

*Carnegie
Corporation of
New York*

VOL. 1/NO. 3

Fall 2001

C A R N E G I E
Reporter



**Early Childhood
Education: Teaching
the Teachers**

**An Interview with
Sam Nunn**

**Higher Education in
Africa: Women Find
Their Way**

Beyond
Census
2000

September 11, 2001 will go down in history as a time of tragedy and, I hope, the start of a time of solidarity, reflection, enlightenment and progress. As D.H. Lawrence once wrote, “Tragedy is like strong acid—it dissolves away all but the very gold of truth.” There is nothing like violence to promote peace, nothing like destruction to rekindle development, nothing like ignorance to prompt learning and nothing like cruelty to evoke tolerance.

Today, we see the American flag being waved by millions of people across the United States and in many other lands in an



BEN FRAKER 2000

A Letter from the President

expression of common ideals and suffering for the loss of citizens from 80 nations as well as our own. The terrorist attacks have strengthened a global determination to fight blind and indiscriminate violence against civilians. The catastrophe has also united Americans more than ever in recent memory and unleashed a worldwide outpouring of sympathy. President Jacques Chirac of France may have best summed up these feelings when he said, “We bring you the total solidarity of France and the French people. It is solidarity of the heart.”

The tragedy’s international death toll, which had echoes of the 2000 U.S. Census, has made it very clear that America is a nation of nations. This gives us hope, for if we can better understand differences among ourselves, we can better understand people in the rest of the world—for they are us. Here in the U.S., as well as abroad, it is imperative to expand understanding between the three Abrahamic faiths, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and between other religions, as well. Indeed, there is a need for better understanding and dialogue even within the Muslim community itself, here in the U.S. and abroad. Islam, after all, is not a monolith, but represents a complex diversity of traditions and teachings on

virtue, justice, tolerance, violence, life and death.

As America contemplates its next steps, it is time to take a longer view. I believe that rising from the ashes of this disaster there is a new sense of unity, urgency and opportunity to continue our pursuit of international peace through education and knowledge. After all, that was the vision of Carnegie Corporation’s founder, Andrew Carnegie.

Our founder’s vision continues to inspire our mission and our programs, which, I believe, have never been more timely. It’s fitting, then, that this year we are paying a centennial tribute to him. For it was 100 years ago, on March 2, 1901, that Carnegie sold his steel empire so as to concentrate his mind and his fortune, then one of the world’s largest, on philanthropy. He invested the bulk of his fortune in the pursuit of world peace and the promotion of greater knowledge and understanding. Carnegie was sure of mankind’s needs for peace and potential for enlightenment and progress—that is why he directed his trustees to adjust their agenda once “war is discarded.”

This December, representatives from institutions that Carnegie created will gather to honor him and renew inspiration for the future. Carnegie was a humanitarian on a worldwide scale and a model for the great good a single person can still achieve.

In just one of the many ways he addressed global concerns, he created nearly two dozen institutions, whose names alone give a sense of the breadth of his humanitarian vision: In addition to Carnegie Corporation of New York, he established Carnegie Hall, the Carnegie Museums of Pittsburgh Institute, the Technical Schools that became Carnegie Mellon University, Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Carnegie Dunfermline Trust in Scotland, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Carnegie United Kingdom Trust and Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs. One of Carnegie’s favorite causes was to honor heroes who risked their lives, and often lost them, while saving, or attempting to save, the lives of others. To recognize these unsung heroes and provide financial assistance to their surviving families, he created the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission in the United States, the Carnegie Hero Fund Trust in the United Kingdom, Fondation Carnegie in France, Carnegie Heltefund for Norge in Norway, Fondation Carnegie pour les Sauveteurs in Switzerland, Carnegie Heldenfonds in The Netherlands, Carnegiestiftelsen in Sweden, Carnegie Belønningsfud for Heltemod in Denmark, Fondation Carnegie in Belgium and Fondazione Carnegie in Italy

Like the United States’ motto, *E Pluribus Unum*—out of many, one—Carnegie institutions have diverse roles but are united in working for international peace through knowledge and understanding, while honoring individual acts of valor on behalf of humanity, as well. We at Carnegie Corporation of New York look forward to welcoming members of our extended family this winter and together celebrating the life and contributions of a great Scotsman, an American and a citizen of the world.

VARTAN GREGORIAN

President

C A R N E G I E
Reporter

2 Beyond Census 2000: As a Nation, We are the World

The census conducted in 2000 revealed that we are a nation of such unprecedented diversity that the census form now invites us to describe ourselves as being “of one or more races.”

13 Beating the Odds: Providing Education for Women and Girls in Africa

For women in Africa, the road to higher education is just beginning to open up, but those who travel it find new opportunities for themselves—and their countries—along the way.

20 Early Childhood Education: Distance Learning for Teachers Adds a New Dimension

As the number of youngsters in early childhood programs grows, how will their teachers develop the skills they need to provide a quality educational experience that is more than just caretaking? Here's one innovative solution.

31 Sam Nunn: An Interview

This former U.S. Senator, currently co-chairman and chief executive officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative and a trustee of Carnegie Corporation talks about national missile defense, the danger of living in a world still shadowed by a nuclear stockpile and his continuing passion for public service.



37 FoundationRoundup

Fathers at work, artists' rights, the Internet, the youth vote and Americans' attitudes about Russia: these are only some of the issues highlighted in this quick overview of work being carried out by American foundations.

40 THE BackPage A Digital Gift to the Nation

by Lawrence K. Grossman and Newton N. Minow

Lawrence Grossman and Newton Minow present their proposal for a Digital Trust to help Americans benefit from technological advances.




ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

- 36** Russia: Facing the Future
- 36** Schools for a New Society
- 38** Teachers for a New Era

Beyond





Census 2000

AS A NATION, WE ARE THE WORLD

by
KENNETH
PREWITT

In the year 2000, for the first time in its 200-year history, the U.S. Census allowed people to state that they were of more than one race. Here, Kenneth Prewitt, who directed that census, comments on issues raised for the nation by the new “multiple-race” option.

How can we live together? How can we live together justly?

Haven't we, as Americans, already asked ourselves these questions—and answered them? They were forcefully addressed in the Constitutional amendments after the Civil War that abolished slavery, provided equal protection under the law and guaranteed all citizens, regardless of race, the right to vote. Although these principles were slow to be honored, and not seriously enforced until the advent of court rulings and legislation stimulated by the civil rights movement, it would seem that our nation has finally rejected discrimination based on race, ethnicity or national origin. Today we view ourselves as more tolerant, more welcoming of diversity than at any time in our history.

In fact, this nation has had a complicated relationship to diversity. We have prided ourselves on finding common ground in the midst of diversity; we have based our claim to being exceptional among nations on having established a nation rooted not in ties of blood, ancestry, nationality or religion but on the shared belief in an ideal: liberal

democracy. There is some truth to this claim, but it is also true that at various moments in our history, significant numbers of Americans—black slaves, native Indians, Catholic immigrants, Chinese workers and Jewish tradesmen, to name just a few—were thought to be too “other” to join in the common enterprise. Diversity and discrimination have been linked throughout our history more, perhaps, than we care to admit. Perhaps this is unavoidable. There are inescapable political and philosophical tensions between, on the one hand, a belief in human unity and, on the other, the reality of differences and persistence of conflicts

Kenneth Prewitt is currently dean of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science at the New School University. He was previously director of the U.S. Census Bureau. He has also served as president of the Social Science Research Council, and was, for ten years, senior vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation, where he directed the international Science-Based Development Program involving activities in Asia, Africa and Latin America. He has taught at the University of Chicago, Stanford University, Columbia University, Washington University, the University of Nairobi, and Makerere University (Uganda).



among multiple cultures, ethnicities, nationalities, religions and languages.

In this country, while we have lived together, it has not always been peacefully. It has not always been justly. And there is no guarantee that we will do so in the coming decades. There are issues to be confronted, particularly those raised by the recently completed national census.

Census 2000 and Liberal Democracy

Since the nation's founding we have counted and classified ourselves every ten years—but it is not until the 2000 census that Americans were given the opportunity to declare themselves as being of more than one race. This may appear to be a technical adjustment in how we classify racial groups, but the “multiple-race” option on the census form goes to the core of the tension between unity and diversity. The multiple-race option, I suggest, has set off tremors that signal a political and social earthquake to come.

This earthquake will occur against a backdrop of far-reaching shifts in the nation's demography. We are in the early stages of diversifying our population in a manner historically unprecedented. We start with the fact that the foreign born cohort of our population is now ten percent. This may not seem significant: after all, as a frontier nation built upon immigration, we have always had high levels of foreign-born people living within our borders, with rates occasionally rising well above ten percent. Our liberal democracy has adjusted itself accordingly, embracing both assimilation and accommodation. Certainly there have been rough moments, yet we have generally found ways to work through them.

But something new is underway. The 19th and early 20th century immigration patterns transformed a nation initially based on a northern European

population into one that became pan-European. A nation that started the 19th century as a Protestant stronghold ended it as an amalgam of Protestants, Catholics and Jews. This transformation, though consequential, was qualitatively different from the situation that we now face. The U.S. has become home to people from, literally, every civilization and of every nationality, and speaking almost

Immigration Adds to School Growth

*Whites in t
Minority i*

Number of Mosques Up

GAZETTE

Racial Diversity—The New Face of America

will the pairing

every language. Not in recorded history has there been a nation so demographically complex. So it falls to us, the American citizens of the 21st century, to fashion, from this diversity, history's first “world nation.”

Since the first census in 1790, which recognized only a few population categories—free whites, other free people and slaves—those who count and classify us have tried to keep up with changing demographic realities. But looking to the future, how will we deal with our extraordinary and ever-growing diversity? Will newly arriving groups be counted and sorted in some yet-to-be-designed racial and ethnic taxonomy? If so, the issues to be worked out are daunting: will Sudanese refugees, for example, be assigned to the same “race” as seventh-generation African Americans? Will Arab Americans become an independent

racial group? Is “white” one race or a residual category for everyone not noticeably something else? Resolving these issues justly is a challenge for our fractious politics.

Or perhaps we won't go this route at all. Perhaps there will be a movement toward dismantling racial and ethnic classifications altogether. That possibility also leaves a host of uncomfortable issues in its wake, not least of which is the future of civil rights. If diversity and discrimination have so often been joined together in American history, will the pairing grow weaker or stronger—will racism and nativism wax or wane—as we become more diverse?

It is the task of a liberal democracy to keep reflecting on the inescapable tension between unity and diversity, to ask, for each fresh set of conditions: *How can we live together? How can*

we live together justly? A quick historical tour, focused on America's continuous demographic transformation, helps to frame these questions for today.

The Demographic Journey to Independence

It is tempting to think of our demographic history as one of self-selected immigration, starting with the first settlers and followed by successive waves of immigrants drawn by the promise of religious tolerance, political freedom and economic opportunity. As we are

comprised only 1.2 percent of the total population. Three centuries of imported diseases, colonization and genocide had reduced to a tiny fraction the Native Americans' share of the new nation's population.

Involuntary immigration—the slave trade—was a second factor in the nation's early demographic history. Slavery reached the Caribbean Islands in 1501 and was first recorded in the colonies in 1619 with the arrival of a single African American male, slave to a Jamestown family. Over the next 30 years, the slave population of the

The 19th Century as a Story of Immigration

Demographically, the 19th century started quietly. Social and political observers considered the new U.S. to be a stable society. Its population, now settled for several generations, had shared colonialism, independence and the

The Census of 1790

(Demographic groups by percent of population)

British	70%
Other Northern European	10%
African	19%
Native Indian	1%

*If diversity and **discrimination** have often been joined together in American history, **grow** weaker or stronger as we grow more diverse?*

all aware, that's only part of the story. Our demographic history is also about conquest, purchase and the slave trade. Not everyone who became "American" did so voluntarily.

In 1500, the land mass that is today the U.S. was home to approximately 3.5 million native Indians belonging to 17 major language groups. Population densities were very low, with the largest population groups situated in the coastal areas of the Northwest. Once Europeans arrived, contact with their diseases, especially smallpox, began to reduce native populations, as did the fact that Europeans had guns, making settlers almost always the superior force in warring encounters. Indian groups along the Atlantic Coast, where the earliest settlers established themselves, were particularly vulnerable. By the time that the first U.S. census was taken in 1790, native Indians living in the 13 recently formed states

colonies grew to around 50,000, largely concentrated in Virginia and Massachusetts, and the numbers were still rising. Between 1670 and 1700, for instance, the black population increased five-fold while the white population only doubled. When the first census was taken, slaves were the second largest demographic group in the new nation, comprising 19% of the population. (see below.)

The largest group counted in the 1790 census was, of course, from the British Isles. The English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish comprised nearly three million of the almost four million people counted in the first national census. Another ten percent of the population was northern European, primarily Dutch and German. (All of these groups also overwhelmingly shared the same Protestant faith.) But things were about to change.

birth of the republic. These shared experiences had, presumably, melded the population into one nation, one people—excepting, of course, the slaves and the native Indians.

But the nation was less demographically formed, less finished than both its citizens and outside commentators may have thought. Immigrants—though that term was not yet in use—were beginning to crowd into cities on the eastern seaboard. Although the most astute of social commentators, Alexis de Tocqueville, did not focus on immigration, there is a telling passage in his classic treatise, *Democracy in America*. He noted that recent immigrants, mostly Irish, were, to his way of thinking, a lower class that brought the threat of mob rule to America. "Living in a country of which they are not citizens," de Tocqueville wrote, "they are ready to take advantage of all the passions that

agitate it.” He wrote that social order could best be preserved through a national military force that was “independent of the people of the cities and able to restrain their excesses.”

De Tocqueville was giving early voice to nativist sentiments, in full cry

Catholics, especially from Ireland, began to arrive in large numbers, generally escaping economic deprivation more than religious persecution. Emigration was further stimulated by political turmoil in northern Europe, sending people from Germany, France, Belgium and

U.S., the nativist Know-Nothing Party led an anti-Catholic cry. “Romanism,” it was feared, would undermine Protestant Puritanism on which the nation had constructed its moral and political identity. The effort by nativists to close down immigration was opposed by economic interests: factory owners needed workers, as did the railroads pushing across the country. The frontier was there to be settled, and shipping interests benefited from the huge cross-Atlantic traffic. Economic interests prevailed. Immigration continued, though naturalization was not made easy.

The middle of the 19th century also saw a sharp upsurge in the arrival of Asian immigrants on the West Coast. They were drawn to the “Mountain of Gold,” where work in the mines and on the railroads offered economic returns unheard of in China and Japan. The “coolie” labor trade was beneficial to the American economy, but in the case of the Chinese, for example, only men and not women were allowed to come to the U.S. to work. This was to prevent Chinese from being born in America, thereby becoming citizens. In many additional ways, patterns of discrimination and anti-immigration sentiment directed at Catholics in the eastern U.S. repeated themselves on the West Coast. Asians, denied the protections of citizenship, were poorly paid, badly treated and sometimes violently attacked. In the first instance of closing our borders to immigrants, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and successor laws stopped Chinese immigration; the 1907 “Gentleman’s Agreement” between the U.S. and Japan to discourage emigration had a similar effect on the flow of Japanese. These policies reflected both racist views and fears of wage competition in a mixture that came to dominate immigration policy for decades.

Even more dramatic population shifts resulted from the next wave of

Holland to the American shores. By 1850, the Roman Catholic Church was the largest denomination in the country, though Catholics were still less numerous than all the Protestant denominations combined.

It was in 1850 that the census first introduced the distinction between native- and foreign-born Americans. When the census results were tallied, they showed, then as now, that the foreign-born concentrated in urban areas: more than half of New York City’s population was foreign born, with similar high proportions in Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, St. Louis and New Orleans.

Living together amidst all this diversity did not come easily. In the eastern

by mid-century, which started from the premise that the first settlers were not themselves “immigrants” and were now the true Americans. Immigrants, by this view, were not only altogether different, they were something to be concerned about—particularly because of their ever-expanding numbers. Still, they kept coming, reducing the numerical domination of British stock and greatly contributing to the growth of the population. Fewer than four million people were counted in the first census; nearly 92 million were recorded in 1910, on the eve of World War I. And with growth came diversity, including a religious diversity not welcome to the country’s original Protestant base.

In the early 19th century, Roman

Census by Race Categories: A Sampling

YEAR RACE CATEGORY

1790 Free white males of 16 years and upward, including heads of families under 16 years
Free white females, including heads of families
All other free persons
Slaves

1830 and 1840^a Free white persons: males, divided into 13 age cohorts
Free white persons: females, divided into 13 age cohorts
Slaves: males, divided into 6 age cohorts
Slaves: females, divided into 6 age cohorts
Free colored persons: males, divided into 6 age cohorts
Free colored persons: females, divided into 6 age cohorts

1890 White Black mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, Chinese, Japanese, Indian

1990 White Black Indian (Amer), Eskimo, Aleut, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Korean, or Negro Vietnamese, Japanese, Asian Indian, Samoan, Guamanian, Other API, Other race

Reprinted with permission from: *Who Counts?* by Margo J. Anderson and Stephen E. Feinberg ©1999 Russell Sage Foundation.

Source: Wright and Hunt 1900, passim; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1979, 1993a

^a The federal government used a two-sided schedule: in 1830, the age/sex breakdowns for Whites were on the front of the schedule and those for slaves and the free colored on the back; in 1840, the age/sex breakdowns for Whites and free colored were on the front of the schedule and those for slaves were on the back.

Note: The categories are given in the order they appeared on the schedule. If abbreviations were used, the abbreviation is listed. Otherwise, the full term is written out.

immigration, which began about 1880, peaking in the years before WW I. It was during this period that immigration from northern Europe fell sharply to be replaced by large numbers of arrivals from southern and Eastern Europe, including the first large wave of Jewish immigrants.

Across the 19th and into the 20th century, learning to live together did not proceed smoothly. Anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism and anti-Asian views fit easily into the beliefs and practices of the descendents of the settlers who viewed the Mediterranean, Jewish, Negroid and Oriental races—the terms used during those years—as inferior to those of Anglo stock. These attitudes were fueled by pseudo-scientific racist theories such as Social Darwinism and eugenics, which came into vogue in this era; the former suggested that the poor were deservedly so while the latter would advance racial purity through selective reproduction. Racist quotas in the restrictive immigration laws passed in the 1920s were the culmination of four decades of efforts to legally control immigration and represented a last gasp effort to reestablish the dominance of the “better” race that had founded the Republic. But it was too late. The country had little choice but to try to figure out how it could become a pan-European nation.

Immigrants came to America voluntarily. The same cannot be said for groups added to the population through purchase or conquest. Even though the slave trade was terminated in the early 19th century, the slave population continued to grow through reproduction. The Civil War may have emancipated the slaves but it did not extend full civic membership. Social segregation, economic discrimination, second-class citizenship, all sanctioned in law, continued a carefully tiered system of civic membership based on race.

Other wars of the 19th century played their part in demographic change. The Indian Wars that opened the West to European settlers further reduced and relocated the native Indian populations. Other military action added new lands in the Southwest and a new population group: by the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, the U.S. had acquired its first large Mexican population—about 80,000 people. The Spanish-American War in 1889 added the Puerto Rican islands and their people. When Hawaii was annexed in 1898, its native Pacific Islander population also became “Americans.”

Along with territorial wars, land purchase altered our demography. Thomas Jefferson’s vast Louisiana Purchase in 1803 added a French settler population; William Henry Seward’s purchase of the Russian colony of Alaska in 1867 added the Inuit, the Kodiak and other Alaskan natives.

While population increases resulting from conquest and purchase were not large, relatively speaking, they did add to the country’s demographic diversity. In a pattern now familiar, this diversity provided new opportunities for discrimination in the labor market, in housing and in the educational system, which was as true for Hispanics as it was for the ex-slave population. Native Alaskans and Pacific Islanders were given no more rights than were Native American Indians, who were denied citizenship until 1924.

Out of all the new racial and ethnic groups added to the U.S. population in the 19th century, only those of European origin were granted civic membership. Non-European peoples, though living and working in the U.S., were “stateless”: they were without the right to have rights. It is not until well into the 20th century that the nation finally takes up the issue of full civic membership for all social groups.

The Civil Rights Movement: In the 20th Century, New Changes, New Definitions

We do not normally think of the civil rights movement (which is often seen as beginning in 1955, when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus) as central to the nation’s demographic narrative, but we should. In many ways, it is the 20th century result of forces rooted in 19th century immigration, both voluntary and forced. Under the banner of civil rights, African Americans mounted an offensive designed to bring about an alignment of demography with democracy. Courts and legislatures were enlisted in what became a campaign to end the injustice of exclusion. Thus, the civil rights movement can be understood as arising from a desire for unity, rather than a celebration of diversity. Many believed that discrimination would be swept away when the principles of democracy were recognized by all and applied equally to all citizens.

But as it turned out, discrimination did not give way easily and, as a society, we were soon enmeshed in unfamiliar political and legal territory. Equal opportunity came to mean proportionate representation; the definition of individual rights expanded to include group rights; and the principles of nondiscrimination were translated into affirmative action. Discrimination, which many had thought of as simply the attitudes and actions of real estate agents or employers or college admissions officers or election clerks, proved also to be embedded in residential segregation patterns, wage rates, university enrollments and the shape of election districts. In other words, it was something that could be *measured*. The vocabulary of prejudice began to include definitions of institutional racism. In the 20th century, statistical proportionality—comparing the per-

centage of the population that is minority with the percentage of that minority working, for example, in the police force, or participating in higher education or living in desirable housing—became the weapon of choice in advancing the goals of the civil rights movement. This gave the census an even more central role to play in the nation's civic and political life because statistical proportionality cannot be assessed without a count of how many members of various racial and ethnic groups are living in the U.S. Thus the story of the census in the 20th century also becomes one of racial taxonomy.

Sorting by Race in the U.S. Census

In 1790, the census divided the resident population of the U.S. into three racial groups: free whites, slaves and all other free persons (native American Indians). No census since has been without a question on race, a distinction shared with only two other population characteristics: age and gender. How we have measured these two traits has been stable across two centuries—after all, we know what those traits mean. Not so with race; it has been measured dozens of different ways. Racial categories have been added or dropped depending on prevailing political beliefs. Over the years, this situation has led to a steady expansion in the number of racial categories listed on the census form, a pattern, as we shall shortly see, that repeats itself with a vengeance in the 2000 census.

In the 1820 census, for instance, we first added “free colored persons” to the racial classification scheme. After the Civil War, there was interest in “shades of color,” and the census classified people as mulatto (the offspring of a black person and a white person), quadroon (one-quarter black ancestry) and octoroon (one-eighth black ancestry). In 1890,

Asians were counted in the census, which listed separate categories for Chinese and Japanese. Filipinos, Koreans and Hindus (confusing a religion with a race) were counted in 1920. Hawaiian and Part Hawaiian appeared on the 1960 census form, as did Aleut and Eskimo, in each instance recognizing that the newest states in the Union had introduced further diversity. Mexican as a category appeared in 1930, then was dropped to be replaced by a question on Hispanic origin.

Why has the way we count and sort by race always been such a volatile

after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

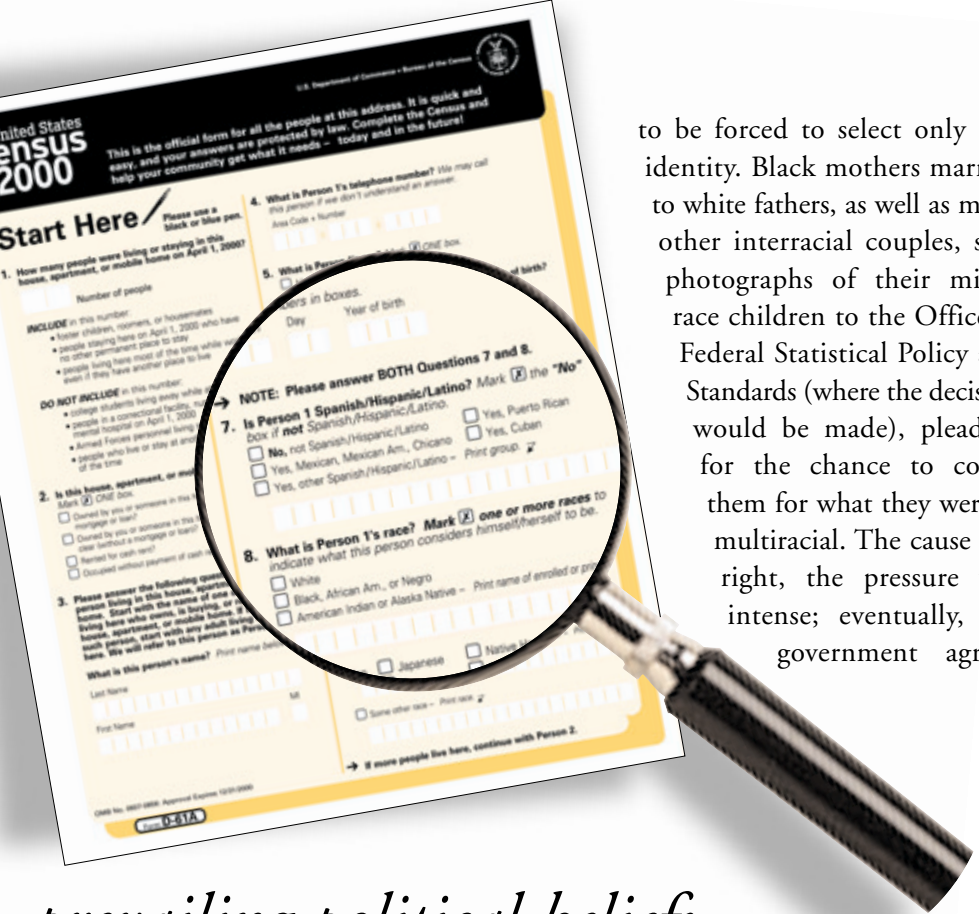
Even today, as modern biology provides mounting evidence that race is not a scientifically meaningful way to sort and classify, we find it hard to let go of racial divisions. The civil rights legislation of the 1960s gave fresh momentum to racial measurement. In the latter part of the 20th century, using the same tool previously wielded to deny rights, groups historically discriminated against began to use racial measurement to achieve full civic membership. The nation was called upon to explain why there were—proportion-

Over the years, racial
categories *have been*
added or dropped depending on

issue? Because throughout American history, starting with the 1790 census, a classification of racial groups has been used to regulate relations among the races and to support discriminatory policies designed to protect the numerical and political supremacy of white Americans of European ancestry. Throughout the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, the racial classification system separated those entitled to full participation in national life from those whose race or national origin was cause for exclusion. Slavery itself, including the attempt to balance admission to the Union of slave and free states in the first half of the 19th century, is one such instance. So also—to give just a few other examples—were the forced relocation of native Americans to reservations; “Jim Crow” laws that discriminated against black Americans; racially motivated immigration quotas; and the interning of Japanese Americans in detention camps

ately speaking—few members of minority groups heading major corporations, or at the helm of universities or being elected to political office; or why there were more people of color in prisons and receiving harsher sentences than their white counterparts committing similar offenses. The basic logic of racial taxonomy was easily extended—as it was for women's rights and the rights of the handicapped—to encompass the idea that disproportionate representation implied a glass ceiling or other racially based barriers to full access that had to be eliminated.

The racial taxonomy that gave rise to statistical proportionality as a tool of governance was based on a small number of discrete categories—white, black and Indian. Asians were then added and, in 1970, “Hispanic” was included as an ethnic category. By 1990, every resident of America, according to the census, could be sorted into one of five main racial groups: White, African



prevailing political beliefs.

American, Native Indian/ Native Alaskan, Asian, or Other. There were Asian sub-groups, but these were combined as one Asian category. Importantly, being of Spanish/Hispanic origin was treated in 1990, and again in 2000, as an ethnic and not a racial distinction; a person of Hispanic origin could be of any race.

Census 2000 introduced a dramatic change in our racial classification system. It allowed Americans to define themselves as being of multiple race. From now on, as far as the government is concerned, you don't have to try to shoehorn yourself into one discrete racial group: you can belong to two, even three, four or five.

How did this happen? What does this mean for *how we live together*?

It happened because Americans who viewed themselves as being of more than one racial group, or who had married someone of a different race and had children, felt it was discriminatory

to be forced to select only one identity. Black mothers married to white fathers, as well as many other interracial couples, sent photographs of their mixed race children to the Office of Federal Statistical Policy and Standards (where the decision would be made), pleading for the chance to count them for what they were—multiracial. The cause was right, the pressure was intense; eventually, the government agreed

categories can be combined in any way one chooses. Hispanic/non-Hispanic, an ethnic distinction for the purpose of the census, divides the entire population into two additional categories, allowing for 126 possible racial/ethnic groupings.

The instruction to “mark one or more races” is staggering in its implications. Though not that many persons identified as multiple-race—fewer than 7 million, or 2.4 percent of the population, did so and the rate was twice as high for children as it was for adults—demographers expect the numbers to continue to grow as interracial marriages occur and as people become more comfortable with the multiple-race option.

What is staggering is that the nation moved suddenly, and with only minimal public understanding of the consequences, from a limited and relatively closed racial taxonomy to one that has no limits. In the future, racial categories will no doubt become more numerous. And why not? What grounds does the government have to declare “enough is enough?” When there were only three or even four or five categories, maybe “enough is enough” was plausible. But how can we decide, as a nation, that what we allow for on the census form of today—63 racial groups or 126 racial/ethnic ones—is the “right” number? It can't be, nor can any other number be “right.” There is no political or scientifically defensible limit.

Moreover, given that there is no scientific basis to support racial divisions, the federal government correctly insists that one's race is what one decides it is. As far as the census is concerned—and by extension, this also goes for the entire official statistical system—race is a matter of “you are who you want to be.” This invites the politics of identity based on race and ethnicity, or it does as long as benefits are distributed in terms of such identities. Surely, additional groups will soon demand

that Census 2000 would give Americans the right to check more than one racial category.

Where We Are Now

Although the race question on the 2000 census form seems to allow for as many as 15 separate groups, because of the number of Asian sub-groups listed, in fact the basic classification system recognizes only six categories: White, Black, Asian, Native Indian/Native Alaskan, Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, and Other Race. In terms of basic categories, one difference between 1990 and 2000 is that Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander is treated as a separate racial group rather than as part of a more inclusive Asian group.

It is a second difference that leads to multiple-race responses. In permitting respondents to mark “one or more,” the census sets up the possibility of 63 discrete racial groups. This is the number of permutations that occur when six cat-

separate recognition and accommodation. Leaders in the Arab-American community, for example, have expressed strong interest in becoming a “racial group” in the census.

The future of racial measurement is uncertain. The taxonomy based on

began to shift in the 1960s when, influenced by the civil rights movement, new and more liberal immigration laws were enacted, including those based on the moral claim of family reunification and the humanitarian cause of admitting political refugees. Immigrants from

prised three-out-of-every-four foreign-born Americans. But by 1997, more than half of the foreign-born cohort of the U.S. population was from Latin America and more than a quarter from Asia. Foreign-born Europeans have dropped to fewer than one-in-five and will soon be a tiny fraction of the foreign born.

It is these census numbers that give rise to the recent flood of media stories announcing that by mid-century, America will be a minority-majority nation. As convoluted—and misleading—as that phrase is, it still points to the fact that the U.S. is now more demographi-



COURTESY OF THE U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

Author Kenneth Prewitt in Alaska, kicking off the 2000 census.

Census 2000 has both too many and too few categories. There are too many to support race-based policies that use statistical proportionality but too few to accommodate the pressures of identity politics. Taxonomies with both too many and too few categories are inherently unstable. The full significance of this must be assessed in the context of the demographic transformation now underway in our country. To develop a picture of these trends, we must return, briefly, to our immigration narrative.

Late 20th Century Immigration

After the passage of restrictive immigration laws in the 1920s, immigration dropped off sharply; and those who were allowed into the U.S. were primarily from northern and western European countries. These patterns

Southeast Asia and, later, from Central America, who owed their refugee status to American military action, began arriving in large numbers. Additional changes in immigration law, responding, in part, to the need for farm labor and service workers, offered legal status to significant numbers of undocumented aliens. Under pressure from universities and technology companies, Congress also increased selected categories of employment-based immigration to encourage hi-tech workers to come to this country.

Taken together, these new criteria have massively shifted the routes of world immigration flowing into the U.S. In 1850, more than nine-out-of-ten foreign-born residents were from Europe, and this pattern held well into the 20th century. As late as 1960, Europeans still com-

As far as the concerned, race is a “You are

cally diverse than ever in its history.

This, I suggest, is why the nation must yet again confront the questions, *How can we live together? How can we live together justly?*

An Uncertain Future

Census 2000 marks a demographic turning point. A radical change in how we count and sort by race is interacting with immigration patterns that are producing escalating diversity. Either of these two factors taken by itself has large and uncertain consequences. For example:

■ We rely upon local, state and federal government to lead the way in eliminating discrimination in areas such as education, employment, housing and health care; to protect voting rights; to stop racial profiling; and to safeguard our civil liberties in dozens of other ways. Equity in these areas, however, has often depended upon the use of statistical proportionality, a tool that is

being weakened as racial groups are divided into more and more subcategories. What methodology will we use in its place?

■ Until recently, the economy has been strong and unemployment low. Has this created a national optimism about the future that has outweighed the forces of nativistic politics, or has the concept of multiculturalism become so thoroughly entwined with our image of the U.S. that anti-immigration policies are now largely discredited? We may not know the answer to these questions until there is a significant economic downturn and

economy but for the countries of origin which may educate and then lose their most skilled people.

■ Americans of European ancestry are not reproducing at replacement levels; neither are the native populations of western European nations. If this trend continues, the competition among wealthier nations for foreign labor may be fierce; in the struggle to find workers to support growing economies, nations that are hospitable to immigrants will have an advantage. Under these conditions, might *how we can live together* turn out to be as much about gaining an eco-

group rights is an avenue to success, or will they assimilate in a manner that blurs rather than sharpens boundaries between different groups?

■ More generally, as today's new immigrants gain citizenship and become politically active, will they want more or less to focus on their separate identities? If the former, they will expect to find their own place in the racial and ethnic classification that has marked our politics for two centuries. And that classification will get more fine-grained and less usable. But if they seek to escape being measured as separate groups, they risk antagonizing other groups that still rely on statistical proportionality as a tool to redress earlier wrongs. For example, will new African immigrants from Somalia or Ghana want to be separately measured, not measured at all, or be included as African-Americans?

For such questions there is no crystal ball. We cannot know if the changes that are now inevitable will be marked by tolerance and social order or by turmoil and violence. History offers ample evidence for both possibilities, suggesting that we are likely to have some of each. *How can we live together justly?* is the question we again must ask.

A century hence, historians will record of the early 21st century whether churches showed moral leadership or retreated to dogma; whether universities provided intellectual clarity or argued about disciplinary turf; whether civic organizations went boldly into new territory or hewed to the safe and familiar; whether businesses recognized the claims of social justice or saw only the next quarter's earning; whether foundations were visionary or irrelevant; whether the political class was courageous or succumbed to intimidation; and, mostly, whether the public demanded of itself and its leaders an honest go at figuring out how we can, in fact, live together—justly. ■

government is matter of who you want to be.”

increased competition for low-end employment opportunities.

■ The nation's often celebrated religious tolerance was originally based on differences within Protestantism, and only grudgingly extended to include Catholics, Jews and Orthodox. There are now swiftly growing numbers of Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and others. Will religious tolerance be easily extended, or will we repeat one of the darker chapters in our history?

■ Historically, immigrants arrive from world regions that are poor or in turmoil. But with the advent of globalization and internationally interdependent economies, there are new reasons to emigrate and new needs on the part of the U.S. to welcome skilled immigrants. Might educated technology workers from more developed countries come to dominate immigration flows to the disadvantage of poorer workers from poorer countries? If so, there are implications not only for our

economic edge as about social justice?

There are any number of such issues, but as complicated as they are they do not begin to tell the whole story. What makes the future much more challenging is our uncertainty about the interaction between the two transformations discussed in this essay—the radical change in racial measurement and classification and the displacement of a European immigrant stream with one that is Asian and Latin. There is no historical reference point for this dynamic. For example:

■ The pressure on previous immigrant groups was to assimilate, to become “American,” when that meant to accept that getting ahead depended on individual effort and merit—not group rights. Identity politics have now been put into the mix, primarily as a way to compensate for the fact that some groups, because of race or ethnicity, were denied the normal routes of upward mobility. Will new immigrants find that asserting

Be



Rosemary K. Asiwe, Vice Chairperson of Makerere University's Gender Association, Author Wilma J. Randle and Arthur P. Owor, Chairperson of the Gender Students' Association in front of Makerere University's main administration building.

ating *the* Odds

by
WILMA JEAN
EMANUEL
RANDLE

Providing Education *for Women and Girls in Africa*

In sub-Saharan Africa, girls' dreams of getting an education at the university level are just beginning to become a reality.

As a young Muslim girl growing up in northern Uganda, Barbara Wakooli knew the life planned for her. "I would be given away in marriage early," she explains. "Maybe around 12, but certainly no later than 15. I would have many children. I would live in my village and be a good wife and mother."

For herself though, she harbored other dreams: she wanted to go to school and maybe even become a history teacher. Until very recently, these would have been almost impossible ambitions for Wakooli and countless other girls like her growing up in sub-Saharan Africa. But today, because of recently initiated affirmative action programs aimed at increasing female student enrollment at Makerere University in Kampala, Uganda, as well as at other institutions across the region, Wakooli's hopes for her future have even begun to surpass her childhood dreams. Now 24, she is completing her third and

final undergraduate year of study at Makerere. "I'm looking forward to receiving my degree in philosophy and history," she reports, "and I'd like to go on for my master's degree."

And she's not the only one who's ready to realize her dreams.

In neighboring Tanzania, a dozen young women sit in a large, half-moon-shaped lecture hall on the lush green campus of the University of Dar es Salaam. They, too, are talking about their dreams. In a few months, they will complete their undergraduate studies: some plan to teach; others want to go

Wilma Jean Emanuel Randle is a freelance writer and media consultant based in Dakar, Senegal, where for the past three years she served as the director of The African Women's Media Center. A former business writer for the Chicago Tribune she completed undergraduate studies at Rosary College (River Forest, Ill.) and holds a master's degree in International Journalism from the University of Southern California (Los Angeles).

on for further study—maybe even a Ph.D. These pioneering students are members of the first class admitted to the University of Dar es Salaam's Faculty of Science Pre-Entry Program which was initiated in 1997 to help increase the number of women majoring in the sciences. Admission is open to female students who are academically qualified overall, but who don't have the scores needed for entry into the science division. Program participants are admitted conditionally and enrolled in a six-week remedial science course; if they pass an exam at the end of the course, they are granted

for the spaces that are available in classrooms and for teachers' attention. And since schools often lack the resources necessary to provide quality education to their students, there is not much extra available—materials, facilities or curriculum—to specifically promote girls' educational success. A lack of female teachers who might serve as role models also contributes to the problem.

Under these conditions, says Bertha Koda, chairperson of the University of Dar es Salaam's Gender Dimension Programme Committee and a lecturer in the Institute of Development Studies,

ways to upgrade the overall quality of the university, the Transformation Programme proposes plans to improve the status and participation of female students and teachers, with the goal of achieving equity in staffing and enrollment at both the graduate and undergraduate levels.

These changes are already having a noticeable impact. Female students at the university now comprise 27 percent of the total enrollment of 7,000, in comparison with about 15 percent before the Transformation Programme was put in place. In some departments, increases in the number of female stu-

G*iven the odds against them, the fact that these young come from families of modest means—even made it as far as the university*

regular admission to the university.

Given the odds against them, the fact that these young women—most of whom come from families of modest means—even made it as far as the university level is a major feat. For many of them, from the time they reached school age, the path to education was blocked by poverty, a lack of resources and by cultural attitudes holding that education is wasted on girls because their ultimate place in society is as a wife and mother. Traditional practices such as marriage at an early age and discrimination against unmarried pregnant teens (once a young girl gets pregnant she often is required to quit school) all serve to push girls out of the education system early. For many girls, even if they are allowed to go to school, attitudes about “a girl's place” and her “duties” may require attention to housework and child care that leaves little time for studying.

Another, equally daunting barrier is that there simply are not enough school placements for students in general, which results in severe overcrowding and competition between boys and girls

“many African girls and young women never even get the option of trying to explore their potential.”

In an attempt to create new educational pathways for women, since 1993 the University of Dar es Salaam has been revamping its policies and programs to help boost female enrollment and to improve opportunities for women throughout the university system, all part of what it calls its “Transformation Programme.”

The Faculty of Science's Pre-Entry Program is one of the initiatives launched in conjunction with this endeavor. Others include a university-wide affirmative action program aimed at female students and the creation of a faculty task force to examine a broad spectrum of gender-related issues at the university.

The underlying intent of the University of Dar es Salaam's Transformation Programme—its first-ever attempt to create a comprehensive operating blueprint—is to frame a strategic vision for the university that it can follow well into the 21st century. In grappling with

students have been dramatic: in the 2000-2001 academic years, the enrollment of women in the Faculty of Arts increased from 13 to 51 percent; in Law, it's up from 28 to 48 percent; and in the Faculty of Medicine, enrollment has risen from 8 to 25 percent. In many of the science-based faculties, however, the same types of gains for women have not been realized.

At Makerere University, efforts to address gender imbalances have been underway since 1990. That was the year that the university implemented a government-initiated affirmative action decree designed to promote girls' access to education at all levels; for Makerere, this meant the decision to institute an admissions policy that was supportive of women, similar to the system being used at Dar es Salaam. And, after more than a decade of internal debate on the subject, in 1991 Makerere also took the bold step of confirming its seriousness about addressing concerns related to women, gender and development by granting approval for the establishment of the Department of Women and Gender

Studies—the first degree-granting women’s studies department at a university in sub-Saharan Africa. The university also established a Gender Mainstreaming Project, with the mission of exploring concerns and raising awareness about gender issues throughout the university system and eventually developing new gender-sensitive policies. At Makerere, women now account for about 35 percent of the university’s nearly 17,000 students—up from 24 percent in 1989, the first year that the university began tracking this figure.

Changes taking place at these two

all their people, including women, who make up more than 50 percent of the continent’s population. Pressure from bilateral funders that are also concerned with gender equity—such as the Scandinavian nations and the U.S. Agency for International Development—has also had a significant effect.

While national governments may, in principle, be supportive of gender-based educational initiatives, the reality is that

ing closely with them to develop effective programs.” To date, these have included scholarships designed to increase women’s access to undergraduate education, efforts to mainstream gender programs within universities and promoting research into the roots of gender inequity at African universities.

Implementing these programs and revising policies to be more attuned to gender-sensitive issues has not been

women—most of whom level is a major feat.

universities are reflective of an intensified focus on the status of African women socially and educationally, as well as on their economic contribution to the development of their countries. (Perhaps the only continent-wide issue that is receiving more attention than education is the growing AIDS epidemic.) On an international level, interest in women’s issues can be traced, at least in part, from the awareness generated by more than two decades of international campaigns and conferences such as the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), the 1985 Third World Conference and the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in, respectively, Nairobi, Kenya and Beijing, China, which put the spotlight on conditions affecting women throughout the developing world. In Africa, efforts to improve women’s status, particularly in the area of education, have been shaped around a growing understanding that in order for the African continent to keep pace with and even prosper in an increasingly globalized marketplace, nations will have to draw on the skills of



WILMA JEAN EMANUEL RANDE, 2001

Neema Omari and Eva Stesheni, first year students at the University of Dar es Salaam.

few African countries have the financial resources to support and sustain major programs in this area. Recognizing this fact, Carnegie Corporation of New York has included a focus on women’s participation in higher education as an important part of its program strategy aimed at strengthening African universities. “Our investment in African universities,” explains Andrea Johnson, a program officer in the Corporation’s International Development Program, “takes the form of an institutional strengthening approach that integrates the foundation’s concern with women’s education. The Corporation has identified a few universities that are engaged in self-directed innovation or reform,” Johnson continues, “and we are work-

easy, even at institutions such as Dar es Salaam and Makerere, where there is a commitment to change. At Makerere, for example, even the name of its pioneering women’s studies department was a battle, with some advocating for “Women’s Studies” and others determined to see the department dubbed “Gender Studies” as a way of acknowledging its charge to address concerns relating to both men and women.

Women faculty members who had lobbied long and hard for the department’s creation were having none of that, recalls Florence Ebila, a professor of literature at Makerere. “We said that we couldn’t just create a gender studies department because we didn’t feel that women’s issues had been addressed.”

Finally, she explains, a compromise was reached, and the department is now called “Women and Gender Studies.”

At the University of Dar es Salaam, proposed changes triggered a major internal debate, reports M.H. Nkuyana, the university’s chief academic officer. “When we talked about developing a strategic plan for the university’s future, the majority of the faculty were against it,” he says. “Some said that because this

relates to female students. This has also led to more open discussion about gender bias, sexual harassment and other issues that may negatively affect young women’s ability to fully participate in campus life. While the University of Dar es Salaam and Makerere University each have implemented written policies against sexual harassment and have created programs designed to offer counseling and support to students on gender-

gram, he explains that his experiences at the university have given him a new appreciation of the complexities of gender-related matters. Now, he says, when he graduates, he hopes to be able to work on issues involving gender and national development.

Still, not everyone is convinced that focusing so much attention on creating a better educational environment in universities—for men and women—is the most important thing to worry about when the perception in most African countries is that only the elite will have access to higher education.

“For the sake of Africa’s is not an option—it’s a

There is also a concern that needed resources will be expended on improving universities when education in the lower grades is also in dire need of improvement.

A recently completed Ford Foundation study entitled *The Education Pipeline in East Africa*, which examined the link between the elementary grades and university education in three East African countries—Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania—reported troubling findings that speak to conditions affecting many other African nations, as well. Among the study’s conclusions are the fact that the education pipeline in East Africa is deeply inequitable and of extremely poor quality; that government commitments to provide “education for all” have not been met; that educational opportunity in the three countries is highly stratified; that decent schooling is increasingly the preserve of a small elite and that education reinforces and intensifies existing disparities in society. The report sums up this state of affairs as unacceptable on its own terms and as seriously detrimental to the realization



WILMA JEAN EMANUEL-RANDLE, 2001

Students in the Pre-Entry Science Program at University of Dar es Salaam.

is an academic institution, not a company, there was no need for what they viewed as a corporate strategic plan. But people like our Vice Chancellor and some other key staff members didn’t let the opposition discourage them. Now, as things have turned out, everyone is very supportive of the plan. “But,” he says, “in the beginning it was very, very difficult.” The strategic plan, approved in 1994, also turned out to be an important victory for university staff concerned with gender equity because issues relating to promoting women’s education were an integral part of the overall plan.

At both universities, the focus on women has resulted in a closer examination of the overall quality of life at the university and its environment, as it

related issues, discrimination is still a concern, even if it is often manifested in ways that are not as blatant as in the past.

Problems in this area often stem from ideas about what is still considered culturally “acceptable,” even in a university setting. For instance, in many African societies, women are encouraged to be quiet and reserved, so a talkative and assertive female student might find herself being ridiculed by her male counterparts. In addition, “Some men feel that there is too much attention being placed on women’s problems, and that women are being given unfair advantages,” says John Paul Agaba, a second-year student at Makerere. But as one of several young men now majoring in the Women and Gender Studies pro-

of basic national development, human rights, social cohesion and democracy.

The significance of the situation for higher education is also clear. Consultation findings and research evidence confirm that the quality, equity, performance and effectiveness of higher education are inextricably bound to the condition of the pipeline. Because this connection is so robust, as one discussant involved in the Ford study put it, “many of the intractable problems facing higher education have their roots and solutions way down the pipeline.” The dilemma for both governments and fun-

which, led by the World Bank and UNESCO and a variety of international organizations, is pushing for governments to adopt new programs that will ensure universal access to primary education by the year 2015. It’s a target date that even many supporters of the concept doubt will be achieved and even if it is, critics say it will have little impact if overall changes in educational systems are not made.

The effort to achieve greater access education is not new to Africa: in the early 1970s, for example, under its former president, Julius K. Nyerere,

And there are other problems: many children can’t go to school simply because their parents cannot afford to send them. The situation has been exacerbated by “structural adjustment programs” aimed at reducing loan payments that the governments of sub-Saharan African nations, faced by mounting international debt, began instituting in the mid-1970s; these programs included severe cuts in spending on social service supports in areas such as health and education. Countries began to introduce “cost-sharing” schemes that called for parents

future, having quality learning opportunities all across the board necessity.” M.H. NKUYANA—*Chief Academic Officer, Makerere University*

ders is to create a balance between the needs of education at all levels and find equitable ways to allocate insufficient resources so they can be used effectively up and down the educational pipeline.

M.H. Nkuyana of the University of Dar es Salaam agrees. “The issue of education has to be addressed at all levels,” he points out. “For the sake of Africa’s future, having quality learning opportunities all across the board is not an option—it’s a necessity.”

But even just getting young children into the education pipeline can be difficult. According to UNESCO figures, around the world there are 113 million primary-school-age children who don’t go to school; estimates are that some 60 percent of these children are girls. In sub-Saharan Africa alone, there are 42 million children who don’t attend school, and to make matters worse, on the African continent, more than half of those who do start school drop out before completing the fifth grade—again, most of them girls.

Currently, there is a global effort underway called “Education for All”

Tanzania instituted a literacy campaign aimed at combating what Nyerere called the “unholy trinity” of “ignorance, hunger and disease.” This campaign resulted in significant increases in literacy among men and women and in more girls going to school. A similar primary education initiative launched in Uganda in the 1990s triggered increases in primary school enrollment to more than 6.7 million children, up from a low of about 2.7 million.

What was lacking, though, was the funding needed to help the education systems meet the challenges posed by these initiatives, which resulted in added strains being placed on already over-taxed and poor quality schools. Says one Ugandan teacher. “So we have 6.7 million children enrolled in schools; what kind of progress is that when you have the same number of teachers, the same number of classrooms? Right now, you’ve got primary classes in Kampala with 180 kids in each class—that’s not education. If ‘Education for All’ just means getting kids into the classroom, that’s not progress.”

to bear much of the financial burden of their children’s education. The rising costs of civil wars and military actions also drained national budgets, leaving little to spend on providing educational opportunities for young children.

In most countries, university education used to be free. Across the continent, admission to public universities was based on highly competitive test scores, but the various educational systems did allow for even those from the poorest families to attend institutions of higher education. Today, however, while at many government-sponsored universities tuition remains free, students must pay for others costs—school fees, books and other materials as well as, increasingly, Internet access—which many families cannot afford, even with government loan programs that have been recently introduced.

Commenting on this dilemma, Narciso Matos, Chair of the Corporation’s International Development Program says, “African governments and societies face very difficult choices: as demand for higher education increases,

access falls ever shorter because of a lack of resources. Yet at the same time, there's general recognition that poverty cannot be alleviated and socioeconomic progress stimulated without an educated population, including a cadre of university-trained women and men." He goes on to say, "What this means for public universities is that to regain academic quality and social relevance, it seems that there is no alternative to students and parents sharing the costs of education with government."

It is perhaps ironic, then, that the problems facing public universities such as Makerere and Dar es Salaam are creating opportunities for private universities, which are beginning to be viewed as offering a viable alternative for higher education in ways that they previously were not—at least for those who can afford the fees. Despite the high cost, many are finding ways to take advantage of this new educational opportunity. "I think parents choose us because of the problems at government schools—the overcrowding, the teaching quality, the frequent strikes and general concerns about campus security," says Frieda Brown, vice chancellor at the United States International University in Nairobi, which is one of the fastest growing private universities in Kenya. "In the past," she explains, "private universities had a negative image because public universities attracted all the top students. But that's starting to change." Taking note of the trend, the Ford Foundation is conducting a study on the growth of private universities in Kenya.

How will public universities fare in this increasingly competitive environment? One answer comes from Consolata Kabonesa of the Department of Women and Gender Studies at Makerere University. "The real challenge is for us to continue to build on the progress we've made,"

she says. "It's not enough to just increase women's enrollment. We now have to address issues of retention and also make sure that women can afford to come here." In July of 2001, with help from Carnegie Corporation of New York, the university launched its first-ever scholarship program for undergraduate women. "With this program," says Kabonesa, "we hope to bring in about 50 new female students a year."

Those women who do find a way to continue their education at the university level may find, like Barabara Wakooli, that it has made all the difference in their lives. Wakooli, who comes from a large, extended and polygamous family, defied her mother's wishes that she submit to an arranged marriage at 15. Instead, she battled to continue her schooling. "For a long time," she says, "my mother would not let me sleep at home because she said I would be a negative influence on the other children because of my disobedience. But my mother is now very proud of me." And she reports that her younger sister is also attending secondary school. As for her future, she says, "I see myself becoming a philosopher and perhaps teaching at the university level. I'd also like to write about human rights, particularly addressing women's rights in society."

Wakooli is representative of many of her fellow students at Makerere and of those in the Pre-Entry Program for women at the University of Dar es Salaam. For them and other women like them who are blazing this new path, the opportunities that education has opened up cannot be underestimated. Many in the Pre-Entry Program plan to become science teachers. Their success has become a source of pride for their families. And when they complete their studies, each will be the first person in her family to have ever attended and graduated from a university. ■

In sub-Saharan Africa, one of the strongest advocates for girls' education is the Nairobi-based Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE). Founded in 1992, it has developed a powerful network of top women government education ministers and women educators from across the sub-Saharan region who work along with the organization's 33 national chapters in 33 countries, as well as with other nongovernmental agencies, to promote awareness of the importance of providing educational access and opportunities for girls in the region.

FAWE has been particularly visible

FAWE Cent

in promoting primary and secondary school education, but, according to Penina Mlama, the organization's executive director, "We are also involved in higher education. We have a committee of university vice-chancellors who meet to address the issues," which, she explains, include efforts to expand the availability of higher education for women as well as support their success.

From the beginning, FAWE's strategy has been to approach the problem of increasing girls' participation in higher education from a number of different directions. At the governmental level, it lobbies for implementation of policies, including school curricula that support girls' education. At the primary and secondary school level, the organization works to increase girls' enrollment and, through some of its chapters, offers scholarship assistance to enable young women to continue their education. Parent and teacher training workshops sponsored by FAWE also help raises awareness about

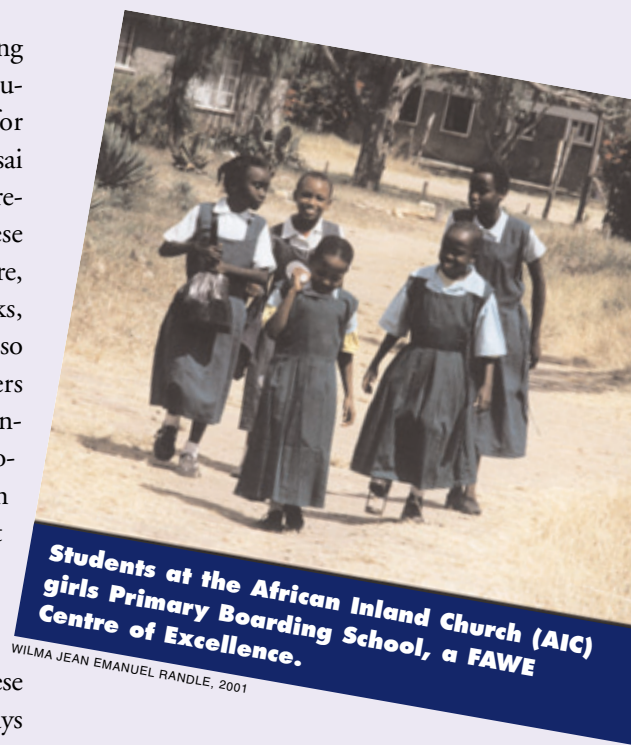
the need to provide educational opportunities for girls and young women. And by working directly with students through its Role Model Program, FAWE helps girls to interact with women who have completed their education and gone on to successful careers.

Recently, the organization has embarked on what is perhaps its boldest effort to date—a new project called “FAWE Centres of Excellence”—that aims to provide more hands-on involvement at selected primary and secondary schools in rural areas by addressing specific problems hindering girls’ access to school and to a quality education.

The goal of the effort, says Mlama, is to accelerate “the creation of enabling environments,”

which is not only focusing on improving the quality of education it offers to its students but is also providing shelter for some two dozen young girls of the Massai tribe who have been “rescued” from pre-arranged early marriages. Some of these girls are as young as nine years old. Here, FAWE has not only brought in books, library materials and computers, but also helped to construct living quarters because many of these “rescued girls” cannot go home again. “Since they have broken with their family’s wishes for them to marry, many of the families do not want them back,” explains Priscilla Nangurai, school headmistress for the past 22 years who is also Massai.

“When we first started helping these girls, we made many people angry,” says



ering on Excellence

meaning school environments where students have the means as well as the will to learn and excel. Her hope, Mlama says, “is that these schools will serve as models of effective strategies aimed at enhancing girls’ education.” As part of the project, participating schools will benefit from an infusion of materials and support such as new textbooks and library materials, as well as access to computers and new technologies. And where necessary, even the schools infrastructure will be rehabilitated and improved through the construction of student dormitories and new classrooms.

The first three schools to be developed as Centres of Excellence, one each in Kenya, Tanzania and Rwanda, were named in 1999 with support from Carnegie Corporation of New York. The program created for each school targets a problem specific to its community. For example, in Kenya, the Centre of Excellence is the African Inland Church (AIC) Girls Boarding Primary School,

Nangurai. But while the practice of early marriage still continues, Nangurai is sure that the combined efforts of FAWE and the school to increase understanding about the need for girls to get an education are making a difference. “We are beginning to see a change in attitude in the communities surrounding our school,” she says. “More and more girls are attending school with their parents’ blessing. And most of the rescued girls who are coming to us now are from outside this area.”

Helen Nkaisserly, FAWE’s coordinator for the AIC school, is herself a graduate of AIC; she is also a former high school teacher and a Massai. She says that, “The school’s program is making education available to girls who otherwise might never have had any educational opportunities at all. It’s also helping to instill in them the importance of education and the vision to want to go further. That’s exactly the result we’ve been striving for.”

Penina Mlama agrees. Creating an open pathway for girls to participate in primary and secondary education, and to do well, is a first, crucial step toward a promising future for women’s education in Africa. “The reality,” says Mlama “is that you have to focus on all levels of education. Unless there are girls in school and excelling in the lower grades, we will not have girls who are ready for university in the future.”

It’s a daunting challenge, and one that sometimes has to be met one student at a time. But success is more than just a hope—it’s already in sight. Even among the “rescued” Massai girls at the AIC school, most go on to secondary school and some, to universities. What Penina Mlama and Helen Nkaisserly and all the other parents, teachers, educators and policymakers involved with FAWE are working for is the day when that is not a remarkable story but just the general rule for girls and young women all across Africa. ■

Early Childhood Education

by
MICHAEL
DE COURCY HINDS

DISTANCE LEARNING FOR TEACHERS ADDS A NEW DIMENSION

New ways for teachers to learn may add up to better education for young children.

Once upon a time, children had to be six years old before they started school. Younger children had to pass their time in “child-care centers” with “caregivers.” Back then, people thought the centers were just for baby-sitting and didn’t need much money. But that meant nice caregivers were always leaving for better-paid jobs. It also meant that most centers didn’t have enough fun stuff like paper and paint, books, games and computers. Imagine what it was like for children, especially poor children who didn’t have much fun stuff at home, either. Then, all of a sudden, things began to change. Grown-ups discovered that babies are eager to learn language and toddlers think reading, math and science are really neat. Around that time, child-care centers became “care-and-education centers” that encouraged all children to learn amazing things while they play. That was also when

people discovered that caregivers were really teachers who needed to be trained like teachers and paid like teachers so they can stay with the children. Everyone, especially children from poor families, lived more happily ever after.

Apart from the fairy-tale ending, this is the unfolding story of America’s revolution in early education and its nascent preschool reform movement. As a nation, we are still in the olden days. Only since the 1990s have Americans begun to appreciate young children’s phenomenal, and largely untapped, capacity to learn. In fact, it is

Michael deCourcy Hinds is the Corporation’s chief writer. Previously, he was a national correspondent for The New York Times and he also wrote citizens’ guides to social issues at Public Agenda, a nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy research organization.

•
ion



A HeadsUp! distance learning session begins.

still news to most Americans that infants and toddlers are budding linguists, scientists and mathematicians. The research is both exciting and unsettling as it starkly reveals the vast gulf between the kind of early care and education that promotes love of learning and success in school and life—and the way America warehouses

are sufficiently up to speed on the recent research to have incorporated it in their courses. Short workshops and conferences that are typically used for professional development cannot do justice to the material. And, because the research is so new and preschool budgets are so small, educational publishers

\$6.2 billion budget for 2001.

As a result of its policies and tuition assistance programs over the years, 90 percent of its staff have degrees in early childhood education or have obtained a Child Development Associate credential or a state certificate to teach in a preschool classroom; 41 percent of its head teachers have an associate's or a bachelor's degree in early childhood development or a related field. In 1998, Congress recognized the need for better educated preschool teachers and mandated that at least 50 percent of Head Start teachers must have a two- or four-year degree by 2003. All Head Start teachers also need training in the new research-based teaching methods, but most will have to wait for schools of education to catch up, says



A distance learning session for teachers in Cincinnati, Ohio.

BRUCE CRIPPEN FOR RISE LEARNING SOLUTIONS

most children in mediocre centers.

Growing awareness of the research, though, has begun to build momentum for preschool reform. The term refers to substantial improvements in the care and education of millions of preschoolers as well as the expansion of quality programs to millions of other poor and underserved children. Universal preschool, say some, is as inevitable as its timing is uncertain. Today, the greatest part of the educational challenge is bringing caregivers into the teaching profession.

Never mind the costs for now, the logistics alone are daunting: Three million caregivers and preschool teachers need training in child development and the latest research-based methods for nurturing young children's intellectual growth. But few community colleges or university-based schools of education

have not rushed to develop comprehensive curricula that would give preschool teachers a step-by-step guide.

A Pioneering Effort Suggests the Scope of the Challenge

The revolution in early education presents quite a challenge for Head Start, the federal preschool program that has a staff of 180,000 in 18,200 centers for approximately 860,000 children around the country. But Head Start has long been a leader in teacher training, largely because of its policy of recruiting one-in-three staff members from its own community of parents with low-incomes and limited education. The program consistently allocates two percent of its budget for teacher training and technical assistance; that works out to be \$130 million of the

Tom Schultz, director of Head Start's Program Support Division. "We are in the middle of a sea change in the early education field," he says. "As the new research is absorbed in colleges and universities, Head Start programs can take advantage of it."

To accelerate this process, the National Head Start Association, an independent organization that works to improve Head Start, came up with a high-tech plan—one that might serve as a model for providing professional development training not only for preschool teachers but for those teaching K-12 grades, as well.

The plan: Have scholars share their research and new teaching techniques directly with the nation's caregivers and preschool teachers using satellite television, the Internet and locally trained facilitators. In other words, provide pre-K teachers with a distance-learning curriculum. The program starts with a 44-hour course on new research on literacy and teaching strategies to develop children's language and pre-literacy

skills. In subsequent years, the distance-learning program—called the *HeadsUp! Network*—can offer similar courses in teaching preschool math, science and other topics such as nurturing preschoolers' social and emotional development and teaching young children with disabilities.

"We set up the network to provide unified training to a national audience so that everybody would get the same information," says Sarah M. Greene, the association's president and chief executive officer. Support for the distance-learning project has come from a growing number of states and foundations, including The Heinz Endowments, The KnowledgeWorks Foundation, AT&T and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

tional consulting firm, using "e-learning" for the periodic training of its 77,000 employees in 83 countries.

Distance learning has also made major inroads in the K-12 grades, both for teachers' professional development and for use in their classrooms. Since 1991, the Annenberg/CPB Channel has been offering professional development workshops in most academic subjects; some of the support materials are now available on its web site (www.learner.org). Designed to improve K-12 teaching, the distance education project grew out of a college-level distance learning television program that was started in 1981 by the philanthropist Walter H. Annenberg and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. In 1988,

offering its professional development program in literacy last year, it became one of the country's largest distance learning programs. It reached up to 6,000 caregivers and teachers at 2,000 centers. In addition, more than 70 colleges offer the program for credit towards an associate's or bachelor's degree in early childhood development or education. Any organization—be it a child-care center or children's library—can receive the distance learning program and share it with teachers, librarians, parents and anyone else interested in children's education. Participating organizations must pay a monthly subscription fee of \$75, install a \$250 satellite dish to receive the televised program and have access to the Internet to follow

Foundations are particularly interested in the *HeadsUp! Network* as a promising model for strengthening professional development programs for all teachers, from pre-K through 12th grade, says Michael H. Levine, executive director of the I Am Your Child Foundation and, until earlier this year, deputy chair and senior program officer in Carnegie's Education Division. "The potential reach and cost effectiveness of this type of program is very significant," he says.

Distance learning has been around in one form or another since the late 1800s when students at the University of Wisconsin were allowed to take history courses by corresponding with a professor. Today, more than 1,600 institutions offer more than 54,000 courses that rely, wholly or in part, on the Internet, according to the United States Distance Learning Association, a trade group in an industry that is estimated to reach \$12 billion in annual sales by 2003. Corporations have made the most use of distance learning, with companies like Anderson, an interna-

the U.S. Department of Education began supporting distance learning programs for K-12 students in rural schools. The program, called Star Schools, now provides instructional programming in dozens of subjects, ranging from algebra to Swahili, and it reaches 1.6 million students a year in all 50 states.

Research indicates that student achievement is essentially the same in both distance learning courses and traditional classroom courses. The one significant difference is that more students drop out of distance learning programs than traditional courses. Those who complete the courses tend to like the high-tech format, but those who quit cite feelings of isolation and complain about the faster pace of online courses and, of course, technical difficulties. A 1999 study at an Illinois community college illustrates the attrition problem. It found that 64 percent of the students completed distance education courses compared with 83 percent who completed traditional classroom courses.

When the *HeadsUp! Network* began

the course on line.

Four states—Ohio, Pennsylvania, California and Nebraska—initially signed on as network sponsors and two others—Illinois and Missouri—joined this year; more are expected to join. By this fall, there could be up to 3,000 participating organizations. "At that point, we would have enough subscribers to be financially viable," says Libby Doggett, a *HeadsUp! Reading* project manager. She says the program should reach 12,000 child-care workers in 2001-2002, and 20,000 in 2002-2003.

Every Wednesday night during school year 2000-2001, a satellite orbiting more than 22,000 miles above the Equator sent the network's first professional development course, called *HeadsUp! Reading*, to child-care workers in public and private child-care centers and in colleges around the country. The two-hour program, which will be refined and offered again this year, has a breezy talk-show format with literacy experts presenting the latest research and showing video clips from class-

rooms to illustrate strategies for applying the research. And unlike many distance-learning programs, which involve individual students sitting in front of their home computers, the *HeadsUp! Network* sends its live broadcasts to groups of child-care workers and students gathered at child-care centers and in college classrooms. Viewers can call in questions during part of the program and a trained facilitator, usually a local college professor, leads discussions at

to take notes and follow the TV program in silence. “We try to accommodate everyone’s learning style,” explains Trube, who popped back and forth between the rooms, discussing homework assignments and technical problems (handouts for that night’s program weren’t available because the *HeadsUp! Reading* web site, www.huronline.org, had been down all day).

Then it was showtime, as “Class 19: Third Session on Reading,” came alive

“Yes,” Walters chimed in, “there is so much children can get from books, beginning from birth throughout life. It’s important that they have a good selection that reflects what the world is like, the people in the world, the kinds of things that happen in the world where we live.”

Picking up speed as it moved along, Class 19 focused on strategies for selecting high-quality, developmentally and culturally appropriate books. Translating

each site before and after the program and during several breaks.

Formal evaluations are underway, but a preliminary snapshot of the program’s impact, conducted by the Center for the Improvement of Early Reading Achievement, reported that the program produced significant knowledge and performance gains among teachers in early literacy education. Even before those results were announced, in southern Ohio, in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains, *HeadsUp! Reading* was already a big hit according to the reviews of many Head Start teachers and the program’s local facilitator, Barbara Trube. An educator with much experience in Head Start programs and elementary school, Trube is an assistant professor in the Department of Education at Shawnee State University in Portsmouth. “The teachers are so excited about what they are doing in *HeadsUp! Reading*, especially when they see that the children are learning more,” says Trube, who also incorporates the program into her education courses.

A few minutes before 7 p.m. on a Wednesday last spring, Trube began ushering a dozen veteran preschool teachers and a few college students into two conference rooms—one for “talkers” who like to share ideas during the telecast and one for “writers” who like

on a large, wall-mounted television set. “Hello everyone and welcome to *HeadsUp! Reading*,” said Mike Rutherford, the program’s host. He introduced that night’s two faculty members: Jerlean E. Daniel, associate professor in the School of Education at the University of Pittsburgh and a past president of the National Association for the Education of Young Children, and Toni S. Walters, professor in reading and language arts at the School of Education at Oakland University in Michigan and the author of several books on teaching reading.

Because of the wide differences in the educational backgrounds of child-care workers and preschool teachers, *HeadsUp! Reading* avoids educational lingo and presents information in a simple, but sophisticated manner that takes very little knowledge for granted. “Jeri and Toni, why is it important for teachers to think about books themselves, the actual items, rather than just teaching reading?” Rutherford asked, early in the program. “Well, you know Mike, all books are not created equal—there is some real trash out there and there are some high-quality books,” replied Daniel. “And so, as teachers, we have to be highly intentional and careful about the selections. Toni, I know you’ve got some ideas on this as well.”

“We need to make the same kind of investment in early education that we do in higher education.”

—ANNE MITCHELL, *President, Early Childhood Policy Research*



theory into practice, the program featured several charming video clips of preschoolers taking a class trip to a public library in Cincinnati, Ohio.

On this particular night in Portsmouth, Ohio, the television program was followed by presentations of posters, maps and books that the preschool teachers had done as homework. There was no formal discussion of that night’s television program, but several teachers said they had picked up some good ideas and others said they planned to take a taped copy of the program home



"We've recognized that children need to be challenged with ideas and learning." —SUSAN B. NEUMAN, Assistant U.S. Secretary of Education

for a second viewing.

The library program had a big impact on Terri Will, one of many Head Start teachers who took the course for credit toward an associate's degree. Like many of her colleagues, Will is a high-school graduate whose first contact with Head Start was as a low-income parent with three of her four children in the Portsmouth program. That was a dozen years ago, and her initial volunteer work evolved into a paid job as a bus driver and as an assistant teacher, after she obtained a one-year certificate in early childhood development. Now 45, she continues to do both jobs, earning about \$12 an hour.

"I'm almost ashamed to admit it," she said in an interview several weeks after the class on reading, books and libraries. "I used to take all 20 of my kids to the library, sit them on the floor and expect them all to pay attention to my reading four or five small books. But they couldn't see the print or appreciate the pictures! Naturally they wiggled and misbehaved and wondered

what everyone else was doing. Looking back on that now, it seems so primitive! It didn't work at all, but that was the way it was done. I feel like I had blinders on because I was mostly concerned that they sat quietly and behaved—their behavior was more of a concern than the actual books. I didn't realize how impressive the library could be to them, how books could be so important at this time in their lives. I see that differently now."

Will now uses the library more creatively. "I take the children through the stacks and ask about their favorite things that they want to read about. The library has books on all their interests from airplanes to bumblebees to books on divorce and dying. Now, I also choose really large, colorful books, some with pop-up illustrations and flaps, to read out loud. I read to only three or four children at a time and I ask questions about the story and the pictures. I find that the children automatically behave when they are interested in the books and when I'm inter-

ested in the books. The whole quality of my reading has gone up 150 percent!"

Will said that the 22-week *Heads-Up! Reading* course had made her a better teacher and made her feel more professional. It strengthened her confidence, she said, by validating some of her own teaching methods. The course made her realize the importance of structured language and literacy lessons, and how they could be seamlessly woven into every part of the children's day.

Very Young and Eager to Learn

Terri Will and her Head Start colleagues are pioneers on the new frontier of education. Brain research, which has been widely publicized (and oversimplified) since the early 1990s, opened the nation's eyes to the intellectually fertile preschool years. Studies on child development and education, including some that had sat on shelves for years, suddenly gained wider readership and influence.

Researchers tell us that children start thinking in complex ways just weeks after birth, not when they enter kindergarten or first grade, as previously assumed. The human species, it seems, has an innate ability for learning language, math and science—a proclivity that can be nourished or starved, with predictable results. Four-month-old babies rapidly learn to distinguish between similar sounds like "ba" and "pa," and they suck and wiggle with excitement and attentiveness when learning new sounds. Infants can also tell when one pile of objects is larger than another, and they recognize the difference between adding objects and subtracting them from the piles. When toddlers play on their own with specially weighted blocks, they develop hypotheses about the blocks' center of gravity and solutions for balancing them. As they walk up and down a ramp,

preschoolers tend to think like physicists, making observations and predictions about motion. Not only are toddlers eager to learn about dinosaurs, they enjoy sorting toy ones into categories that include diet, habitat and behavior.

The research clearly demonstrates the need for responsive teachers and enriched learning environments, where fun and games are designed to lead chil-

to lesson plans, learning units and teaching strategies with impressive results. But as yet there are no comprehensive curricula to guide preschool teachers. What is needed, according to a 2001 report called *Eager to Learn: Educating our Preschoolers*, done for the National Research Council, is “curricula that encourages children to reflect, predict, question, and hypothesize, set-

dren through a structured learning process. Responding in kind to babies’ coos and clucks, and encouraging them to mouth sounds in front of a mirror turn out to be very valuable lessons: One study indicates that the earlier babies babble fluently, the earlier that they reach every other milestone in acquiring language.

In just the last four years, ideas about applying this new understanding of children’s early development to classroom practices have begun flowing out of consensus-building conferences, commissions and expert panels. “We’ve recognized that children need to be challenged with ideas, with learning—and that is very, very new, believe it or not,” says Susan B. Neuman, an expert in children’s literacy who recently joined the Bush Administration as Assistant Secretary of Education for Elementary and Secondary Education. “We need to prepare children to think conceptually,” she adds, “not just teach them numbers and shapes, but teach them about measurement and size so they can build a connection between the abstract symbols and what they see in the world.”

The terms daycare and preschool once distinguished between full-day custodial care and half-day programs that had more of an academic focus. Now, as education is expected in all programs, the terms are used interchangeably.

Currently, research is being applied

ting them on course for effective, engaged learning.”

In describing the magnitude of the preschool reform opportunity—and its challenge—Anne Mitchell, president of Early Childhood Policy Research, says: “We need to make the same kind of investment in early education that we do in higher education. We all know that going to college makes a huge difference. The same is true with early childhood education.”

Child-care Centers Today: Mostly Parking Lots for Kids

As research keeps raising the bar on what children need to thrive in preschool, the nation’s child-care programs look worse and worse. Only one-in-eight child-care centers was considered good-to-excellent in a recent study. Most were ranked as mediocre-to-poor, and some even provided less than the minimal care necessary to safeguard children’s health, safety and development. Infants and toddlers tend to be the most neglected, with 40 percent of their programs providing less than minimal services in a four-state survey in 1995. More than one-third of family-based child-care services put the children’s well-being in jeopardy, and only one-in-eleven of these programs was considered good, researchers said in 1994. Unfortunately, the children who are most in need of an enriching mix of



Children need a curricula “that encourages them to reflect, predict, question and hypothesize.”
— National Research Council

care and education—those from low-income families—tend to be enrolled in lower-quality programs from birth.

Most programs operate on shoestring budgets, in part, because many states have not raised their reimbursement rates for years and, in part, because families can’t pay the higher fees that are needed to sustain high-quality private programs. A 1998 survey of urban child-care costs by the Children’s Defense Fund found that the average costs for four-year-olds in child-care centers exceeded \$3,000, rising to more than \$5,000 per child in 17 states. In 15 states, child-care costs were more than the annual tuition at a public college. The Census Bureau reports that one-out-of-three families with young children earns less than \$25,000 a year; if both parents work full time at the minimum wage, their income is about \$21,400 a year.

Not only does inadequate public funding contribute to the poor quality of child-care programs, inadequate state standards for caregivers and preschool teachers encourages mediocrity. To put the situation in perspective, hairdressers

in more than 40 states are required to have between 1,000 and 2,100 hours of training at an accredited school to obtain a license, yet most states only require that professional child-caregivers and teachers be high school graduates. A 2000 study done at Wheelock College reports that most states do not require any pre-service training in child development for caregivers and teachers. State

ment of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, child-care workers earn an average of \$7.42 an hour, or about the same as parking lot attendants; preschool teachers earn an average of \$9.43 an hour, or about \$3 an hour less than the average animal trainer. Kindergarten teachers, by comparison, earn an average of \$24.51 an hour.

Not surprisingly, child-care centers

ers and nine centers reported losing all of their master teachers. Turnover among child-care staff is a particular problem for young children, as research indicates that their ability to learn is diminished when they lack strong and stable attachments to their teachers.

“The question of who will teach our children is as pressing at the preschool level, if not more so, as for higher

“Looking to the future, there can be little doubt that the U.S. is on its way to universal, voluntary preschool attendance.”
—National Research Council



requirements for annual in-service professional development training for staff are also minimal—ranging from zero hours in Michigan to 24 hours in Maine.

Because caregivers are teachers, they should have a bachelor’s degree in early childhood education, according to the National Research Association, an operating arm of the National Academy of Sciences. Research has closely linked program quality to teaching quality—and that is directly related to the level of the teachers’ own education.

College graduates, however, have little economic incentive to work in preschool. According to the U.S. Depart-

throughout the country report staggering turnover rates that range between 30 and 40 percent a year, according to the Center for the Child Care Workforce, an advocacy organization in Washington, D.C. In a recent study, done with the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California at Berkeley and funded by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, the center analyzed turnover rates in 75 child-care centers in California. The average turnover rate of the centers was 30 percent, but that masked much higher rates in individual centers. In one year, six centers reported losing all of their assistant teach-

grades,” says Marcy Whitebook, the study’s director and a senior researcher at the Institute of Industrial Relations. “Without a skilled and stable workforce, efforts to provide growth-enhancing experiences for children are severely constrained. Compensation for those who care for young children must be increased dramatically and quickly.”

Preschool Reform: Moving Beyond Lip Service

Even before the latest research, of course, the benefits of enriching preschool programs like Head Start for children of poor families were widely known—and almost as widely ignored. In general, the nation has been long on lip service to children’s needs and short on cash for their programs. The Congressional Budget Office reports, for example, that federal spending on all programs for children in the mid-1990s was about one-fifth of the spending on programs for people 65 and older—even though poverty affected twice as many children as older Americans.

At the moment, preschool reform has grabbed the political spotlight, if not the public budget. During the presidential campaign last year, George W. Bush repeatedly promised to “leave no child behind,” borrowing a trademarked slogan from the mission statement of the Children’s Defense Fund (CDF).

Yet after President Bush introduced

his first budget, Marian Wright Edelman, CDF's founder and president, criticized the budget for leaving many children behind. She noted, among other things, that the Bush budget cut \$220 million from programs that provide care and education for young children and that the budget also abandoned the goal of enrolling one million children in Head Start preschool programs by 2002. Currently, Head Start serves 860,000 3- to-5-year-old children from families living below the federal poverty level, or

jobs average 20 hours a week in daycare.

Since 1990, when the percentage of America's children in daycare passed the halfway mark, the cultural debate about daycare versus maternal care became moot. "Child-care research has moved from asking whether child-care is detrimental to attempting to understand how variations in quality affect children's development," notes a study done at Mathematica Policy Research in 1996.

For children from low-income families, in particular, the long-term bene-

prehension, a deficit that undermines their ability to learn anything in school.

Preschool reform, which includes open access to preschool programs, promises to narrow this intransigent achievement gap between affluent and poor children—a gap that is widening along with the influx of poor, non-English-speaking immigrants. Census reports indicate that one-in-five Americans speak a language other than English at home; in the federal Head Start preschool program, 22 percent of

only 43 percent of the children eligible for the program; and because of long waiting lists in many areas, most children are only allowed to enroll in one or two nine-month, part-day sessions. "We must not let the words 'leave no child behind' become a fig leaf for unjust political and policy choices that, in fact, will leave millions of children and the poor behind," Edelman says.

For now, the most persuasive reason to consider preschool reform as a real possibility is the simple fact that the public—and the economy—increasingly demand it now that most mothers of young children are in the workforce. Most families—and more politically important, three-out-of-four middle-class families—have come to rely on programs that care and educate their preschoolers.

The most recent government statistics show that, in 1995, 13 million children under age 6, or nearly 60 percent of this age group, were receiving some form of non-parental care, including that delivered by child-care centers, family child-care providers, in-home caregivers and relatives. Children whose mothers work outside the home spent an average of 35 hours a week in daycare and children whose mothers do not have outside

fits of attending preschool programs are significant, according to W.S. Barnett's review of 36 studies done prior to 1995. The research review concluded that children who attended good preschools were less likely to be held back a grade, less likely to be placed in special education classes and more likely to succeed in school and to graduate than their peers who did not attend preschool.

Now, preschool reform is widely seen as the only way the nation can meet its number one educational goal, set at the 1989 Education Summit in Charlottesville, that "all children start school ready to learn." As it is, one-in-three children—and possibly up to two-in-three children in poor urban areas—arrive in kindergarten or first grade ill-prepared to learn. Academically, they lack the most basic knowledge about numbers and letters and are unfamiliar with scores of skills (print reads left to right) and concepts (numbers represent quantity) that are prerequisites to learning to read and do math. A disproportionate number of children from disadvantaged families fall behind in kindergarten, and many never catch up. About 40 percent of children, for example, do not learn to read with fluency and com-

the children speak Spanish at home and four percent speak a total of 139 other languages.

Experts say that preschools' popularity, track record and promising educational advances have reached a critical mass, giving preschool reform a life of its own. In its forecast, this year's report from the National Research Council concludes: "Looking to the future, there can be little doubt that the United States is on its way to universal, voluntary, preschool attendance, not as the result of government mandate or expert recommendation, but as a consequence of parental demand and a myriad of private, state and federal initiatives that are continuing to extend early education throughout the country."

It remains to be seen whether or not the United States will ultimately follow every other modern industrial nation in supporting a universal preschool program, but many experts say that the pressure for major preschool reforms can only increase as a new revolution in early childhood education rolls around the country. So, nearly 20 years into the K-12 school reform movement, the end is not in sight, but the beginning has suddenly snapped into focus: It's preschool reform. ■

Preschool class starts the moment children step into Terri Will's Head Start bus in Portsmouth, Ohio, but they don't know it. To them, the bus trip is a joyride, the start of a day of playful discovery, not to mention recess, breakfast and lunch. On this particular spring morning, several children were so eager

vides preschool teachers with the latest research on how children acquire language and literacy skills as well as with practical suggestions for applying that research in the classroom.

In Will's rolling classroom, the school bus, she responds with interest to the children, probing gently as she

and all-around fun project, with an ever-changing array of highway landmarks and seasonal effects. Nearly everything is identified with a label, not to force reading skills, but to accustom the children to seeing the name of a familiar object next to its painted image. Switching from her role as bus driver/talk show

Ride Our Bus

to get on with the trip that they were impatient to say goodbye to their dads and their moms, some still in pajamas, who lingered to chat with Will.

The trip from trailer parks and strips of public housing to the Head Start center in Portsmouth winds through the Appalachian hills of southern Ohio, just across the Ohio River from Kentucky. Out the window are farmers on tractors, cornfields, horses, cows, the river, fast food restaurants, billboards, stop signs, route signs, trucks and many other things that make the kids blurt out a sound, word or share a story fragment. Will, who is both their bus driver and preschool teacher, says she has learned to seize these language-learning moments and try to make the most of them. Will seems like one of those people born to teach, but she modestly deflects praise to *HeadsUp! Reading*, a professional development course she took at the start of a two-year college program in early childhood development. Using the Internet and satellite television, the program pro-

helps them discover words to describe the sights or express the fantasies and feelings that the trip shakes loose.

Out of the blue, Zachary, a four-year-old, issues a somber announcement about his brother: "A.J. hates kindergarten."

"I'm sorry to hear that," says Will. "But do you think he really hates kindergarten? Hate is such a bad, angry feeling; maybe A.J. really means that he dislikes kindergarten? You know, a lot of children are nervous about kindergarten, but most end up liking it. I think you will like it. It's a lot like Head Start."

The shy boy smiles, and the kids start singing the alphabet song.

The bus trip does not end in the school parking lot, but continues inside the classroom, where an entire wall is covered with paintings of the bus, the children and the milestones on the route. The mural is an art, language, literacy



Terri Will of Scioto County Community Action Organization Head Start, Portsmouth, Ohio

host to teacher/game show host, Will touches pictures on the wall with a pointer and asks questions. Barely containing excitement about their growing store of knowledge, the children hop up and down and giggle as they rattle off names, descriptions and memories.

And when it comes to story time, a favorite poem is "Ride Our Bus," written on poster board by Will and illustrated by the children. They are learning the poem by heart and eagerly take turns pretending to "read" it by moving their fingers skillfully—left to right, top to bottom and, usually, over the appropriate words—as they recite the rhyming lines:

*We ride a yellow school bus
It's big enough for all of us
We go up the streets and then back down
We ride the bus all through our town
The bus stops here, the bus stops there
We pick up children everywhere
So come and ride to school with us!
It's fun to ride the Head Start bus! ■*



Sa

Sam Nunn is co-chairman and chief executive officer of the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), a foundation committed to reducing the global threat of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. He is also a senior partner in the Atlanta law firm of King & Spalding, where he focuses his practice on international and corporate matters. He served as a United States Senator from Georgia for 24 years (1972-1996). Nunn is also a trustee of Carnegie Corporation of New York. He is interviewed here by Susan Robinson King, Carnegie Corporation Vice President, Public Affairs.

SK: *Here we are in an age of globalization and interconnectedness and it feels like foreign policy is not the center of attention for the American public. Does that seem like a disconnect to you?*

SN: It's a paradox because never have we been more involved in the world economically than we are now, and never have we had so many business people keeping up with and learning about what's going on around the world and probably never have we had, except during World War II, the kind of deployment of military forces rotating in and out of as many parts of the world as we do now. So the military and the business community are learning about and experiencing a great deal of what's happening around the globe. And yet, the American public, which has a vital stake both in the business and economic side of global developments, as well as the security side, seem not to be interested. So there are disconnects, some of which are understandable in our post-cold war

period, some of which are inexplicable to me.

SK: *Is it because the American public thinks that since we're the only existing superpower, what goes on in other places is irrelevant and that we set the world's foreign policy agenda?*

SN: It may be partly that but it may also be that we're all being overwhelmed with information. At some point, you read about all the horrible things happening in places in Africa—Sudan and Burundi and Rwanda, for example—and you read about the problems in Chechnya and you read about North Korean children starving and you say to yourself, I can't do anything about it, it doesn't seem like it's relevant to my personal life even though it's tragic and so I think I'll just tune out. I'm not sure the decision is that conscious, but I do think there may be some of that going on.

SK: *Tell me about Sam Nunn the young man. What gave you a hunger to get involved in national security issues and international relations? How did that develop?*

SN: I suppose the proximate cause was my experience working for the House Armed Services Committee when I was just one year out of law school. My great-uncle was chairing the committee and as I say somewhat facetiously, when I graduated from law school in 1962, the Armed Services Committee of the House of Representatives hired me because of my outstanding law school record, my great personality, the great potential they saw in me for the future and also, coincidentally, that my great-uncle was chairman of the committee. So I call that benevolent nepo-

mNunn

AN INTERVIEW

tism. Nevertheless, I worked there for a year and that stimulated my thinking. Even when I went back to my small hometown of Perry, Georgia, when my father was ill and I had to help my mother with the farm, I kept up with what was going on internationally. I really was motivated by my experience as a staff person in Congress.

But, frankly, I didn't realize how much I'd kept up with events in Washington, not just regarding the military, but on the economic front and others as well, and how much that one year had whetted my appetite for intellectual growth in that arena, until, after serving four years in the Georgia House of Representatives, I ran for the United States Senate in 1972 and got involved in a series of debates.

I thought I was at a tremendous disadvantage because I was in a run-off primary election with the incumbent, Senator David Gambrell. And I was broke. I had no money. So I challenged him to debate and he agreed the next day, which surprised me, because he was loaded with money—a great advantage. We had seven TV debates and, I believe, three radio debates in about a two-week period. It was very intense. I went into it thinking, there's no way that I can compete and yet, because I'd kept up with national and international events during the ten years that had gone by since I'd had the Congressional experience as a young person, that put me on at least equal ground, and when you're equal to an incumbent, on TV you usually have the advantage.

SK: *There's an endorsement of the power of television.*

SN: The power of television, and also

the tremendous effect, at a young age, that exposure to some kind of public service can have, whether it's in Washington or at the local level, which I think is life-shaping for a lot of young people. I've seen that in the interns I've had at my office in Washington. Whether they went back to the farm or ended up in business, in a law practice or in government, the experience had a huge effect on their understanding and



knowledge and thirst for participation in public affairs.

SK: *I want to talk about the Nuclear Threat Initiative which you now are focusing on, an opportunity made possible by Ted Turner with his commitment of \$250 million over five years. Is this a foundation that gets to really shape foreign policy and focus on security threats in the new framework of a changed post-cold-war world?*

SN: That will certainly be our goal. And Ted Turner himself came up with this concept. He had watched—talk about the power of television—a *60 Minutes II* program about nuclear weapons in Russia. It focused on General Eugene Habiger, who was the head of the U.S. Strategic Command, a four-star Air Force general in charge of all our strate-

gic nuclear forces, and his visit to his counterpart in Russia, General Vladimir Yakovlev, who was commander-in-chief of the Russian Strategic Rocket Forces. The program followed them in Russia and through a reciprocal visit back home in the U.S. Ted saw all the weapons that the two countries had and that they had made very few changes since the cold war. He vividly saw the dangers. Then he decided—the light bulb went on—that he was going to do something about this because he felt that the media, in which he obviously plays an

*We still
as a tremendous
material and
danger*

important role, have gone to sleep on this subject, basically conveying to the American people that the cold war is over. Yet we still have thousands of nuclear weapons, as well as a tremendous amount of other nuclear material and know-how out there contributing to the growing danger of terrorism and accidents, among other things. Ted said, "I'm going to put a lot of my money into the problem."

He came to me and asked me if I would run the Initiative. I was practicing law, I was involved in a number of corporate boards and on several non-profit boards as well. In addition, I was chairing a think tank in Washington, the Center for Strategic International Studies, and so with all that I said there was no possibility that I could spend all my time on the threat of nuclear weapons. But we talked and talked and our discussions eventually evolved to the point where I agreed to spend one-

third to one-half my time leading the Initiative.

We did a six-month scoping study, because I wanted to make sure that the way I thought we needed to go was compatible with what Ted thought. Ted really has a vision of the world without any nuclear weapons. I think that's a noble vision but I don't know how you get there. I told him I did not think, in the next fifteen or twenty years, that was a realistic direction or one where he could really be effective. There is so much work to do to clean up post-cold-war problems and so

weapons and enough unsecured nuclear materials in Russia alone to make 60-to-80,000 bombs—is not that much. If you look at \$250 million in the face of a lot of overwhelming problems, it's really a small amount of money. But if you look at it compared to other private, nongovernmental organizations, and you say that we might be able to help government, we might be able to stimulate government, we might be able to show the way and have some pilot projects that government could learn from, then it becomes a very significant amount of money in the private sector.

take a look at a lot of things including some dramatic changes, perhaps in the U.S.'s offensive forces, which I applaud. I think we have far too many weapons in this country, to start with. And I think, right now, the number of what are called "hard target kill weapons" that the U.S. has, those that can knock out other weapons, really makes the Russians feel vulnerable because their economic distress renders them unable to keep their missiles mobile by moving them around on submarines or on the rails.

Now you might say, if you don't think through this, well, that's good

*have thousands of nuclear weapons, as well amount of other **nuclear** know-how out there contributing to the growing of **terrorism** and accidents.*

many dangers out there that we have to deal with first, like getting the number of weapons down and finding out how to build trust and transparency. That might eventually lead—maybe in the next generation—to figuring out how to verify and maintain the kind of trust that would be required to really get rid of nuclear weapons.

So we didn't agree on that point but did decide that it wasn't the most important point and that we would agree to disagree and move forward, working together, with his money and my time. And his considerable energy and intellect, too. It's not just money that Ted contributes. He is a person with a huge vision and very broad dreams and really is willing to put his money up for the things he believes in.

So you're talking about a considerable financial commitment but one that, in the scope of the overall challenge—biological, chemical, nuclear

SK: *That is a huge agenda. But the big agenda that will be set in the next four years will be set by the Bush administration, which just put National Missile Defense square onto the international stage. Do you see yourself, in a way, challenging the Bush administration with the Initiative? Or do you see your work as trying to inform the Bush administration about different perspectives?*

SN: We may not see eye-to-eye with the Bush administration on any number of issues but we're going to be open and transparent and we're going to keep them informed. I've already had meetings with people in the Department of Defense and top people on the National Security Council and also plan to meet with State Department staff, especially Colin [Powell]. He and I have talked briefly about it, but no meeting is set at this stage.

We respect the administration. We know that President Bush is going to

news, we want Russia to be vulnerable. But when they become more vulnerable they, as we would, might be inclined to decide that they're going to fire quicker. And when they decide they're going to fire quicker, that means firing when they think a weapon is coming, maybe rather than when it hits. That's what's called "launch on warning." And now one of the critical problems is that the warning systems in Russia are deteriorating. I recently read a newspaper article indicating that the Russian satellites are not working properly a great deal of the time.

So you combine a great big country like Russia with huge numbers of weapons that they feel cannot survive a first strike, and you have trouble. By helping to ensure that Russia has more confidence that they are not vulnerable to a first strike, we are shoring up our own stake in our survival. So, therefore, we're not only going to work with the U.S. government, but we've also written

to President Putin and told him what we're doing. We're going to be open and transparent to the Russian government and to other governments around the globe.

We've got to work with other countries around the world and whatever the U.S. does in missile defense has to be done in a cooperative way, particularly with Russia, because if we alienate the people we have to rely on to prevent the proliferation of these weapons, then we'll be cutting off our nose to spite our face.

I remember President Eisenhower said, toward the end of his administra-

SN: Well, I think certainly it has. I think Al From, the CEO, and Will Marshall [president of the Progressive Policy Institute, DLC's affiliated think tank] and that whole crowd have done a tremendous job. When we got started, it was with the help of people like senators Chuck Robb, Dick Gephardt and Lawton Chiles. I was also very much involved, as you mentioned. And so was a young governor by the name of Bill Clinton; after we got the DLC started, he began working with us and did a good job. When I turned over the gavel as president of the DLC to my

he was the first Democrat in my memory who was elected to two terms in the White House.

I think the middle of the political spectrum is really the swing vote in America. And I believe that really, in effect, it's the common-sense position most of the time. I think the right wing and the left wing have their points, but a party that's dominated by the right wing, like the Republicans, or left-wing Democrats, usually don't enjoy the support of the common-sense middle where most of the American people are.

SK: *Anyone who reads this is going to*

*I think the middle of the **Political** is really the swing vote in America. And I believe that it's the **Common-Sense** position most*

tion, that there's always a tendency in this or any other country to believe there's some magic technological solution to all our problems. But there usually is not, almost always is not. And we have to have a balanced program. So missile defense has to be balanced, it has to be threat based, it has to be cost effective and it has to be carried out at least with other nations' acquiescence, if not their cooperation.

SK: *So the Nuclear Threat Initiative and other foundations like Carnegie Corporation of New York really have a role to play in bringing attention to all the other elements that are involved in defense.*

SN: Absolutely.

SK: *One domestic question. You were there in 1985 at the birth of the Democratic Leadership Conference, the DLC, which has a more or less centrist philosophy. Now that it has a few years under its belt, do you feel it has changed the soul of the Democratic party?*

successor, it was Bill Clinton that I turned it over to. And I made a little joke at that time that he didn't particularly like, but it happened to be true. I said, "Bill Clinton is the only young leader in America who has been labeled by the news media as an up-and-coming star in three separate decades." So he'd been in politics a long time even though he was young. And so Bill took it over and became—

SK: *And went to the White House with the philosophy of the DLC.*

SN: He did. He has so many critics now because of personal problems that we all regret and, in my own way of thinking, were deplorable. That personal conduct tainted a lot of his accomplishments. One of those accomplishments was moving the Democratic party toward the middle. And he governed off and on—but nevertheless much more than in the past—toward the center. I think that had a great deal to do with the fact that

want me to ask you, after learning about your kind of vision and what you're focused on, whether you think you'll go into public service again, in either elected or appointed office. Is it still something that you have a passion for?

SN: I still have a passion for public service but not necessarily elected office. I had twenty-eight years, counting four years in the state legislature and twenty-four in the Senate, in elected office. I decided in 1995, a very hard decision—I thought about it for two years, really, before I made the decision—that I didn't want to end up in the Senate too long. I'd seen too many people stay too long and so I did not want to do that.

And I also wanted to get out at a young enough age to be able to participate in the business community and the legal community and the community of nongovernmental organizations. It was a hard decision to leave office, but I made

it. I doubt that I will get back into government but I've learned enough to know, don't ever say never. And so it's possible. But I doubt it.

SK: *Do you have a sense that Washington life no longer appeals to you or that you can play a different role in policy outside of government?*

SN: The purpose of being in government is to do something for the American people. And if you can't do that because you're so busy all the time trying to raise money to get reelected, it's got to be a very frustrating existence. And I'm

SK: *The last question. How would you describe this new century and the new world order?*

SN: I'd describe it as a world of huge opportunity and a world of considerable peril, both at the same time. The

Wonderful. It's wonderful to see it.

There are so many things that can be brought to bear with technology—if it's used wisely. And yet we have huge challenges, such as the number of deaths from infectious disease that's gone up 22 percent in the U.S. in the last ten or twelve years. We have all

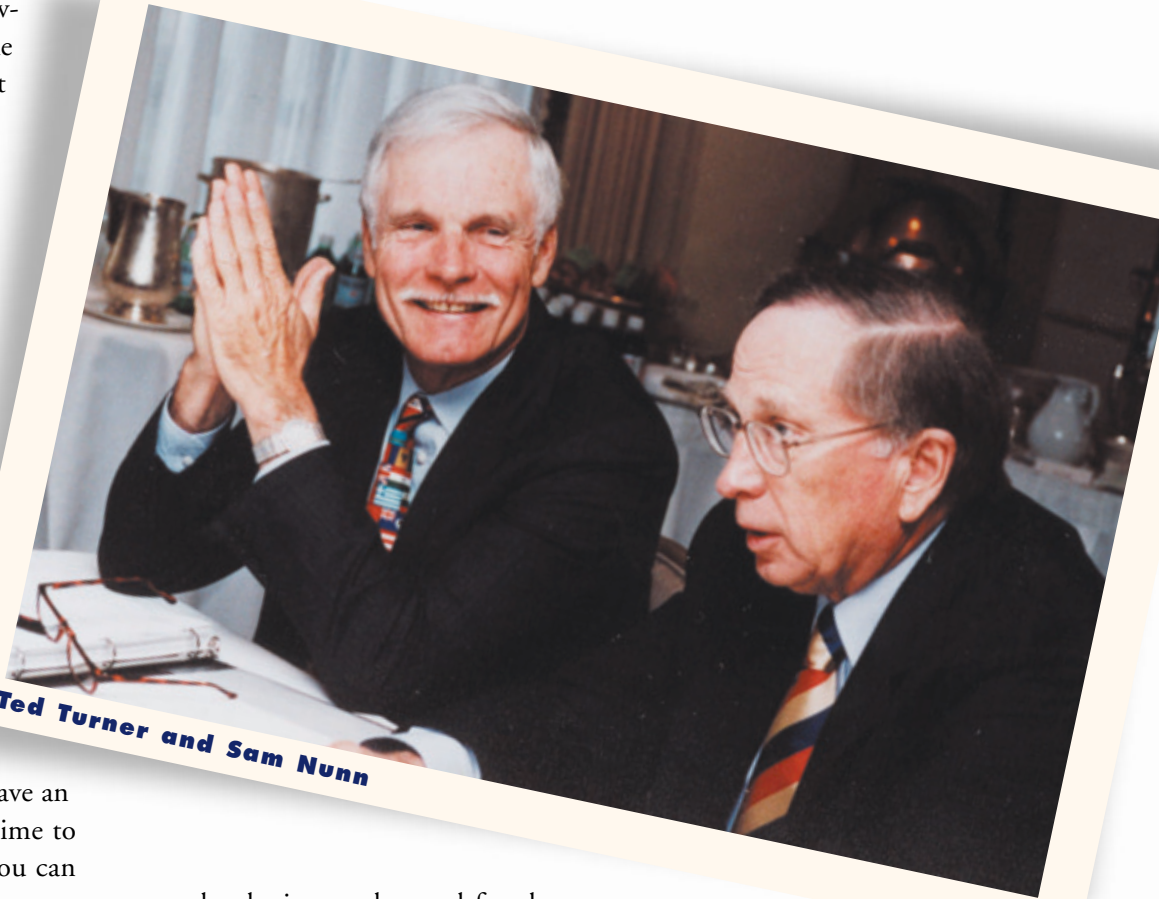
*spectrum
really, in effect,
of the time.*

not saying we're at that point—but we're moving toward it.

I think if you're sent to Washington you really have an obligation to set aside enough time to develop your intellect so that you can communicate with your own constituents and tell them what you're doing, but lead in a way that benefits the country. For me, if I couldn't do that, I'd much rather be back home taking care of my farm or my law practice and doing a good job of that, because you're not doing a good job in Washington if all you're doing is reading the polls and trying to regurgitate what people just said they wanted, based on some kind of snapshot opinion and then going out and raising enough money to throw all that on television and do thirty-second ads. That's a pretty demeaning form of public service.

© SYLVIA JOHNSON

Ted Turner and Sam Nunn



new technologies can be used for the benefit of mankind to an extent that we've never even dreamed of before, but they can also be used to kill millions and millions of people; not just nuclear technology can be used that way, but biological as well. With the new genetic breakthroughs, we've got a chance to do things in healthcare we've not ever been able to even dream of in the past, to help people who would otherwise be doomed to either a miserable life or a short life or help people who want children but haven't been able to have them. My niece just had twins at an age that you wouldn't have thought possible a few years ago. A marvelous thing.

sorts of antibiotics now that the bugs are getting resistant to because of overuse or misuse. Furthermore, we live in an era when we have to think seriously about the possible intentional use of biological agents as weapons. So we're in an age of tremendous opportunity and an age of considerable danger, and what we have to do is make sure we take advantage of the opportunities but also be alert and start addressing the down side.

SK: *That's a quote. And that's the kind of statement that somebody would put into a thirty-second commercial!* ■

Russia: Facing the Future

© PATRICIA FISHER 2001



James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress, speaking at the premiere of *Russia: Facing the Future*. (above) Members of the Russia Initiative. (right)



“Just imagine for a moment that in the space of three years the U.S. lost its super-power status, that 15 states seceded from the Union taking 40 percent of the population with them, that our allies switched their allegiance to our former enemy, that the economy collapsed, factories closed, that most people lost their life savings, that Social Security and Medicare were abolished, and that prices soared while wages remained stagnant. That might begin to give you some small idea of what ordinary Russians have experienced in the last decade.”

With these words, CNN anchor Judy Woodruff introduces a documentary called *Russia: Facing the Future*, which, along with a companion volume of the same name, is the culmination of an initiative undertaken by Carnegie Corporation of New York, designed to present a fresh and holistic assessment of the current state of Russia.

Known as the Russia Initiative, the 18-month-long endeavor brought together Russian and American scholars in four task forces, each focusing on a particular aspect

of Russia’s security, economy, democratization, social cohesion and state building. Over 100 leading scholars from inside and outside Russia participated in task force meetings over the course of the 18-month-long effort.

Key among the findings was the importance of America remaining engaged with Russia. Despite American malaise since the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russia retains nuclear capabilities rivaling America’s at a time when the future of Russia’s military is hazy, the transformation to democracy is fragile and overall social cohesiveness is deteriorating.

The documentary premiered at the Library of Congress in early May 2001 before a select group of congressional and cabinet members and staff and diplomatic representatives, including Russia’s ambassador to the United States, Yuri V. Ushakov, and was later broadcast by Maryland Public Television and World Link TV. It has also been featured in a series of eight national “conversations” centered around Russian-American relations. ■

7 Cities Lead the Movement to Change American High Schools

The image of American high schools as huge gothic buildings populated by thousands of anonymous teenagers who wander its halls unknown by each other or by most of the teachers who work there is about to be redesigned by seven urban school systems that are putting students in the center of the picture: Boston and Worcester Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; Chattanooga, Tennessee; San Diego and Sacramento California; and Houston, Texas. The high school redesign initiative, called Schools for a New Society, has been underway at the Corporation for one year and has been joined by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

The seven systems competed to

become part of this long-term, \$60 million grant program and have undertaken a rigorous one-year planning process involving educators, parents, community leaders and business. Each of the cities created a blueprint, with financial matching funds, that ensures schools prepare all students for a knowledge economy. All seven cities reflect four key elements of high school reform: re-design, district-wide reform, community mobilization and youth development.

“An enormous amount of work has been underway in these cities as the school systems turn to business and community leaders to help create schools around themes that will attract students to both the idea of more rigorous learning and the

notion of their role as active citizens in society. There is not a “one size fits all” high school re-design plan that will be replicated in each city. Yet, all seven share a focus and commitment that they must change the way they have done business in the past to prepare all students to succeed in a changed world of work and an increasingly diverse democracy” explains Michele Cahill, senior program officer at Carnegie Corporation of New York, who leads the initiative.

This nationwide high school redesign effort is a major element of the Corporation’s ongoing concern, shared by many other foundations, with improving education, teaching and literacy in the U.S.

Foundation Roundup



Fathers At Work Initiative

The Charles Stewart Mott Foundation has launched the Fathers At Work Initiative, a three-and-one-half year, \$10.2 million program that aims to improve labor participation and earnings of young, low-income fathers who are non-custodial parents. Funding has been divided among six organizations in New York, Illinois, California and Virginia that have demonstrated success in helping young fathers find and maintain jobs and in providing networks of support that include social service agencies, law enforcement and child-support systems. For more information: www.mott.org.



Self-Determination in Focus

Self-Determination Crisis Watch is an electronic journal that offers comprehensive analysis of self-determination issues. The biweekly journal provides a virtual forum for new ideas and policy recommendations on sovereignty and governance for the use of scholars, activists and government officials around the world. Along with a special web page on self-determination issues, the project aims to establish an

international network of experts that will advance new ideas and paradigms for self-determination policy.

The new journal is a product of Foreign Policy in Focus (FPiF) and part of a self-determination and governance project funded by Carnegie Corporation. FPIF, dubbed the “think tank without walls,” is a joint project of the Interhemispheric Resource Center and the Institute for Policy Studies.

For further information, including how to subscribe: www.fpiif.org, click on the Self-Determination in Focus button.



Robert Wood Johnson Foundation Expands Grantmaking

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation is broadening its grantmaking to include support of initiatives that promote healthy communities and lifestyles. Plans include funding for a policy research program on physical activity, capacity building for public health leaders, community programs that promote physical activity, and a nationwide program to promote physical activity among older adults.

The Foundation, America’s largest health philanthropy, also focuses on issues relating to basic health care access for all Americans, care and support for people with chronic health problems, and reduction of the harm caused by

abuse of tobacco, alcohol and illicit drugs. For more information: www.rwjf.org.



AdmitOne.org

The Artists Rights Foundation (ARF), founded in 1991 by the Directors Guild, has launched a web site for teens with step-by-step instructions on how to make an original 10-15 minute movie.

Available to youngsters around the world, the site includes interactive tutorials, a chat room with access to professional filmmakers, an artists’ rights section exploring authorship issues, and a screening room where films created by teenagers can be viewed.

The acclaimed 125-page manual, downloadable at the AdmitOne web site, is currently being used by after-school programs and other educational initiatives connected with thousands of youth organizations, libraries, cultural centers, and museums.

AdmitOne.org Film School, developed through support from ARF Vice President George Lucas, is an expansion of an existing program called Making Movies: A Guide for Young Filmmakers that promotes teenage filmmaking and creative collaboration. For online information about filmmaking: www.AdmitOne.org. To request a print copy of *Making Movies: A Guide for Young Filmmakers*, contact jennisen@artistsrights.org.

MARKLE FOUNDATION Internet Accountability Study

A year-long study by the Markle Foundation finds that nearly two-thirds of Americans view the Internet favorably, although many express concern about online accountability, privacy issues and unmediated access to certain kinds of information. Asked if the Internet should be governed, most feel the public at large should have a say in establishing guidelines and that government should provide online protection. Still, by a wide margin Americans also say Internet rules should be developed and enforced by other entities, such as technology companies and nonprofit organizations.

Using samples drawn from the general population and Internet experts, researchers found that most users view the Internet as a source of information, i.e., a “library,” rather than a commercial medium. The survey also showed high favorability ratings among all age groups, belying the notion that the Internet is most appreciated by the young.

Survey data and results are available at www.markle.org.



Global Consortium of Higher Education and Research for Agriculture (GCHERA)

American and international universities have joined hands to establish an organization to

take on the dual challenge of feeding the world's population in an environmentally sustainable fashion. GCHERA will work toward developing a worldwide system of collaboration and cooperation among colleges, universities and international organizations in the areas of agricultural education and research. A key part of the effort will also focus on transitioning agricultural curricula for the 21st century to assure that agriculture graduates are appropriately prepared to meet the challenges of the future.

Organized in 1999 under the leadership of Iowa State University in Ames, Iowa, National Agricultural University in Kyiv, Ukraine and Humboldt University in Berlin, Germany, GCHERA has established a broad-based network of international academic and industrial experts who will conduct international scientific conferences, promote faculty and student exchanges and share new developments in agricultural science and research. The second global conference of GCHERA met in San Francisco in July 2001 under the leadership of Purdue University in West Lafayette, Indiana. For more information: www.gchera.iastate.edu.

THE PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS

Future of the Performing Arts

A recent report analyzing a broad spectrum of performing arts trends over the last 30 years has concluded that per-

forming arts organizations are becoming polarized by size, not by whether they concentrate on "high" art or mass entertainment. The report, called *The Performing Arts in a New Era* and based on a study conducted by RAND Corporation and commissioned by The Pew Charitable Trusts, indicates that large groups rely heavily on marketing campaigns and celebrity artists to attract audiences and that small groups focus on low-budget productions and depend on volunteer labor.

At risk are midsize performing arts groups that can afford neither highly paid celebrity artists nor massive advertising blitzes. Companies in this category face the most serious financial strain, confronting the prospect of having to become larger and more prestigious or downsizing production budgets, becoming smaller and relying on volunteer performers.

Midsize organizations have long been a conduit for young artists to gain performing experience and a sharp reduction in their number will inevitably result in a decline of live performances. To preserve these opportunities, the report suggests a need to develop policies that consider public interests served by artistic endeavors and a re-examination of the role of government in supporting these interests. For more information: www.pewtrusts.org

Teachers for a New Era

A National Initiative to Improve the Quality of Teaching

Carnegie Corporation of New York has announced an ambitious new initiative, Teachers for a New Era, to develop excellent teacher education programs at selected colleges and universities. Grants up to \$5 million for a period of five years will be awarded to selected institutions on recommendations from a national advisory panel of experts.

Teachers for a New Era calls for bold reforms in current teacher education models. Key among the design features is a focus on the extent of pupil learning brought about by good teaching and on teaching as clinical practice. The initiative also requires a clinical faculty that is inclusive of master teachers and a two-year residency (or induction period) for graduates who are beginning teaching careers. Teachers for a New Era stresses the importance of formal collaboration between schools of education, traditional arts and sciences faculty and principals and classroom teachers. Institutions selected for this initiative will develop methods of evaluating the effectiveness of their programs by calibrating the teaching success of their graduates.

Participation in Teachers for a New Era will be by invitation. Institutions agreeing to the initiative's conditions will receive funding for an initial three-year period with a contingent renewal for an additional two years. Each award, up to \$1 million per year, will be matched by the institution receiving the award. At least 30 percent of the matching funds must be pledged to an endowment that will continue to support the new program. ■

youthvote

Youth Vote Study

A study on voter mobilization during the November 2000 election indicates that voters under the age of 30 were more likely to vote if they had been contacted a few days before the election and

encouraged to go to the polls.

Working with Youth Vote 2000, a nonpartisan coalition of student and community organizations, Yale professors Donald Green and Alan Gerber randomly assigned registered voters to a group of people to be contacted by Youth Vote

volunteers or to a control group that would receive no Youth Vote contact whatsoever.

Using cross-off lists, volunteers made follow-up calls a few weeks after the election to determine voting rates in both the treatment and control groups.

Results showed that those who canvassed face-to-face were nearly 9 percent more likely to have voted than those not contacted, and that voters who got a phone call encouraging them to vote were 5 percent more likely to turn out.

Testing was done near college campuses in New York, Colorado and Oregon using voter lists compiled by student groups and lists purchased from commercial vendors. New York had the widest margin between canvassed and non-canvassed respondents. Margins in Oregon, perhaps because of its voting-by-mail system that permits voters to cast ballots up to two weeks before the election, were less striking. For more information: www.youthvote.org.



American Attitudes on Russia

Most Americans have a favorable opinion of Russia according to a recent report released on “Americans & the World,” a web site maintained by the Program on International Policy Attitudes (PIPA) that integrates and analyzes

publicly available polling data.

Researchers cite a February 2001 Gallup poll showing that 52 percent of Americans entertain a favorable opinion of Russia and remain steadfast in believing that Russia is of vital interest to the United States. More recent data show 69 percent of Americans rating relations with Russia as “extremely” or “fairly important” to our national interest. Other studies sponsored by the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations and PIPA reveal that most Americans believe an inclusive approach is the best way to deal with whatever threats Russia may pose.

The analysis of attitudes toward Russia is drawn from results of polls conducted by Gallup, Louis Harris, The Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, NBC/Wall Street Journal, Time/CNN and the PIPA. The Program on International Policy Attitudes is a joint program of the Center on Policy Attitudes and the Center for International and Security Studies at the School of Public Affairs, University of Maryland. For more information: www.Americans-world.org



Foster Care Initiative

The Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Casey Family Programs have combined forces to launch the Jim Casey Youth Opportunities

Initiative, a new program to expand opportunities for foster care children in the areas of education, employment, health care and housing.

A special focus of the initiative is the approximately 100,000 older youth who are about to leave or have already left the foster care system. Foster children have markedly higher rates of homelessness, school dropout, unemployment and lack of access to health care.

The program, based in St. Louis, will support state and community organizations around the country through grants, technical assistance and coalition building. For more information: www.jimcaseyouth.org.



Employers' Influence on Health Plan Enrollment Analyzed

Results from a study of health insurance trends show that the number of Americans without health insurance grew from 38.3 million in 1992 to 42.6 million in 1998. Using data from employer surveys, researchers found that 1998 workers often didn't receive coverage from their employer, not because coverage was not offered but because the employees' share of the premium was too high or because they didn't meet eligibility requirements. Findings also

show that policy costs varied according to company size, income, industry and region and that enrollment and eligibility rates differed according to employer policies on coverage for part- and full-time workers and length of enrollment periods.

A significant factor influencing the take-up rate of those studied concerned the percentage of a company's workforce earning \$20,000 or less. Firms whose low-income workers comprised 35 percent or more of the workforce had lower rates of enrollment than comparable companies with a smaller percentage of low-paid workers. Take-up rates were also affected by the amount of monthly contributions workers were required to make towards a health plan. For example, companies with large numbers of low-paid workers who were asked to contribute \$50 per month had fewer enrollees than companies asking for \$25 per month. Not surprisingly, when no monthly contribution was mandated, the take-up rate across all income levels was high.

The study was released by the Health Research and Educational Trust and the Commonwealth Fund. For more information: www.cmwf.org.

THE BackPage

Carnegie Corporation of New York recently hosted the third in a series of Carnegie Forums, which are aimed at bringing important issues to the nation's attention. The Digital Promise Forum focused on a proposal put forth by Lawrence K. Grossman, former president of NBC News and PBS and Newton N. Minow, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), PBS, the RAND Corporation and Carnegie Corporation of New York. Their proposal calls for the establishment of a Digital Oppor-

Office of Plans and Policy, FCC. Grossman and Minow's comments are excerpted below.

The United States has made three great public investments in the educational life of the nation: First, in 1787, the Northwest Ordinance set aside public land to support public schools in every state. Second, the Morrill Act, passed in 1862, led to the establishment of 105 land-grant colleges, which became the backbone of American higher education. Third, in 1944, the U.S. enacted the G.I. Bill, which provided educational opportunities for the more than 20 million American men and women

do we need to create what would, in essence, be a venture capital fund for public institutions such as schools, museums, universities, libraries and nonprofit organization to transform themselves into true participants in the digital age as well as develop educational and cultural content geared for our new wired world? Why not, as we have been asked time and time again, leave all this to the private sector or to market forces? After all, many people think that this new world, this new digital Internet world, owes its existence to the marketplace. That's partially true, but it's not the whole story. The development of the Internet was

would set up a similar dynamic: using public money to serve an educational purpose would also stimulate the private sector to contribute and to get involved.

Some of the people we've talked to in government bring up this same argument. Why do you need a public trust fund when the marketplace is already so focused on the digital world and the Internet? Our answer is, well, why do you need public libraries in this country when we already have bookstores? And why do we need public parks if we've got country clubs? Why do we need public hospitals if we've got private medical institutions? We're talking about the same thing: the need for a public response to a public need, particularly in this time of great technological change and



Lawrence K. Grossman

rtunity Investment Trust aimed at stimulating innovative and experimental ideas and techniques to enhance learning; broaden knowledge; encourage an informed citizenry and self government; make available to all Americans the best of the nation's arts, humanities and culture; and teach the skills and disciplines needed in an information-based economy. The Trust would be financed with revenue from auctions of licenses to the publicly owned electromagnetic spectrum (the frequencies that transmit radio and television signals, as well as a new array of digital information) and would be governed by a board of distinguished and diverse citizens from many fields. Also speaking at the forum was Susan Ness, former FCC commissioner and Robert Pepper, Chief,



Newton N. Minow

who served in World War II. What we're proposing now is a fourth great public initiative that would contribute to the continued health and expansion of the nation's economy, as the other initiatives have done, and open the door to a knowledge-based future for Americans as well as the rest of the world

But why is this necessary? Why

funded by the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), founded in 1958 as part of the U.S. Department of Defense, to support scientific research in the United States. As a matter of fact, the first real name for what became the Internet was ARPANET, and the first four sites connected through ARPANET—this was in 1969—were universities. From that beginning came the Internet and its more recent commercial arm, the World Wide Web. We feel that what we're suggesting

development. That's the debate we have to have, as a nation: do we leave the chance creation of "public good" solely in the hands of the private sector or do we, proactively, identify what needs to be done and put a system in place to see that those needs are met—not only in a timely fashion but with creativity, with innovation, and with sufficient resources to ensure that every citizen is given access to the enrichment that new technologies can bring to life and learning? It's our hope that when you talk to legislators on this level—confront them with the history of the Northwest Ordinance and the Morrill Act and the

A Digital Gift to the

G.I. Bill—they'll say to themselves, *You know, that's right.* None of the benefits that were a direct result of those initiatives would have come about if there wasn't a commitment on the part of the government to the public sphere. The Digital Investment Opportunity Trust is designed to do for education, in its broadest sense, what the National Science Foundation does for science, the National Institutes of Health do for medical research, and what ARPA (now known as the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, or DARPA) does for defense.

We've just spent more than a year talking to the presidents and to the boards and the patrons of the nation's libraries, museums, performing arts centers, universities, colleges and school systems,

government and from society to support their efforts and endorse their goals.

As an example of how that can work, let's focus on what happened in the realm of television. When television was first becoming available, there was very little debate in the country about how this great new resource should be handled. There wasn't even a change in the Communications Act to replace the word "radio" with the word "television": we simply adopted the system of regulating radio, transferred it to television with no debate, and left out the public spirit entirely. But then along came Freida Hennock, the first woman appointed to the FCC, who was also the first FCC member to be concerned about the noncommercial use of television: it was through her intervention, in

gramming. In other words, it accepted that part of government's responsibility was to provide support for television's content. It was also a shift over to the idea that the free market could not supply all the nation's cultural needs, and that government had a civic responsibility to act.

Still, public television has ended up passing the hat. In 1981, Walter Annenberg personally gave \$150 million to support public broadcasting; through the years, other philanthropists and foundations have also provided support—and, as viewers of public television know—pledge drives are a constant necessity. What we want to do, with the Digital Trust, is ensure that funding is available for the development of digital educational content and model projects. The reason we've

that all the priorities of the government would be devoted to organizing an army and supplying that army and recruiting more men and paying for the war, Congress passed the Morrill Act to make higher education available to the public. When Abraham Lincoln signed it, he was recognizing that education was a national priority, no matter what. If, as a nation, we were able to understand that fact in the midst of some of the greatest turmoil the country has ever known, we certainly ought to be able to do the same thing now when we're living in a time of greater resources and opportunities. If we don't, we'll have nobody to blame but ourselves.

And since we've come to Carnegie Corporation of New York to discuss this initiative, let's invoke the name of the Corporation's founder, Andrew Carnegie, who started life as a poor boy and felt he owed his later success to the public resources that were available to him here in America. We both believe that if Carnegie were alive today, he'd be cheering us on, because this is exactly the kind of thing he'd do: he would invest in the new age, the new technologies, in order to make it possible for everyone to get the best possible education available. And isn't that what we all want—for our children, and their children, and all the children who follow? Making a digital gift to the nation through the creation of a Digital Opportunity Investment Trust will ensure that legacy and it will ensure that the public institutions we value so much and that have such a vital impact on all our lives will not only survive into the 21st century but will also flourish and grow. It's as simple as that.

Nation

by

LAWRENCE K. GROSSMAN
and NEWTON N. MINOW

and all of them—up to and including the vast New York Public Library, the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian Institution—are concerned with being able to digitize their collections, their courses and all their other materials, such as audio and video recordings of live performances. They want to be able to break out beyond the walls of their institutions and take advantage of the new technologies to reach into homes and into workplaces and into all kinds of educational settings in order to enrich and promote lifelong learning. But they can't do that on their own: they need a commitment from

1952, that the first two hundred and forty-two television channels were set aside solely for educational use. Her pioneering efforts were given a dramatic boost in 1967, with the release of a landmark report by the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television entitled, *Public Television: A Program for Action*, that called for a federally funded system of public broadcasting (and, incidentally, changed the terminology from "educational television" to "public television"). It also became the blueprint for the Public Broadcasting Act, which broke new ground because, for the first time, Congress voted to fund television pro-

singled out the spectrum as a source of funding is that it's going to be auctioned off one way or another, and the money is going to go into the government's coffers—we're just suggesting that at least a portion of the proceeds be earmarked for the purposes we've outlined. We're suggesting that money generated by a public resource be put back into the public sector to serve an essential purpose: helping this nation's public institutions fully participate in the digital age.

Let's go back to our own American history for inspiration. During the darkest days of the Civil War, when you would think

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Phone: (212) 371-3200

Fax: (212) 754-4073

Web site: www.carnegie.org

Vice President, Public Affairs:

Susan Robinson King

Editor; Director, Publications

and **Public Affairs:** Eleanor Lerman

Photo Editor: Aimée Sisco

Chief Staff Writer: Michael deCourcy Hinds

Foundation Roundup Editor: Grace Walters

Public Affairs Associate: Ambika Kapur

Researcher: Ronald Sexton

Cover Photo: PhotoDisc

Carnegie Corporation of New York is a philanthropic foundation created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States. Subsequently, its charter was amended to permit the use of funds for the same purposes in certain countries that are or have been members of the British overseas Commonwealth. The goal of the *Carnegie Reporter* is to be a hub of ideas and a forum for dialogue about the work of foundations.

Board of Trustees

Thomas H. Kean, *Chairman*
Helene L. Kaplan, *Vice Chairman*
Vartan Gregorian, *Ex officio*
Caryl Haskins *Honorary Trustee*
Bruce Alberts
Geoffrey T. Boise
James B. Hunt, Jr.
Martin L. Leibowitz
Vincent A. Mai
Sam Nunn
Olara A. Otunnu
William A. Owens
Ruth J. Simmons
Raymond W. Smith
Marta Tienda
Judy Woodruff

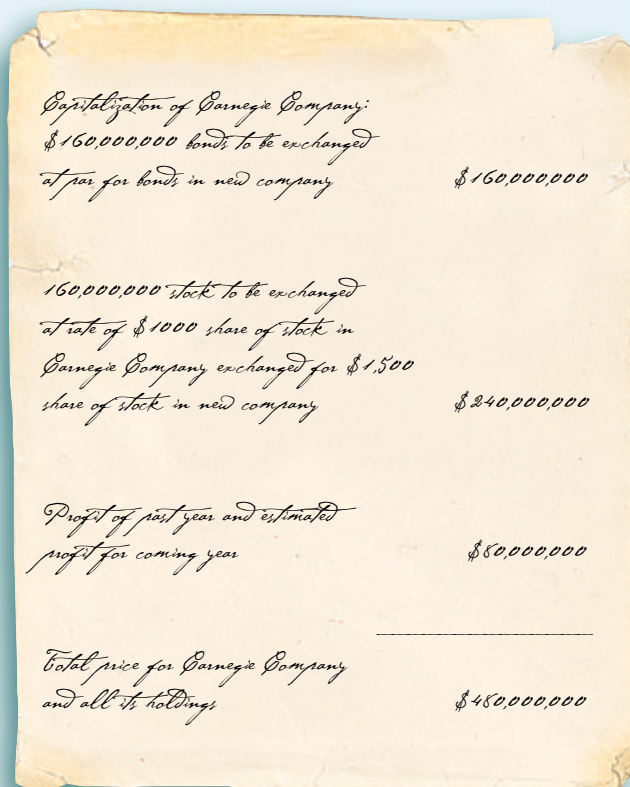


©2001 Carnegie Corporation of New York. All rights in photographs, illustrations, artworks and other graphic materials are reserved to Carnegie Corporation of New York and/or the copyright holders (licensors).

A Footnote to HISTORY

In 1901, Andrew Carnegie sold his vast steel empire to J.P. Morgan for \$480 million (the equivalent today of approximately \$10.6 billion). In pencil, Carnegie scribbled the asking price on a piece of paper and had one of his managers deliver the offer to Morgan who accepted it without hesitation. "Congratulations, Mr. Carnegie," said the banker when they finalized the deal, "you are now the richest man in the world."

With that sale, the second phase of Carnegie's life began—that of philanthropist. "The man who dies rich dies disgraced," said Carnegie; he went on to spend much of his fortune establishing over 2,500 public libraries and more than 20 organizations devoted to the public good, including Carnegie Corporation of New York. By the time he died in 1919 at the age of eighty-three, he had given away the equivalent today of approximately \$3.6 billion.



A rendering of Andrew Carnegie's offer to J.P. Morgan.

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
437 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Non-profit Org.
US Postage
PAID
St. Louis, MO
Permit No. 4767