where that is not named or apparent. So, one recommendation for higher education leaders was to speak out clearly and boldly for the value of a broadly empowering version of education, rather than mimicking the narrow utilitarianism so vocal around them. In graduate training, we embraced the "No More Plan B" idea advanced by James Grossman and Commission member Tony Grafton: a move to prepare graduate students to find fulfillment in a range of careers beyond those of their academic mentors. We similarly advocated for humanists to join in, and voice the importance

of the humanities for, the “grand challenge” issues of our time: connecting to work on climate and the environment (environmentalism had its first birth among humanists), health care, and the rest.

Our hope, in short, was to change the national conversation: to project a positive, aspirational discourse over against an impoverished, narrow view of education passing itself off as shrewd and profound.

In the new age of continuous partial attention, people can pop in and out of any momentarily attractive content, but knowledge that requires slow, coherent accretion and sustained, focused attention has become more endangered. ”

So how did we fare? In June 2013, *The Heart of the Matter* report was launched in Washington, D.C. A range of impressive speakers, including our senatorial and congressional sponsors, were eloquent in the cause. The Academy reckoned that the report was soon downloaded over forty thousand times before they stopped counting. Ken Burns’s exquisite short film in support of the Commission’s work was viewed by a far larger audience. Commission members fanned out across the country, preaching the cause in various settings and leading discussions in town meetings. I talked up the report to two thousand college counselors, key influencers when education decisions are being made, at the annual meeting of the College Board. Carnegie Mellon University, powerhouse of computer science, adopted *The Heart of the Matter* as its required freshman reading. John Lithgow and I were interviewed about the report on PBS *NewsHour*. And, the high-water mark perhaps in the whole history of the humanities, I got to discuss our work on air with Stephen Colbert, who held up a copy of the report to his audience of multiple millions.

In short, *The Heart of the Matter* had about as big a public “play” as a blue-ribbon commission report is likely to achieve. That said, there were limits to what such a publication could accomplish. Looking back, two facts stand out for me.

First, when the *Gathering Storm* report generated a sense of existential peril about STEM underinvestment (its cover art is virtually apocalyptic), the answer to “what must I do to be saved?” was simple and direct. There was a known resource

for fixing the STEM ecosystem: federal funding. There were known channels for distributing such funds: federal agencies like the NSF, NIH, and DOE. And there were known means for releasing funds to flow through these channels: aggressive lobbying on Capitol Hill. A year after the report was published, the America COMPETES Act codifying many of the report’s recommendations was voted through Congress with bipartisan support.

None of these things, however, were true for the humanities. The humanities are not predominantly federal in their form of support. When seven members of our Commission dined with seven senators in January 2014, they were interested and supportive, but it was unclear to them or us what “big ask” we could make to transform the humanities situation nationally. (One idea was Title VI funding for foreign language instruction – but this is a minuscule part of the national humanities challenge.) Unlike the sciences, the humanities are by their nature decentralized and diffuse, both in their public life and the funding that sustains them. Their support requires lots of different kinds of effort in lots of different places beyond our government agency, the NEH, itself funded at a minuscule level compared to the science foundations: town government, state legislature, patrons, parents, national and family foundations, and more.

Second, while the report was responding to cultural and economic fallout from the post-2008 financial crisis, other changes were emerging that defined the humanities challenge in new ways.

For one, the Commission had lived through enough of the information revolution to see how technology could assist the humanities cause. The report is mindful that the wunderkind of that day, MOOCs, supplied a way to reach an unexpectedly huge audience hungry for humanities learning outside institutional settings. We also saw the potential of digital archives to make the humanistic heritage available to larger, more varied publics. But we did not recognize how differently minds would be shaped and trained in the world where iPhones (introduced in 2007) mediated the mind’s activities from an early age.

In the new age of continuous partial attention, people can pop in and out of any momentarily attractive content, but knowledge that requires slow, coherent accretion and sustained, focused attention has become more endangered. In a recent article by Nathan Heller in *The New Yorker*, James Shapiro, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at Columbia University, says

that teaching *Middlemarch* to an undergraduate class now is like trying to land a 747 on a rural airstrip. Amanda Claybaugh, Dean of Undergraduate Education at Harvard and my fellow Americanist, says that reading *The Scarlet Letter* is hard in a new way for students now: they can't figure out how the parts of speech relate within sentences (though Hawthorne is not a verbally difficult author), and besides, "the 19th century is a long time ago."

On another front, every member of the Commission was committed to the inclusion of underrepresented minorities into institutions and fields of knowledge, indeed many had made this key to their life's work. But we also knew how slow progress continued to be in changing the personnel of faculties, museums, and the rest. In 2013, we did not see how a diversity, equity, and inclusion agenda would be promoted from an important value among others to the predominant place it has assumed in educational and cultural institutions now.

Through their complex conjunction, the tech revolution in modern communications and the justice-ization of cultural and educational agendas have contributed to another new fact the Commission did not foresee: hyper-partisanship has been driven far deeper down in the cultural domain. The Culture Wars, of course, have been with us for decades: I remember learning the phrase when Lynne Cheney headed the NEH in the 1980s. But even so, there were many things people agreed to apart from some flagrant exceptions. I was in the audience for the last presidential debate in October 2008, where, with no one knowing for sure if there would still be a functioning economy in January 2009, candidates Obama and McCain mentioned areas of agreement and demonstrated palpable mutual respect. The participation of two Republican and two Democratic elected officials at our report's launch in 2013 was cut from the same cloth.

In 2013, we never foresaw how spheres of common agreement would be invaded and captured by, then reorganized within the polarizing logic of, partisan cultural divides. Vaccines for children are an obvious example. Once embraced nearly unanimously as a wise prevention against avoidable diseases, they are now embraced or abhorred, according to how one feels about a host of unrelated issues.

This polarization holds a particular threat for the humanities. It's not sufficiently noted that the humanities long had a paradoxical status as the home simultaneously of a shared heritage and energetic revisionist critique. Early-twentieth-century culture sustained a dialectic relation between the classic and the disruptive: it was home both for *The Odyssey* and *Ulysses*, *The Divine Comedy* and *The Waste Land*. For decades after 1970, English departments in the United States hosted both the literary canon and the critique and reopening of the canon, and history departments taught this nation's aspirational founding while unearthing suppressed histories that shed harsh light on the received tale.

In the new, more partisan world that has emerged in the last six or seven years, such coexistence begins to seem as dated as the respectful conduct of candidates McCain and Obama. For both sides, small traces of the opponent's thinking can set off alarms announcing the proximity of toxic dangers, and things once looked to as common ground have been converted into places to pick a fight. Books in a public school library? There's the humanities for you, ready to enlighten anyone and everyone – until the contents of public school libraries become a red-meat political issue, as they are today. (No one seems much troubled by the fact that young people are spending fewer hours reading books of any persuasion.) In *American Slavery, American Freedom*, Edmund Morgan famously wrote of the co-emergence in colonial Virginia of the ideas that led to America's peculiar concept of personal freedom and its peculiar structures of chattel slavery. Now it's your history versus mine: *The 1619 Project* or *The 1776 Project*, take your pick.

To put it mildly, objective circumstances have not gotten easier for the humanities since 2013. Should our Commission be faulted for failing to foresee these developments? No: the nature of history is that it is always unfolding in ways that can't be envisaged in advance. And if our recommendations left American culture in large measure unredeemed, is the point that we should not have bothered? Emphatically no: recent developments make the values we sought to advance more important, not less. Could anyone seriously maintain that knowledge of foreign histories and languages and religious traditions and cultural value systems will be less important in the

treacherous new international chapter we are entering now? If at home our culture is more tightly polarized over a greater range of issues, don't we need the *echt*-humanistic training now more than ever: learning how to go out of ourselves to occupy the differently composed mental worlds of others, then bring back what they help us see that we had not grasped before, and, even, to discern how things self-evident to us could be made persuasive within the mental frame of another?

Delivering the value of the humanities to the broadest possible public is a mission as or more urgent in 2023 than in 2013. As we now know, there is no magic bullet. The work will still need to be diffuse, decentralized, and continuous. And we must struggle to connect with the actual world coming

forms wholly disconnected from academic conceptualizations. From Carin Berkowitz and Matthew Gibson, we learn of the vigorous life of local history projects with citizen participation sponsored by the state humanities councils. Humanistic persuasion nowadays is going to have to do more to involve the people and places where such life is taking shape.

This reminds me that during our Commission meetings, one of the most electrifying speakers was Eduardo Padrón, then President of Miami Dade College. With over 175,000 students, Miami Dade has the largest undergraduate enrollment of any U.S. college or university, more than half of them first-generation college-goers, more than two-thirds from low-wealth backgrounds. This,

Delivering the value of the humanities to the broadest possible public is a mission as or more urgent in 2023 than in 2013. As we now know, there is no magic bullet. The work will still need to be diffuse, decentralized, and continuous. And we must struggle to connect with the actual world coming into being, since one lesson the humanities teach is that there is no going back. ”

into being, since one lesson the humanities teach is that there is no going back.

So, what would help in this situation? Another American Academy commission? I have my doubts. The men and women I served alongside were smart, experienced, well connected, and widely respected. For intellectual firepower, that team could not be beat. But in order to have the degree of accomplishment needed to win election to the Academy, we had a few other things in common as well: we were not in our first youth, and the great majority of us had had our minds framed in elite institutions. Neither is ideal equipment for promoting insight or connection into the culture emerging today.

But the American Academy also publishes *Dædalus*, whose Summer 2022 issue on “The Humanities in American Life: Transforming the Relationship with the Public” offers something more hopeful. In Robert Townsend’s contribution we learn that thousands or even millions of our fellow citizens enjoy humanities content – history documentaries, for instance – without thinking to label them as humanistic. From the work of Alan Liu and his colleagues, we learn that humanities activities are constant presences in everyday life in

if anywhere, is where the future American public is being created. Padrón told us that of necessity, most students enrolled at Miami Dade are looking for two-year programs that can help them land a job – but that the humanities content of their study was critical in making large numbers of them want to continue their education later to secure a higher order career. Padrón himself was a late addition to the Commission: no one had thought to invite a community college president to sit in our august group. Maybe the problem is not the decline of the humanities in American life so much as our failure to look for them in places where they are going strong.

It’s always time for new minds to ask how to advance the things that make life richer for individuals and society. The Commission did valuable work in its day. Now it’s time to do the work in a new form for a new age.

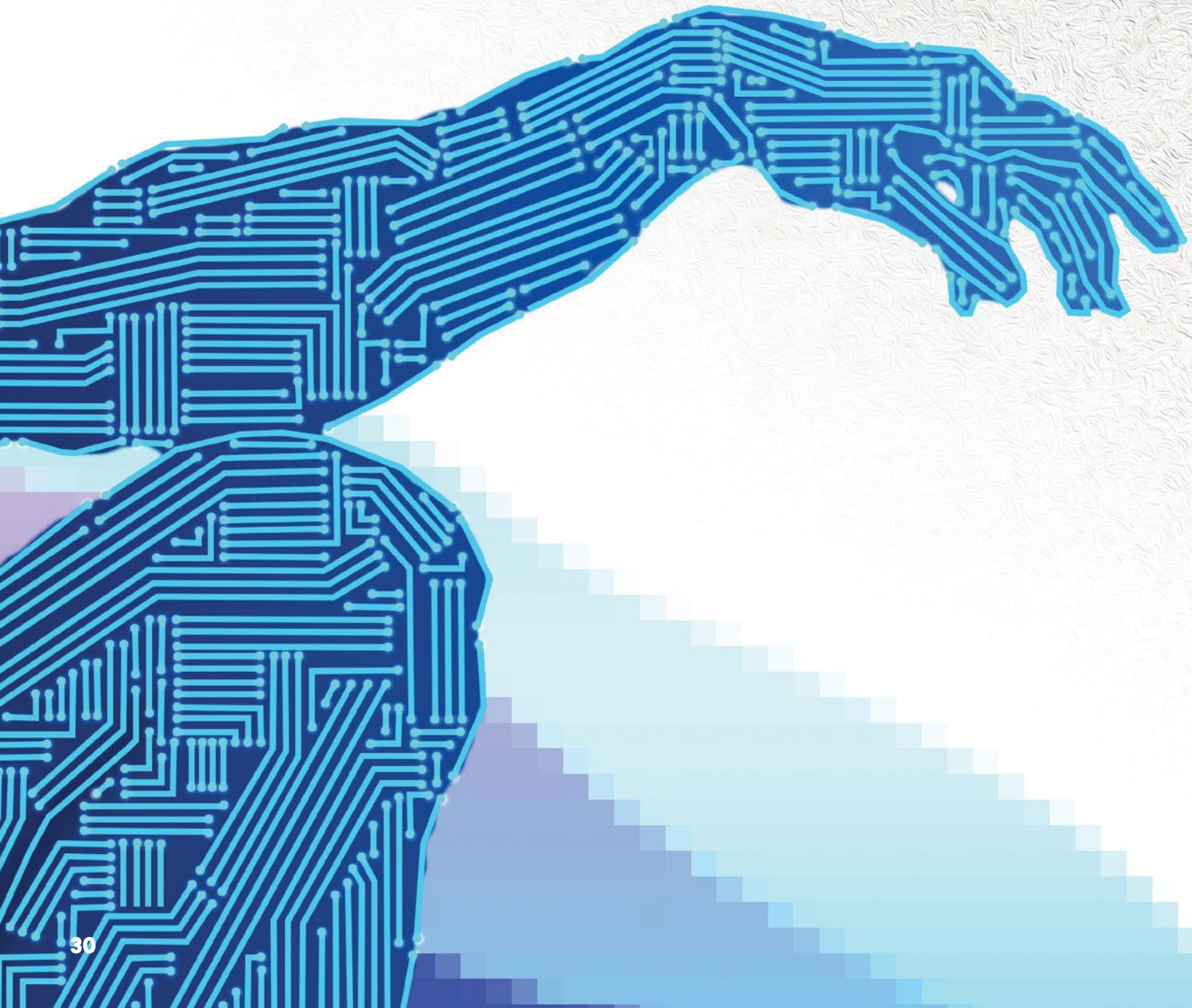
© 2023 by Richard H. Brodhead




To access a copy of *The Heart of the Matter*, visit www.amacad.org/publication/heart-matter.

The Humanities and the Rise of the Terabytes

2111th Stated Meeting | March 30, 2023 | In-Person event at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences
and Virtual Event | Morton L. Mandel Conversation



A close-up, textured painting of a hand pointing, likely from Michelangelo's 'The Creation of Adam'. The hand is rendered with intricate detail, showing the veins and muscles. The background is a light, textured surface. The overall style is reminiscent of a high-resolution, textured print or a digital painting with a heavy brushstroke effect.

A decade has passed since the publication of *The Heart of the Matter*, the influential report on the value of the humanities by the Academy's Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences. What has happened to the humanities over the past ten years, and what might we do to better support the humanities in the future?

The 211th Stated Meeting featured remarks from **Danielle Allen**, a member of the Commission that authored *The Heart of the Matter*, who reflected on the humanities as a historical and contemporary practice in an age of digital superabundance. The meeting also included a conversation between Allen and arts correspondent **Jeffrey Brown** about the practical applications for the humanities, what works and what doesn't for asserting their value, and their role in contemporary political debates and culture wars. Academy President **David W. Oxtoby** offered introductory remarks. An edited version of the presentations and discussion follows.

David W. Oxtoby

David W. Oxtoby is President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was elected to the Academy in 2012.

Good evening. I am very glad to welcome everyone who has joined us tonight. I would like to begin by acknowledging that today's event is taking place on the traditional and ancestral land of the Massachusett, the original inhabitants of what is now known as Boston and Cambridge. We pay respect to the people of the Massachusett tribe, past and present, and honor the land itself, which remains sacred to the Massachusett people.

It is my distinct privilege as president of the American Academy to call to order our 211th Stated Meeting. Tonight's conversation is made possible by the generosity of the Jack, Joseph, and Morton Mandel Foundation. Mort Mandel's transformative gift was made with the vision that Academy members would come together across disciplines and distance to grapple with big issues. Appropriately, the Mandel Foundation is also a champion of the humanities, promoting them as foundational to human aspiration and human experience. We are grateful to the Mandel Foundation for their continued support.

Ten years ago, the American Academy published *The Heart of the Matter: The Humanities and Social Sciences for a Vibrant, Competitive, and Secure Nation* as the culmination of the work of our Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences, under the leadership of Richard Brodhead and John Rowe. The Commission was answering a bipartisan call for recommendations to support and strengthen these areas of knowledge.

The Commission's impact was a direct result of the extraordinary work of the fifty-three commissioners who worked tirelessly to spread its message from Maine, to Maryland, to California, and beyond. We thank the Mellon Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York for their support of that work.

None of us need reminding how much has changed in this country in the ten years since *The Heart of the Matter* was published – and the health of the humanities is no exception. But what has not changed is this Academy's commitment to

and belief in the essentiality of the humanities to our society and to ourselves.

We are proud to center the humanities in all our project areas, ensuring that the principles of humanities disciplines and leading scholars inform our work. We are proud to explore the humanities through dedicated projects like the recent *Dædalus* volume on “The Humanities in American Life” and our long-standing Humanities Indicators, a nationally recognized and respected source of information on the state of the humanities across education, the workforce, research, and public life.

And we are proud to celebrate excellence in the humanities disciplines through the remarkable members elected to this Academy each year. Those members include our Membership Secretary Earl Lewis, who just last week received the National Humanities Medal from President Biden. Earl is here with us today. Congratulations, Earl.

Among the skills the humanities encourage is the ability to reflect on the past with new eyes. Tonight is an opportunity to employ that skill to take stock of an Academy project and consider what has changed in ten years – what we thought then, what we know now, and what we might do to secure a strong future for the humanities going forward.

We are lucky to be joined tonight by two invaluable humanists, who will lead us in that work. Danielle Allen is a member of the Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences and cochair of a more recent Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship. As a classicist, public intellectual, and director of the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics, her work is firmly rooted in the humanities. She was elected to this Academy in 2009. Danielle will open our event with a reflection on the humanities as a historical and contemporary practice in this digital age.

Following those remarks, Danielle will be joined by Jeffrey Brown, a Peabody Award – winning journalist and Senior Correspondent and Chief Arts Correspondent for PBS *NewsHour*. Jeff most recently served as a member of the Academy's Commission on the Arts. He and Danielle will lead a conversation on the practical applications of the humanities and their role in our contemporary political culture. We have reserved time for questions from our audience and hope you will all contribute at that point. Now, please join me in welcoming Danielle Allen.



Danielle Allen

Danielle Allen is the James Bryant Conant University Professor and Director of the Edmond and Lily Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University. She was elected to the American Academy in 2009.

Good evening. It is lovely to see you all, and it is always so special to be in this space. We delivered *The Heart of the Matter* report a decade ago, when in some sense we were on the precipice of radical change in America – in our society and culture. We didn’t know then that it was the case. We need now to face this fact of

“ We delivered *The Heart of the Matter* report a decade ago, when in some sense we were on the precipice of radical change in America – in our society and culture. We didn’t know then that it was the case.

radical change as we try to imagine the health of the humanities for the coming decade.

Before I turn to that theme, though, I want to take us back to the core experiences of the humanities. Each one of us is like a thesaurus, a treasury full of all the moments when the humanities lit up life for us. I would like to share a story that was pivotal in my own journey – a story about the power of the humanities.

In my sophomore year at Princeton, spring semester, 1991, I wandered into a class on ancient Athenian democracy. The professor was Josiah Ober. Some of you may know him. He is now at Stanford. To this day, he is one of the best teachers I ever had. He came from Montana with his hiking boots and his Western spirit, full of good humor and jollity, and he taught his class with a great degree of energy. I found the material fascinating.

We were studying the speeches that were given in Athenian courtrooms, both for prosecution and defense. As I was reading the speeches, I, this kid from southern California, was transported to another world. But there was something bugging me about those speeches. I couldn’t figure out quite what it was. It took me about half of the semester to figure it out. I know that’s how long it took because it was only at the point when we were starting to open the classroom windows and there was a bit of Princeton spring air coming in that I finally got it. I put up my hand, and I asked, “Professor, did the Athenians not use prisons?” In all of these speeches from the courts, in the pages and pages we were reading, never did they mention prisons.

There I was, a kid who had grown up in southern California in the 1970s and 1980s, and one of the most important features of the world around me was that the number of prisons was increasing.

I didn't realize that, as a young person, I had absorbed an incredibly important fact about my world. There I was as a young person in a history class reporting to my professor that I had a fact about my world that had just, for the first time, become visible to me because of the chance to encounter history, to see the different ways people have lived in different places over time, to feel the stretch of distance between myself and the Athenians, but also to see in them a human effort with all of its own complexities different from our own. In that gap was also a space for possibility. If the world had been so different once, it could be different again.

When I asked if they did not use prisons, my professor answered with one of the best acts of mentoring I have ever had the opportunity to witness. "Danielle, that would be a great dissertation topic." And so, that is what I did. I wrote a dissertation on punishment in ancient Athens. My professor didn't say, "Oh, well, that's an unusual question to be asking about ancient Athens when we are really talking about Demosthenes and his oratorical structures, particular legal forms, and so forth." He said instead, "Danielle, you have noticed something, and the place you've come from and the perspective you bring have given you a line of sight that hasn't previously been pursued in the profession. So, join us. Join this community of scholars and do this work."

That was a pivotal moment for me, a quality of teaching that I think is special to the humanities: the ability to see students as whole people, to see students who are yearning to connect themselves to an array of cultural traditions and take the resources of predecessors, of generations before us, and to make sense of the world we live in. The gift that he gave me, in a certain sense, was not the corpus of ancient Athens, though that was a tremendous gift. More important, the gift was to affirm the value of my attention, of my attending to the world around me, of my attending to the cultural artifacts of other generations and what I could learn from them. That is the power of the humanities in one person's life. We all know that, if we could magnify that power and scale it across large populations, it would be for the good. We know that with every fiber of our being, and that reality is the spirit that motivated the Academy's Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences, which shines with Dick Brodhead's eloquent

words. It also motivated the policy choices that we proposed in *The Heart of the Matter* report.

Of course, though, there was then a gap between policy goals and the realities of the world. The Commission's report had three main goals for the field. The first was to invest in civic education and civic learning. The second was to invest in the resources of research in the humanities and the new production of scholarship, with additional tools, technologies, and platforms, to make the humanities broadly available. The third goal was to draw on the humanities to strengthen our resources to equip the country for leadership in a complicated and interconnected world.

Astonishingly, we have made progress on the first goal – to invest in civic education. In the Omnibus Bill that was passed in December, Congress increased by threefold the investment the country is making in civic education. Now, that sounds like a lot – a threefold increase. The bad news is we were starting from a very low base, from \$7 million to adding an additional \$20 million, which gets us to about \$27 million. That said, the budget that President Biden just submitted has an even greater increase for civic education.

More important, there is now a nationwide coalition of people working on civic education, and states are increasing their provision. This is obviously a highly contested terrain, and we also have the real challenges of polarization exemplified by the battle between Governor DeSantis and the state of Florida. We will have to see how that all proceeds over time. Nonetheless, there is a very hearty band of people, cross-ideological, diverse across the country and across backgrounds, working hard on civic education. *The Heart of the Matter* report helped validate that work, and it was an important foundation for a new decade of effort in that space.

The other reason that work is growing and succeeding is because our circumstances are so dire, because our democracy is so fragile and vulnerable, because the greatest threat to democracy in the world right now is not anything happening outside our borders. The greatest threat is whether we can secure healthy democracy here at home. We need to secure twenty-first-century versions of civic strength that permit us to pull our democracy back together again. In polling across parties, it is clear and apparent that a supermajority of Americans is making civic education a top priority.

So that's some good news. But again, it comes out of this dire necessity to focus at home, so our attention on the value of the humanities in a global context has weakened. We see less in the way of language learning than a decade ago. We know that college humanities majors are declining, for example. And similarly, with regard to the issue of the resources needed for creative workforce deployment, we have prioritized technology and reaped the rewards of that prioritization, both good and ill.

The political turmoil that we experience, sitting here today with an indicted former president, is, in significant part, a consequence of the rise of social media. When we wrote *The Heart of the Matter* in 2013, we truly did not take the measure of that phenomenon. If I were going to point to any one thing that we really ought to rethink and consider differently, it is that fact of how social media has transformed our world.

Digital tools and social media have changed the fundamental logic of what it means to curate the humanities and to share the humanities. Before the rise of digital content, the terabytes, the subject of the title of my remarks, humanity's artifacts were precious and rare. ”

The rise of social media has meant many things. People are swamped by bad information. They do not know how to sort good from bad, and feel at sea, even in considering the possible resources that the humanities have to offer. But beyond that, there is the simple fact that digital tools and social media have changed the fundamental logic of what it means to curate the humanities and to share the humanities. Before the rise of digital content, the terabytes, the subject of the title of my remarks, humanity's artifacts were precious and rare. Cultural content was rare. It was a rare good that had to be provisioned, and you needed the providers, the scholars of the humanities.

But now, cultural content is abundant. The quantity of cultural creation that has occurred in the last two decades vastly outweighs the content created in the prior millennia of human history.

The volumes are not comparable to each other by any stretch of the imagination. In a world where cultural content is abundant, what is scarce is attention.

When cultural objects were rare, it was our job as scholars to make sure people had access to them and had a chance to find their way, to navigate and understand them. With the abundance of cultural content, that logic has now changed, and this means that we need to reconceive the profession. Our job is no longer to make sure people have access to culture. We can still help them navigate toward the better stuff, but even that has become challenging, given the scale of cultural production now. There's just too much new cultural and humanities content for any professional group to take responsibility for curating all of it. Now, in a world in which attention is scarce, fragmented, and captured, the more important job is to help people rebuild the very muscle of their attention. We can help them once again find the value of their own attention, strengthen that capacity, and learn how to use it wisely.

There is a professor at Princeton, Graham Burnett, who has been building a lab focused on trying to restructure the humanities around cultivating that power of attention. I am going to play a small part of a video in which he describes that work so that you can get more of a sense of what this idea is about.

[Audience watches a short video clip.]

That was a little snapshot of young people telling us what they see in the world. They see a degradation of their experience of attention because of the phones, because of the apps, because of the platforms, because of the terabytes. This should be an alarm bell for humanists. It is also an extraordinary opportunity because we are the ones who have the tools and the practices to cultivate that instrument, as Professor Burnett was calling it, the instrument of our human attention, our mind, our heart, our judgment, what we can bring to bear on understanding the world.

To take up the job of cultivating the instrument of human attention can feel like a very small contribution up against the scale of the challenges and problems we have in the world, but I have a hunch that if we are to put this problem of attention at the center of what we are asking the humanities to do right now, we might find a huge appetite for the work of the humanities. We might change the dynamics we see on college campuses and in other contexts, where the practice of the humanities seems to be slipping away.



Jeffrey Brown

Jeffrey Brown is Senior Correspondent and Chief Arts Correspondent for PBS *NewsHour*.

It is a pleasure to be back at the Academy. As David mentioned, I was a member of the Academy's Arts Commission a few years ago. I also grew up in this area, and I understand that many of you are staying at the Sheraton Commander Hotel. I was a busboy there, delivering room service. Over the course of my career, I have met many important celebrities and powerful people. But one of my great claims to fame in life is that when I was seventeen, I delivered room service to John Lennon and Yoko Ono!

I was not a member of the Commission on the Humanities and Social Sciences, but ten years ago, I had the opportunity to interview Dick Brodhead and John Lithgow on our program when *The Heart*

of the Matter was released, so I am very familiar with the kind of issues that you are talking about. When I received the invitation from David Oxtoby for tonight's program, I had to laugh for a moment. Let me explain, and I hope you take it the right way. For many years, I was getting invited all the time to conferences and discussions about the humanities, and it was always about the death of the humanities. What's happening? How are we going to save the humanities? I was regularly talking about the humanities. And then, those invitations stopped. So, when David invited me to tonight's program, I thought, "Well, at least they are still talking about it."

To begin our conversation, Danielle, what is your starting point for the state of the humanities right now? Let's start with general terms, and then we'll get into some specifics.

ALLEN: I think the broad-brush picture is familiar to folks here. The public humanities are

With regard to the formal indicators that we usually use, there is a sense of discrepancy between the public's engagement with the humanities and what is happening in the academic and collegiate context. ”

flourishing, and there is growth, with state and territorial humanities councils, for instance, and cultural programs of a variety of kinds. In contrast, in higher education, and Rob Townsend has all the data from the Humanities Indicators project, majors have declined across the board, and during the pandemic, humanities majors took the biggest hit. So, with regard to the formal indicators that we usually use, there is a sense of discrepancy between the public's engagement with the humanities and what is happening in the academic and collegiate context.

BROWN: And you see that in the culture?

ALLEN: Yes.

BROWN: But then, on the other hand, there is the public humanities side.

ALLEN: What you see in the public humanities, and also when you look at museums, orchestras, and other kinds of musical organizations, is a lot of reinvention. People have done a remarkable job of diversifying programming and audiences. Just look at any city symphony, Boston Symphony, for example, and you can see streams of programming. They are bringing in different musical traditions, different age groups, and so forth into the hall. There is a lot of terrific and inventive work that is making the connection to high cultural forms, and it is based on decades of training and expertise. There is a sort of diversification of that work and effort. One of the things I was pointing to with regard to digital production is that the volume of content in a digital space is so extraordinary, and everybody is engaged with it. If we think about what it means to engage with art, pictures, and words, it seems that people are as engaged with that kind of element of human experience as ever in human history. But what is harder is the connection of that to a highly developed quality of attention, the kind of quality of attention that supports reading a long book. I don't know about the others here who are teaching, but my reading lists have been getting shorter every year, including at Harvard. Every year, I

shrink my syllabus. Sustained attention and the ability to do work building on sustained attention seem to be quite endangered.

BROWN: If you put these things together, what is the right discussion we should be having now? Is it around attention, or is there more?

ALLEN: I do think it is around attention. Professor Burnett has built a lab that is pulling together young people on college campuses, and also in high school contexts, for experiences of learning how to use that muscle of attention, and those experiences are organized around humanities artifacts. There is content there, but it is also about that experience of attention. The reason why I mentioned that Professor Burnett has a lab is because it takes a team to do this work. That is a piece of the way the model of working in the humanities needs to change in contemporary circumstances. We are the part of the university that is still the most monastic in how we go about our work. If you are writing a book, you are the single author. It is your job. And the truth of the matter is that where we see impact and influence coming out of the university, it is because teams are working together. It is because scientists have labs. There are humanists who have labs. I am one of them, and we exist on campuses all over the country, but it is not yet the norm.

BROWN: Can you explain what you mean when you say you have a lab?

ALLEN: Sure. Lab is just a fancy word for working in a team. That's all. You don't need a space to have a lab. What it means is you have a set of projects that you are working on together. In my case, my lab for the last decade or so has focused on civic education. I have folks working with me. Those folks are other faculty members, who are my collaborators. It also means graduate students and undergraduates working as research assistants. It means some professional staff who are supporting the work. We have done work on curriculum design. We have also done work on scholarly papers analyzing what we are doing in the curriculum

and its impacts. There are a lot of different pieces of the work, but the point is that we are taking the resources of the humanities and putting them to work in the places where they are needed, and it takes a team to do that.

BROWN: And it is also going to a different model. What does that mean in terms of who is working on the team?

ALLEN: It means that people have to be ready for collaboration. It means that we publish group-authored pieces. Another sort of marker of the difference between the sciences and the humanities is that on a scientific paper, there will be three hundred names on the author list.

BROWN: Is it hard to change the psychology?

ALLEN: That is a good question. I have been doing it for a long time now, so it doesn't feel hard, though I do think there continue to be challenges about how people are rewarded for scholarly production. For early-stage professors especially, there is a big emphasis still on the first book, on monographic writing, which can take people years to produce, and those are years in which you don't really develop the skills of collaboration because you are working by yourself. There is a lot of desire to collaborate, but if you are spending all your time working on writing your sole book, you don't get the chance to develop those muscles of collaboration.

BROWN: Can you flesh out this idea of focus on attention a bit more? What would it mean as a practical matter for curriculum, for majors, for how one structures humanities departments?

ALLEN: I can't give you a very good answer at this point in time because we are still thinking through what that means. For instance, in my own teaching practice, I am trying to rethink how I introduce students to texts at a very basic level. Rather than expecting that they are going to master some meaningful chunk of Plato, some meaningful chunk of Aristotle, and some meaningful chunk of Augustine all in one semester, I would much rather focus on a small portion and spend time with them, giving them a sense of self awareness of the benefits they are getting from that experience. We

have a huge mental health crisis on college campuses and among young people generally. This question about how we support their use of their attention is directly responsive to that crisis.

BROWN: Technology has always impacted the way people learn, and every technology that comes along has created a kind of crisis. What is the difference in magnitude now?

“ We have a huge mental health crisis on college campuses and among young people generally. This question about how we support their use of their attention is directly responsive to that crisis.

ALLEN: The difference is the volume, and the fact that it is very hard for people to navigate the quantity of information that is out there. We are cultivating short attention spans. And once you cultivate short attention spans, you no longer have access to symphonies, to operas, to long novels. Another element of this would be that nobody learns cursive anymore. We just assume people are going to type, so we don't teach cursive. That means the whole manuscript record up until the beginning of the twentieth century is not available. Going forward, people are not going to be able to read any of that stuff. It is like the lights go out, and it all disappears. The archives that we have collectively and carefully curated cease to have the same heft for rising generations. We don't want it to lose its heft, so we have to make space for it in the world as it is. That requires work to strengthen people's instruments of attention so that then there is a capacity to engage with this material, appreciate it, understand it, and keep it moving forward.

BROWN: But this means that in the future – ten, twenty, thirty years from now – the role of scholars and what they are trained for could change.

ALLEN: Yes. It is changing, and we see that all around us. When I was in that classroom at Princeton in 1991, it was also the time when we had the first computer with digitized versions of Greek

texts. We used to comment on this in class because we could tell that one of the things that distinguished our professors, that made them professors, was the fact that they had more stuff in their heads than other people. But then the computer had that much stuff too. It was very clear to us that the thing that they had been trained to do and why they were there just didn't matter anymore. And if that's very clear, then you don't have a way of engaging the attention of students. You start to question what is my job and my relationship to these incredible archives of materials that we care so much about?

BROWN: And here we are now at the beginning of a new technology with AI. How much does that impact your thinking about all of this?

ALLEN: I am still sorting my way through this. But the volume of cultural content that has been created is overwhelming, and we are now entering a world in which anything can be fraudulently created. I don't know if you have been following the news around OpenAI's release of ChatGPT-4. It is the next generation of their GPT system. It is not just that AI is moving along continuously in its growth and development. We are entering a new world, and everybody needs to understand that. It is like the invention of gunpowder or the invention of nuclear power. Everything is about to change in quite dramatic ways. It is now possible for somebody to write an op-ed about what should we do about gerrymandering and to do so in the voice of Danielle Allen. You would not be able to tell the difference. Put this prompt into ChatGPT: What would Danielle Allen say about gerrymandering? I have done this, and I can confirm that ChatGPT can, in fact, write op-eds in my voice. Now I can tell the difference, but I'm not sure anybody else can.

BROWN: Were you convinced by the op-ed?

ALLEN: I was ready to get into an argument with it. It is a very strange and interesting experience to interact with ChatGPT. We now rapidly process new text and images as a matter of necessity when previously those things were always luxuries. This will have to affect how we think about protecting and preserving the older treasures and equipping people to navigate the newer welter of content.

BROWN: Ten years ago, much of the discussion was about "STEM versus humanities." What is the best case that we can make now for the humanities?

ALLEN: I told the story about my own experience as a student to remind us of the human connection we have to culture and its value in our lives. That is the story that was told in *The Heart of the Matter* report. I think it is still a true story. The real question is how we make good on that claim about the value of the humanities. In terms of the sheer volume of new digital content, there are extraordinary cultural artifacts that are being created in this tsunami. Students are finding interesting, beautiful, and engaging cultural artifacts in this tidal wave. But very few scholars in the humanities are equipped to engage with students in relationship to the artifacts they are finding and that they care about. Somehow we need to reconnect the skills that we have to the new kinds of explorations young people are pursuing.

BROWN: Where do you see it in our culture? Earlier, you were talking about museums and music institutions. For me, it's my job to look for it, so I run into people who are bringing these worlds together.

ALLEN: Before I answer, I would love to hear about some of the things that you have seen recently.

BROWN: Last week, I was in San Francisco with the artist Kehinde Wiley, who is best known for his portrait of Barack Obama. That work and his new exhibition engage with and respond to art history, to put contemporary Black figures into the frame. This particular exhibition focuses on themes of pain and death – the death of religious or heroic figures familiar from art history. One example, and one of my favorite sculptures, is the *Dying Gaul* in Rome. Kehinde Wiley used that sculpture but changed it so that his work portrays a dying Black man in a hoodie. You don't have to know about that ancient sculpture, but you can learn about it by looking at Wiley's work.

ALLEN: That is a beautiful example, and it calls out the question of how do we want to think about a connection between the cultural productions of prior ages and the cultural production of our own age. A lot of people are pressing on that, trying to figure out how to knit those things together. Your example shows a way of connecting traditions from different times and places. It is doable, and it is enlivening. The question that I have is what is happening with the humanities on college campuses? There is some basic instinct that if we are not replenishing the pipeline of people who are experts in a variety of different traditions, a certain set of lights will go

out, that we won't be preparing even the next generation of artists who are taking things in all kinds of unpredictable and wonderful ways. How much does that view about replenishment matter?

BROWN: Before we turn to questions from the audience, I want to go back to the interview that I did with Dick Brodhead and John Lithgow ten years ago. I remember John saying that the humanities tend to be neglected. The study of the humanities is not being attacked, he said. "It's not a political football, which is always a great danger because people have different belief systems. But it is simply being neglected." Well, ten years later, are the humanities still being "neglected"?

ALLEN: For that section of the humanities on civic education and history education, there has been growth and effort, but also controversy. I think that growth and effort are a good sign. And ultimately, we will see some regrowth of other disciplines of the humanities as well. About a decade ago, in the context of this report, I started a project to try to understand humanists' own organic assessments of the value of what they were doing. In terms of the practice of a humanistic scholar, what was the purpose? One of the interesting results of this project was that the predominant purpose was a civic one of preparing people for connection and engagement in civic life. So, knowing that and seeing the return of resources into the civic education space, my hunch, again, would be that, a decade hence, we will also see resources flowing more generally into the humanities because I think the humanities follow behind civic purpose.

BROWN: Let's turn now to some questions and comments from our audience.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Thank you both. It is terrific to hear you lay out some of these important themes. I was really taken by your emphasis on what you call the phase shift because of the emergence of generative AI and its applications. I was reading one short reflection on some of the possible ways in which this phase shift might play out. We say we are moving from the Information Age to the Intelligence Age, referring to the algorithmic capabilities. But the point is that it's not just analytics. This author was giving the example of how software can change because AI can write

code. You can ask it, if you know how to prompt it, to produce software for you. You have a one-time application, and the ability to have customized AI experiences is going to take off. But what about the scenario in which we have scholarly journals that are provisioned by the scholarship that humans are producing because of our depth of knowledge in particular domains? It is already possible for generative AI to produce a scholarly article. If we go forward just three or five years, one can appreciate how that might accelerate.

ALLEN: But it is not good at footnotes yet.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: There is the AI hallucination. It makes up the sources. But what do you think are the implications for the production of scholarly knowledge that humans undertake, and how that might be impacted? I am wondering if it is not just the matter of attention. Instead of reading an article, you ask it to summarize the text for you, and though there are lots of errors, it gets a lot of things right. What do you think this means for knowledge production at the level of the human versus something else?

ALLEN: I think we are all trying to answer that question right now. This is a different way of answering the question of what is the role of humanities? We are the ones who should be helping to answer these questions. I do a fair amount of tech ethics work right now, and every group of technologists that is trying to work on these things would benefit from having more humanists in the conversation. On the one hand, it will accelerate scholarship. We could ask our own questions. It doesn't have to tell us what questions to ask; it's just a tool. It is like a very efficient research assistant. The biggest issue is that it is going to shift the balance, exacerbate the division between elite segments of society that have access to this tool and non-elite segments of society that do not. Over the weekend, because I was trying to figure out this stuff and what it does, I used it to help me with a small research project that I have spent ridiculous amounts of time on, like months. I am trying to figure out a specific kind of legal question of how different jurisdictions handle a particular issue. Fifteen minutes, and it was done. Now its answers were not all accurate, and I had to triangulate, but the point is it accelerated my ability to see where I needed to look for things that

then I could triangulate and clean up the information. Literally, nine months of work it did in fifteen minutes. That is just the tip of the iceberg of what it can do. It can code as well as the top twenty-fifth percentile of coders at tech firms. It can perform at a top level on the LSAT. It can basically beat humans in any of the things that we test at this point in time. But the more significant thing is that the machine language learning models have a bird's-eye view of all digital data that humanity has produced, which means that it can see patterns that are literally unimaginable to us because we can't have that perspective. We can't even imagine the kinds of patterns that are seeable if you have access to that vast magnitude of data. It can think things we can't think, and that is what is unpredictable. It really is a game changer. We want to talk about

We need the humanities the same way we always did – so that people understand human experience, develop a moral compass, are capable of good judgments in conditions of uncertainty, and have a corpus of things they have learned from and processed over time to understand that hard, human work of judgment. ”

the future of the humanities, and I would love to give a clean, crisp answer to that question. At some level, I think it's just very basic. We need the humanities the same way we always did – so that people understand human experience, develop a moral compass, are capable of good judgments in conditions of uncertainty, and have a corpus of things they have learned from and processed over time to understand that hard, human work of judgment. I always come back to that. That doesn't really seem to increase majors on college campuses, and I don't really know what to do about that disconnect.

BROWN: It is obviously impacting all kinds of professions. I was recently doing something on the impact of AI on artists with one of the leading artists working in this area. He uses the word “instrument” and says it is a tool, and he finds it a phenomenal tool that can do amazing things. But if you asked him who is the artist, he would say that he is the artist. The machine is a tool. I had a chance

to go to his studio, which was fascinating. When you conjure up an artist's studio, you assume it has paints and brushes. His studio was a lab, and his team included data processors, data scientists, technologists, an architect, and designers. People who are very focused on the ethics of the information that is being put in. They were very proud of using only ethically sourced data. We know that is not the case in many places. I have met artists who are being put out of work already by AI – anybody who is in the illustration business, of course.

ALLEN: Yes, lots of coders and artists are being impacted. The workforce implications are going to be profound, and they are going to happen fast. Yes, it is just a tool, but so too is nuclear power just a tool. I was thinking about this because the Academy has done important work on nuclear power. I am a signatory on a letter that just went out a few days ago calling for a moratorium for six months on any further development on large language models. It is getting a fair amount of coverage in the press. We need to develop actual parameters for the development of this technology. The work the Academy did on nuclear power may be a good model for what could happen with this now.

AUDIENCE MEMBER: Do we need to redefine the humanities to capture some of the new media that is eroding attention and treat them with the same sort of scholarly respect as old media?

ALLEN: Well, I think that is already happening, to be honest. I think rising generations of scholars across disciplines – comparative literature, English, all the languages, and the visual arts – are already doing that. So, again, that is where one ends up feeling stuck connecting to our students' sense of what they want to concentrate in. I agree that it is a conundrum.

BROWN: That is all we have time for. Thank you, Danielle, for a terrific conversation, and thank you all for your questions and comments.

OXTOBY: Let me offer my thanks to Danielle and Jeff. This was an insightful conversation. I am excited that the Academy will continue to examine, employ, celebrate, and champion the humanities. Thank you all for joining us. The 211th Stated Meeting of the American Academy is hereby adjourned.

© 2023 by Danielle Allen and Jeffrey Brown, respectively





Distrust, Political Polarization, and America's Challenged Institutions

2110th Stated Meeting | January 18, 2023 | Virtual Event
Morton L. Mandel Conversation

What happens when Americans lose trust in institutions once thought of as nonpolitical – like election administration, the police, medicine, science, the media, and law? What does the hardening connection between distrust and political polarization mean for the functioning of society? The Fall 2022 issue of *Dædalus*, made possible in part by a generous gift from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, explores institutions, experts, and the loss of trust.

On January 18, 2023, the Academy hosted a virtual discussion with the guest editors of the *Dædalus* volume, **Henry E. Brady** and **Kay Lehman Schlozman**, and authors **Tracey L. Meares** and **Lee Rainie** to examine the causes and consequences of the loss of confidence in institutions and the people who lead them. Academy President **David W. Oxtoby** offered introductory remarks. An edited version of the presentations and discussion follows.

David W. Oxtoby

David W. Oxtoby is President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was elected to the Academy in 2012.

Good afternoon and welcome to this important conversation on trust in institutions. As is Academy tradition, it is my pleasure to formally call to order the 2110th Stated Meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Today's event has the distinction of being a Morton L. Mandel Conversation. Our late friend, Mort Mandel, had a keen appreciation for the power of dialogue and the necessity of robust public institutions. His generosity enables us to be here today to address distrust, polarization, and institutional efficacy—topics central to the Jack, Joseph, and Morton Mandel Foundation's mission. We are grateful for their continued support.

Our conversation today will center around ideas advanced in the most recent issue of *Dædalus*, the quarterly journal of the American Academy. *Dædalus* was first published in 1955 and has tackled a prodigious breadth of topics over the past sixty-eight years—everything from climate change, to artificial intelligence, to American music and jazz. Every issue of *Dædalus*, no matter the focus, is distinguished by its rigor, authority, and contribution of new knowledge. In January 2021, the Academy and our publishing partner, The MIT Press, announced that the journal would be moving to open access. In the two years since, *Dædalus* has seen a significant increase in online readership, downloaded essays, and citations. We are proud of this investment in making *Dædalus* content—both past and future—available to as wide an audience as possible. It is our belief that increasing access to knowledge can play a constructive role in increasing public trust in information and in institutions themselves.

Repairing the erosion of trust in institutions is an essential task that stretches across all Academy

endeavors. From the work of our Commission on the Practice of Democratic Citizenship, to recent projects on Public Trust in Vaccines and The Public Face of Science, to our ongoing Commission on Accelerating Climate Action and now this most recent issue of *Dædalus*, addressing the polarization of trust has been a major Academy priority and will remain so going forward.

The Fall 2022 issue of *Dædalus* on “Institutions, Experts, and the Loss of Trust” was made possible, in part, by a generous gift from the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation. We are grateful to Knight Foundation President and Academy member Alberto Ibarguen for his support of this volume and his many contributions to the work of the Academy. We are also grateful to our guest editors, Henry E. Brady, the Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, the J. Joseph Moakley Endowed Professor of Political Science at Boston College, for their leadership and vision on the volume. We are proud to count Henry and Kay as members of the American Academy.

Henry and Kay are joined today by two contributors to the volume: Tracey Meares is the Walton Hale Hamilton Professor and Founding Director of the Justice Collaboratory at Yale Law School and author of the *Dædalus* essay, “Trust and Models of Policing.” She was elected to the Academy in 2019. Lee Rainie is Director of Internet and Technology Research at the Pew Research Center and contributed the essay “Networked Trust and the Future of Media.” We are grateful to Tracey and Lee for joining us today. Following their brief presentations, Kay will moderate a conversation among the panelists. It is now my pleasure to turn things over to our coeditor, Henry Brady.



Henry E. Brady

Henry E. Brady, a Fellow of the American Academy since 2003, is the Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor of Political Science and Public Policy at the University of California, Berkeley. He served as Dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy from 2009 to 2021.

Our discussion today is about distrust and polarization in America's institutions. You may ask, why does it matter? Why do we care about whether people trust major institutions? Well, confidence and trust are essential to legitimacy and to the ability of institutions to operate effectively. Without legitimacy, people won't trust these institutions, and as a result, they may not be willing to go along with the solutions these institutions put forth to solve the problems that we face.

“ Our discussion today is about distrust and polarization in America's institutions. You may ask, why does it matter? Why do we care about whether people trust major institutions?

We know that confidence in governing institutions has fallen and that it is politically polarized. That is not a surprise. Government is about different perspectives, so one might expect that confidence in governing institutions would be polarized based upon one's political perspective. But what about nonpolitical institutions, such as business, churches, the police, the military, K–12 schools, television, and the press? What has happened over the last fifty years with respect to trust in these nonpolitical institutions?

In my *Dædalus* essay with coauthor Thomas Kent, a graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, we start with a large data set that we compiled. It is based upon melding three data sets: Harris Polls from 1967, General Social Surveys from 1972, and Gallup Polls from 1973. The questions asked in each of these polls or surveys about trust or confidence are slightly different, and so we worked hard to make sure that we could make the data as comparable as possible. In the end, we have 165,000 respondents, 128 surveys from 1972–2021, and a four-point scale for trust that goes from 0 (hardly any confidence) to 3 (a great deal of confidence).

Figure 1 shows confidence in governmental institutions over time. What we see is that the confidence in our governmental institutions has gone down over time. For the Supreme Court, it has gone down a bit; the presidency, a bit more; the executive branch, even more; and Congress, most of all. Confidence in Congress is exceptionally low.

If we look at confidence in two nonpolitical institutions – police and the press – from 1973 to the present (see Figure 2; unfortunately, we have

some interruptions in the data series for police), we see that confidence in police has declined a bit, and confidence in the press has declined precipitously.

And if we look at the twenty institutions in our data (see Figure 3), we find that the four governmental institutions that we looked at previously – represented by the darker bars – have had

varying levels of declines in confidence, but the nonpolitical institutions have also had significant declines in trust, ranging from Wall Street and TV news at one side to labor and science on the other. And what is interesting is that trust in the military has increased. We also see that the press and police span the gamut of declines in trust over the last fifty years.

Figure 1. Confidence in Governmental Institutions Over Time

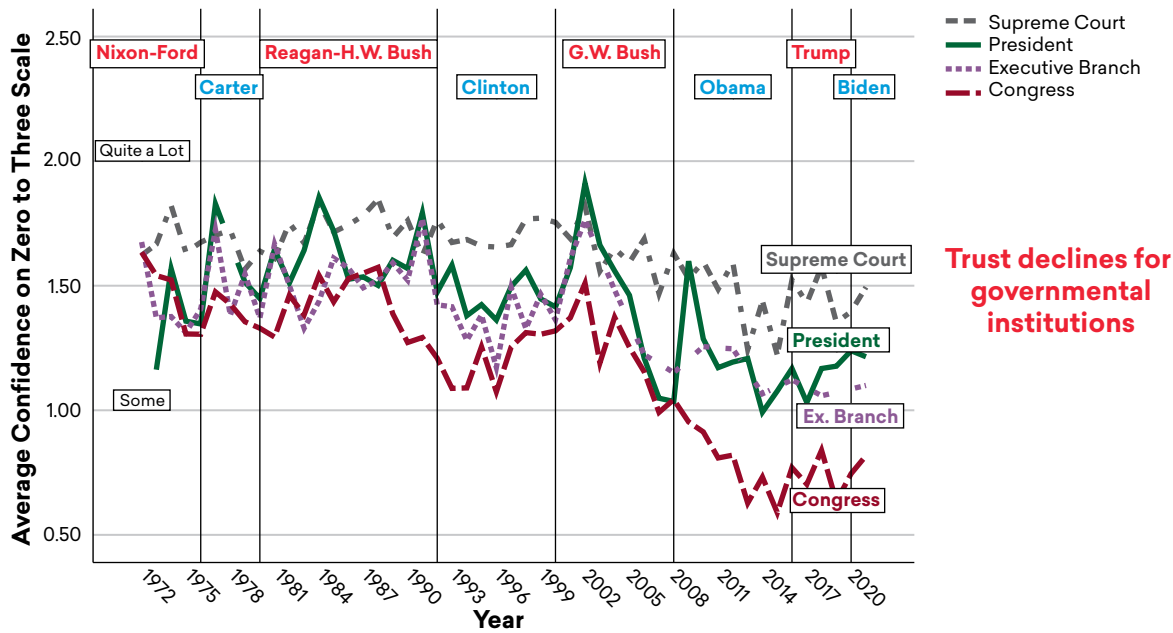
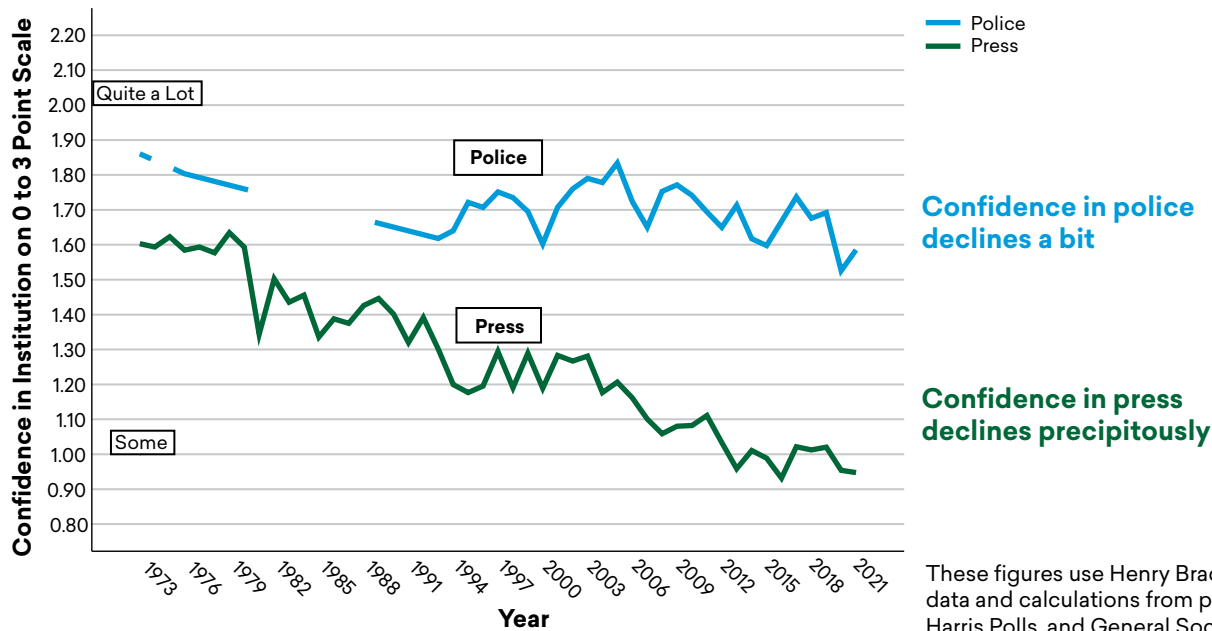


Figure 2. Confidence in Police and Press over Time



These figures use Henry Brady and Thomas Kent's data and calculations from pooled Gallup Polls, Harris Polls, and General Social Surveys.

Let's now turn to partisan confidence in the presidency over time. What we find is that when there is a Republican president, Republicans are more trusting, and when there is a Democratic president, Democrats are more trusting. That's not a big surprise. What we also find, however, is that there is a real difference between Democrats and Republicans over time in how much they trust or distrust the presidency. The top bar going across in Figure 4 shows that for the peaks, which represent the views of the partisans of the

party of the incumbent president, their sense of trust in the presidency hasn't changed much over time. Republicans trust Republican presidents and Democrats trust Democratic presidents. Partisans of the current president have about as much trust today as they did fifty years ago. However, for those who are not partisans of the president – the out-group, if you will – their confidence in the presidency has declined substantially over time (shown in the bottom bar that declines downward).

Figure 3. Percent Change in Confidence between 1970s and 2010s

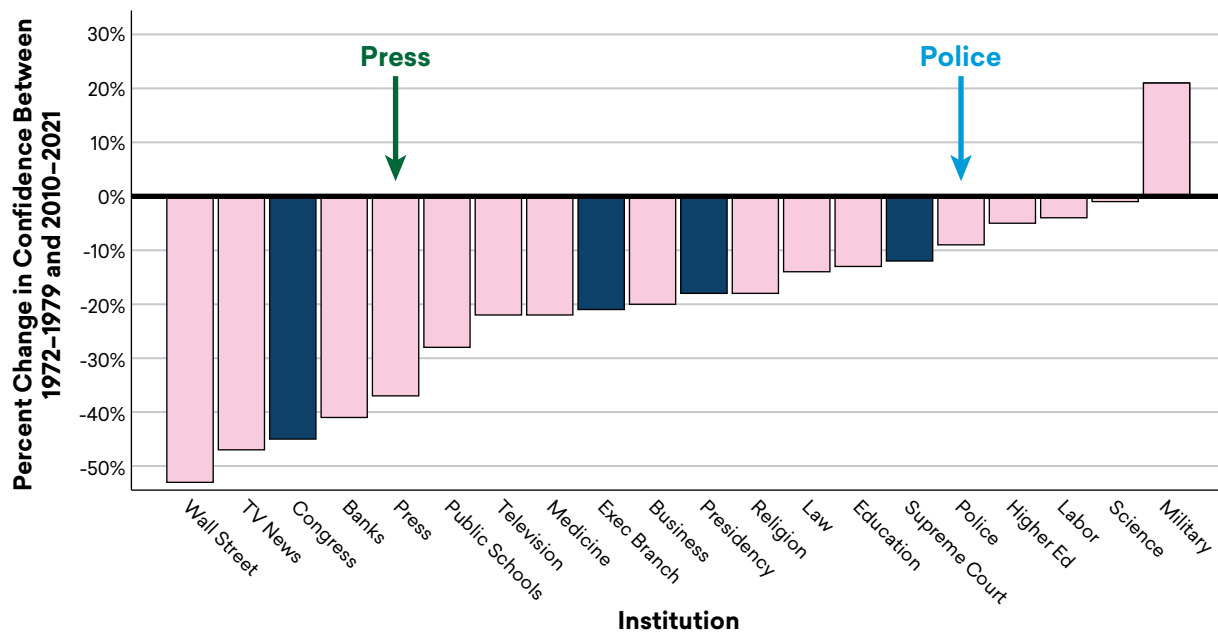
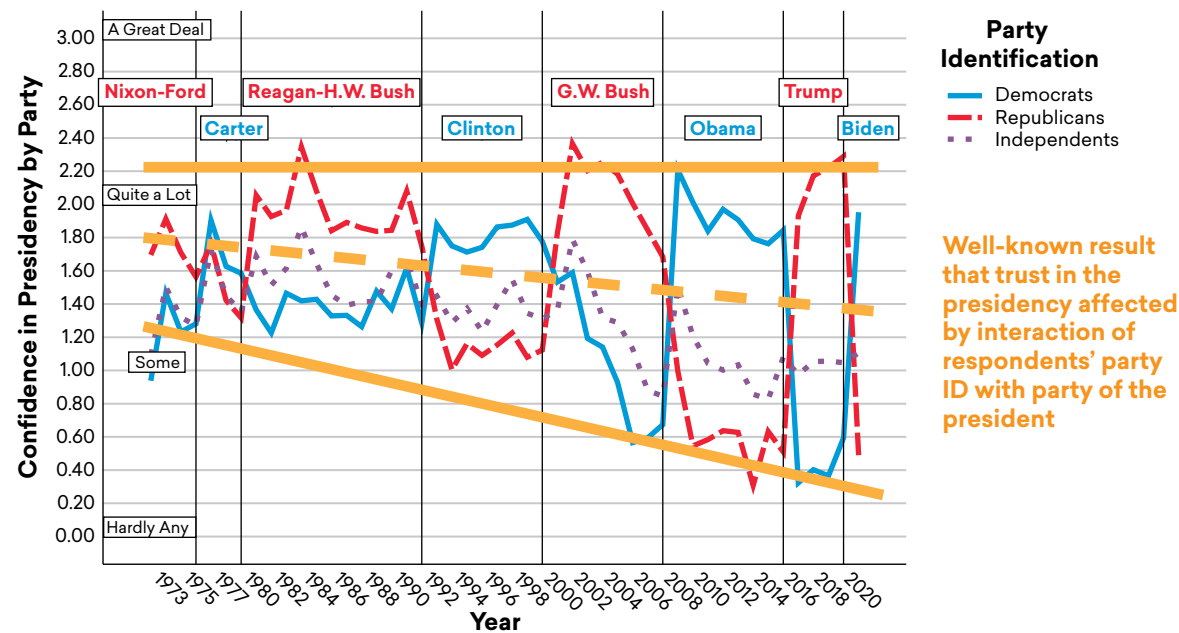


Figure 4. Partisan Confidence in Presidency Over Time



It is not surprising to see partisan differences in confidence in political institutions, but it is a bit unexpected to see it in nonpolitical institutions. If we look at partisan confidence in the police over time, we find that for Republicans (represented in the top line in Figure 5), their trust in the police has gone up somewhat, but for Democrats, their confidence has dropped significantly over time. The

Democratic Party includes many African American voters, and their trust with respect to the police has been especially low. Tracey will talk about that and why that is so in her presentation.

What about the press? As we see in Figure 6, Democrats' confidence in the press stays high over time, but Republicans' confidence has dropped, and rather precipitously.

Figure 5. Partisan Confidence in Police Over Time

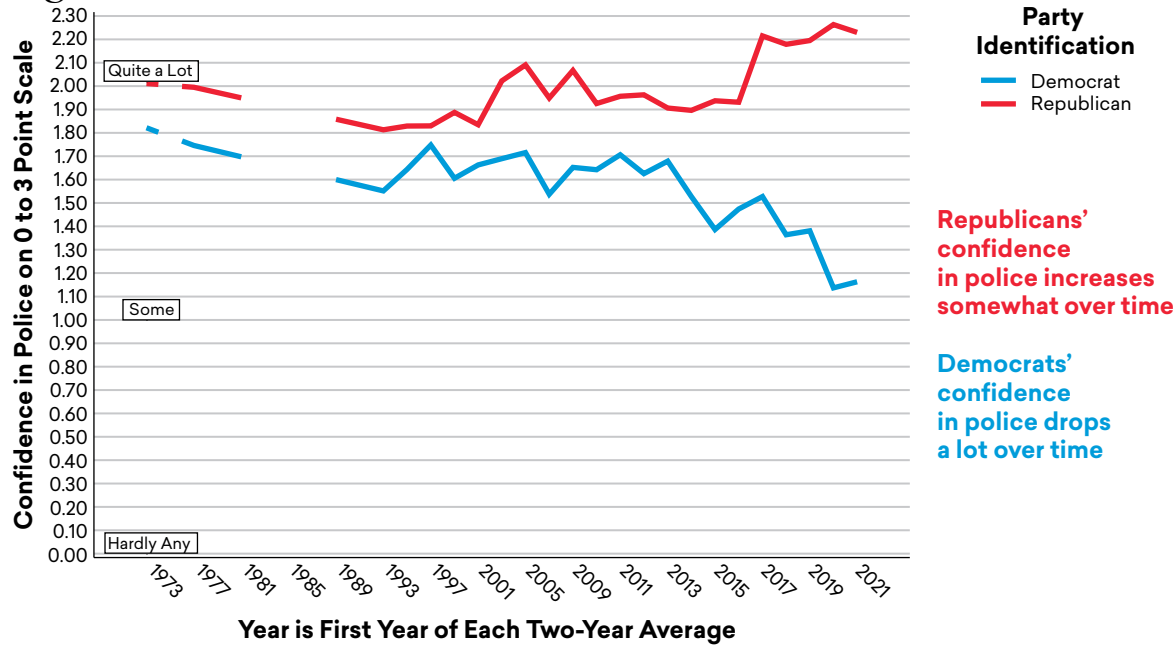
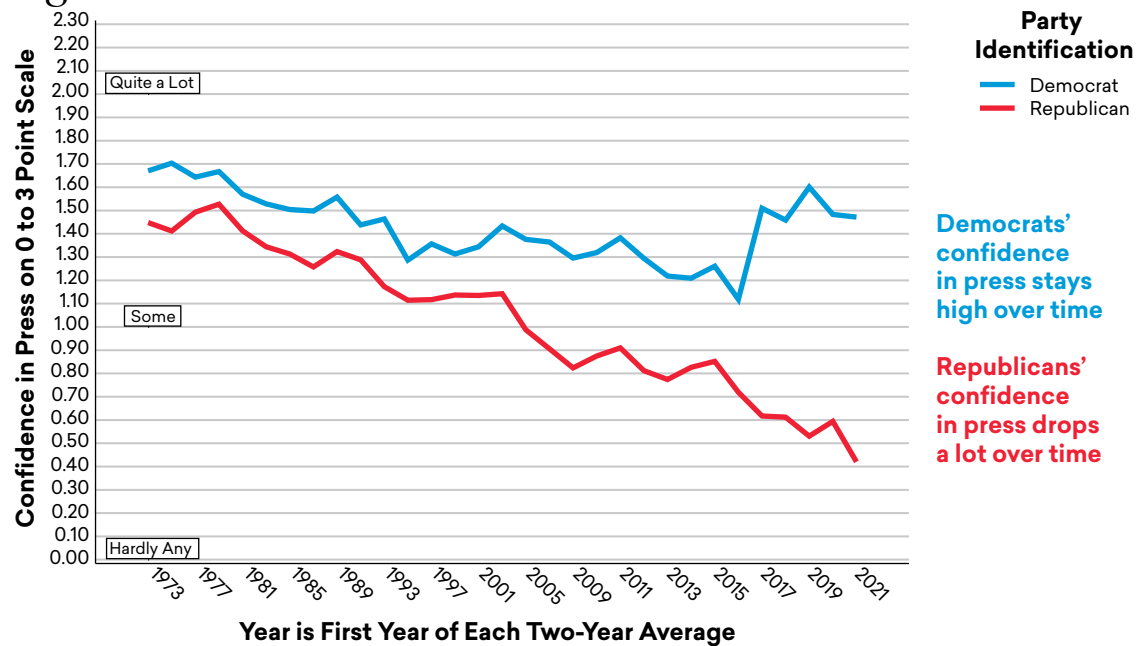


Figure 6. Partisan Confidence in Press Over Time



Let's look at how much change there has been in polarization over time across all institutions. In Figure 7, we have plotted the confidence of Democrats in various institutions in the 1970s versus the confidence of Republicans in those institutions in that same time period. If the partisans of the two parties agreed on their confidence in a particular institution, the point for that institution on the graph would fall along the solid line, which is at about 45 degrees in the middle of the picture. However, if they disagree, we see that reflected in

data points above or below that solid line. For instance, the Democrats trusted labor more than the Republicans did in the 1970s, and the Republicans trusted business more than the Democrats did. We also see that there is not that much of a difference between Democrats and Republicans in terms of trust in most of these institutions in the 1970s, except, however, for business and labor.

Now, let's look at what happened in the 2010s (see Figure 8). Everything explodes outwards. What we find is that on the Democratic

Figure 7. Polarization in Confidence in Institutions in 1972–1979

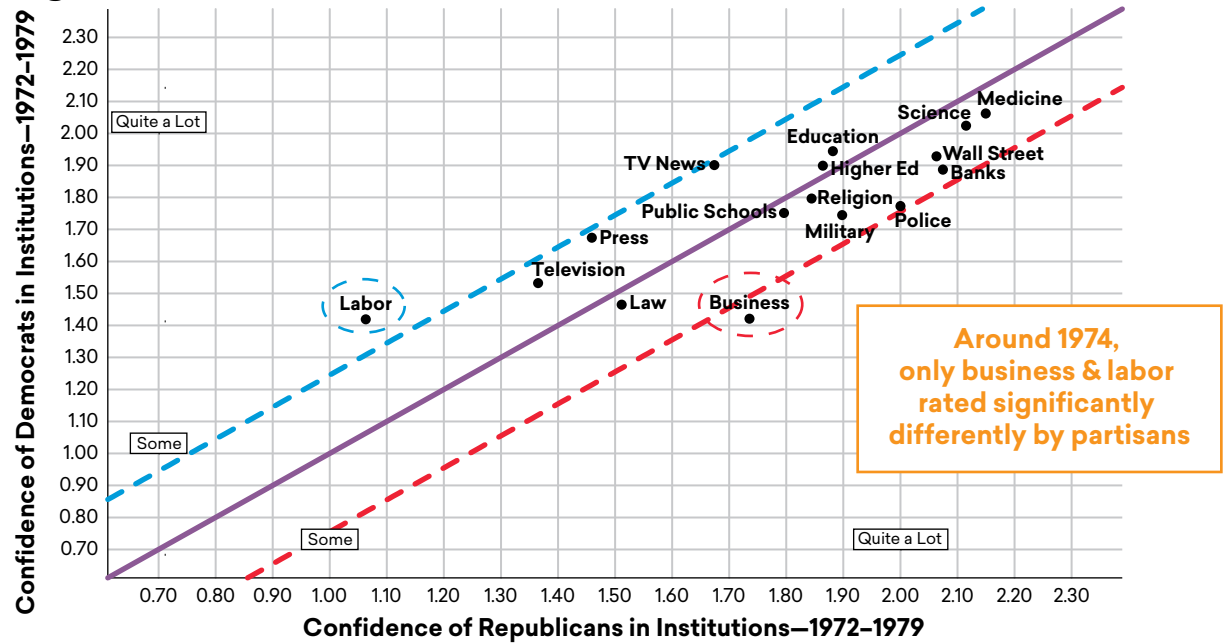
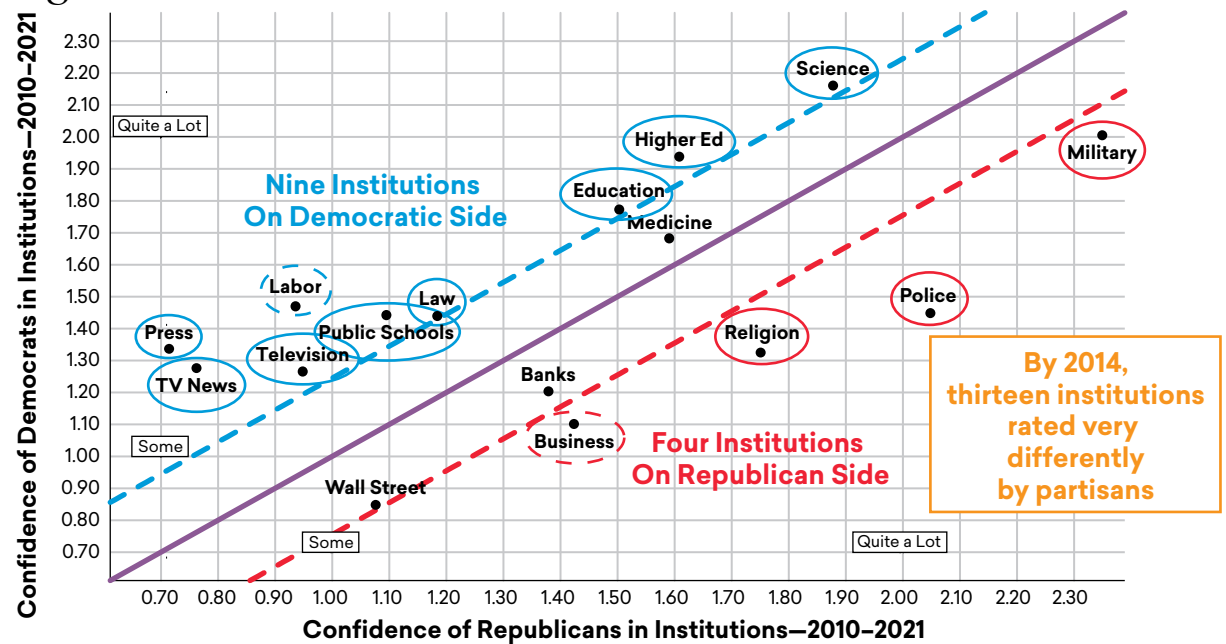


Figure 8. Polarization in Confidence in Institutions in 2010–2021



and Republican sides, polarization in confidence has increased for almost every institution. For the Democrats, confidence is higher than for the Republicans in what we might call the knowledge-producing institutions: the press, TV news, public schools, higher education, and science. For the Republicans, confidence is higher than for the Democrats in the norm-enforcing and order-preserving institutions: religion, police, and the military. It is quite an extraordinary change in who trusts which institution.

So, what have we found? Confidence in governing institutions has declined since the 1970s, and confidence in these institutions is now more polarized. Trust in nonpolitical institutions has declined since the 1970s, except for the military. Confidence in nonpolitical institutions used to be politically polarized between just labor and business, but now confidence is polarized in almost all nonpolitical institutions, with Republicans more confident in business, the military, police, and religion, and Democrats more confident in labor, the press, television, public schools, higher education, law, and science.

Why is this so? Perhaps one-third of the decline in trust is due to specific events. There is no question that bank failures caused banks to be less popular. Police behavior has an impact on the popularity of the police and confidence people have in it. Changes in press coverage impact confidence in the press. Perhaps another one-third of the decline in trust is due to a generalized distrust in institutions, fueled by Watergate and other events. Independents, not just Democrats and Republicans, have decreased their confidence in institutions. And for these Independents the explanation cannot be partisan polarization; it has to be something else. The final one-third or more of the decline is due to increasing polarization along political issue dimensions other than economic policy that separated business and labor in the past.

One speculation is that the rise of social, cultural, and racial issues as central features of our politics since the 1970s has also affected our beliefs about institutions. In addition, my colleague Thomas Kent has shown that the campaign contributions of people associated with a specific institution (for example, those who mention higher education or policing as their occupation) go consistently to more ideologically extreme candidates

than in the past. For instance, those associated with higher education, the press, and science give to more ideologically liberal candidates than in the past, and those associated with the military and the police give to more ideologically conservative candidates than in the past. This result suggests that those working in these institutions are more ideologically homogenous and extreme than in the past. As a result, it is not surprising that there is partisan distrust of these institutions by the members of the party who do not feel represented by them.

“ Confidence in nonpolitical institutions used to be politically polarized between just labor and business, but now confidence is polarized in almost all nonpolitical institutions, with Republicans more confident in business, the military, police, and religion, and Democrats more confident in labor, the press, television, public schools, higher education, law, and science.

What does this mean? On a 2019 survey, we asked respondents how they would feel about someone close to them choosing a career or marrying someone involved with various institutions. We were shocked and surprised to find that Republicans do not want their kin or friends to have a close association with journalists or with anyone working in higher education. Democrats do not want close connections with anyone in the police, the military, or religious institutions. Recent events suggest that distrusted institutions – such as police and public health – cannot be effective, and polarized trust leads to vastly different views on institutional performance and how we should reform institutions if we feel we need to do that. Given our partisan differences in how we evaluate institutions, it is hard to know how they can continue to be effective when a crisis occurs.



Tracey L. Meares

Tracey L. Meares, a Fellow of the American Academy since 2019, is the Walton Hale Hamilton Professor and a Founding Director of the Justice Collaboratory at Yale Law School.

My essay in the *Dædalus* issue explores the concept of trust and policing. From the 1990s to the early 2000s, violent crime rates plummeted in the United States. And the secular trend continued downward for another decade, although the decline was not as steep. New York City became one of the safest big cities in the world, when measured by homicides per capita. It was during this period that police dedicated

“ There seems to be very little relationship between police effectiveness at addressing violent crime, or at least the perception of it, and confidence in the institution.

themselves to a program of proactive policing designed, by its own terms, to attack violent crime. Think stop and frisk. This approach led some scholars to hypothesize about the relative importance of police activity as a contributing factor to the decline in violent crime.

I won't explore that hypothesis here, although I have written about it. I would rather explore the following puzzle: police understood themselves as warriors against crime, and they had a plausible story to tell about their effectiveness at that task. One might think, too, that public confidence in police and policing would be related to police effectiveness at completing this task. But long-term polls, such as Gallup, tell a different story. Gallup has tracked public confidence in a random sample of adults over a range of institutions, including police, for just over a quarter of a century. And during that time, confidence among Americans in the police has remained largely flat, acknowledging the point that Henry made that there has been a slight decline. But we can say that even when the numbers are disaggregated, there has not been much change in the level of flatness. Among white respondents, the levels of those claiming to have a great deal or quite a lot of confidence in police range between 56 and 60 percent between 1993 and 2020. Among Black respondents, the confidence levels are lower – about half the level for whites, with the lowest rate of 19 percent in 2020. Except for 2020, the numbers for Black respondents are still relatively flat. The point here is that there seems to be very little relationship between police effectiveness at addressing violent crime, or at least the perception of it, and confidence in the institution.

So how might we explain this disjunction? The work I have done for the last fifteen years focuses on the relationship between process-based

fairness and legitimation of rational, bureaucratic authority. This connection is deeply tied to trust through the concept of procedural justice. Procedural justice is a social-psychological framework that helps us understand how people come to conclusions about the fairness of legal authorities, such as police. Research shows us that as a general matter, people care a lot more about how they are treated by authorities when coming to these conclusions, as opposed to the outcomes these authorities produce and whether those outcomes favor people specifically.

One factor of procedural justice is whether a person perceives an authority, such as a police officer, judge, or teacher, to be trustworthy. People want to believe that an authority with whom they are dealing can be trusted to treat them benevolently in the future. Let me mention the three other factors of procedural justice. One: voice or opportunity to have input in the decision, policy, or procedure; two: indicators of decision-making fairness, such as whether a decision is based in fact, is transparent, and the decision-making is carried out in a neutral way without bias; and three: treatment with dignity, respect, and concern for one's rights. Each of these factors is important, and they occur together, lead to, and reinforce perceptions of the legitimacy of authority. Social psychologists tell us that the reason why people care about these four factors is that they are constantly looking for information about their value in society, both in terms of their value as individuals and the value of the group to which they belong. The stakes are high. Research shows that when people perceive authorities to be legitimate, they are much more likely to engage and cooperate with them, and to follow directives voluntarily.

In my essay in the *Daedalus* volume, I review research evaluating different policies that police agencies have adopted and some of the behavioral outcomes of training based on these policies. The research base is small, but it is promising. In one notable study published by George Wood and colleagues, procedural justice training led to reduced complaints against police officers

and reduced reports of use of force. Still though, most measured changes that we have detected are small. And this is likely because of the goal, rather than the conceptual framework. It is important to understand that taking the conceptual framework that I have offered here can do so much more than simply make the existing model of policing we have a little less harmful. Rather, it could and should lead to rethinking how state actors are used and deployed to address problems of *safety deprivation* – to borrow a term used by Vesla Weaver at Johns Hopkins University – such as violence.

“ It is important to rethink the very laws that the police enforce, especially low-level ordinances such as jaywalking, selling loose cigarettes on the street corner, or limitations on the height of grass lawns. In many cities, these laws are enforced by emergency responders with guns.

One approach I offer in my essay is that it is important to rethink the very laws that the police enforce, especially low-level ordinances such as jaywalking, selling loose cigarettes on the street corner, or limitations on the height of grass lawns. In many cities, these laws are enforced by emergency responders with guns. We could think about improving policing by addressing such enforcement through procedural justice strategies, but another more important, and – in my mind – democratically legitimate approach is to prohibit forcible arrest for such offenses altogether, and to do so legislatively. Eric Garner lost his life for selling loose cigarettes on a street corner. Enforcement of such laws ends up making communities that suffer from the symptoms of safety deprivation, such as violence, unable to rely on and trust the state that they deserve to have protect them as citizens.



Lee Rainie

Lee Rainie is Director of Internet and Technology Research at Pew Research Center.

In the essay that I wrote for the *Dædalus* issue, on “Networked Trust and the Future of Media,” I talk about the collapse of the civic information system as measured by trust in news media and social media. But I also discuss the palpable sense of the American public that they are not getting the information they need, they are not necessarily convinced that they are being told the truth about what is going on, and they are mightily confused about how to sort their way through the news structures that have developed in the civic information system.

“Several studies that we have done at the Pew Research Center have documented how newspapers are essential to the feeder system of civic information. Local newspapers set the agenda for television coverage. They set the agenda for business and civic groups that are acting in those communities.

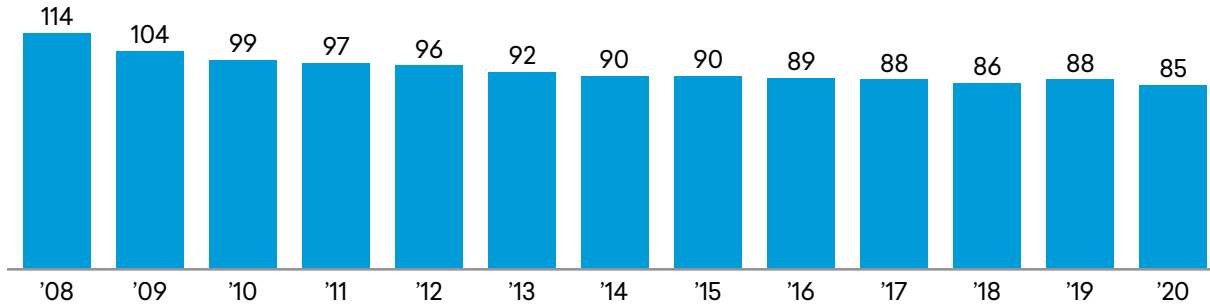
Some of this is tied to the business problems that newspapers are having in the United States. Since 2004, we have lost more than 2,100 newspapers in this country, many more have merged and become part of larger and more nonlocal conglomerates, and some have moved from being daily to weekly newspapers. The result is this: Not only are communities not getting the kind of accountability journalism that they expect, but the important role that newspapers play as part of the bigger information ecosystem in communities is being lost. Several studies that we have done at the Pew Research Center have documented how newspapers are essential to the feeder system of civic information. Local newspapers set the agenda for television coverage. They set the agenda for business and civic groups that are acting in those communities. So, the loss of newspapers, with the original reporting that often originates in newspapers, is profound.

Newsrooms are experiencing another set of losses. As shown in Figure 1, between 2008 and 2020, almost thirty thousand newsroom jobs were eliminated across the country. And the toll of those lost jobs on what happens in newsrooms and what newsrooms are able to produce is staggering.

Beyond those fundamental economic forces that are hollowing out the news business, one of the striking things that we find is that there is now polarization in the level of trust the public has of national and local news organizations (see Figure 2). Democrats have maintained a relatively high level of confidence in national news organizations, but the decline of Republican confidence in national news organizations is striking. Local news organizations haven’t seen quite the same dramatic results. Coincidentally, social media and

Figure 1. Newsroom employment in the United States declined 26% between 2008 and 2020

Number of U.S. newsroom employees in news industries, in thousands



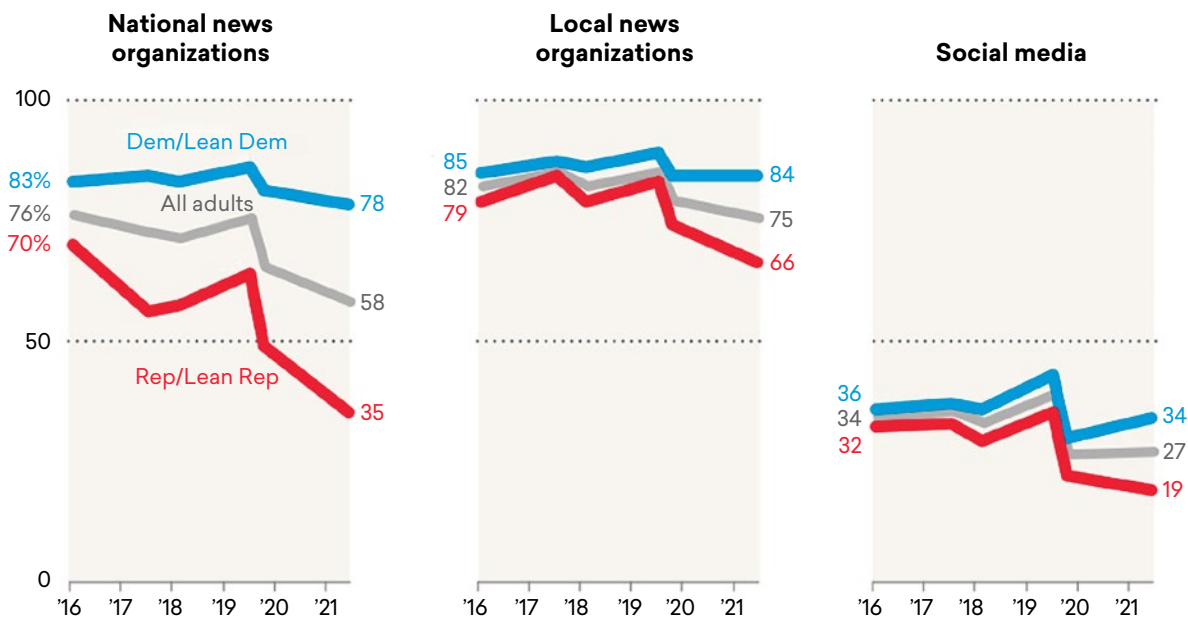
Note: The OEWS survey is designed to produce estimates by combining data collected over a three-year period. Newsroom employees include news analysts, reporters and journalists; editors; photographers; and television, video and film camera operators and editors. News industries include newspaper publishers; radio broadcasting; television broadcasting; cable and other subscription programming; and other information services, the best match for digital-native news publishers.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Bureau of Labor Statistics Occupational Employment and Wage Statistics data.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 2. Wider partisan gaps emerge in trust of national and local news organizations, social media

% of U.S. adults who say they have a lot or some trust in the information that comes from . . .



Note: In 2016, trust of information from social media was only asked of and based on internet-using U.S. adults.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted June 14-27, 2021. For dates of other surveys, see the topline.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 3. Ideology adds another layer to party-line divides of most trusted and distrusted news sources

% who trust each source for political and election news (first five shown)

Democrat/Lean Dem				Republican/Lean Rep			
LIBERAL		MODERATE/ CONSERVATIVE		MODERATE/ LIBERAL		CONSERVATIVE	
CNN	70%	CNN	65%	Fox News	51%	Fox News	75%
New York Times	66	ABC News	63	ABC News	47	Hannity (radio)	43
PBS	66	NBC News	61	CBS News	42	Limbaugh (radio)	38
NPR	63	CBS News	60	NBC News	41	ABC News	24
NBC News	61	PBS	48	CNN	36	CBS News	23

% who distrust each source for political and election news (first five shown)

Democrat/Lean Dem				Republican/Lean Rep			
LIBERAL		MODERATE/ CONSERVATIVE		MODERATE/ LIBERAL		CONSERVATIVE	
Fox News	77%	Fox News	48%	CNN	43%	CNN	67%
Limbaugh (radio)	55	Limbaugh (radio)	34	MSNBC	32	MSNBC	57
Breitbart	53	Hannity (radio)	28	HuffPost	30	New York Times	50
Hannity (radio)	50	Breitbart	22	BuzzFeed	29	NBC News	50
NY Post	27	BuzzFeed	20	Fox News	29	CBS News	48

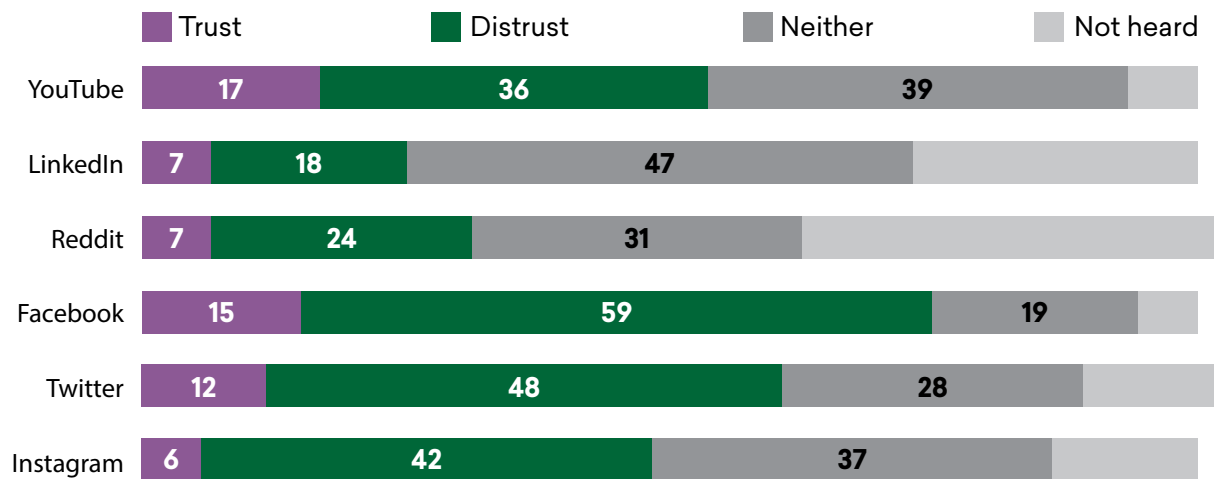
Note: Order of outlets does not necessarily indicate statistically significant differences.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 29-Nov. 11, 2019. "U.S. Media Polarization and the 2020 Election: A Nation Divided"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 4. Few trust social media as a place to get political and election news

% of U.S. adults who _____ each source as a place to get political and election news



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Oct. 29-Nov. 11, 2019.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

tech companies more generally have also experienced some of this polarization in trust.

A consequence of this is that there has been a partisan sorting of *audiences* among news publications and news operations. In Figure 3, we see the levels of trust for some of the most important and largest news organizations. What the data show is that the liberal audiences of some news organizations are greatly at variance with the conservative audiences of other news organizations. The declining trust in news organizations is really a story about how people are migrating to different kinds of sources for different kinds of purposes, particularly partisan purposes, when it comes to large-scale news organizations.

For social media, it is not a one-size-fits-all phenomenon (see Figure 4). Different platforms serve different purposes. Social media, as a whole, is not necessarily trusted to deliver the kind of civic and news information that people need. People customize the filters for their social media feeds; they organize their news feeds to privilege certain kinds of information; they structure their friendship groups to give them the information that they want. So, there are plenty of reasons why people still think that social media is a valuable news source at the personal level – giving them both relevant and relatively trustworthy information. But on the whole, the social media sphere has very low confidence among the broader public.

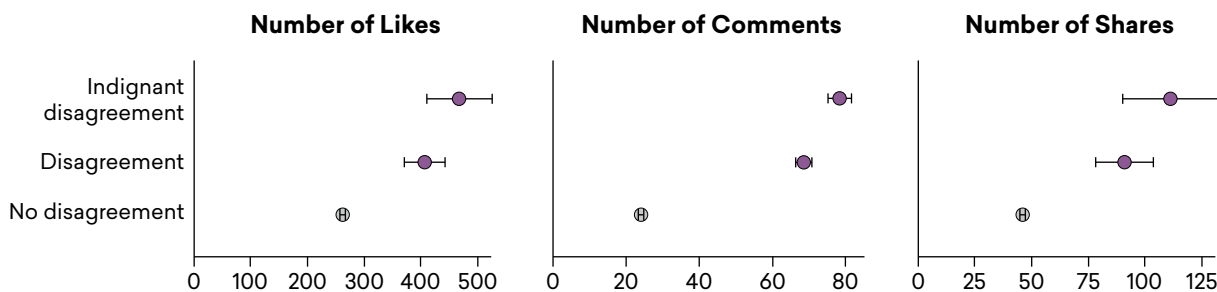
“ The declining trust in news organizations is really a story about how people are migrating to different kinds of sources for different kinds of purposes, particularly partisan purposes, when it comes to large-scale news organizations.

One of the core arguments I make in my *Dædalus* essay is that there are certain properties of digital media that have come into place that have changed media spaces and democratic discourse in ways that affect trust. These properties are things like digital information’s ability to be pervasive, portable, persistent, visible, personal, customizable, participatory, enabling creation, replicable, spreadable, scalable, and searchable.

A new organizing factor in social media is the algorithmic way in which certain kinds of information are elevated. In Figure 5, which is based on material that we gathered at the Pew Research Center from the social media posts of public officials, mainly members of Congress, we see that the more indignant the language is in a social media post by a member of Congress, the more likes, comments,

Figure 5. Critical posts get more likes, comments, and shares than other posts

Average number of likes, comments, and shares per Facebook post containing . . .



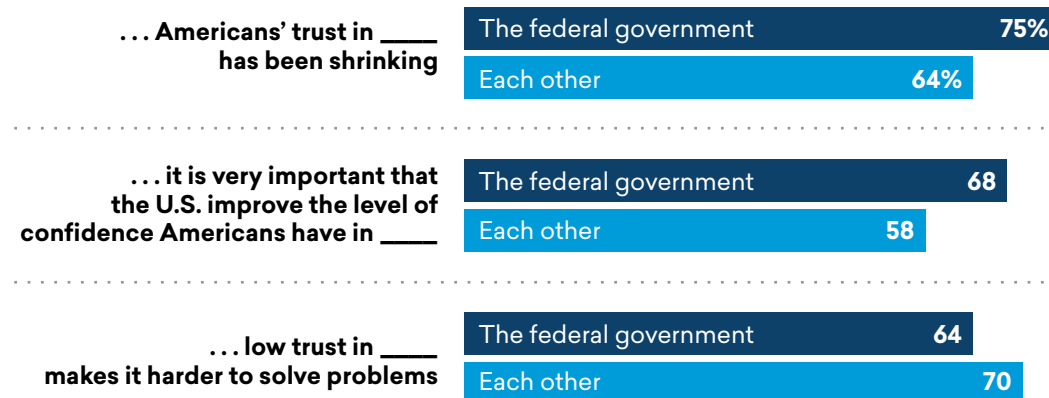
Note: Lines indicate the standard error, an attempt to quantify the uncertainty surrounding each estimate. The “disagreement” and “indignant disagreement” categories are not mutually exclusive: statements that contain indignant disagreement are a subset of those that contain disagreement more broadly.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of data from Facebook OpenGraph API. See Methodology section for details. “Partisan Conflict and Congressional Outreach”

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Figure 6. Americans think their distrust of the federal government and each other is a problem that gets in the way of solving issues

% of U.S. adults who believe ...



Source: Survey conducted Nov. 27-Dec. 10, 2018. "Trust and Distrust in America"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

and shares it gets. Those are the metrics that social media companies use to measure engagement, and they tweak their algorithms to deliver certain kinds of material to certain kinds of people based on those elements of engagement. There is a tremendous amount of concern about the ways in which social media algorithms radicalize the content that people are exposed to as they go down rabbit holes of recommended videos and posts. The result is that large majorities of Americans now believe that Republican and Democratic voters cannot agree on basic facts concerning important issues facing the country. When we measured this in the past, a majority of people said that partisans could agree on certain facts, even if they disagreed on policies. People no longer feel that's the case.

As Henry has pointed out, all of this is leading to lower confidence in all kinds of media. From a survey that Pew conducted between February 19 and March 4, 2019, we found that 68 percent of Americans have confidence in the government; 54

percent of Americans have confidence in each other; and 51 percent of Americans have confidence in the ability of political leaders to get the work done. As a result, Americans believe that public distrust of the government and people's distrust of each other is getting in the way of the capacity of institutions to solve problems and address the major issues the nation faces (see Figure 6).

In my essay, I highlight a few reforms that are commonly offered: 1) an Internet Bill of Rights, which gives people control of their data and more power in their interactions with major tech platforms; 2) changes in social media algorithms to downplay anger and divisive discourse and offer sources that are accurate, present diverse perspectives, and encourage discourse and pathways to agreement; 3) embrace of radical transparency in both formal news operations and social media; 4) reviving journalism and creating public spaces, like public broadcasting in TV and radio; and 5) creating new educational programs for digital and civic literacy.

There is a tremendous amount of concern about the ways in which social media algorithms radicalize the content that people are exposed to as they go down rabbit holes of recommended videos and posts. The result is that large majorities of Americans now believe that Republican and Democratic voters cannot agree on basic facts concerning important issues facing the country. ”



Kay Lehman Schlozman

Kay Lehman Schlozman, a Fellow of the American Academy since 2003, is the J. Joseph Moakley Endowed Professor of Political Science at Boston College.

Thank you, Henry, Tracey, and Lee for your presentations. You have convinced me – though I really didn’t need any convincing – that trust is an important phenomenon if our institutions, our society, and our government are to work well. But for us to trust institutions, they need to be trustworthy. Let me start our conversation by posing a question to all of you: if you could make a change in the institution that you were talking

about that would make it more trustworthy, what would you do? Lee, let’s start with you.

LEE RAINIE: There are ways now in which trust is a contingent kind of social exchange between people. People are not making big, binary judgments about whether they trust an institution or not; it is more transactional and in the moment. For journalism, we can follow the playbook that Kay, Henry, and Sidney Verba gave us about the public’s voice itself. The most interesting experiments that have tried to test how journalism can become more trustworthy relate to how it can become fairer, particularly to the voices that are not often heard in our culture. And how it can be oriented toward a type of social criticism that is more constructive. So, giving voice to the populations that

don't necessarily have a voice in political institutions is one change that many advocate. The other thing that a lot of people talk about is changing the narrative style of journalism itself: having it be less "bothsidesism" and having it focus more on the central context and the truthfulness of facts.

The most interesting experiments that have tried to test how journalism can become more trustworthy relate to how it can become fairer, particularly to the voices that are not often heard in our culture. And how it can be oriented toward a type of social criticism that is more constructive. ”

KAY LEHMAN SCHLOZMAN: Tracey, what would you change for the police?

TRACEY L. MEARES: I mentioned a few things in my presentation, but let me emphasize one, which is for policing to take seriously the concept of trust itself. This was the work that I did with Tom Tyler, and it is in the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policing: the idea that the job of the police is to think about encouraging a more trusting relationship between police as servants of the communities, rather than as warriors against crime. What does that mean? Once you make trust central, you understand that the job itself needs to be fundamentally different. That it's difficult to take armed emergency responders who are deployed for a range of problems in primarily disadvantaged communities and think that is going to fundamentally change that trusting relationship. It is not. It is why people are talking about reducing the footprint of armed emergency responders. I think the task is to think differently about how the state is helping communities promote safety. That doesn't mean that the state should not be involved at all – in fact, I think it is critical that they are. Citizens deserve state support for their safety. But it does mean that the idea that we are going to address these problems by sending people with guns to every single problem is just a fundamentally bad one.

SCHLOZMAN: Henry, would you like to respond to anything Tracey or Lee said, or mention another

institution that you have considered in your global examination of this issue?

HENRY E. BRADY: The literature says there are four ways to create trust in institutions. One is for a governmental entity to bestow its regulatory legitimacy on other institutions. It is not clear that is a very good strategy these days, because government has its own trust problems. A second way is for cultural norms to be respected by institutions, but perceived lack of respect is part of what we face right now. Some people think that institutions are not acknowledging the cultural norms that should be recognized. And this connects to trust in the police. A third way is to be ethical and adhere to the normative standards of society. Many institutions fail in this, with scandals and other sorts of corruption. And the fourth one is for institutions to perform efficiently and effectively. To me, this last strategy can appeal to all political partisans, so that it may be most capable of restoring trust. But it does require government and these institutions to work better than they have in the past. Speaking as a former dean of a public policy school, that is where we need to put a lot of effort.

SCHLOZMAN: Since institutional performance is imperfect – and Henry just elaborated on that – institutions need to be accountable, which of course implies that sometimes naive trust may have its own dangers. What is the sweet spot on the continuum between skepticism and trust that works well? Lee, would you like to go first?

RAINIE: Being factual is the starting place. If you want to organize for the distribution of public goods, the starting place is the presumption that trust is generated from truth. Until recently that was the widely held view, but it is slipping in some segments of the population. The problem most Americans see now is that true institutional accountability is lacking. The tactic that is driving against that comes from those entities that Naomi Oreskes calls the "merchants of doubt." The forces against which trust-builders are fighting seem more organized and more potent than they might have been in the past. Robert Proctor, a historian of science at Stanford, talks about "agnotology" as a well-practiced science. It's the science of creating doubt about institutions. And it runs strong in our current political climate.

SCHLOZMAN: Tracey, would you like to add anything?

MEARES: I have to admit that I have some trouble getting my head around the concept of a sweet spot, given the kinds of things that I study and how I think a commitment to process-based legitimation might help improve trust in policing. What I can say is that the idea implies something that is more transactional and focused on back-end accountability: you trust police to do certain things, and then they harm you. We have seen too many instances of this on social media. Instances of police doing horrific things but also just being less civil and less polite. Jennifer Eberhardt at Stanford has wonderful research showing that it is not so much that police are ruder to Black people as opposed to white people; they are simply less polite. I just read a paper by Nicholas Camp that shows you can identify this in the tone of how police speak to people. Maybe one way of understanding this sweet spot is to think about accountability differently. Another colleague of mine, Barry Friedman, and his coauthor Maria Ponomarenko write about the difference between front-end accountability and back-end accountability. When we think about police access, we think about holding particular police officers or particular agencies accountable for wrongful things they have done. This is certainly important. But what is also critical in the process of reform transformation change is to imagine different institutions for articulating the goals and projects of what police or state actors devoted to safety do. There are very few mechanisms that take that seriously. I explore a couple in my essay, but we need much more. Not so much civilian review boards, which is a kind of after-the-fact review of what individual police officers do, but civilian policy boards that channel what communities what these agents to do for them.

SCHLOZMAN: Henry, would you like to comment?

BRADY: In the *Daedalus* volume, there is a wonderful essay on trust in the military. In the data that I showed, the military is the one institution in which trust has increased, and the authors ask if that is a good or bad thing. Should we be somewhat skeptical of the military? In fact, it is challenging to know exactly what the sweet spot is for trust. But our current problems go beyond distrust. It is clear that we have polarization in trust and a tremendous disagreement in society about which institutions to trust and which institutions not to trust. And that

makes it very hard for those institutions to work. Take the police, for example. Some say, "We should spend a lot more money on the model that we have used historically, because it has worked so well." And the people who distrust the police say, "No, it really hasn't worked well at all." That is one of the fundamental problems we face, regardless of how we feel about the sweet spot for trust.

MEARES: This might just be another way of saying that different groups of people want these institutions to do different things.

BRADY: But they need to square that circle, because those institutions are responsible for serving everybody, and they have to figure out a way to do that. I think your notion of trying to focus more on procedural justice and on trust instead of just how many people we have put in jail is a very good one.

“ It is clear that we have polarization in trust and a tremendous disagreement in society about which institutions to trust and which institutions not to trust. And that makes it very hard for those institutions to work.

SCHLOZMAN: Let me ask one last question before we turn to the audience's questions. Students of Congress sometimes talk about Fenno's paradox, the fact that many people disapprove of Congress, but love their own member of Congress. Similarly, Americans are skeptical about American medicine, in general, but are enthusiastic about their doctors. Is there an analog to Fenno's paradox in your realm, Tracey, and in your realm, Lee?

MEARES: There are lots of stories in which the relationship between police and the members of the neighborhoods that they are policing is considered to be poor at best. Yet many people in those communities can tell you about the one police officer whom they like or even love. My guess is that this may not be the same kind of phenomenon that you are talking about with respect to a congressman. It is perhaps more like my neighbor is a good cop and all the other cops are corrupt.

Many residents, both in developed and developing nations, think social media is a net good for society. They like the empowerment that it provides to people, they like that it is side-stepping around institutions that don't give them a chance to promote their voice and don't let them tell the stories that they want to tell. ”

SCHLOZMAN: Lee?

RAINIE: The press version of this is closer to Feno's original idea. Americans can articulate very well which local news personalities and which columnists they like, but the broad institution is what they judge and what they say they don't trust. The other thing that the modern era has taught us is familiarity breeds empathy. The more we know about each other's lives and the more we have a sense that the person on the other end of the screen or the other end of the stethoscope is on our side, the more willing we are to invest our trust in them.

SCHLOZMAN: Let's hear now from our audience. One question that several audience members have raised is which democracies might we compare ourselves to, and how do they cultivate trust? Are other rich democracies facing the same issues about trust that the United States is facing? Henry, would you like to start?

BRADY: Other countries are facing similar kinds of problems. There is no question that there have been declines in trust in other nations and also some polarization in trust. And it seems to be linked with a rise of populism and more authoritarian impulses. I don't know that much about how other nations are trying to increase trust in their institutions, but I will say that one thing that works in America is when institutions are close to the people. National institutions are typically less trusted than state institutions, which are less trusted than local institutions. And that gets back to Lee's comment about localism. Part of what we need to do is to think about policies that we make globally but implement locally. We need to figure out ways to put a face on the institution so that people will trust it.

MEARES: Though my research doesn't really focus on levels of trust in other countries, what I can say is that the concept of procedural justice tied to legitimacy is robust outside of the United States, and has been studied all over the world. It is not surprising that the research is spotty in China. In terms of

what people have tried, I have done work with the police force in Birmingham, England. They have made a really concerted effort not only to think about how officers treat people in the street, but even more important, about the implications for this approach for how the institution is organized. It is difficult for officers to treat people on the street with procedural justice when their own managers and supervisors don't treat them that way.

RAINIE: Many residents, both in developed and developing nations, think social media is a net good for society. They like the empowerment that it provides to people, they like that it is side-stepping around institutions that don't give them a chance to promote their voice and don't let them tell the stories that they want to tell. The other thing is that people around the world are quite confident in their own capacity to make judgments about the things that they believe are trustworthy and are worth paying attention to. But they also think that their societies at large are struggling with these issues. So, it is a sort of "I'm okay, everybody else is screwed up" kind of dynamic. And it speaks to the problems that Tracey was alluding to of how you build trust in an environment where people think they can navigate the ecosystem relatively well, but everyone else is incapable of navigating the mess.

SCHLOZMAN: We have a question for Lee. How does reality television feed into some of the things that you have been talking about?

RAINIE: It is a companion phenomenon – sort of the bread and circuses offering of the twenty-first century. Henry mentioned appropriately that inequality is one of the other factors that is driving a lot of this distrust beyond polarization. People are less in control of their lives, they are less in control of their data, they are less in control of the way that they are being steered and profiled. There is a strong sense that people are struggling to make meaning out of a world where they don't have a sense of what is going on behind the curtain in their lives. Reality television gives them an outlet to forget their troubles and often laugh at others.

SCHLOZMAN: We have a question for Henry. Are people really answering surveys these days and can we trust the longitudinal data that show changes?

BRADY: I think we can trust the data. I believe that given the nature of these polls and the crosschecks that we have, I'm pretty sure that they are measuring something real and that we can be confident in them. One of the problems that we face is that we don't know if we have a good representative sample of Americans on the web. And the web is where more and more people now are doing most of their work and interacting. Telephone surveys don't work the way they once did, and in-person surveys are ridiculously expensive. So, we just don't have some of the controls that we have had in the past, but I believe that we have found ways, typically through weighting the data using information about the makeup of the population, to ensure that surveys provide representative results. By the way, I also see that somebody has asked a question about whether the Defense Authorization Act should be considered here, which has some things in it about trying to create a program for civic education. I think that is a good idea if the education emphasizes the importance of people collaborating and compromising with each other to solve problems. Civics education in America is focused too much on what is in the Constitution, what are the laws, and not enough on teaching people that when you have a problem, everybody needs to be in a room together and there must be compromise. One of the problems we face in America today – and we saw it recently with the choice of the Speaker for the House of Representatives – is that there are people who simply think compromise is a dirty word. And if that is where we are, then it is going to be hard to get anything done.

SCHLOZMAN: A question for Tracey. How do schools, particularly middle schools, fit into trust in police or lack of trust in police?

MEARES: I have a few answers. First, legal socialization is important to the ideas about procedural justice that I spoke about earlier. In fact, what Henry was talking about, the mechanisms that we use to teach kids how to solve problems, is related to these ideas of process-based legitimation, especially when you think about the fact that a child's teacher is the first authority figure whom the child interacts with outside of her parents. There

is fascinating research by a psychologist named Rick Trinkner that shows a relationship between parenting styles, a child's relationship with teachers, and a child's relationship with police officers. I don't do developmental psychology, so I can't say much about what is going on in middle schools. My research center, The Justice Collaboratory, has done some work on the relationship that high schoolers have with school research officers. Tom Tyler and colleagues are doing that work. I think it is important to think about the idea of legal socialization in a broader way than just schooling. Ben Justice and I have a paper in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* titled "How the Criminal Justice System Educates Citizens." Outside of public schools, the criminal justice system is one of the primary mechanisms by which people learn about their status and identity as citizens. We explore that idea in our essay.

“Institutions have to be responsible for thinking about how they create trust in the communities that they serve. And that is their first and foremost job.

SCHLOZMAN: We have a question for Henry, which I'm going to read verbatim. "Henry, your findings that distrust appears to have spread from specifically political to social and economic institutions are apparently related to polarization. Does this mean that our whole society has become increasingly politicized? And might it be possible to depoliticize reactions to social and economic institutions as part of the solution?"

BRADY: I think what it means is that we have more politicization of institutions that were not politicized in the past. And that is a worry. It may be a sign that we are finally confronting some problems, so it is not necessarily all bad. But institutions have to be responsible for thinking about how they create trust in the communities that they serve. And that is their first and foremost job.

RAINIE: The actors in the system who want to politicize things are truly adept at finding ways to bring these culture war kinds of things into institutions

where they hadn't happened before. Local school boards are a good example. They are now becoming battlegrounds. And higher education is another. We have Pew data from a couple of years ago that show that Republican confidence in colleges and universities has plummeted, and this is from a survey that asked about these institutions' impacts on society. So, Henry is right; all kinds of institutions now need strategies for maintaining or restoring trust. They have to fight, though, against the forces that are pushing in the other direction. There are so many provocateurs in the system.

The business model underlying mainstream media is critical. It is difficult to commit to a deep understanding of facts when your business model is devoted to chasing clicks. ”

SCHLOZMAN: I would like to follow-up on your comment, Lee. To what extent does the fact that the media are paid to cover that which is newsworthy play a role in this?

RAINIE: Americans are in distress about that, too. No matter where they sit on the partisan spectrum, they think there is too much sensationalism and too much commercialization of storytelling. But at the local level, particularly, people with different perspectives are finding ways to solve problems and are becoming models for state and national politics.

MEARES: But we are losing our local newspapers. I was so distressed a couple of years ago about the state of national media that I stopped reading *The New York Times* daily and I started reading the *New Haven Independent*, which is a wonderful online local paper with detailed stories about what is going on in my city and the kind of problem-solving you mentioned. I think too many people don't have access to high quality local news and newspapers.

SCHLOZMAN: Our next question may call for some speculation. Much of what we have been talking about has focused on political parties and polarization. But what about the trajectory of trust in parties or the extent to which trust in parties is an important element of democratic institutions?

RAINIE: This is the age of do-it-yourself identity formation. People are cobbling together partisan belief systems, moral belief systems, and spiritual belief systems, and it is a smorgasbord.

SCHLOZMAN: I am going to read the next question. "What, if anything, can nonpolitical institutions – and Henry talked about nonpolitical institutions as opposed to governing ones – do to regain the confidence of people who see them as pursuing distasteful political goals? For example, should journalists or professors change the way they do business in the hopes of mollifying conservative critics?"

BRADY: At Berkeley, we are very clear that we are an important American public institution and that we have to behave in ways that model correct behavior. We therefore have worked hard to protect free speech. That is why somebody like Milo Yiannopoulos was able to have an event at Berkeley, which very few people showed up for. Nevertheless, the right-wing media blamed Berkeley for the poor attendance, saying it was the school's failure, when it wasn't at all. It was a failure of Milo Yiannopoulos. So, part of the problem is that we have provocateurs. Lee refers to this at the end of his essay. We are in a period similar to when Gutenberg first invented printing and when, right after the French Revolution, everything seemed up for grabs in terms of the media, culture, and society. We will need to work hard to find a new equilibrium. Maybe it is worth reading about those periods to see what happened when suddenly everybody could print a book with all sorts of nonsense in it or perhaps wisdom in it, but it was sometimes hard to tell the difference. In time, editorial boards were created for presses and for newspapers to ensure that wisdom predominates over nonsense. We see the problem most clearly with respect to the internet, where we still do not have the mechanisms that we need to make sure that people understand what is nonsense and what is not.

MEARES: Let me offer my own opinion, although this is not my research. The idea that I would change how I do my job, when my approach is to make sure that my students understand concepts and facts, is not something that I am going to do. What it does make me think about, however, is how do we get back to a world where people can agree on a certain set of facts and then disagree on policies. The business model underlying mainstream media is critical. It is difficult to commit to

a deep understanding of facts when your business model is devoted to chasing clicks.

RAINIE: There are a couple of essays in the *Dædalus* issue that do a marvelous job at looking at science and trust in science. They almost uniformly make the point that engagement has to occur. For a long time, scientists thought that public engagement was too messy or too removed from the role of gathering and organizing the evidence. I think there is a powerful argument in some of the essays that engagement by experts is the starting point on this. And those who push for this argue it should be engagement with humility. Ordinary people have their own stories, their own experiences, their own ways of understanding things. Yelling at them about what is a fact and what is not, what is to be believed and what is not, did not work during the COVID-19 pandemic. It did not close the deal with people who had skeptical points of view.

SCHLOZMAN: We have time for one final question. How do the unprecedented developments of the last few years affect the issues that we have been talking about today?

RAINIE: I think these developments have fundamentally changed the way people approach information and evidence about the society around them. People are covering themselves in partisan wrappers. But there are a lot of liberals who listen to conservative talk radio, and there are a lot of conservatives who watch liberal media. They don't do it to get a separate point of view. They do it to figure out what the enemy is up to.

MEARES: The problems that we need to solve are more difficult to solve than they have ever been. And the approach that I have thought about takes a page from something that Henry said earlier, which is you need to be very local. It is harder to make arguments about national level interventions in policing than it is in schooling and education. I think there is a way in which that can be a strength for this approach, given the comments and conversations we have had about the way trust is built from the bottom up and locally.

BRADY: I think it is important to remember that the trends that we show with the data that we have are fifty years in the making. As Lee's data show,

the business model that focuses on indignation and being angry is one that has created division among us, and we have to find ways to get beyond that. I think the problems we face require very fundamental thinking about how we reinvigorate democracy. I will give a plug here for an American Academy study that produced the *Our Common Purpose* report, which has a lot of great ideas about how to think about making things better. One of the things they focus on is reinvigorating local media. We need our local newspapers because without anyone watching, corruption is going to increase in local government. Let me give you one example. In Bell, California, there was a scandal involving the misappropriation of public funds by people who were unwatched. So, we need local media, and we need it badly. And we need a model that supports local media because their revenue sources – advertising and so forth – have been taken away. We need to support local media so they can report on the content that is vitally important to our ecosystem.

SCHLOZMAN: Thank you, Lee, Tracey, and Henry for today's wonderful conversation. I leave the final word to David Oxtoby.

OXTOBY: I hope everyone has enjoyed this discussion as much as I have. Let me thank Henry and Kay for their leadership of this *Dædalus* volume, Tracey and Lee for their contributions to the volume, all our speakers for their very thoughtful comments, and our audience for joining us today. The *Dædalus* issue on "Institutions, Experts, and the Loss of Trust" is available open access, along with decades of volumes, on the Academy's website. I hope you will continue to engage with this work and share the essays with colleagues, friends, and students. This concludes the 2110th Stated Meeting of the American Academy.

© 2023 by Henry E. Brady, Tracey L. Meares, Lee Rainie, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, respectively



To view or listen to the presentations, visit www.amacad.org/event/distrust-polarization-institutions

Select Prizes and Awards to Members

Susan Alberts (Duke University) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Ecology and Conservation Biology. Dr. Alberts shares the award with **Jeanne Altmann** (Princeton University) and **Marlene Zuk** (University of Minnesota).

Jeanne Altmann (Princeton University) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Ecology and Conservation Biology. Dr. Altmann shares the award with **Susan Alberts** (Duke University) and **Marlene Zuk** (University of Minnesota).

David Baker (University of Washington) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Biology and Biomedicine. Dr. Baker shares the award with **Demis Hassabis** (DeepMind) and John Jumper (University of Washington).

Hari Balakrishnan (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) was awarded the 2023 Marconi Prize.

Carolyn R. Bertozzi (Stanford University) received the 2023 American Association for Cancer Research Award for Outstanding Achievement in Chemistry in Cancer Research.

Timothy J. Besley (London School of Economics) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Economics, Finance and Management. Professor Besley shares the award with **Torsten Persson** (Stockholm University) and **Guido Tabellini** (Bocconi University).

Alan Blinder (Princeton University) received the 2023 Daniel Patrick Moynihan Prize from the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Wendy Carlin (University College London) was awarded the Royal Economic Society Medal for Services to the Economics Profession.

Kerwin K. Charles (Yale School of Management) was named the 2023 Sir Arthur Lewis Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Johnnetta B. Cole (National Council of Negro Women, Inc.) is the recipient of a 2021 National Humanities Medal.

Michael Cosmopoulos (University of Missouri–St. Louis) was elected a member of the Academy of Athens.

Donald Darensbourg (Texas A&M University) received the 2023 Southeastern Conference Faculty Achievement Award.

Ivan Đikić (Goethe University) was awarded the 2023 Louis-Jeantet Prize for Medicine. Professor Đikić shares the award with **Brenda Schulman** (Max Planck Institute of Biochemistry).

Elliot Elson (Washington University in St. Louis) was named a Fellow of the American Institute for Medical and Biological Engineering.

Gretchen H. Gerzina (University of Massachusetts Amherst) was awarded the University of Massachusetts Amherst's Chancellor's Medal.

Hanna Holborn Gray (University of Chicago) received the Legend in Leadership Award from the Yale Chief Executive Leadership Institute.

Michael Greenberg (Harvard Medical School) was awarded the 2023 Brain Prize by the Lundbeck Foundation. Dr. Greenberg shares the award with Christine Holt (University of Cambridge) and Erin Schuman (Max Planck Institute for Brain Research).

Joy Harjo (Tulsa, OK) was awarded the 2023 Bollingen Prize for American Poetry by Yale University and the National Book Critics Circle's Ivan Sandrof Lifetime Achievement Award.

Demis Hassabis (DeepMind) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Biology and Biomedicine. Dr. Hassabis shares the award with **David Baker** (University of Washington) and John Jumper (University of Washington).

Kelly Lytle Hernández (University of California, Los Angeles) received a 2023 Bancroft Prize in American History and Diplomacy from Columbia University Libraries for *Bad Mexicans: Race, Empire, and Revolution in the Borderlands* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2022).

Gary Horowitz (University of California, Santa Barbara) received the 2023 Einstein Prize from the American Physical Society.

Sherrilyn Ifill (Ford Foundation; formerly, NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund) received the American Constitution Society's 2023 Lifetime Achievement Award.

Walter Isaacson (Tulane University) is the recipient of a 2021 National Humanities Medal.

Carl H. June (University of Pennsylvania Perelman School of Medicine) received the 2023 AACR Award for Lifetime Achievement in Cancer Research from the American Association for Cancer Research.

David Kohlstedt (University of Minnesota) was awarded the Vetlesen Prize.

Cato T. Laurencin (University of Connecticut) was awarded the 2023 Priestley Medal, given by the American Chemical Society.

Jennifer Lee (Columbia University) was named the 2023 Samuel Stouffer Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Tania León (Brooklyn College) was awarded the 2023 Michael Ludwig Nemmers Prize in Music Composition by Northwestern University.

Earl Lewis (University of Michigan) is the recipient of a 2021 National Humanities Medal.

Tak W. Mak (University of Toronto) received the 2023 Pezcoller Foundation-American Association for Cancer Research International Award for Extraordinary Achievement in Cancer Research.

Henrietta Mann (Montana State University) is the recipient of a 2021 National Humanities Medal.

Robert Metcalfe (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) received the 2022 ACM A. M. Turing Award.

Nancy Moran (University of Texas at Austin) received the 2023 Selman A. Waksman Award in Microbiology from the National Academy of Sciences.

Julio M. Ottino (Northwestern University) was awarded the 2023 G. I. Taylor Medal by the Society of Engineering Science.

Jessie Ann Owens (University of California, Davis) received the Paul Oskar Kristeller Lifetime Achievement Award from the Renaissance Society of America.

Ann Patchett (Parnassus Books) is the recipient of a 2021 National Humanities Medal.

James Pellegrino (University of Illinois Chicago) received the 2023 E. F. Lindquist Award of the American Educational Research Association.

Torsten Persson (Stockholm University) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Economics, Finance and Management. Professor Persson shares the award with **Timothy J. Besley** (London School of Economics) and **Guido Tabellini** (Bocconi University).

Dianne Pinderhughes (University of Notre Dame) was named the 2023 Eleanor Roosevelt Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

Steven Pinker (Harvard University) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Humanities and Social Sciences. Professor Pinker shares the award with Peter Singer (Princeton University).

Thomas A. Rando (University of California, Los Angeles) received the 2023 ISSCR Achievement Award from the International Society for Stem Cell Research.

Brenda Schulman (Max Planck Institute of Biochemistry) was awarded the 2023 Louis-Jeantet Prize for Medicine. Professor Schulman shares the award with **Ivan Dikić** (Goethe University).

Pamela Soltis (Florida Museum of Natural History) has been named the 2023 Southeastern Conference Professor of the Year.

Nahum Sonenberg (McGill University) was inducted into the Canadian Medical Hall of Fame.

Bruce Springsteen (Colts Neck, NJ) is the recipient of a 2021 National Medal of Art.

Bryan Stevenson (Equal Justice Initiative) is the recipient of a 2021 National Humanities Medal.

David Strauss (University of Chicago Law School) is the recipient of a 2023 Norman Maclean Faculty Award from the University of Chicago.

Guido Tabellini (Bocconi University) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Economics, Finance and Management. Professor Tabellini shares the award with **Timothy J. Besley** (London School of Economics) and **Torsten Persson** (Stockholm University).

Mark Trahan (*Indian Country Today*) was named to the National Native American Hall of Fame.

Michael J. Welsh (University of Iowa) is the recipient of the 2022 Shaw Prize in Life Science and Medicine and the 2023 Wiley Prize in Biomedical Sciences.

Brenda Wineapple (New York, NY) was selected as a Fellow of the New York Public Library's Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman Center for Scholars and Writers.

Judy Woodruff (PBS NewsHour) received the Goldsmith Career Award for Excellence in Journalism from the Shorenstein Center at Harvard Kennedy School.

James Zachos (University of California, Santa Cruz) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in the Climate Change category. Dr. Zachos shares the award with Ellen Thomas (Yale University) and Wesleyan University).

Marlene Zuk (University of Minnesota) received the BBVA Foundation Frontiers of Knowledge Award in Ecology and Conservation Biology. Dr. Zuk shares the award with **Susan Alberts** (Duke University) and **Jeanne Altmann** (Princeton University).

New Appointments

Katherine Baicker (University of Chicago) was appointed Provost of the University of Chicago.

Yasmine Belkaid (National Institutes of Health) was appointed President of the Institut Pasteur.

William R. Brody (Salk Institute for Biological Studies) was appointed a member of the Board of Directors of Sirona Medical.

Constance Cepko (Harvard Medical School) was appointed to the Scientific Advisory Board of Vesigen Therapeutics, Inc.

Philip J. Deloria (Harvard University) was appointed to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

Carlos del Rio (Emory University) was appointed Interim Dean of the Emory University School of Medicine.

Katherine Fitzgerald (University of Massachusetts Chan Medical School) was appointed to the Scientific Advisory Board of Vesigen Therapeutics, Inc.

Risa Goluboff (University of Virginia School of Law) was appointed to the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise.

Hugh Grant (formerly, Monsanto Company) was elected a member of the Board of Directors of Linde plc.

Margaret A. Hamburg (InterAcademy Partnership) was appointed Vice Chair of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board.

Gerald Joyce (Salk Institute for Biological Studies) was named President of the Salk Institute.

Mary E. Klotman (Duke University School of Medicine) was appointed to the Advisory Board of IKS Health.

Pamela Matson (Stanford University) was appointed to the Global Board of Directors of the World Resources Institute.

Trevor W. Morrison (New York University School of Law) was appointed to the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise.

Eric J. Nestler (Icahn School of Medicine at Mount Sinai) was named an Advisor to Ellipsis Health.

Christina H. Paxson (Brown University) was elected to the Board of Directors of the American Council of Education.

Arnold Rampersad (Stanford University) was appointed to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

Daniela Rus (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) was elected to the Board of Directors of Symbiotic Inc.

Anna Deavere Smith (New York University) was appointed to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

Michael Witherell (Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory) was elected to the Leadership Council of the National Academy of Sciences.

Diane P. Wood (U.S. Court of Appeals, Seventh Circuit) was appointed Director of the American Law Institute.

Pauline Yu (American Council of Learned Societies) was appointed to the President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities.

Select Publications

POETRY

Henri Cole (Claremont McKenna College). *Gravity and Center: Selected Sonnets, 1994–2022*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, April 2023

FICTION

Margaret Atwood (Toronto, Canada). *Old Babes in the Wood*. Chatto & Windus, July 2023

Tom Hanks (Santa Monica, CA). *The Making of Another Major Motion Picture Masterpiece: A Novel*. Knopf, May 2023

NONFICTION

Daron Acemoglu (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and Simon Johnson (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). *Power and Progress: Our Thousand-Year Struggle over Technology and Prosperity*. PublicAffairs, May 2023

Danielle Allen (Harvard University). *Justice by Means of Democracy*. University of Chicago Press, April 2023

Ann Beattie (York, ME). *More to Say: Essays and Appreciations*. Nonpareil Books, February 2023

Mary Ann Caws (CUNY Graduate Center). *Mina Loy: Apology of Genius*. Reaktion Books, July 2022

Michael Doyle (Columbia University). *Cold Peace: Avoiding the New Cold War*. Liveright, April 2023

Brent Hayes Edwards (Columbia University) and Henry Threadgill (New York, NY). *Easily Slip into Another World: A Life in Music*. Knopf, May 2023

Susan Goldin-Meadow (University of Chicago). *Thinking with Your Hands: The Surprising Science Behind How Gestures Shape Our Thoughts*. Basic Books, June 2023

Temple Grandin (Colorado State University). *Autism and Education: The Way I See It: What Parents and Teachers Need to Know*. Future Horizons, April 2023

Paul Guyer (Brown University) and Rolf-Peter Horstmann (Humboldt University, Berlin). *Idealism in Modern Philosophy*. Oxford University Press, June 2023

Stephen L. Hauser (University of California, San Francisco). *The Face Laughs While the Brain Cries: The Education of a Doctor*. St. Martin's Press, May 2023

Alan Lightman (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). *The Transcendent Brain: Spirituality in the Age of Science*. Pantheon, March 2023

Jonathan B. Losos (Washington University in St. Louis). *The Cat's Meow: How Cats Evolved from the Savanna to Your Sofa*. Viking, May 2023

Deirdre Nansen McCloskey (University of Illinois at Chicago). *Bettering Humanomics: A New, and Old, Approach to Economic Science*. University of Chicago Press, June 2023

Gary Saul Morson (Northwestern University). *Wonder Confronts Certainty: Russian Writers on the Timeless Questions and Why Their Answers Matter*. Belknap Press, May 2023

Katherine S. Newman (University of California) and Elizabeth S. Jacobs (Urban Institute). *Moving the Needle: What Tight Labor Markets Do for the Poor*. University of California Press, April 2023

Jane Smiley (Carmel Valley, CA). *The Questions That Matter Most: Reading, Writing, and the Exercise of Freedom*. Heyday, June 2023

Peter Stansky (Stanford University). *The Socialist Patriot: George Orwell and War*. Stanford University Press, January 2023

G. Gabrielle Starr (Pomona College). *Just in Time: Temporality, Aesthetic Experience, and Cognitive Neuroscience*. MIT Press, June 2023

Darren Walker (Ford Foundation). *From Generosity to Justice: A New Gospel of Wealth*. Disruption Books, March 2023

Jay Wright (Bradford, VT). *Soul and Substance: A Poet's Examination Papers*. Princeton University Press, June 2023

We invite all Fellows and International Honorary Members to send notices about their recent and forthcoming publications, new appointments, exhibitions and performances, films and documentaries, and honors and prizes to bulletin@amacad.org.



Board Chair Nancy C. Andrews,
David M. Rubenstein, and
President David W. Oxtoby

The David M. Rubenstein Wing at the American Academy

By **Michele Lavoie**, *Director of Archives*

In 2021, the Academy received a gift from business leader, philanthropist, and Academy member David M. Rubenstein to support the building of a new addition to the headquarters in Cambridge, MA. The new wing would house the organization's institutional archives, furthering the efforts to date to preserve the records of the Academy and make them more accessible. Academy President David W. Oxtoby said of the gift, "David Rubenstein's generosity reflects his deep appreciation for the arc of history and his abiding interest in strengthening democracy and justice in America."

Completed in the summer of 2022, the new wing provides approximately 975 square feet of storage and working space for the archives staff and researchers. The space includes nearly 2,300 linear feet of compact shelving, increasing the storage capacity for paper records, audiovisual materials, artwork, and other special collections by 48 percent and allowing the Academy to house more of the records on-site. Industry-specific environmental controls for temperature and relative humidity,

as well as a strong security system, ensure the long-term preservation of the materials.

Over the course of four days in November 2022, over 1,750 linear feet of archival materials were relocated from the archives space in the basement of the building to the new wing. Since then, the archives staff has continued to arrange boxes, hang artwork, and update inventory and location controls accordingly.

The new space also includes workstations for up to five researchers, allowing visitors – under the supervision of the archives staff – to work in the Archives for the first time. Several researchers interested in the records of past Academy projects have already visited the Archives to examine relevant documents. In the coming months, we look forward to hosting Academy member and history professor Jacqueline Jones (University of Texas at Austin) and her research assistant as they prepare a written history of the Academy in celebration of the organization's 250th anniversary in 2030.

Bulletin

of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences

136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138
617-576-5000 • bulletin@amacad.org • www.amacad.org

Bulletin Spring 2023 • Volume LXXVI, No. 3
© 2023 by the American Academy of Arts & Sciences

EDITORIAL STAFF

Phyllis S. Bendell Director of Publications

Peter Walton Associate Editor

Key Bird Assistant Editor

Scott Raymond Creative Director

ACADEMY BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Nancy C. Andrews, Chair

David W. Oxtoby, President

Paula J. Giddings, Vice Chair

Stephen B. Heintz, Vice Chair

Kenneth L. Wallach, Treasurer

Earl Lewis, Secretary

Kwame Anthony Appiah

Louise Henry Bryson

John Mark Hansen

Goodwin H. Liu

Cherry A. Murray

David M. Rubenstein

Deborah F. Rutter

Larry J. Shapiro

Shirley M. Tilghman

Natasha D. Trethewey

Jeannette M. Wing

Pauline Yu

PHOTO CREDITS

iStock.com/3DSculptor: Cover; Photo by Victoria Pickering. Published under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs 2.0 Generic (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0) license: page 1; Martha Stewart Photography: pages 3, 11, and 68; iStock.com/mammuth: pages 8–9; Photo by Matt McClain/The Washington Post via Getty Images: page 12 (left); Photo by United States Bureau of Reclamation, Christopher Clark. Published under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 2.0 Generic (CC BY-SA 2.0) license: page 12 (right), page 13 (left); Photo by Robert Nickelsberg/Getty Images: page 13 (right); Angel Valentín: page 14; iStock.com/andresr: page 15; Adam Perez: page 18; Maen Hammad: page 20; Cindy Elizabeth: page 21; iStock.com/nico_blue: page 23; Courtesy of Richard H. Brodhead: page 24; iStock.com/Marcio Binow Da Silva: pages 30–31; Courtesy of Danielle Allen: page 33; Courtesy of Jeffrey Brown: page 36; iStock.com/Delpixart: pages 42–43; Courtesy of Henry E. Brady: page 45; Courtesy of Tracey L. Meares: page 51; Courtesy of Lee Rainie: page 53; Courtesy of Kay Lehman Schlozman: page 58

The *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences* (ISSN 0002–712X) is published quarterly by the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Periodicals rate postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Bulletin*, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 136 Irving Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

The views expressed in the *Bulletin* are those held by each contributor and are not necessarily those of the Board of Directors and Members of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

ONLINE

The announcement of new members was heralded far and wide as affiliated institutions, businesses, and nonprofit organizations shared the news. While the professional accolades were wonderful, some of the personal reflections from new members were especially meaningful.

Abdullah Antepi (Duke University) – who has expertise in religious peace-building, cross-religious interfaith work, and faith-based diplomacy – shared on Facebook, “My mother is an illiterate woman as she never had a chance to go to school. My father had up to 4th grade education. I never saw him hold a pen or read a book. Grew up poor in a highly underprivileged zip code . . . and here I am . . . now part of one of the most prestigious academies in the world.”



The newly elected members from Duke University are (from left to right) Abdullah Antepi, Margaret Sullivan, Amy S. Gladfelter, and Kenneth A. Dodge.

Follow the Academy on social media to keep current with news and events.

 www.facebook.com/americanacad

 www.twitter.com/americanacad

 www.youtube.com/americanacad

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS & SCIENCES
Norton's Woods
136 Irving Street
Cambridge, MA 02138-1996 USA
www.amacad.org

