Notes

Chapter 1

1. John Dewey, "The Challenge of Democracy to Education," in *John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925–1953*, vol. 11: 181–201.
2. "Suicide Rising across the US," Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, last modified June 11, 2018, https://www.cdc.gov/vitalsigns/suicide/index.html; Tara Haelle, "Hospitals See Growing Numbers of Kids and Teens at Risk for Suicide," *National Public Radio*, May 16, 2018, https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2018/05/16/611407972/hospitals-see-growing-numbers-of-kids-and-teens-at-risk-for-suicide.
3. In the final clause here, I do not mean to suggest an imperialist sense of taking action on behalf of others, but rather a sense of collective action often done in solidarity with those others.
4. Walt Whitman, "Democratic Vistas," in *Prose Works 1892: The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman Volume II*, edited by Floyd Stovall (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 393.
5. Yascha Mounk, *The People vs Democracy: Why Our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 18.
6. "Address at a Luncheon Meeting of the National Industrial Conference Board (33)," February 13, 1961, Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy, 1961.
7. William J. Clinton, "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Democratic National Convention in New York—July 16, 1992," The American Presidency Project, accessed May 22, 2018, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=25958.
8. Barack H. Obama, "Acceptance Speech at Democratic National Convention," Denver, August 28, 2008.
9. Barack H. Obama, *The Audacity of Hope* (New York: Random House, 2006), 11.
10. Barack H. Obama, "Remarks by the President on Election Night," National Archives and Records Administration, November 7, 2012, https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2012/11/07/remarks-president-election-night.
11. Ibid.
12. Ronald W. Reagan, "Farewell Address to the Nation—January 11, 1989," The American Presidency Project, accessed May 22, 2018, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=29650.
13. George H. W. Bush, "Address Accepting the Presidential Nomination at the Republican National Convention—August 18, 1988," The American Presidency Project, accessed May 22, 2018, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=25955.
14. James T. Kloppenberg, "Trump's Inaugural Address Was a Radical Break with American Tradition," *Washington Post*, January 20, 2017.

15. Chloe Lemmel-Hay, "Let America Hope Again," *Harvard Political Review*, January 27, 2017, http://harvardpolitics.com/culture/let-america-hope-again/.

16. Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk, "The Danger of Deconsolidation: The Democratic Disconnect," *Journal of Democracy*, 27 (2016): 5–17, 7. I want to be careful not to overstate the perilous position of our democracy, which some critics allege Foa and Mounk have done. Instead, I want to look more carefully at how some of the aspects of political life they highlight can be used to consider despair and teach hope.

17. Admittedly, while some of this withdrawal is intentional, other forms of withdrawal are less conscious, and still others are at the hands of those who exclude or push out participation by disenfranchising felons, requiring bureaucratic registration or ID requirements, and more. Thank you to Karen Zaino for reminding me that disengagement may not lie squarely on the shoulders of the citizens themselves.

18. Foa and Mounk, "The Danger of Deconsolidation," 10.

19. William Galston, *Anti-Pluralism: The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2018), 12.

20. Richard Wike, Katie Simmon, Bruce Stokes, and Janell Fetterolf, "Globally, Broad Support for Representative and Direct Democracy," *Pew Research Center*, October 16, 2017, http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/10/16/globally-broad-support-for-representative-and-direct-democracy/; Larry Diamond, "Facing up to the Democratic Recession," *Journal of Democracy*, 26, no. 1 (2015): 141–155, 151.

21. Richard Wike, Katie Simmon, Bruce Stokes, and Janell Fetterolf, "Globally, Broad Support for Representative and Direct Democracy," *Pew Research Center*, October 16, 2017, http://www.pewglobal.org/2017/10/16/globally-broad-support-for-representative-and-direct-democracy/

22. Ibid.

23. "Millennials Deeply Uncertain about Democracy Post-Election, But Few Believe It Is in Peril," The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, April 12, 2017, https://civicyouth.org/millennials-deeply-uncertain-about-democracy-post-election-but-few-believe-it-is-in-peril/.

24. Amy C. Alexander and Christian Welzel, "The Myth of Deconsolidation: Rising Liberalism and the Populist Reaction," *Journal of Democracy*, web exchange (April 28, 2017): 1, https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/media/Journal%20of%20Democracy%20Web%20Exchange%20-%20Alexander%20and%20Welzel.pdf.

25. Pippa Norris, "Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks," *Journal of Democracy*, web exchange (April 28, 2017): 3, https://www.journalofdemocracy.org/sites/default/files/media/Journal%20of%20Democracy%20Web%20Exchange%20-%20Norris_0.pdf.

26. Alexander and Welzel, "The Myth of Deconsolidation," 2.

27. Ghassan Hage, *Against Paranoid Nationalism: Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society* (London: Pluto Press, 2003), 20–21; Arlie Russell Hochschild, *Strangers in Their Own Land: Anger and Mourning on the American Right* (New York: New Press, 2018), 226.

28. Alan Mittleman, *Hope in a Democratic Age: Philosophy, Religion, and Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 21.

29. I'm speaking here of what Peter Drahos calls "public hope" in "Trading in Public Hope," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 592, no. 1 (2004): 18–38.

30. Galston, *Anti-Pluralism*, 14.

31. I was reminded by my colleague, Whitney Gaskins, that these feelings of let-down are nothing new to African American and other minority groups in the United States, rather it is now becoming more widespread among white and dominant groups who historically were well served and satisfied by democracy and its leaders.

32. Sean Ginwright, *Hope and Healing in Urban Education: How Urban Activists and Teachers Are Reclaiming Matters of the Heart* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 4, 16.

33. Calvin Warren, "Black Nihilism and the Politics of Hope," *CR: The New Centennial Review*, 15 (2015): 215–248; Shannon Sullivan, "Setting Aside Hope: A Pragmatist Approach to Racial Justice," in *Pragmatism and Justice*, edited by Susan Dielman, David Rondel, and Christopher Voparil (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

34. Warren, "Black Nihilism and the Politics of Hope," 215–248. Tara Yosso describes one such practice in terms of aspirational capital within the LatinX and other communities of color, where members turn to each other to maintain a positive outlook in the face of barriers. Yosso, "Whose Culture Has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth," *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8, no. 1 (2005): 69–91.

35. Jerome Groopman, *The Anatomy of Hope: How People Prevail in the Face of Illness* (New York: Random House, 2004), 179.

36. Ginwright, *Hope and Healing in Urban Education*, 4.

37. Carol Graham, *Happiness for All? Unequal Hopes and Lives in Pursuit of the American Dream* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017), 19–20; Howard Rhodes, "Despair, Democratic Hope, and Donald Trump," *Religion and Ethics News Weekly, PBS,* November 14, 2016; J. D. Vance describes the findings of the Pew Economic Mobility Project in *Hillbilly Elegy: A Memoir of a Family and Culture in Crisis* (New York: Harper, 2018), 194.

38. Eddie S. Glaude Jr., *Democracy in Black: How Race Still Enslaves the American Soul* (New York: Crown, 2016), 23.

39. I'm borrowing heavily from Glaude, *Democracy in Black*, here.

40. Recent federal law (Every Student Succeeds Act) now requires all schools to assess at least one nonacademic measurement. Grit, believed to be measurable, appeals to some schools and states as a worthy choice. "Every Student Succeeds Act (2015–S. 1177)," GovTrack.us, accessed May 22, 2018, https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/114/s1177; Sarah D. Sparks, "'Nation's Report Card' to Gather Data on Grit, Mindset," *Education Week*, June 2, 2015, http://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2015/06/03/nations-report-card-to-gather-data-on.html.

41. Sheila Suess Kennedy, *Distrust: American Style* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2009).

42. Mark Warren, *Democracy and Trust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 12.

43. Peter Levine and Kei Dawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic Is (Still) at Risk—and Civics Is Part of the Solution," *Medford: Tufts University*, September 21, 2017, 1, http://www.civxsummit.org/documents/v1/SummitWhitePaper.pdf.

44. Susan Page, "Poll: Most Want Obama, GOP to Work Together," *USA Today*, last modified January 18, 2011, http://usatoday30.usatoday.com/news/washington/2011-01-17-poll-obama-house_N.htm; Neil Howe and Reena Nadler, *Yes We Can: The Emergence of Millennials as a Political Generation* (Washington D.C.: New America Foundation, 2009), https://www.lifecourse.com/assets/files/yes_we_can.pdf; Carroll Doherty, "Key Findings on Americans' Views of the U.S. Political System and Democracy," *Pew Research Center*, April 26, 2018, http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/04/26/key-findings-on-americans-views-of-the-u-s-political-system-and-democracy/.

45. I'm thinking here of neoliberal responsibility to fight for one's own self-interest as well as the particular style of "never surrender" negotiation promoted by President Trump.

46. Levine and Dawashima-Ginsberg, "The Republic Is (Still) at Risk," 2.

47. Theda Skocpol, "From Membership to Advocacy," in *Democracies in Flux*, edited by Robert Putnam (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 103–136, 105.

48. Theda Skocpol, *Diminished Democracy* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 178, 214.

49. Ibid.

50. Christopher LeBron, "Equality from a Human Point of View," *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 2, no. 2 (2014): 125–159.

51. Black Lives Matter has wisely been working to expose those differences of experiences in democracy.

52. Mounk, *The People vs Democracy*, 99.

53. Diamond, "Facing up to the Democratic Recession," 148; Roderick P. Hart, *Civic Hope: How Ordinary Americans Keep Democracy Alive* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 16.

54. Thanks to Melissa Knueven for pointing out this response arising out of a position of power.

55. Ronald Aronson, *We: Reviving Social Hope* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 113.

56. Rhitu Chatterjee, "Americans Are a Lonely Lot, and Young People Bear the Heaviest Burden," *National Public Radio*, May 1, 2018, https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2018/05/01/606588504/americans-are-a-lonely-lot-and-young-people-bear-the-heaviest-burden.

57. "Millennials' Diverse Political Views," Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, March 2018, https://civicyouth.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/millennials_diverse_political_views.pdf; "Average Citizen Can Influence Politics," GSS Data Explorer, accessed May 22, 2018, https://gssdataexplorer.norc.org/trends/Politics?measure=poleff3; Richard Wike, Janell Fetterolf, and Bridget Parker, "Even in Era of Disillusionment, Many around the World Say Ordinary Citizens Can Influence Government," *Pew Research Center*, October 24, 2016, http://www.pewglobal.org/2016/10/24/

even-in-era-of-disillusionment-many-around-the-world-say-ordinary-citizens-can-influence-government/.

58. Aronson, *We: Reviving Social Hope*.

59. Tyler Cowen, *The Complacent Class: The Self-Defeating Quest for the American Dream* (New York: St Martin's Press, 2017), 194.

60. While this is a controversial take on poor and working-class whites in America, J. D. Vance argues that those people in particular are experiencing a sort of despair that combines pessimism and estrangement. And he argues that those people lack agency, feeling little control over their own lives. Vance, *Hillbilly Elegy*, 194.

61. M. Gilens and B. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* (2014): 564–581.

62. Deva Woodly, "#BlackLivesMatter and the Democratic Necessity of Social Movements," *Columbia Center for Contemporary Critical Thought Blog*, November 1, 2017.

63. For more on this temptation, see Jeffrey Stout in *Blessed Are the Organized: Grassroots Democracy in America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Chapter 2

64. Darren Webb, "Pedagogies of Hope," *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 32 (2013): 397–414, 398.

65. Psychologist Richard Davidson noted in Groopman, *Anatomy of Hope*, 193.

66. Adrienne Martin, "Hopes and Dreams 1," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 83, no. 1 (2011): 148–173.

67. This view is most pronounced in the subfield of psychology known as positive psychology, which is rooted in the work of C. R. Snyder.

68. Joseph Godfrey traces this religious view in *A Philosophy of Human Hope* (Boston: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987), as does Allan Mittleman in *Hope in a Democratic Age: Philosophy, Religion, and Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

69. I thank my colleague, Whitney Gaskins, for pointing out that black churches, while sometimes guided by the tendencies of theologians I noted, often actually teach about hope much differently. Rather than focusing on God as Savior, who intervenes on our behalf, many black churches emphasize God as Provider of the resources we need to help ourselves pursue more fulfilling lives. And they emphasize helping one another. Anne Streaty Winberly and Sarah Frances Farmer further describe black youth ministries as helping youth envision and claim a positive future in *Raising Hope: 4 Paths to Courageous Living for Black Youth* (Kansas City, MO: Wesley's Foundry Books, 2017).

70. For more along these lines, see the work of Gabriel Marcel and Joseph Godfrey.

71. Cheshire Calhoun, chapter 5 draft on hope, http://cheshirecalhoun.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Ch5Hope.doc.pdf, 25.

72. Myths of racial justice and equality have been used in this optimistic way to hide ongoing injustice and to assure members of racial minority groups that life will improve.

Sometimes this is done by highlighting exceptional individuals who have overcome structural inequality by supposedly pulling themselves up by their bootstraps as evidence for optimism.

73. Groopman, *Anatomy of Hope*, 199.

74. Patrick A. Shade, *Habits of Hope: A Pragmatic Theory of the Life of Hope* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2001), 60. For Shade, hope entails relationships with other people which may support us and which may develop skills and abilities that can help us in our personal endeavors (111). While Shade does briefly allude to communities that may nurture the hopes of individuals, I aim to go further in theorizing and valuing the social and political aspects of hope. Whereas he does quickly consider communities as sources of hope for individuals, he doesn't explore the role of hope within democratic life or how hoping together may work for citizens. My pragmatist account of hope as habits is more thoroughly and intentionally social and political.

75. I aim to go beyond the theory of Patrick Shade, who has already sketched an initial pragmatist vision of hope. Whereas he sometimes constrains his portrayal of hope to the life of the individual, I aim to describe explicitly social and political aspects of hope.

76. In this regard, it is more akin to the spirit of social hope, which other pragmatists, such as Judith Green, have suggested but have not fleshed out in detail regarding its cultivation or its role in democracy. Judith M. Green, *Pragmatism and Social Hope: Deepening Democracy in Global Contexts* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

77. The historian William Goetzmann, *Beyond the Revolution: A History of American Thought from Paine to Pragmatism* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 5.

78. Joan Richardson, *Pragmatism and American Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), ix.

79. John Dewey's 1903 statement as captured in Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and Social Hope* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), 120.

80. Robert Westbrook, *Democratic Hope: Pragmatism and the Politics of Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2005), 204.

81. Goetzmann, *Beyond the Revolution*, 47.

82. I'm not saying that pragmatists always carefully attend to those differences based on race and class, for far too few have. But I am saying that pragmatism creates a space for and calls for those aspects of social and political life to be considered and reconstructed.

83. John Dewey, "The Public and Its Problems," in *John Dewey: The Later Works, 1925– 1953*, vol. 2, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984), 235–372, 350.

84. Raphael C. Allison, "Walt Whitman, William James, and Pragmatist Aesthetics," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, 20, no. 1 (2002): 19–29, 25–27.

85. Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America* (Boston: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2002), 89.

86. James T. Kloppenberg, "James's *Pragmatism* and American Culture, 1907–2007," In *100 Years of Pragmatism*, edited by John Stuhr (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 7–40, 21.

87. Colin Koopman, "Pragmatism as a Philosophy of Hope: Emerson, James, Dewey, Rorty," *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, 20, no. 2 (2006): 106–116, 113.

88. Ibid., 106.

89. Elizabeth Cooke, "Transcendental Hope: Peirce, Hookway, and Pihlström on the Conditions for Inquiry," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, *41*, no. 3 (summer 2005): 651–674, 655; Charles Sanders Peirce, *The Essential Peirce, Vol. 2: Selected Philosophical Writings (1893–1913)*, edited by Peirce Edition Project (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), 106.

90. Charles Sanders Peirce, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce, Volumes 5–6*, edited by Charles Hartshorne and Paul Weiss (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1934/1935), 222.

91. Charles Sanders Peirce, *The Essential Peirce, Vol. 1: Selected Philosophical Writings (1867–1893)*, edited by N. Houser and C. Kloesel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1878 [1992]).

92. John Dewey, "Democracy and Education," in *The Collected Works of John Dewey, 1882–1953: The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, vol. 9, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980), 55.

93. Stephen M. Fishman and Lucille Parkinson McCarthy, *John Dewey and the Philosophy and Practice of Hope* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 12.

94. Fishman and McCarthy, *John Dewey and the Philosophy and Practice of Hope*, 5.

95. Bernard P. Dauenhauer, *Elements of Responsible Politics* (Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1991), 121.

96. Shade, *Habits of Hope*, 94.

97. Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and Social Hope* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999), 120.

98. Charles Sanders Peirce, "How To Make Our Ideas Clear," In *The Essential Peirce*, vol. 1, edited by N. Houser and C. Kloesel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1878/1992), 124–141.

99. Charlene Haddock Seigfried, *William James's Radical Reconstruction of Philosophy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), 294.

100. I'm drawing closely here on an account of pragmatist truth and flourishing that I detailed in *Breaking Bad Habits of Race and Gender: Transforming Identity in Schools* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Press, 2008).

101. William James, "Lecture VI: Pragmatism's Conception of Truth," In *Pragmatism: A New Name for Some Old Ways of Thinking* (Online: Project Gutenberg EBook, 2013 [1907]), http://www.gutenberg.org/files/5116/5116-h/5116-h.htm.

102. Koopman, "Pragmatism as a Philosophy of Hope," 109.

103. Richard Rorty, "Universality and Truth," in *Rorty and His Critics*, edited by R. Brandom (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 3.

104. Lynn Baker, "'Just Do It': Pragmatism and Progressive Social Change," in *Pragmatism in Law and Society*, edited by Michael Brint and William Weaver (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991), 101.

105. Rorty, "Pragmatism, Relativism, and Irrationalism," *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association*, 53, no. 6 (1980), 166.

106. Green, *Pragmatism and Social Hope*, 107.

107. Joseph Winters is also concerned with Rorty's inattentiveness to the substantial harmful history of racism as he focuses on American pride and progress in *Hope Draped in Black: Race, Melancholy, and the Agony of Progress* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 213.

108. For more, see my review of Judith Green's book on hope: Sarah M. Stitzlein, "Reviving Social Hope and Pragmatism in Troubling Times," *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, *43*, no. 4 (2009): 657–663.

109. Green, *Pragmatism and Social Hope*, 23.

110. Dewey, "Democracy and Education," 294.

111. Thanks to the social studies educator and critical theorist Lisa Sibbett, for her helpful commentary on this section.

112. This is especially the case with readers influenced by the critical arguments of Michelle Alexander, Charles Mills, and Derrick Bell.

113. I recognize that many developments, improvements, and signs of progress have been achieved on the backs of some of the most struggling and oppressed people in America and elsewhere. Asserting the "fact" of historical progress may fall prey to or perpetuate "complex relations of domination, exclusion, and silencing of colonized and racialized subjects," especially when not accompanied by a critical and problematizing genealogy. And assessments of progress, even though they should be historically and contextually grounded when possible, may be based on my values or those dominant in America today. For more about these potential problems, see Amy Allen, *The End of Progress* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 19.

114. David Moscrop gets at these sorts of questions in, "If We Don't Rethink the Concept of Progress, It Could Point Society toward Oblivion," *Maclean's*, October 24, 2018, last accessed December 5, 2018, https://www.macleans.ca/opinion/if-we-dont-rethink-the-concept-of-progress-it-could-point-society-toward-oblivion/.

115. Biographer Jon Meacham has expertly laid out examples of how political leaders and citizens have faced periods of divisiveness and fear in America and brought hope that lead the country forward. See *The Soul of America: The Battle for Our Better Angels* (New York: Random House, 2018).

116. Cornel West, "Prisoners of Hope," in *The Impossible Will Take a Little While*, edited by Paul Rogat Loeb (Cambridge, MA: Basic Books, 2004), 296.

117. Aronson, *We: Reviving Social Hope*, 92.

118. John Dewey, "Contributions to 'A Cyclopedia of Education,' Volumes 3, 4, and 5," *John Dewey: The Middle Works, 1899–1924, Volume 7: 1912–1914*, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 294.

119. I describe the preservation of the status quo in chapter 5, where I discuss some of the problems with focusing on grit rather than hope.

120. Westbrook, *Democratic Hope*, 205.

121. John Dewey, "Essays, Miscellany, and Reconstruction in Philosophy," in *The Middle Works (1899–1924)*, vol. 12, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 181–182.

122. Notably, Reverend King borrowed these words from Theodore Parker.

123. Dewey, "Essays, Miscellany, and Reconstruction in Philosophy," 77.

124. I'm reminded here of Colin Koopman's related point: "This is what it means to take a melioristic perspective on truth. Meliorism focuses on improvements that are due to our energies and efforts. Truth, understood melioristically, is an improvement resulting from our work." Koopman, "Pragmatism as a Philosophy of Hope," 22.

125. Stephane Madelrieux, "Pragmatism: The Task before Us (A review of Koopman's *Pragmatism as Transition*), *Contemporary Pragmatism*, 14 (2017): 203–211.

126. Michael Kempa, "A Museum of Hope: A Story of Robben Island," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 592, no. 1 (March 2004).

127. I'm following Judith Green here, *Pragmatism and Social Hope*, 78–79.

128. Thank you to Lori Foote for pointing out the multiple aspects of agency at work here.

129. Thanks again to Lisa Sibbett for reminding me of the troubling findings of disparity and lack of influence noted by Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics*, 12, no. 3 (2014): 564–581.

130. Koopman, "Pragmatism as a Philosophy of Hope," 107.

131. Ibid., 207

132. Ibid., 112.

Chapter 3

133. James W. Fraser and others have suggested that hope can be chosen over despair. *A History of Hope* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2002), xiv.

134. Dewey, "Democracy and Education," 199–200.

135. Dewey, "Democracy and Education," 53.

136. John Dewey, "Human Nature and Conduct," *John Dewey, The Middle Works, 1899–1924, Volume 14: 1922*, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 67.

137. Ibid., 124.

138. Ibid., 21.

139. Dewey, "Democracy and Education," 54.

140. Ibid.

141. Stitzlein, *Breaking Bad Habits of Race and Gender*.

142. Dewey, "Human Nature and Conduct," 52.

143. I'm borrowing this example from my book *American Public Education and the Responsibility of Its Citizens* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

144. Dewey, "Democracy and Education," 48.

145. John Dewey, "The Need for a Recovery of Philosophy," *John Dewey, The Middle Works, 1899–1924, Volume 10: 1916–1917*, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 50.

146. Joseph Godfrey similarly and rightfully points out that hope implies evaluation about possibility and the soundness of our desires. Godfrey, *A Philosophy of Human Hope*, 169.

147. John Dewey, "The Nature of Deliberation," *John Dewey, The Middle Works, 1899–1924, Volume 14: 1922*, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 132.

148. Shade, "Habits of Hope," 6–7.

149. Ibid.

150. John Dewey, "Experience and Nature," *John Dewey, The Later Works, 1925–1983: Volume 1: 1925*, edited by J. A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 325.

151. Michael Eldridge, *Transforming Experience: John Dewey's Cultural Instrumentalism* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1998), 198.

152. Shane J. Lopez, *Making Hope Happen* (New York: Atria Books, 2013), 79.

153. Aronson, *Reviving Social Hope*, 47–48

154. Dewey, "Creative Democracy," 226.

155. Lia Haro, "The Affective Politics of Insurgent Hope," in *Hope against Hope*, edited by Janet Horrigan and Ed Wiltse (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), 200.

156. Dewey, "Democracy and Education," 182.

157. Green, *Pragmatism and Social Hope*, 129.

158. Karen Tumulty, "How Donald Trump Came up with 'Make America Great Again,'" *Washington Post*, January 18, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-donald-trump-came-up-with-make-america-great-again/2017/01/17/fb6acf5e-dbf7-11e6-ad42-f3375f271c9c_story.html?utm_term=.b5baf59f814c.

159. Some citizens did ask "Great for whom?" and noted how they struggled to identify the time that America was great for all people that Trump was referring to. A few included: Cyneatha Millsaps, "Make America Great—again?" *The Mennonite*, January 16, 2017, https://themennonite.org/opinion/make-america-great/; Maegan Vazquez, "NY Gov. Andrew Cuomo Says America 'Was Never That Great,'" *CNN*, August 16, 2018, https://www.cnn.com/2018/08/15/politics/andrew-cuomo-america-was-never-that-great/index.html; Jill Filipovic, "The Major Problem with 'Make America Great Again,'" *Cosmopolitan*, March 16, 2018, https://www.cosmopolitan.com/politics/a55305/make-america-great-again-donald-trump/.

160. Melissa Knueven rightfully pointed out to the me the hats were used not just to identify like-minded citizens but perhaps also to explicitly distance wearers from political opponents and maybe even to excite more polarization and opposition between the two.

161. I borrow these phrases inspired by Ernst Bloch from Andre Willis, Templeton Foundation Conference on Hope and Optimism, Estes Park, Colorado, June 2016.

162. Akiba Lerner, *Redemptive Hope: From the Age of Enlightenment to the Age of Obama* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2015), 90–91.

163. Victoria McGreer, "The Art of Good Hope," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 592, no. 1 (2004): 100–137, 123.

164. Victoria McGreer, "Trust, Hope, and Empowerment," *Australian Journal of Philosophy*, 86, no. 2 (2008): 237–254, 247–248.

165. Jayne M. Waterworth, *A Philosophical Analysis of Hope* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 84–85.

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Chapter 4

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Chapter 5

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Chapter 6

338. I'm aware of some of the ethical critiques of this activity and do not mean to suggest that I'm backing that particular approach. Rather, I note it as a very well-known example, likely recognized by my lay readers, that demonstrates making a larger social issue a lived and meaningful experience right in the classroom, including for white children who might not otherwise have known the felt experience of racial and other forms of discrimination. To its credit, the simulation may also enable empathy and the sort of imagination across racial boundaries that I call for elsewhere in this chapter.

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355. John Dewey, "Democracy and Education," 12.

356. Green, *Pragmatism and Social Hope*, 235.

357. Dewey, *Creative Democracy*, 228.

358. Barak Rosenshine, "Principles of Instruction: Research-Based Strategies That All Teachers Should Know," *American Educator*, 78, no. 3 (2012): 30.

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361. Ibid.

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