Carnegie Corporation of New York
VOL. 2/NO. 4
Spring 2004

CARNEGIE Reporter

Alternative Pathways to College

Centers of Education in Russia

An Interview with Marta Tienda

The History *of* South Africa

A Letter *from the* PRESIDENT

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In April 2003, I was asked to chair the jury that judged the competition to select the World Trade Center memorial. My twelve colleagues and I spent many hours—too many to count and the work too important to be measured simply by increments of time—reviewing the more than 5,000 designs submitted to us, not only by Americans but by people from all over the world. We were all deeply committed to fulfilling the jury's charge to find a design that, as we said in one of our statements about the process, was "To remember and honor those who died, to recognize the endurance of those who survived, and the courage of those who risked their lives to save others." One thing that became clear as we poured over these thoughtful, heartfelt, creative, and sometimes brilliant designs was that the events of September 11th had not only deeply affected Americans but the wider human community as well.

The winning project, "Reflecting Absence" by Michael Arad, was first announced on January 7th, and the refined design, by Arad and Peter Walker, was unveiled on January 14th at a press conference not far from Ground Zero. When asked to speak about his design at that event, Arad—a young architect working for New York City's Housing Authority—poignantly noted that it was his "personal sense of grief and loss" that had originally prompted him to enter the competition.

That sorrow is certainly an element of the memorial, but between "Reflecting Absence" and the landscaping that enhances it, the jury members felt the design also provides a kind of unity, combining an urban park and a monument. I personally believe that nobody will mind if you visit the park and sit on a bench and talk or laugh. After all, the monument is not only about death but about life. We wanted to help create a place that had hope and represented the resiliency of New York. The monument—which is not just about the World Trade Center, but about the Pentagon, about Pennsylvania, and about the first attack on the towers in 1993, as well—and the soaring buildings that will soon rise around it, embody the idea that life and tragedy go hand in hand; that life is sometimes inescapably witness to tragedy, incorporates it, remembers it always—but also, continues on. The monument will be an evolving place—it must be, because, as part of New York, it will be part of an evolving, restless and defiant city that has witnessed and incorporated tragedy, and still goes on.

From the very beginning of the jury's work, one critical component that we all agreed upon was transparency: we insisted on it, as we insisted on equitable treatment of all the submissions, on the authority of the jury to be the sole judge of the competition and on hearing all interested parties' opinions. For me, this view extends to the activities of all groups and institutions—including foundations—that have an effect on the public and on the nation. Complete transparency is not a choice: it is a mandate.

In a recent report, John E. Craig, Jr., executive vice president and treasurer of The Commonwealth Fund writes, "It seems clear that foundations should do more to promote a fuller understanding of the financial realities that govern their existence, the strategies and management practices that make them effective, and the role they play in society." I couldn't agree more. Foundations should stand for the best ideas and impulses of the American people, their idealism, altruism, and generosity. Therefore, their values, and how they conduct themselves, must be "higher than the prevailing standards." We are accountable not only before the law and the court of public opinion, but before history as well.

At Carnegie Corporation, we have made strong efforts to let the world see our "glass pockets." We have over ten years of Corporation grants available online (www.carnegie.org) in a searchable database. Our annual reports and up-to-date financial statements are also available online, as is a quiz that helps potential grantees determine whether their projects fit within our program guidelines. We also require our trustees and staff to conform to our conflict-of-interest policy, which is based upon full disclosure by trustees and staff members of affiliations that may lead to conflicts and upon withdrawal from decision making where those affiliations are involved.

Foundation executives are focused on assuring that the philanthropic sector is not only a place with open doors but that foundation officers, staff and boards are at the forefront of practicing full and open disclosure of their policies, strategies and activities. William S. White, chairman of the board of the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, recently wrote that "transparency is one of the finest ways to achieve accountability," and offered ideas about how to strengthen audit practices, compensation policies and public reporting of tax returns.

Independent Sector, which is dedicated to strengthening and advancing the nonprofit and philanthropic community and which was founded by former Corporation president John Gardner, has recently issued a Model Code of Ethics for Nonprofit and Philanthropic Organizations and strongly recommends that all nonprofit organizations and foundations either develop such a policy or strengthen their existing one. Says Diana Aviv, president of Independent Sector, "The process of developing such a code by the board and staff helps to infuse into the culture of the organization a recognition of how important it is to address issues of values and ethics on an ongoing basis."

Andrew Carnegie once said that if he were induced to return to the business world, his "chief aim would be to address many thousands of workmen as 'fellow-shareholders'." I believe that those of us who work in the world of philanthropy should feel likewise about our grantees, potential grantees, and about the public we serve: they are all our "fellow-shareholders" and we should communicate with them fully, openly and clearly and deal with them, always, in a spirit of mutual trust and respect.

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President*

Carnegie Corporation of New York

VOL. 2/NO. 4

Spring 2004

CARNEGIE Reporter

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

The History *of*

South Africa: A TWICE-TOLD TALE

by KENNETH WALKER

CEDRIC NUNN

This year, South Africa celebrates the 10th anniversary of the end of apartheid. At the same time, the country is trying to reassess its troubled history and find ways of acquainting students with the past.

The 208 black junior high school students from the Itltleng Bakgolong Middle School are obviously glad to get off the non-air-conditioned bus after a three-hour drive in the hot spring sun from South Africa's Northwest Province to Johannesburg. But almost as soon as they finish stretching from the long ride, they immediately begin nudging one another and pointing fingers at the building they are here to see.

The object of all this attention? The signs for entry to South Africa's new Apartheid Museum—signs indicating separate entrances for whites and blacks.

"Today," announces tour guide Peter Kgara, "some of you will have the opportunity to be white."

The students giggle nervously behind their hands. The reaction is typical among students, the largest group of visitors to the museum. White vis-

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Kenneth Walker, who currently runs Lion House Productions, a South African strategic communications firm, has had a distinguished career as a journalist. In the U.S., he worked for ABC News, covering the White House as well as the U.S. Justice Department and also served as a foreign correspondent. Before that, for 13 years he reported for The Washington Star *newspaper, which assigned him to South Africa in 1981 where his work earned several of the most prestigious awards in print journalism. In 1985 he won an Emmy for a series of reports he did on South Africa for the ABC news program* Nightline.

itors normally are ushered in through the "Nie Blankes," or Non-White door, while black visitors are shown through the entrance marked for "Blankes." This introduction to the museum, directors explain, is to remind visitors of the rigid racial demarcations of nearly all aspects of life.

But this day, the black school kids are divided between the doors equally. A hush falls over the students as they are led into the museum for a three-hour examination of apartheid history. "South Africa is not a complete country," Kgara says as the students wind their way through the museum's entrance, a series of bars and cages designed to create a feeling of constriction and foreboding—even oppression—precisely what museum officials say is needed to begin an exploration of apartheid. "Our nation," Kgara continues, "is a work in progress. We have those who want to contribute. Those who are neutral. And those who are stuck in the past."

Kgara's comments seem born out of a growing tension in South Africa that surrounds the country's recent history. When the black majority government won elections in 1994, after 50 years of legally entrenched segregation and 400 years of colonialism, there was not one statue, monument or museum created by, or named for a black South African anywhere in the country. Not one.

But now, ten years after the end of apartheid, issues of heritage and history are exploding with a vengeance in South Africa. Unlike other societies after revolutionary change, such as post-Communist Europe and some liberated African countries, no statues were immediately pulled down following South Africa's liberation. No walls were smashed. There was no rush to rename cities and streets, or instantly write new histories. Here, the culture of negotiation that led to democracy in 1994 is being followed in pursuit of a new history.

Photographs of former African National Congress leaders Walter Sisulu (above) and Nelson Mandela (below) at the Apartheid Museum.

Under apartheid, history teachers had two choices: the version of the Afrikaners—the descendants of German, Dutch and French Huguenots—or they could choose history as written by the descendants of British settlers. In both accounts, Africans, when mentioned at all, were treated as if they didn't exist before they were subjugated by whites.

After conquering the native population, European settlers proceeded to rename many of the cities, villages, rivers and mountains after places from their homelands. Europeans even took to renaming Africans themselves. But gradually, inevitably, inexorably, the black government has turned its attention to issues of heritage and history. And it is exposing all the cultural and racial fault lines still very much in place in post-apartheid South African society.

The Apartheid Museum is just one of a number of broad-based initiatives by the South African government and the society at large aimed at redressing what they feel was their virtual exclusion from the symbols and substance of their country's history. And even here, at the museum designed to expose an international crime against humanity, there is a reflection of the bitter divisions still remaining.

After conquering settlers proceeded to and mountains after even took to

To begin with, the museum attracts very few white Afrikaners, the group that perhaps feels the most alienated in the scramble for new historical definitions. "We have some young Afrikaner university students," says museum director Christopher Till. "They come through,

mostly with negative comments, like we're one-sided. But we don't get the vast majority of average Afrikaners."

The museum, like the mushrooming collection of other South African heritage sites, seems a huge success with black students. But the message has had to be modulated for them. Fourteen-year-old student Eddie Tabotapi, who attends a multiracial school in Johannesburg, offers one explanation of why that is. "Our class visited the Apartheid Museum," he reports. "When we left, you could see the white students were not impressed. When they saw pictures of black people hanging, they didn't seem to care. Some of my white classmates were friends, but when we came out, they seemed different to me. One white classmate said he would call me tomorrow and I looked at him with anger."

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Lynn Abrahams is a former history teacher and provincial leader of the Youth League of the ruling African National Congress (ANC). She now is Educational Coordinator for the Apartheid Museum.

"In the beginning," she says, "we ran pilot programs to see if we needed an age limit, and how to deal with the kids. Most of the black children from those pilots left here feeling angry and they hated the white people. And white children were saying they were ashamed of being white. We realized we had to change the tour guide narration and set some age limits for some of the exhibits."

The changes are reflected in guide Peter Kgara's presentation. Midway through the museum tour, Kgara stops at an exhibit entitled: "White Opposition to Apartheid," which lists many of the whites who fought the system of racial domination.

In between exhibits, Kgara mentions earlier encounters with black students who spoke of wanting revenge after viewing the depredations of apartheid. He says, "I told them, 'Do you want to be like the Boers? We are not here to promote bitterness. Don't go out of here full of anger.' Not all whites supported apartheid," Kgara adds. "And not all blacks opposed it."

Educational coordinator Lynn Abrahams says the Apartheid Museum has also been cathartic for her. "When I started working here, because of my political background, I didn't trust white people. I almost hated them. For me, this museum was a kind of healing. This has given me hope and allowed me to redirect the anger and hate, because it was hate that almost killed my country."

Two Memories, Two Memorials

For many South Africans, the clearest symbol of that hatred is the Voortrekker Monument in Pretoria. The Voortrekker was built in 1938 on a mountaintop approach to the country's capital, Pretoria, as a testament to Afrikaner history, especially the defeat of black kingdoms during the whites' movement into the interior as they fled British domination.

Gert Opperman, a retired general in the apartheid military, describes how, in 1838, 464 Boers fought and defeated more than 15,000 Zulu warriors. "The Voortrekkers took a vow that if God gave them victory over the Zulus, they would always commemorate that day as a Sabbath."

Opperman says the monument, dedicated on the 100th anniversary of the victory over the Zulus, is the Afrikaners' most important heritage site, and, in post-apartheid South Africa, is their "emotional home." When Opperman took over the monument in 1999, attendance was at an all-time low. "Many Afrikaners did not want to associate with the monument," he says. "They were not proud of it." This led Opperman to a total overhaul of the monument's approach. "We brought in professional sound management, upgraded services and facilities. And we embarked on marketing programs aimed at the previously disadvantaged, especially the schools."

The campaign has been a huge success—so much so that, ironically, the very survival of what many view as a tribute to apartheid, today almost totally depends on the patronage of black school children.

On one rainy day, two busloads of black students visit the monument from Angana High School, located in what used to be called the Northern Province before the new local black government changed its name back to Limpopo. Adam Netonane, one of the school's history teachers, says he had no reservations about bringing black chil-

dren to the Voortrekker Monument, from which blacks were banned until the early 1990s.

"In order to understand South African history and culture," Netonane says, "these kids have to understand what was hidden before. Previously when [Afrikaners] built this monument, they thought South Africa would stay like it was… But now they have lost power. We have taken over. And we are free also to know. This was for their children and their children's children. Now it is also for us."

A true test of the monument's sustainability will begin in 2004, when black students and their teachers will have a new, nearby alternative. The government is building a vast new heritage site just next door to the Voortrekker Monument. Spanning 129 acres and expected to cost around $50 million, the high-tech heritage site is called Freedom Park. The ambitious project will cover more than three billion years of the country's history—beginning with the genesis of early life forms and later hominids, some of which eventually evolved into modern homo sapiens, tracing evidence of humanity's evolution found in South Africa. It will then focus on the presence of native ethnic groups as well as the arrival and consequences of European colonialism.

It is being built on the adjoining mountain approach to Pretoria, juxtaposed, geographically and philosophically, to the Voortrekker Monument. The first phase, celebrating anti-apartheid freedom fighters, is due to open on the 10th anniversary of South Africa's new democracy in 2004, with completion due four years later. President Thabo Mbeki has called Freedom Park the most important project of his government.

Dr. Mongane Wally Serote, a former Deputy Minister for Arts and Culture, heads this project, and he is unapologetic about the role Freedom Park will play in reclaiming African history from what he calls "centuries of distortion."

"The African voice has been silenced and trampled upon," he says, "For much of the history that Europeans wrote, they said Africans were not human. We have to accept as part of our history that we were a colonized people. There is nowhere in the world where colonialism did not destroy what it found when it arrived. On top of that, we had the apartheid system. There's a very deep desire in the nation for Freedom Park. I hear that in the churches and other places. People pray about how they want Freedom Park because it will reaffirm that they are human beings."

Clearly, in a country stratified for centuries by strict gradations of ethnicity, this approach has sparked controversy—all of which surfaces in the many public hearings held across the country to solicit opinion about the park.

Serote has heard objections from groups ranging from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, which objects to plans depicting traditional African slaughter of animals, to some church leaders who claim plans to portray ancient African spiritual practices are an endorsement of paganism.

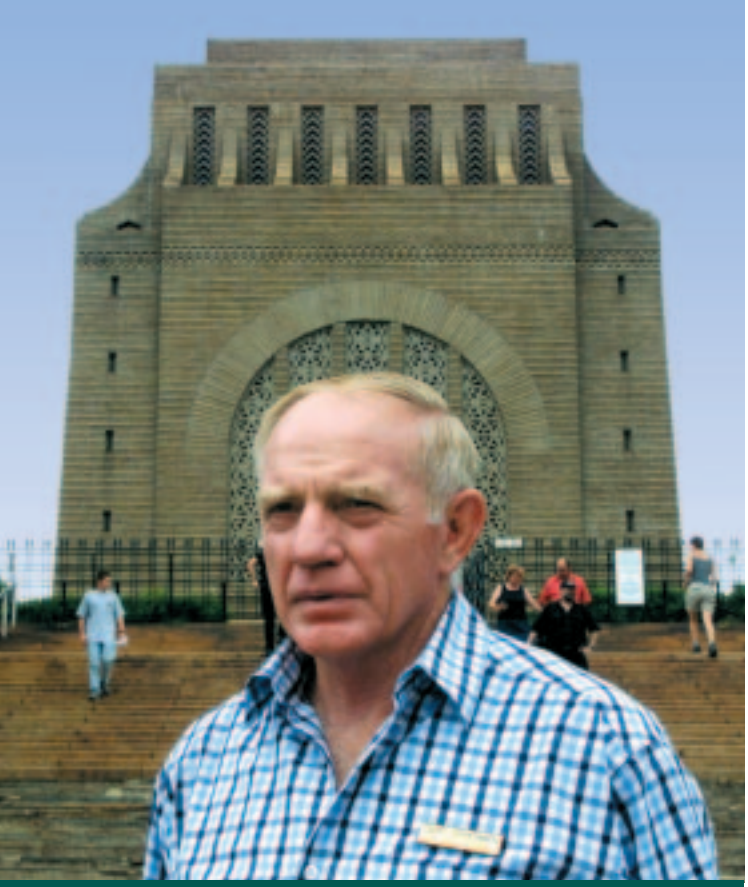
By far, the loudest challenges being raised are to Freedom Park's unabashedly Africanist point of view, and leading that charge are Afrikaners. As Opperman puts it, "There are many Afrikaners who feel marginalized, who feel their heritage and culture is being neglected, vandalized, stolen. And there is an outcry that something must be done about it. But we don't have a choice."

Afrikaners *will* have a choice about whether or not to visit Freedom Park, and Serote isn't optimistic about the prospects. "I am sure for some time there will be a serious problem with Afrikaner attendance," he says. "It's not nice to be told that you did terrible wrong. But I am more hopeful about their children."

Serote has met with Opperman to discuss ways in which they can cooperate. So far, that has led to a decision to build a road linking the Voortrekker Monument and Freedom Park. Serote adds that the meetings have also enlightened him about Afrikaner feelings. "I sat down with General Opperman and suddenly realized I had no inkling of the meaning of the Anglo-Boer war for Afrikaners," he explains. "And the pain is very deep. I now have a personal understanding of that pain, because I

"We don't have a balanced history are now trying to rewrite the basic problem is the very same people mix the old

—Chitja Twala, *professor of history,*



Gert Opperman, CEO of the Voortrekker Monument, stands at its main entrance.

history, even today. who distorted our it... We must and the new."

University of the Free State

want them to have a personal understanding of my pain."

On the Wrong Side of History?

The opposition to Freedom Park's African perspective isn't only voiced by Afrikaners, but also by leading intellectuals, both in South Africa and internationally.

When he travels around the world for consultations, Serote says he's surprised to find "strong opposition" from some of the leading white international academics and intellectuals, whom he declined to name. "They feel threatened by it. For many of them, the very phrase African history, or African historian, is a contradiction in terms," he suggests. "Their view of the African role in history is as cargo. But we can't go on being told that architecture was founded in the West and that we were living in trees and didn't design any shelter. We can't be told that we made no substantial contributions to science, medicine and the arts. We have to liberate ourselves from this thinking. The same kind of leading intellectuals and philosophers who distorted our history in the past are the very ones who are objecting to an African voice *today*."

Perhaps surprisingly, some of the objections to the Africanist interpretation come from some black South Africans. It is not at all unusual for many South Africans of all races, including blacks, to ask visiting foreigners, "Have you been to Africa?"

This tendency on the part of many blacks in South Africa to refer to Africa as *someplace* else, and Africans as *somebody* else, is not surprising to Serote. "This results from 360 years of isolation," he says. "Under apartheid, blacks were not permitted to travel, or even read about the rest of Africa. Nelson Mandela's first arrest was for going to Algeria. If I had been caught with a copy of [late Ghanian President Kwame] Nkrumah's book, *Africa Must Unite*, I would have been imprisoned by law." Serote is referring to the fact that Nkrumah's PanAfricanist clarion call for the liberation and unification of the African continent was among the most suppressed of books in apartheid-era South Africa, but any political book even vaguely thought to contain themes of African empowerment also qualified for banning.

Nowhere is this Africanist/European divide over historical interpretation more sharply contested than in academia, which is struggling under the direction of the government to come up with a new history to teach in the schools and universities.

The fissures were evident at a meeting of the South African Society for History Teaching (SASHT), an organization of university history professors. Out of about 50 participants, five were black, a proportion reflected nationally in the numbers of white versus black university historians.

Rands Afrikaans University professor Martin Templeman was the founding chairman of the organization. "We are definitely the losers in this process of historical reinterpretation," he says. "At the moment, I give history lectures in the Afrikaans language in only about 10 percent of my courses, at a university created for Afrikaners. I have no shadow of a doubt that within 10 years, there will be no Afrikaans lectures whatsoever at this university."

Templeman acknowledges that he first got his appointment at the university because he was a supporter of the National Party, which created apartheid. "It was preordained that white Afrikaners should get jobs at this particular institution. If I applied now," he says, "I wouldn't get a job, even if I was the best, because I'm white and Afrikaans. We're on the

Pretoria, the capital of South Africa. A proposal to rename the city is under consideration.

wrong side of history and there's not much I can do about it."

Professor Johann Tempelhoff is the director of Potchefstrom University's School of Social Sciences. A longtime member of the Society of History Teaching, Tempelhoff shares the Afrikaner angst about the "new" history. "What gives offense," he says, "is the fact there are frequent derogatory references to Afrikaners in many of the texts now being produced."

Tempelhoff sees a connection between the Afrikaner "marginalization and demonization" and the apparent growth of armed right-wing activity among whites. In October 2002, several bombs exploded in Soweto and a nearby village. Within weeks, two dozen members of a right-wing Afrikaner organization called Boeremag were arrested for the bombings, which destroyed several buildings and killed three people. Prosecutor Pieter Luyt contended that there was "considerable" support for the Boeremag among Afrikaners in the country. According to witness statements, there were people nationwide who hid and supported some of the alleged terrorists when they were still wanted by the police.

While critics like Tempelhoff think the revision of history is going too far in the wrong direction, black historians are certain the process is too slow in reclaiming African history.

Chitja Twala, a professor of history at the University of the Free State, is one of those who expressed impatience at the SASHT conference. "We don't have a balanced history, even today," he says. "The basic problem is the very same people who distorted our history are now trying to rewrite it."

Nonetheless, Twala is optimistic that eventually, what he calls a proper balance will be achieved. "We must mix the old and the new," he says. "We must have a starting point. We cannot expect this to be done in three years. The history project will take us somewhere. And other people will take it from there."

Dr. Mgwebi Snail, the head of Vista University's History Department, disagrees. "Africans are just shadows

"The memories like Steve Biko European memory risk that they

under the table of history written by Europeans," he said. "It's still the same so-called white liberals who are rewriting our history. It's like making a cat the head of the university of mice. The type of history being taught in South African schools today—that is being hammered into the minds of black children—is meant to instill feelings of inferiority. At conferences like the SASHT meeting, black historians are the smallest minority—hardly 5 percent. Whites also control academic journals. There are cliques and they

are closed to black historians."

The main problem, according to Snail, is what he calls the poison of a system known as Bantu education, which the apartheid government imposed during the apartheid era in order to prevent Africans from taking many math, science and technical courses that might lead them into competition with whites for jobs. The point, says Snail, paraphrasing the words of a former South African prime minister, Hendrik Verwoerd, was to keep blacks from being educated to a point where they would "yearn to graze in the greener pastures, which are reserved for whites. This poison is still being passed on," he declares.

Lelimo told his overwhelmingly white audience at the SASHT gathering. "The norms, values and character of South Africa are still dominated by the oppressors of yesterday," he added as the whites sat in stony silence. Later, Lelimo said he was disappointed by the conference. "I went, thinking there would be many black people to listen to me and was shocked to find only whites. Blacks were not there. This speaks to the question of how safe [South African] democracy is. These people don't see the danger coming their way. Black South Africans must maximize their chances now, not wait until catastrophe strikes. I have fear they don't see the gravity of the situation."

of South African intellectuals and Robert Sobukwe are buried under in South Africa. This runs the will not be remembered."

—Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, *Kenyan writer*

Some of the most passionately impatient voices involved in South Africa's historical debate are coming from other Africans. History professor Moloantoa Lelimo is executive director of the Lesotho School Headmasters Association. Lesotho bills itself as the only country in sub-Saharan Africa never to have been defeated militarily, though they were colonized by the British. Lesotho achieved independence in 1966.

"The process of decolonization has just begun in South Africa,"

Naming Heroes

On a recent visit to Cape Town, internationally acclaimed Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiong'o echoed the warnings of Lelimo and others about codifying the history of South Africa's nonwhite majority. "South Africa holds a special place in the African imagination," said Ngugi, who has championed African literature in African languages. As he traveled through South Africa, Ngugi said he was saddened by the absence of recognition of African heroes. "No street or town is named for Steve Biko, one of the founders of the Black Consciousness Movement," he said, adding, "The town where Biko was born is called Ginsberg, just outside a place called King Williamstown. The memories of South African intellectuals like Biko and Robert Sobukwe, founder of the Pan Africanist Congress, are buried under European memory in South Africa. And this runs the risk that they will not be remembered."

"Other cities the Europeans renamed," Ngugi continued, "include East London and Queenstown. I even came across an area called Uncle Tom's in Soweto. And then there is the town of Berlin, named after the very place where whites met in the 19th century to carve up African lands among themselves. Why is a free South Africa allowing the African identity and consciousness that existed before colonialism to be submerged under the legacy of the colonial masters of old?" Ngugi asked, adding, "South Africans should have no apologies about changing colonial names."

The responsibility for changing the names of places with colonial identifications has fallen to a commission under the responsibility of Thomas Ntsewa. A lawyer by training, Ntsewa is the chairman of The Geographic Names Council, established in 1998 to review and change names being used for cities, towns, rivers and mountains.

"Whites are still very much attached to the past," Ntsewa says. "That is why this process has to proceed even if they are offended. The fear of offending the minority is an offense to the majority," he insists. "The whites gave places new names because they couldn't pronounce words in the local languages," Ntsewa said. "They also gave places offensive names like 'Kaffirs' Kraal.' [Ed. Note: This might be translated as "A Nigger's Village."] We have to ensure that such names are

removed," Ntsewa believes.

Ntsewa and other black historians note that the European urge to rename didn't stop with places. Most black South Africans are known by European first names, the result of an apartheid government requirement that black students have them. "Our parents used to have to conjure up names for us," Ntsewa says.

In addition, white employers would routinely and whimsically change even the surnames of black workers seeking the identity documents required under the apartheid government. Snail, for example, tells of how his grandfather was given his surname by a white employer, who thought the worker slow in following his orders. Because the apartheid government rigidly imposed identity document requirements on black workers, Snail's family has been saddled with the name ever since. He is in the process of changing his surname to the family's original African name.

The Geographic Names Council last year changed the name of Pietersburg, a major South African city named for an Afrikaner general, back to Polokwane, which means "a place of safety," in the Ndebele and Sesotho languages. Whites marched in the streets to protest the change, and some vandalized new signs after the changes were made. Most of the name changes, Ntsewa says, are simply to return them to what they were before Europeans revised them. Many places have long had parallel names, he explains. Whites used theirs, and blacks used the old names.

The commission is now focusing on the Afrikaner heartland—the South African capital of Pretoria. While the metropolitan area has already been named for a Tswana word meaning "we are all the same" — Tswane—a decision on whether to rename the city itself is only now being considered.

Tswane mayor Smagaliso Mkhatshwa, a Catholic priest, recently fielded angry calls on a radio talk show over the subject. Many white callers objected to what they viewed as the unnecessary expense of a name change, insisting that the money could be better spent on services and the needs of poor black people.

"When the ANC first came into power," explains Mkhatshwa, "our focus was on providing services like water and electricity. We were not obsessed with name changes. But this is a natural process in the course of transformation."

One white Afrikaner telephoned the radio program to express bitter opposition to changing Pretoria's name. "There is a malevolent spirit in this process of changing the name of Pretoria," the caller said. "This is the icon of the Afrikaner people. Now that [the nonwhite majority] are in the driver's seat they should respect the contributions Afrikaners made to this country."

Max Du Preez, a popular Afrikaner newspaper columnist widely regarded as a liberal, dedicated a newspaper essay to the issue. "The way Afrikaner names and symbols have been discarded has caused much anxiety," he wrote. "Some say, and not without good reason, that Afrikaners should regard themselves as lucky for getting off so easily after decades of apartheid abuse. That is true. Only a handful of extremist Afrikaners would really want apartheid to be brought back. But," Du Preez pointed out, the renaming movement has led to much bitterness. "Afrikaners," he wrote, "feel they are unloved and unwanted."

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission

One of South Africa's first attempts to deal with its recent history occurred with the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Created shortly after the election of the new government, the commission, or TRC, as it was known, was tasked with unearthing the extent and details of human rights abuses in the apartheid era.

For a country that had done its best to keep such matters secret, South Africa underwent a kind of public shock treatment through months of public hearings where thousands of witnesses told dramatic, heart-wrenching stories of torture and murder.

Mary Burton, a TRC commissioner, says that when so much evidence of abuse was placed on the public record, "it became impossible to deny the effects of apartheid and the

"As someone once wrote, in order to have selective amnesia. If these different factions in South Africa... other's throats."—Bernard Magubane,

mechanisms the government used to sustain that system." The immediate aftermath, Burton says, "led to great outpourings of guilt and a greater determination to deal with these issues. But since then, many whites have fallen back into their daily routines of denial. They have put unpleasantries in the back of their minds."

But there were some areas of South Africa's history that Burton acknowledges the commissioners knew nothing about and did not examine. These included agreements between the apartheid government and the ANC to keep certain matters secret. One of those agreements concerned the identities of spies in both camps; another closed the veil on highly classified apartheid government operations in biological, chemical and nuclear weapons.

Bernard Magubane, an emeritus professor of anthropology who returned to his native South Africa after 27 years of teaching at the University of Connecticut, heads two of the government's most important history projects: a commission working on an official history of the fight against apartheid and the Classification and Reclassification Commission, which is charged with determining which documents from that era should be declassified. Magubane says, "There were many side deals about secrecy. We may never find out what some of them were." Surprisingly, though, Magubane supports the idea of maintaining silence on some issues. Why? "As someone once wrote," he says, "in order to build a nation, you have to have selective amnesia. If those agreements had not been reached, today, the different factions in South Africa would be like Israel and Palestine. We would still be at each other's throats."

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Classification and Reclassification Commission

Teaching the "New History" in Schools

Keeping future generations at peace with one another is a principle objective of the attempt to produce a new history curriculum in schools. In effect, the battle over different interpretations of history is being fought, to a large extent, in South Africa's schools. "History is one of the memory systems that shape our values and morality," according to a report by the South African History Project. The exercise to reshape the school curriculum is nothing less than an effort to produce new unified citizens from a still racially stratified society. Carnegie Corporation of New York has provided assistance in this area through support aimed at helping to strengthen the teaching of history in South Africa's schools and expanding teacher training in this field.

Dr. June Bam is the chief executive officer of the history project, an initiative of the South African Ministry of Education. She proudly points to accomplishments over the past few years, including the approval of a new history curriculum and the establishment of programs designed to assist in the professional development of history teachers. A Writing and Oral History Project has also been launched. And History Roundtables have been established in each of the country's nine provinces to constantly review and improve the teaching and learning of history, as well as the production of new history textbooks. The roundtables also serve as networks that help history teachers share new ideas and materials.

Despite the achievements, Bam acknowledges that even 10 years after the establishment of a black majority government in South Africa, students are still being taught what is referred to as "Boer History." She says, "The fact that apartheid history continues to be taught is one of our biggest challenges. We just don't have the capacity or funding to make the changes as quickly as we'd like." Bam points out that South Africa still has many schools where classes are held under trees and still others struggle to get pencils and paper; in such conditions, grand new schemes of history don't get a high priority, especially when the pressure is to produce rising test results. Many teachers, says Bam, just teach what they were taught. "It's in their comfort zone and the teachers do what is easy in order to obtain results."

There are other problems, too. Sighing in exasperation, Bam recalls the intense battles that preceded the selection of a new history curriculum for South Africa's primary and secondary schools. "There were blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians. Everybody

wanted their own interpretation of history. There was even a faction that didn't even want any mention of apartheid at all. It was a big fight, but that has been resolved."

As Bam indicates, the battle over the new South African history is not only one between blacks and whites. Indians and so-called "coloureds," or mixed-race persons, also have a stake. For example, there is a dispute about the role of Mahatma Gandhi, who began his career of nonviolent activism in South Africa. His granddaughter, Ela Gandhi, still lives in the South African city of Durban and publishes a monthly newspaper. "I am doing quite a lot of work trying to put grandfather into history here," she said. "They don't have enough information about Gandhi in South Africa, so they don't know that he developed his nonviolent movement here."

Clearly, in South Africa, even the subject of Mahatma Gandhi can lead to contentious debate. When a statue of Gandhi was unveiled in Johannesburg recently, it unleashed an angry outcry from Africanists and even some Indian scholars. According to critics, Gandhi's 25 years of activism in South Africa were never on behalf of, or in cooperation with, African people. His exclusive aim, they say, was to ease the suffering of the people of India.

Sorting out such arguments would challenge even the best-equipped and staffed schools in the developed world. In South Africa, where many schools lack textbooks and qualified teachers, results of the new approach to history are, to put it mildly, uneven.

Job Rathebe Junior High School sits in one of the most impoverished sections of Soweto, the group of teeming black townships just outside Johannesburg that proved critical in the fight against apartheid. The school, a collection of rundown buildings, regularly struggles to keep basic supplies. According to the principal, Peter Nhlapo, "Most of the students are very poor. And most live with their grannies or with single parents because of the toll HIV/AIDS has taken on the community. Most parents have no jobs and the students are supported by their grannies' pensions. The free lunch we give here is often the only meal many of these kids get every day."

"They don't have enough information about Gandhi in South Africa, so they don't know that he developed his nonviolent movement here."

—Ela Gandhi

Mahatma Gandhi (c) when he was a lawyer practicing in South Africa, circa 1903.

Thandi Macgai is the head of the history department at Job Rathebe. She's old enough to have taught the subject under the apartheid government. "During the years of apartheid education, it was quite difficult to teach history," she says. "We were monitored by the principal, who would walk around to see what we were doing. I remember," she continues, "using the book *Animal Farm* to talk about the liberation struggle. Then I was in trouble. I was warned on a very serious note."

Despite the vastly improved academic environment today, many students just don't care about history, Macgai says. "Our youth are into money and music," she notes. "I observe it with my own children." It's a problem cited by many teachers and students themselves. But, in a strange dichotomy, the teaching of history in school also faces discrimination from

the government even as it tries to reinvigorate the topic. One of the main educational tasks that the new government focused on after it took power 10 years ago was to reverse the decades of policy that prevented Africans from learning skills and trades, so much emphasis has now been placed on science and math courses designed to accelerate the development of workers.

The result has been that, even among many teachers, history has become a kind of dumping ground. Soweto high school history teacher Malopotsa Malepu says that when teachers advise students on what courses to take they send the "slow learners" to history classes.

Eighteen-year-old Tshepiso Kachelenga seems to understand why that is. "The other day I told my friend I was doing history," Kachelenga says. "He laughed at me because he said history won't help me get a job. He said history is about old people. They are dead." Sixteen-year-old Penelope Moyila shares similar experiences. "Most students don't like history," she says. "My friends think I'm stupid for studying it."

Despite this dim view, a visitor to the history class at Job Rathebe finds the students abuzz with excitement. Teacher Lucky Mabasa is passionately engaged with the subject of history as he divides the class into teams that compete for answers to historical questions concerning conflict, tolerance and globalization. The students say that they find Mabasa's history classes exciting and stimulating, leading some of them to rush home to share the day's lessons with often illiterate parents. However, when a visitor asked the students how many thought that studying history would help them get a job, only one raised a hand.

The Pretoria Boys School is about as far as you can get from Soweto's Job Rathebe. It sits on many acres of well-tended gardens and fountains. John Illsley, the head of the history department, describes the school's origins as "British colonial. Its traditions are very much English public school," he says, adding, "In many ways, we're more English public school now than English public schools back in Great Britain." Illsley, like all teachers here, wears black lecturer's robes during school hours. While the number of black students has risen in the 10 years of democracy, whites still represent more than 60 percent of students.

Illsley is strongly critical of the process of curriculum revision being directed by the Education Ministry, calling it "largely politically motivated. I think the present government is making the same mistake as the apartheid government in using history for a particular ideological purpose. There is definitely an agenda to push, an Africanist point of view—maybe even Marxist," he says. "And I have been very critical of that." Illsley also criticized "the hugely self-congratulatory theme the government is pushing in contemporary history, meaning the struggle against apartheid. It's being overdone."

Illsley says that process "doesn't affect the history we teach here, because we won't tackle it until we have prepared properly for it. If we go by the book, we'll have to considerably revise what we teach. The year 2006 is the deadline."

Even among these much more affluent students, Illsley says there is an aversion to studying history in favor of more commercial courses. "There's a hugely vocational decision-making process that goes on here with students and parents in terms of what their kids should study," he says. "Even boys who enjoy history ask, how is this going to help me?"

Illsley confirms the view of many other teachers and students that there is a particular aversion among white students to study contemporary—meaning apartheid—history. "There is an audible groan in the class when they hear we are about to deal with it," he says. It's a kind of sullen resentment, just below the surface, of having to go through all this. There's not a helluva lot to be proud of in that period for white South Africans."

On the other hand, according to Illsley, the black students, the children of the emerging business and government elite, seem very receptive to the subject. "Black pupils have always been more politically aware than white students, and they still are," he says. "Under apartheid, whites were sheltered from information and knowledge about what their government was doing. So the problem is that black and white pupils view the issue totally differently. In some of my classes, that has become open in terms of the tensions you can see developing. That's a major problem."

Phillip Johnson seems an exception to the examples offered by Illsley. A white 17-year-old, Phillip expresses genuine appreciation at having studied apartheid history. "Since we studied it a few years ago," he says, "I feel strongly against racism. It's not until you study it that you really understand it. By raising the issue of mistakes made in the past, we get a chance to change the future. We are building tolerance, and I feel that I do need to help the country, and be a part of it. We have something special that not all countries have. Our country is more diverse than anywhere else," he says, perhaps summing up many of South Africa's challenges, as well as its most promising resources, in a few well-chosen words. "I definitely think we are on the right road." ■


A
high school

Alternative Pathways to College

by Kathy Seal

The demarcation line between high school and college is beginning to blur as educators and students find new ways to connect institutions and educational experiences.

At one side of the cafeteria of Middle College High School on the campus of New York City's LaGuardia Community College, four boys in baggy pants and black hooded sweatshirts roar in raucous singsong: *"You were jumpin' around / You were jumpin' around / You were slappin' heads on the floor."* Leaping up from their table, two of the boys start play punching each other.

Howling erupts as one of the play-fighting boys lifts a chair over his head, brandishing it at no one in particular. None of this noisy horseplay fazes Alex Panesso, an 18-year-old senior eating lunch on the other side of the cafeteria. Arms resting on the sticky pink cafeteria table in front of him, Panesso slides his eyes briefly toward the younger boys.

"There are some students who take too much advantage of our freedom," he explains calmly. "As a sophomore, I messed up, I got bored. But then as a junior, I found out the only way I'm going to pass high school is by me doing it. That's what I like about this school. We have to be responsible for ourselves. We're interacting with adults and have more understanding with teachers. It changes your whole world," says Panesso,

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Kathy Seal recently coauthored with Deborah Stipek Motivated Minds: Raising Children to Love Learning *(©2001 Henry Holt and Co.; Owl Books), which popularizes the last 30 years of academic research into children's motivation to learn. Her articles and essays have appeared in publications including* The New York Times*, the* Los Angeles Times, Omni, Family Circle, Educational Leadership*, and* Columbia Journalism Review.

who plans to go to college, major in business and then earn an MBA.

This juxtaposition of rowdy adolescent behavior with cool, goal-directed maturity is emblematic of Middle College High School (MCHS), which grants teenagers a judicious mix of freedom and structure as it propels them toward adulthood. Serving teenagers who otherwise might drop out of high school, graduate with substandard skills or try college and fail, MCHS allows students to take courses at LaGuardia Community College, and is also piloting a program in which students stay a thirteenth year and graduate with an AA degree. It's one of a plethora of models arising in response to the 21st century economic demand that nearly every youth attend at least two years of postsecondary education. It may not be too much to say that an entire alternative system is evolving, poised to change the American high school and significantly broaden the college prep system as we know it.

Most of these new institutions are small schools embracing innovations such as project-based learning, portfolio assessments and internships. And though they come in many different shapes and forms, these initiatives are all responding to changes in the American economy that dictate a new paradigm for schooling. Before the United States began to de-industrialize in the 1970s, the lack of a college or even a high school diploma didn't preclude a decent middle class life. But while factory jobs accounted for 32 percent of employment in 1959, that figure plunged to 17 percent by 1997. Gone are the days when auto, steel and rubber tire factories hired "warm bodies," meaning just about anyone who could pass a physical.

The U.S. now has a service economy, marbled throughout with high tech. That means even Mr. Goodwrench needs 17 months of post-high-school training to work on today's computer-filled cars. Jobs in health care and education have proliferated. Offices now account for 38 percent of all American employment and "are expected to add four million new jobs by 2006, compared to the 750,000 expected in the closely watched information technology sector," notes Anthony Carnevale in *Help Wanted…Credentials Required: Community Colleges in the Knowledge Economy* (Educational Testing Service, 2001). The majority of those office jobs are professional—in management, accounting, sales and marketing. In other words, the fastest growing jobs require higher education.

"Two years of postsecondary education has become the minimum that young people must achieve if they are to enter jobs that pay enough to sustain a family," says Hilary Pennington, chief executive officer and vice chairman of Jobs for the Future, a nonprofit research, consulting and advocacy organization that has received Corporation support for its work on new models of high school learning, including early college programs.

But policymakers and parents can't simply snap their fingers and expect teenagers to finish high school and move on to college. Many families, especially in urban areas, can't afford college tuition. Parents who haven't attended college themselves aren't familiar with the admissions and financial aid procedures.

Furthermore, just as teenagers are gaining the ability for complex abstract thought and need motivating cognitive challenges, they're often stymied by the low academic expectations implied by the tracking that is common in America's approximately 14,600 basic comprehensive high schools.

Compounding the problem, most of

AIMÉE SISCO

Alex Panesso (r.), pictured with students Valerie Fernandez (l.) and Nurys Benzant (c.), says that the educational experience at the Middle College High School on the campus of New York City's LaGuardia Community College "changes your whole world."

these schools still operate according to the factory model instituted after Henry Ford introduced the moving assembly line in 1913. Designed to produce large numbers of standard-quality students, such schools fostered "punctuality, regularity, attention, and silence," which Stanford education professor Linda Darling-Hammond points out in her book *The Right To Learn: A Blueprint for Creating Schools That Work* (Jossey-Bass, 1997) were the key habits for success in industrial society. Beginning about 1920, behaviorist theory also encouraged a curriculum focused on eliciting uniform responses, rather than on sharpening students' thinking and their understanding of ideas.

As a consequence, many traditional American high schools—particularly in urban areas, where they tend to be large, "all-purpose" institutions that elementary, junior high and middle schools funnel students into, almost indiscriminately—are not equipped to provide the academic rigor or educational challenge and sense of purpose needed to provide all students with the opportunity to succeed in high school and go on to higher education. Like de facto sorting machines left over from an earlier age, the design of these schools is still rooted in the idea of sending high-achieving students on to college while allowing others to step off the educational track to pursue a vocation or, for nongraduates, to fill unskilled labor slots. That is an untenable model for a 21st century society rooted in a knowledge-based economy, where highly skilled and educated workers are becoming the norm.

There are other problems with this outdated model of high school, as well. Large, comprehensive schools provide little opportunity for teachers to get to know their students' individual capacities or needs, let alone provide personalized attention and support. They offer little incentive for all students to achieve at high levels and few opportunities for teachers to work together to create learning communities that benefit both student and instructor.

Nor do the large factory-model schools usually meet the psychological needs of adolescents. As they start to form an identity and see what part they might play in society, teenagers need caring adults to serve as role models and give them guidance. They also need peers "with similar goals moving on to the next step," adds Mike Nakkula, assistant professor of human development and urban education at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Students in urban schools who don't feel well-supported often feel like "they have to take care of themselves," says Nakkula, "and to satisfy their need for economic gain they can't wait two-to-four years, so they go out and get jobs."

Such psychological and financial pressures, combined with curricula that don't set high expectations for students, have produced a high school dropout rate estimated at nearly 50 percent for urban students. And one study of high school graduates in Baltimore's non-selective high schools found that between 1993 and 1998, no more than 41 percent were attending college the year after graduation. Even students who manage to get to college find it tough going: 35.5 percent of first- and second-year college students had to take remedial courses in 1999-2000.

Many traditional American high schools are not equipped to provide the academic rigor or educational challenge students need to go on to higher education.

But creating one new high school model won't solve these problems. Teenagers' personalities and trajectories differ enormously, says Kurt Fischer, professor of education and development at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. That means the U.S. needs a variety of alternate pathways to college.

Shalom Means Opportunity

When Alex Don Martin was 14, he spent his days skateboarding, smoking marijuana, and drinking beer. He lived with his unemployed and mentally ill mother, but also spent nights at his father's apartment, sleeping on the couch. "I was out with my friends all the time. I wouldn't come home at all on weekends," he remembers. In the 10th grade, he dropped out of school.

Today Martin, who graduated from Marquette University Law School in Milwaukee with high honors, works at a small law firm in that city. The

28-year-old husband and new father credits the turnaround in his life to Shalom High School, where his father took him in desperation when Martin was 16. Run by TransCenter for Youth Inc., a community-based organization in Milwaukee, Shalom is one of several dozen Community Based Organization (CBO) schools nationwide providing an increasingly important alternate pathway to college.

Shalom opened in 1973 as a private school for youth referred by local courts. (Its name comes from a sign remaining on its building from a 1960s-era Franciscan Brothers ecumenical drop-in center.) By 1981, six Shalom directors had burned out from the task of raising the school's budget every year. The seventh, Daniel Grego, decided to work with community activists, state legislators and Wisconsin governor Tony Earl on legislation allowing districts with large numbers of high school dropouts to contract for schooling with private, nonprofit and nonsectarian community-based agencies. Enacted in 1985, this "money follows the at-risk student" law quadrupled Shalom's budget overnight. (Minnesota has a similar statute.) Soon, says Grego, parents were knocking on the door saying, "Does my son have to rob a store to get into Shalom?"

Like Northwest Opportunities Vocational Academy (NOVA) and El Puente High School for Science Math and Technology, two Milwaukee schools also run by TransCenter, Shalom has 100 students. Most are high school dropouts. "We tend to get 16-19-year-olds who haven't earned many credits," says Grego. To graduate, they must earn 22 credits and demonstrate mastery of 300 core skills, often through a project chosen to match their interests. One girl, for example, wrote about characters—literary, cinematic and real—who succumbed to each of the seven deadly sins. Martin did a project on the role of the United States and the Soviet Union in Somalia. To graduate, he presented a portfolio of work, including a paper on the ethics of the death penalty, before a graduation committee of two teachers and three community members. After graduation, about half of Shalom's students enter college.

AIMÉE SISCO

"We have an open campus because we want to teach kids to be responsible," says Aaron Listhaus, principal of LaGuardia Middle College High School.

Shalom has received funding from many different private and corporate foundations including the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation; the Helen Bader Foundation; the Greater Milwaukee Foundation; the Faye McBeath Foundation; Patrick and Anna M. Cudahy Fund; the Northwestern Mutual Foundation; Ameritech; Johnson Controls Foundation; the Walton Family Foundation; the Stackner Family Foundation; the Archdiocese of Milwaukee Supporting Fund; and the Miller Brewing Company.

Freedom and Responsibility: A Model for Change

LaGuardia Middle College High School was founded with a Carnegie Corporation planning grant on the campus of LaGuardia

"How do you **teach** kids to be autonomous if they're not given any **freedoms**?"

—Aaron Listhaus, *principal, LaGuardia Middle College High School*

Community College in 1974. The pioneering 530-student school (now downsizing to 430) was later replicated at 31 sites nationwide. Today it serves as one model for the Early College High School Initiative, which will work with nonprofit intermediaries to establish early college high schools nationwide. Students will graduate from these early colleges with an AA degree or two years of college credit toward the baccalaureate degree. Funded by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation along with Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation and the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the more than $60 million, five-year effort aims to increase college-going for underrepresented youth by creating a seamless transition between high school and college, especially for low-income and first-generation college-goers, English language learners and students of color.

As of this writing, eleven intermediary or partner organizations, coordinated by Jobs for the Future, will each create or redesign between six and twenty public schools. They will enroll no more than 400 students, provide a rigorous curriculum and engage students in "active inquiry."

"Not enough kids complete college in this country," says Cecilia Cunningham, a former LaGuardia MCHS principal who now directs the 30-member Middle College National Consortium, based at LaGuardia Community College. "Now we're going to see if by combining grades 9-14 into one institution we're able to get more of them through. There's no doubt that we will."

Indictors are that Cunningham and her colleagues are on the right track. Ninety-seven percent of MCHS' 2003 graduates will attend college (more than one-third will go to four-year schools), and the school receives more than 1,000 applications annually for its 100 ninth grade slots, says principal Aaron Listhaus. Applicants have to show potential for college work, but must have failed at least three courses or been truant for 40 days during the previous year.

The school offers a demanding curriculum and multiple support strategies, yet simultaneously accords students a large measure of adult freedom. Smoking in front of the entrance is allowed—although not without fierce ongoing debate. Beyond losing grade points, there are no penalties for cutting class, although teachers will talk to students who do so. Students have unfettered Internet access; they choose their courses and internships. And their opinions count: the administration rescinded a hated ban on hats (which may signal gang affiliations) when students promised to report any signs of gang activity at school.

"How do you teach kids to be autonomous if they're not given any freedoms?" asks Listhaus. "We have an open campus because we want to teach kids to be responsible, to handle their time and make those decisions."

Like Alex Panesso, almost every student initially "messes up" but then realizes his or her error. "At first, I did take advantage of how they treat you like an adult," admits Nurys Benzant, an 18-year-old junior from Queens. "That's why I'm a junior. I was supposed to be a senior. …Now I'm grateful they did teach me responsibility." Benzant plans to get a B.A. in education and teach literature and writing.

Pedagogy also reflects respect for students' minds. "The teachers want you to know what and why you're doing something rather than just saying, 'Do this,'" explains senior Valerie Fernandez, 17, who wants to study computer graphics at a four-year college. Instead of simply memorizing geometry formulas, for example, students derive them.

Now MCHS is ratcheting up expectations by piloting its Middle College-Early College (MCEC) High School program with 17 students. Community college courses have always been optional for 11th and 12th graders, but MCEC students, who will graduate with an AA degree, must take 12 quarterly courses at LaGuardia Community College during those years and one each summer, as well as a full load of college classes during an extra "13th grade" year.

They also attend a 70-minute seminar four times a week where MCHS teacher David Grodsky coaches students through their college courses. That means everything from giving them vouchers to buy books and helping them understand their assignments, to working with their college instructor when necessary. For example, when MCEC students told Grodsky agitatedly that they had to role-play joining a gang, he explained to their Theater as Communication instructor that the issue was still too raw for them.

But his biggest task, says Grodsky, is nudging students toward the maturity demanded by college culture. They have to be self-starters, prepared and on time, and adjust to lectures and tests rather than projects, he says. Furthermore, college professors are less personal and flexible than MCHS teachers.

"Here, teachers have kind of mothered and fathered them through by being friendly and funny and getting to know them as individuals," explains Grodsky, a 34-year-old Princeton graduate. "College professors are nice enough people, but a little less interested in running a student-centered classroom."

Other Gates partner organizations are designing Early College High Schools along distinctly different lines. Some examples:

- In Washington State, eight early

colleges will integrate Native American culture into their programs. Antioch University of Seattle is redesigning six high schools and launching two others for students in grades 9-14. All students will graduate with college credits, some with an AA degree. Curriculum at the new, year-round program will include native literature and arts and possibly courses in the Lummi, Salish and Lushotseed native languages. The project aims to shift expectations for Native Americans away from remediation and toward rigorous academics.

- Students in Portland Community College's College Bound program in Oregon are high school dropouts who enter with an average 1.89 GPA, but leave with both a high school diploma and enough college credits to take them through freshman year. Twenty-two percent graduate with an AA degree. The Early College High School initiative will give Portland Community College $4.85 million to replicate its 400-student College Bound program at eight community colleges nationwide over the next five years.
- Faculty from nearby universities will teach university-level math and science courses at six math and science charter schools created by the Utah Partnership for Education and Economic Development and the state governor's office.

Unlike many other early college high schools, these "New Century High Schools" will emphasize traditional "direct instruction" integrated with a lesser amount of project-based learning, says Rich Kendell, deputy to Utah Governor Mike O. Leavitt and project director for the Utah New Century High Schools. Forty-eight local high tech firms have already agreed to provide help ranging from curriculum advice and teaching to sponsoring summer school and providing internships.

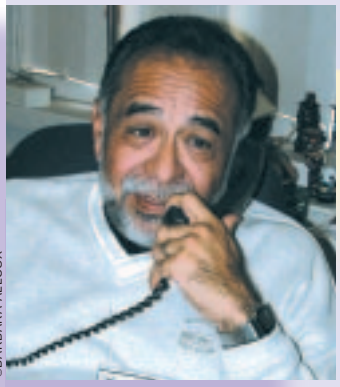
Utah has a state program that pays up to 75 percent of state university tuition for students who have earned an AA degree by the September following high school graduation. The Utah Partnership for Education and Economic Development is working to extend it to students who complete the new charter schools' university-level math and science core.

- Emphasizing the liberal arts and links to major research universities and colleges, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation will redesign one school and create nine others based on the model of Bard High School Early College (BHSEC), a two-year-old New York City public school. Eleventh and 12th graders at BHSEC take four Great Books/critical reading and writing seminars, and college-level courses in subjects such as philosophy and math, many taught by Ph.Ds. They graduate with an AA degree.

While BHSEC students are chosen chiefly for their motivation—dean of studies Pat Sharpe says the school wants students "who thirst for ideas"—the Woodrow Wilson schools will target "disadvantaged students, largely minority urban poor," says Anthony W. Marx, former director of the Woodrow Wilson Early College High School Initiative who took over the presidency of Amherst College in July 2003.

Four-year liberal arts colleges and universities including CUNY-Hunter, Brooklyn College and California State University, Los Angeles are helping the Woodrow Wilson schools develop curriculum and select teachers. The aim is to broaden the reach of liberal arts training. "Given the future of the global economic division of labor, the U.S. economy is going to be increasingly requiring critical thinking, which is the mainstay of the liberal arts," says Marx.

Two



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Frank Hernandez, dean, Contra Costa College

Frank Hernandez' devotion to Middle College High School (MCHS) at Contra Costa College (CCC) in San Pablo, California, soars beyond his professional commitment. Growing up in the surrounding blue collar neighborhood, known for its shipyard and oil refineries, Hernandez attended this community college just north of Berkeley in the early 1960s. After earning his B.A. at San Francisco State University, he returned to Contra Costa, whose aura of a " poor minority school" at times contrasted sharply to the white suburban image and facilities of two other local community colleges.

Hernandez began working as a counselor, determined to show students they had opportunities to succeed in the world beyond. He particularly wanted to provide a role model to the growing number of Latino students on campus.

"I felt it was a real responsibility to show students that there were alternatives beyond the city limits," says Hernandez, now dean of Contra Costa and liaison to its Middle College High School.

When that possibility took shape in 1989 in the form of a proposed MCHS at Contra Costa, Hernandez jumped in enthusiastically. But he was not the only one to greet with excitement this effort—sponsored by the Ford Foundation—to replicate the LaGuardia MCHS model in New York City. Similarly strong bonds to the community abound among Contra Costa staff. As a result, the college has an extremely high commitment to its middle college high school, which in turn has resulted in unusually close integration of the two institutions.

"The community college commitment to its MCHS is extremely high, and

Schools Collaborate *and Students* Succeed

they've probably had the highest level of collaboration" of all the middle colleges to date, says Cee Cee Cunningham, director of the Middle College National Consortium. The new and redesigned institutions in the Early College High School Initiative (see accompanying story), she adds, are emulating that close cooperation.

In some instances, Contra Costa and MCHS collaborate so closely that the two institutions seem fused. MCHS students who want to work on their yearbook, for example, do so in a graphics course taught by a Contra Costa instructor. Similarly, the 25 students on the high school's two-year-old robotics team take the college's *Computer Science 101: Robotics* alongside MCHS' *Principles of Technology* course. Contra Costa students in the computer science class mentor the high schoolers, who build a robot from scratch in six weeks, and then enter it into competition with robots built by other high school teams.

Key to this snug integration of MCHS and Contra Costa is the requirement that every MCHS student take a community college course each semester. As a result, MCHS has the highest percentage of community college courses passed by students of any middle college, says Cunningham. In the 2001-2002 school year, MCHS students passed 99 percent of their Contra Costa courses. In comparison, only 40 percent of the 6,000 students at all middle colleges took community college courses, and they passed only 80 percent of them.

Contra Costa faculty and MCHS teachers teach some courses collaboratively. For example, as part of the American Social History Project, created by the Middle College National Consortium, college instructor Carolyn Hodge teaches African-American history in conjunction with MCHS's Adolph "Bert" Bertero, who teaches U.S. history.

That means, for example, that Bertero might supply historical perspective or detail during Hodge's classes. "If I'm at a period of history—say the Treaty of Paris in 1763—I'll look over to him, and he'll tell me who was fighting whom," explains Hodge.

A large measure of shared governance accompanies this academic blending. Appointed as liaison between the college and the high school soon after the middle college's somewhat shaky launch, Hernandez insisted on bringing middle college staff on to the college's Academic Senate Council. Today, MCHS counselor Emilie Wilson reports to that council on the middle college every month. A joint MCHS/CCC Advisory committee also discusses middle college issues regularly. It makes recommendations on MCHS admissions decisions, and is currently refining the school's admissions criteria. (MCHS received 300 applications for 70 places for its 2003 entering class.)

In addition, MCHS staff take part in the college's academic senate; the high school's nine teachers may attend college academic department meetings. And principal Gary Carlone attends the college's council of department chairs.

Such tight linkages have apparently borne fruit. It's not only that 50 of the 53 MCHS 2003 graduates went on to two- or four-year colleges (three went into the military) and that eight also received AA degrees. But in 2003, MCHS students also achieved the highest standardized state test scores in the West Contra Costa Unified School District: an average of 783 (out of a possible 1,000) on the state's Academic Performance Index (API). Though such high test scores rouse accusations of "cherry picking" the district's best students for admission, MCHS—like LaGuardia MCHS—admits mainly students who have good potential but aren't performing well. "We look for the middle performing student—not low-low or high-high—though we do take some of each," explains Carlone.

Today, MCHS' and Contra Costa's sharing of space and facilities, while not unusual among middle colleges, is readily apparent on a green and relatively compact California campus, as compared to an east coast campus whose buildings may be separated by city streets, as they are at LaGuardia. Carlone's office is one floor below the college president's, and MCHS students have access to the entire Contra Costa campus, including classrooms, laboratories, library and media center. "We are part of the campus," says Carlone. "Our students are part of the college."

Former MCHS principal Myra Silverman's familiarity with the school district (she's a 20-year veteran) enabled her to iron out a number of problems faced by MCHS at its inception. She obtained teacher preparation periods, for example, and even managed to change the MCHS calendar to fit in with the community college year. "She was really good at working her system to get stuff," recalls Hernandez. "She had been in the district and was connected. She knew supporters of the project."

Thorough mingling of MCHS and Contra Costa also gives MCHS students organizational and job experiences, while supplying the college with needed services. For example, the MCHS Leadership Class runs the campus-wide recycling program, and keeps the college's bulletin boards up-to-date. Club members usher at graduation, and set up events like Career Day or Martin Luther King's birthday. Says MCHS student Avestro, "We're learning to become mature and handle ourselves in situations."

Not that all is rosy at MCHS: in addition to the state budget crisis and resulting cuts in community college and school district funding, recent legislation prevents the majority of MCHS students from taking physical education and summer school courses at Contra Costa. The quantity of community college credits MCHS students can take in one year without paying has also been reduced. In January, Contra Costa was put on the state's fiscal watch list.

But if Carolyn Hodge has her way, the MCHS students will be around for a long time to come. While admitting they can be more boisterous than the older community college students, Hodges says, "I love them. They have a lot of energy. They are always more upbeat than my regular college students. They do real quality work—sometimes better than my regular students. They go the extra mile. I really like that enthusiasm."

Creating a College-Bound Culture

For some students, getting to college depends on having more time to finish high school. Twenty-eight-year-old Lisa Dormevil is one such student. Growing up in foster homes—her mother spent 27 years as a drug addict—Dormevil left high school in 10th grade. Pregnant and accompanied by her one-year-old son, she moved from Virginia to New Jersey in 1991, sleeping some nights in cardboard boxes, begging passersby for change. In 2003, Dormevil graduated from the Daylight/Twilight High School, a three-year-old public school in Trenton for students 16 and older who want to finish high school.

Open from 7 a.m. to 8 p.m., Daylight/Twilight offers a largely remedial curriculum. Its flexible schedule allowed Dormevil—who now has four children and works as a cook at Pizza Hut—to attend two days a week from 3:30 to 7:30 p.m. Serving 3,000 students, of whom 80 percent are African-American, at its main campus and six satellites, the school offers no frills, except a prom. Most students try the high school several times before staying. "Our students are older, better-focused and directed. They want to patch a big hole that's been missing in their lives," says principal Bill Tracy.

Although the state allows credits for a few academically dubious achievements, such as gaining a driver's license and "life experience," a visit one afternoon to Language Arts teacher Jennifer Block's classroom finds serious students like Dormevil, her 55-year-old classmate Iris Rivera and 19-year-old Timmy Anderson, a dropout from Trenton High School, learning about irony, defining the word "cunning," answering questions about inference—and pleading to take that day's text, the novel *Black Girl Lost* (All America Distributors Corps, 1999) by Donald Goines, home to finish.

After class, black hair pulled back from her round ebony face into a short, flippy ponytail, Dormevil exudes joy.

"I thought I'd never see the day when I would get a letter saying, 'You're accepted to college,'" she says. Her exuberance at receiving such a letter from Mercer Community College in Trenton so touched guidance counselor Alfred W. Bridges that he posted it in the school's hallway, later adding 80 more student acceptances. "I'm trying to create a college-going culture here," says Bridges, a former vice president of the College of New Jersey.

Horizonte Instruction and Training Center, an alternative public high school in Salt Lake City, similarly allows students to finish high school at their own pace. Serving 800 inner city 7th-to-12th graders at nine sites, Horizonte was an adult school that added a program in the 1980s for students who felt socially or culturally alienated from their high schools. It offers a flexible year-round schedule of small classes from early morning to nine p.m. If students don't finish high school by age 18, "we roll them right over to our adult high school completion program, which has the same core curriculum," says principal James Andersen.

Horizonte students complete a "service learning" project, studying a community issue, performing a task to meet that need and writing up what they learned from the project. While the school does not keep exact college-going statistics, 72 of its 200 youth graduates in June 2003 applied for college and the school's $500 college "starter" scholarships.

Even more flexible than Daylight/Twilight High School and Horizonte are the dozens of virtual schools operated by at least ten states, eight universities and several public school districts nationwide. Some students take only one or more courses, but others complete an entire curriculum online. There are also online high schools run by private schools, regional agencies and consortia, as well as by nonprofit and for-profit organizations.

> "Given the **future** of the global economic division of labor, the U.S. **economy** is going to be increasingly requiring critical thinking."
>
> —Anthony W. Marx, *president, Amherst College*

Patching Up the Patchwork

Today's efforts to smooth the pathway into college may seem like an attempt to recover a halcyon educa-

tional past. However, history suggests otherwise.

In 1900, only ten percent of American 14-to-17-year-olds attended high schools. By 1980, 90 percent of youth in that age bracket were enrolled. As students flooded in, public high schools grew into large institutions with curriculum tracks separating college prep students from those taking the increasingly numerous "commercial" or "vocational" courses. "This was done," explains Anthony Marx, "on the false idea that not all students are capable of academic work."

Thus schools that in the past provided college prep education only for a minority are now being asked to do so for the great majority.

Furthermore, the experimental pathways emerging for this majority are not replacing a rationally designed system. The American "K-12 + college" configuration arose, notes Bob Orrill, executive director of the National Council on Education and the Disciplines, by "historic accident"—as a patchwork of institutions.

In the 1800s, state governments allowed both high schools and colleges to grant either a B.A. or a certificate, explains Carnegie Corporation Education Division Chair Daniel Fallon. Those awarding a B.A. were called colleges, and those granting a certificate were called high schools—even though they might have had the same curriculum. The high school course might even be more rigorous. Exactly where students should study the liberal arts was unclear.

That confusion grew with the founding of the American research university in the last half of the 19th century. While colonial American colleges were modeled after Oxford and Cambridge universities, with liberal arts at the core, the new research universities incorporated the German idea of *lernfreiheit*, the freedom to learn. Students chose electives rather than following a dictated curriculum. That choice implied, however, that they had learned the liberal arts in high school. Later, in reaction, higher education again took up the liberal arts. As a result, students today may build a liberal arts foundation either in a "college prep" high school curriculum or in college—or in neither place. The "neither place" option is becoming all the more likely as students increasingly attend several different postsecondary institutions, collecting credits as though at an educational buffet rather than a sit-down five-course meal.

This lack of coherent design in the American educational system has also meant, adds Orrill, that intellectual achievement for many students ends before 11th grade, as shown by the fact that high school graduation exams in most states rarely test beyond the 9th or 10th grade level. (Even the SATs, he adds, don't test far above a 10th grade program.) That leaves what Orrill calls "a dangerously weak, even vacant 'center' in grades 11-14." The major efforts to firm up those years—advanced placement (AP) classes and dual enrollment (high school students taking community college courses)—are thus growing rapidly.

But many consider AP and dual enrollment only stopgap measures. Grades 11-14 are still orphans, they contend, and the junior and senior high school years, in particular, are pointless. "For elite kids, it's senioritis," says Anthony Marx. "For kids who aren't going on to college, it's often a waste because they're bored and the work is not sufficiently advanced."

Institutionalizing multiple new pathways to college to clarify the grades 11-14 muddle will demand changes in public understanding and policy. Some educators are calling for a one-track curriculum ending at 10th grade, after which students would be prepared to enter community college. They could also stay two extra years to remediate, or to take AP or International Baccalaureate Diploma courses or other advanced work before entering college. Others are advocating state legislation that will extend state K-12 financing into the 13th and 14th years, promoting the idea that, as LaGuardia MCHS principal Aaron Listhaus puts it, "college education is a right, not a privilege."

Perhaps the biggest challenge, though, is encouraging systemic change on the high school level so that, as a society, we are not approaching the problem of helping youngsters make the transition from high school to college on a one-school-at-a-time basis. Indeed, the idea of creating alternative pathways to college is rooted in the pressures that an increasingly knowledge-based economy has placed on schools, students, teachers, administrators, parents, policymakers, business leaders—meaning just about everyone with a stake in the nation's future. Says Barbara Gombach, program associate in the Education Division of Carnegie Corporation of New York, which has provided support for a number of early college strategies (as well as creating and funding *Schools for a New Society*, a major urban high school reform initiative that is also supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation), "Our challenge now is to create *systems* of good high schools—places that prepare all of the nation's adolescents for college, for employment, and for citizenship."

There are reasons to be encouraged. High school, college and university policymakers, for example, are beginning to address together the need to restructure high schools and ease the transition to college. A resolution of the grades 11-14 problem—which Daniel Fallon calls "the unfinished business of American education"—may be on the horizon. ■

Centers of Ed in Russia: The Case for CASEs

After the fall of the Soviet Union, there were fears that universities in the new Russia would not be able to support a high level of scholarship. A visit to see the results of a Corporation-supported project designed to advance the intellectual life of this vast, mercurial country provided memorable impressions for the author and her colleagues.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SUSAN KING

As an upbeat American jazz band played from a balcony loft in a crowded and popular restaurant in central Russia, Mary Popova's face beamed with the pleasure of telling me what the fellows grant she had received as a result of Carnegie Corporation's support of higher education in Russia meant to her. Across the noisy table, Popova, a professor of literature at Voronezh State University, a Russian regional institution celebrating its 85th year, said, "First of all, it meant that my application was high quality, and that was professionally affirming." The fellowship had also given Popova the ability to spend a semester studying at the University of Kansas, an experience that included having access to books that she told me, "I never dreamed I could put my hands on."

"Was that what living in America represented to you?" I asked "Access to scholarship?"

"Well, living in America changed my perceptions of the country and I never thought that at my age, I could change," said this intense, enthusiastic woman, the sin-

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BY SUSAN KING

Deana Arsenian (left) with author Susan King (second from left) at a CASEs meeting at Saratov State University.

Stopping for tea on the road from Saratov to Voronezh, Corporation staff members, Deana Arsenian (second from left); Neil Grabois (right); and Ed Sermier (second from right); sit with Irina Laktionova (left), CASEs program manager; Andrei Kortunov (third from left), Russian director of CASEs; and Sergei Kamshilin (third from right), Voronezh CASEs coordinator.

gle mother of a grown son. "But I did!" she exclaimed.

I was intrigued. "Have your new perceptions changed your work?" I said, almost shouting as the band cranked up.

"Yes," Popova replied. "Now, I focus on results. I used to focus on process, but in America, results matter." Popova's eyes sparkled. Clearly, I was talking to a happy woman who was proud that she was no longer just a professor, or even a professor with a sought-after Carnegie fellowship. Now, she was also the academic advisor of the Voronezh Center for Advanced Study and Education (CASE), one of nine CASEs established by Carnegie Corporation of New York since 2000. I had come to Russia to visit four of them.

A Reporter's Journey

I was part of a group who had traveled to Russia in November 2003 to see the results of the Corporation-sponsored CASE program, which is aimed at revitalizing higher education in the former Soviet Union through the establishment of university-based centers dedicated to the promotion of scholarship, publications, academic mobility, international networking and access to resources. Although for several years now I have been the vice president, public affairs for the Corporation, most of my earlier career had been spent as a journalist, and my reporter's passion to understand and explain issues and events meant that I came to Russia looking for the real story of the CASEs, to see if the strategies, plans and programs so carefully conceived by the Corporation and its partners in the venture, energetically debated among all involved and now being implemented in Russian universities, were working out as we had all hoped.

I was joined by Corporation colleagues who have a trained eye for evaluation: Neil Grabois, vice president and director for strategic planning and program coordination; Ed Sermier, vice president and chief administrative officer and corporate secretary; and Deana Arsenian, the leader of our group, senior program officer in the Corporation's International Peace and Security program and the person within the Corporation responsible for this complicated Russian initiative. She wanted a high-level delegation to visit the universities in order to emphasize to the Russian educational leadership how important the CASE initiative is to the Corporation and its partners, the Russian Ministry of Education and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

I was planning to write about my impressions of the CASEs when I got back to New York, but I knew that doing so would present a challenge on many levels. For example, I understood that for the first time in my experience as a journalist, I would be writing for an audience who could not necessarily take my objectivity for granted. As a member of the Corporation team that is responsible for both shaping an ambitious program like CASEs and making it accountable, I was not simply a journalist documenting and reporting: I had—and have—a stake in the outcome. I was also aware that years from now, those of us who helped create the CASEs will be judged on the impact and wisdom of this initiative, which will run for six-to-nine years and cost approximately $20 million in the pursuit of a singular goal: reinvigorating a post-Communist Russian university system that had, for the most part, abandoned regional intellectuals and scholars to the free-market uncertainties of modern life.

Under the leadership of Vartan Gregorian, the Corporation's president, who had taken office in 1997 promising that the foundation would take risks, learn from its mistakes and disseminate information about what works in its programs and what doesn't, I set out on this long trek that wound its way from Moscow to St. Petersburg to Rostov on the Don with a journalist's curiosity, a storyteller's imperative and a healthy degree of skepticism.

> *"I focus on results. I used to focus on process, but in America, results matter."* —Mary Popova, *academic advisor of the Voronezh CASE*

Results, Not Process

The morning after Popova showed us the renewed night life of Voronezh, a city almost totally destroyed by the German army in World War II and now the very picture of a rebuilt metropolis, albeit Soviet style, she led a presentation about the Voronezh CASE in a crowded, well-lit and book-lined office. Voronezh State University, like all the other institutions that had sub-

mitted proposals and won the competition to create a CASE, had to provide prime real estate for the CASE office, its computer center and its library. The walls were newly painted and the shelves were of shiny wood, a surprise after a long walk through an otherwise down-on-its-luck building just off the city square, where an imposing statue of Lenin still stood.

Mary Popova, professor of literature and academic advisor of the Voronezh CASE.

Like any presentation during the Soviet era, Popova's talk contained a detailed list of facts: 66 conferences convened since the Voronezh CASE had been established three years ago; 33 books had been published; 500 copies of each book had been printed and distributed. But unlike the Soviet era, there was an openness and enthusiasm about Popova's presentation, which focused on a rethinking of the Russian identity.

"We analyze our modern culture at the same time that it is changing," Popova explained to the group. "We see our CASE in terms of the metaphor of a bridge. We understand where we are now but we don't know what lies on the other side of the divide. We hope the scholars and students in the colloquiums and in their research will create a bridge to that other side," she added hopefully.

When she finished, she asked for questions, "In the American style," as she put it, "so we can have a discussion." This was not a phrase tossed out for the benefit of her foundation audience. Popova had told me at the restaurant that she has changed her teaching style and that she is urging others in the university to do the same.

She said, "In Russia, what we've always done is lecture our students. You stand up in front of them for hours and tell them what to think. When they take exams, our tradition has been to have the students give back to you exactly what you've told them. Now, instead, I ask my students to analyze and think. For many of them, that's something new."

This kind of interactive educational process, challenging students and demanding dissent and debate, is part of the revolution in the humanities that the Corporation and others are hoping will help to transform Russia's university system. "My sense," Deana Arsenian said to me, "is that none of the scholars from these centers are invited to Western conferences on the basis of their scholarship. Can the CASEs change that?" she wondered aloud. "I've no doubt CASEs will improve the scholarship in the country and within the universities, but I don't know whether that will push the institutions to elevate the social sciences to world level," she concluded.

And how effective radically re-engineering the way teachers of history, social studies and philosophy—so long steeped in the ideology of the Soviet system—will be, may not be known for years. Many factors mitigate against success: in some universities, for example, the average age of a professor is in the mid-60s. Products of Soviet ideology and scholarship, it's unlikely these individuals will change their thinking or their methods. The promise of new ideas and innovative thought and teaching won't surface for at least a decade when the young scholars, professors and leaders begin to dominate the intellectual life of Russia.

But almost five years since the Corporation began to study what could be done in higher education in the former Soviet Union, and three years since the establishment of the first three CASEs, there are results. In this article, I will not attempt to evaluate the level of scholarship being generated—that's not my expertise—but I can report that as I traveled from once CASE to another, I heard, in the conversations and perspectives of the young intellectuals who are part of the centers, a great hunger for change. And in many of the young researchers and professors, I saw the kinds of attitudes and ideas common among ambitious young American scholars who are seeking to stand out among their peers, who are passionate about their field of research and quick to criticize programs that don't quite work as promised.

Conversations in Moscow

On a Sunday afternoon, as darkness crept up early on the capital city, five young Moscovites, chosen as part of the community of 300 CASE fellows, joined me for tea in the lobby of one of Moscow's new plush hotels that serve the burgeoning business class. They were mostly in their 20s, focused, intellectually aggressive and demanding: they showed up with as many questions as insights into the program.

"The regional head of my program is very hierarchical and really not open to new discussions. He is set in his ways and seems to have attitudes about young researchers from the capital,"

Tatiana Pisheva, a political psychology student at Moscow State University told me about her contact at Saratov State University, a regional CASE we would travel to the next day. She echoed an attitude one might expect from an American Ivy League Ph.D. speaking about a less-than-stellar Midwestern university in the U.S., and one shared by both the CASE fellows I met here and later, in St. Petersburg.

Despite Pisheva's reservations, connecting scholars, particularly those in the provinces outside Moscow and St. Petersburg—which have traditionally been the centers of intellectual thought in Russia—has always been one of the critical concerns underpinning CASEs, as has academic mobility, which stalled after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Financial support for regional universities also dried up. At the moment when the ideological noose around the humanities and social sciences was unknotted, and innovation and intellectual debate were most needed, entrepreneurship had replaced higher education as Russia's leading value. Chaos rather than continuity was the hallmark of the 1990s. The fear among all the partners in CASEs was that one of the greatest strengths of Russia—its intellectual life—would be lost.

The students who joined me and the Corporation team for tea were some of Russia's intellectual elite who saw their competitively won CASE fellowships as both financial support and a resume builder. As a group, they shared ambition, intensity and few illusions about their country or their future.

"I've had good cooperation with my Saratov colleague," said Alexander Techoudinov, a historian, and, at 42, the oldest of the group. His fellow historian at the Saratov CASE, he said, was also very Western-minded. "We wrote and edited some papers together," he explained.

Connecting scholars—particularly those outside Moscow and St. Petersburg—has always been one of the critical concerns underpinning CASEs

Such publications are a plus for a young professor who is building a name for himself and who wants to help rewrite Russia's history books. "It's my goal to break the old stereotypes of historical memory," he said. "Today, the textbooks are written by old-fashioned people and people who were not specialists in their disciplines. They don't know enough about the world." Quiet, studious, and clearly dedicated, he went on to say, "Changing and guiding the minds of young people—that is enormously difficult. It's hard enough to change one mind, but to do it on a mass scale…" his voice trailed off. He wasn't promising to change the minds and memories of Russia's young people in one generation—he was just willing to try.

The younger women who joined us at tea were more impetuous, more in a hurry, more anxious to be part of the political swirl of Moscow. "The fellowship is very important for my Ph.D. It's prestigious and gives me financial and intellectual support," said Natalia Shelekasova, a lively and ambitious 31-year-old who, in addition to her academic pursuits, was working for members of the Duma, Russia's principal legislative body, who hire young researchers and consultants like Shelekasova to carry out public opinion analysis for their election campaigns.

Because of her responsibilities, Shelekasova had no time to travel to CASE conferences outside Moscow, but Pisheva, her research partner thought the regional experience important for their joint work. "You need to understand public opinion outside Moscow," she said.

Throughout the afternoon, the scholars' conversation wandered through the pros and cons of academic mobility and interaction; they voiced complaints about voucher payments, confusion about what their stipend covered, and had many other questions about how their fellowship support was playing out. But Andrei Kortunov, the director of the CASE program who listened for most of the two-hour discussion, was offering no

CASE fellows at a cafe in Moscow.

compromises on the basic notion behind the CASE fellowships. "They are meant to benefit the young scholars, yes," he said. "But first and foremost, we must use our Moscow-based researchers to enhance the CASEs in the provinces," he told the group without equivocation. These scholars, privileged in their Moscow positions, were not getting coddled by Kortunov. He was letting them know that they had a social compact with the larger Russian academic community. They were part of the Carnegie Corporation program because of what they could share with regional scholars. Social compacts—the responsibility to share with society, not simply advance oneself—is a theme close to Kortunov's heart.

I watched the interaction between Kortunov and these young scholars and except for the halting English and need for translation from time to time, the setting could have been Cambridge, or Princeton or New Haven. Smart, focused, determined, opinionated and exciting, these young scholars were part of an international community of students who are anxious to influence the wider world. They are not ideologues. They are not captives of their past. They are infused with the power of ideas.

As the teacups emptied, I couldn't help but ask one more question of this energetic group. I asked each where they wanted to be and what they wanted to do in ten years, but long-term plans were not something these products of the years of upheaval in Russia were comfortable depending on. "We can't look that far ahead," said Natasha Anokhina, another political scientist at Moscow State University. All five scholars did indicate, however, that in the future, they wanted a public leadership role, financial security and no connection with the concept of being an "idealist." Once a respected notion in intellectual circles, in Russia, it is now a word with a taint. "We're all optimistic," Shelekasova interjected. "We believe we have a good life in Russia and certainly, a better one than before. But an idealist today, in Russia, is a foolish person. We are realists."

Remembering my first trip to the Soviet Union at the end of the 1970s and the propaganda machine that saturated public life and political dialogue then—and continued to do so until the Soviet Union's recent collapse—I wondered aloud where these young scholars had found their belief in the freedom of ideas. "In books," the historian Techoudinov told me. No one disagreed.

The Ministry of Education: a Welcome Partner

As a reporter who had known Russia in the days when it was ruled by rigid Soviet ideology, I had originally thought it ironic that one of the Corporation's main partners in the CASEs program was the Russian Ministry of Education, which in the past had promulgated only "official" information in state-authorized textbooks. But Deana Arsenian, who was educated in Moscow before her family emigrated to the United States, and who worked in Russia during the Soviet days and in the period of transition to democracy, believes that the success of CASEs depends on an effective working relationship with the Ministry—not simply because the government's educational leadership can open doors and reinforce the scholarship strategies the Corporation is promoting, but because the Ministry and the country have every reason to want the goals articulated by the CASEs mandate to be achieved. "What the Ministry wants is the CASE-produced research to lead to a new, strengthened and Westernized curriculum," Arsenian said. "The CASEs are a way to create reform."

Russia's educational system has always been rigorous and demanding. And while it had its shortcomings—the same educational opportunities were not available to every student and examinations often determined a young person's ability to continue on for future study—education was highly valued in Soviet society and university study was a widely offered and fully-paid-for option. Since the transition to democracy, education has been overshadowed by other national concerns and Russia's educational standing in the industrial world has slid downwards, a position that Russian leadership finds unacceptable. "Emerging as a global player is a top goal for the Ministry," Arsenian explained to me with the certainty that the CASEs can play a key role in the emerging new Russian culture.

For Arsenian, who has had considerable experience with the power of philanthropy and is well aware of how often a grantee's aspirations can change once its funding is secure, the Ministry also provides some guarantee that the plans and agreements signed with the CASE universities will be respected. "The Ministry's involvement is critical," she explained, "because it means that the CASEs are not perceived as just a Western program but as a joint U.S.-Russian, private-public partnership. The universities don't see us as a charity, but as a collaborator."

On to Saratov

Reaching Saratov after a much-delayed and very crowded flight on a post-Soviet regional airline named Saratov Air, which did not give me deep confidence in its flying history, I realized how distant the world of Moscow is from some of our regional CASEs.

Untouched in World War II, Saratov is still dominated by the small-village style of architecture that arose in the past centuries when it was a vital trading center on the Volga River. By contrast, young students at the university have the look of the fashion-conscious MTV generation: tight jeans, stiletto-heeled boots and short-cropped skirts. But the old Soviet-era Intourist hotel is still the only place for travelers to stay, and adding to a general air of bleakness, a November snowstorm had left the city without power the week before we arrived and had felled many trees. In the Soviet days, Saratov was a closed city because of its defense work, cut off from the West; today, it still seemed to move at a 19th century pace.

But where we visitors may have seen a rather poor and struggling urban center, the leaders of Saratov State University saw a very different picture: their institution had made it through the really difficult financial years after the fall of the Soviet Union and their proposal to create a CASE had won support from the Corporation and its partners, all of which, for them, were signals of the rebirth of this ancient town.

The CASE itself is important to the university because in Russia, which has a population that is shrinking precipitously, it is expected that some regional universities will not survive. Only those with proven records of leadership and excellence can feel confident about their future. For many universities, the presence of a CASE is the best guarantee that they will not be on the Russian government's extinction list.

At Saratov State, we meet with Velikhan Mirzekhanov, the CASE director and a warm and friendly man who is well liked on campus. This was actually not my first encounter with Mirzekhanov. A year earlier, he and two other university CASE directors had traveled to an international meeting in Pittsburgh that I also attended. Talking with him at the meeting, he seemed to me to be somewhat different than his colleagues: more innovative and flexible in his thinking and less "Soviet," perhaps in part because of his non-Russian ethnic roots, which are in Dagestan, one of the former Soviet republics. Translating for him was Tatyana Kharlamova, who hardly fit the old stereotype of a Russian female with academic status. She was slight, with dark hair highlighted to a Russian henna version of chestnut brown. Since her English was quite good, I had tried to engage her in a conversation about the theme* of the Saratov CASE, which officially focuses on "Phenomenology of Power: State, Society, Individual Destiny (Russian and International Experience)." She started to give her opinion at the meeting in Pittsburgh but was outnumbered and upstaged by the table of male leaders who dominated the meeting. I left her that day promising we would meet again in Saratov.

CASE scholar, Tatyana Kharlamova, at Saratov State University.

A lively street in Saratov.

**Each CASE is organized around the individual university's strengths and emphasizes a particular intellectual theme.*

At Saratov State University, winning support for their proposal to develop a CASE was a signal of their town's rebirth

As we began our tour of the CASE, I spotted Kharlamova in a large, bright lecture hall. Her hair was redder, but her smile just as warm. As I'd said I would, I sought her out to finish our discussion from Pittsburgh. "The thematic priority of our CASE is compelling," she told me as the tape recorder whirred. "Power is a very complex phenomena. It can be connected not only with politics but with other spheres of society and can also be seen in a psychological sense. Studying power gives rise to many interesting ideas."

But she also admitted that one of the reasons she and other Russian intellectuals want to study power is that they want to have a sense of how, personally, they can use it. "People are freer now and they can voice their personal points of view," Kharlamova told me. "I think they are eager to express themselves, now that they have an opportunity to do so."

During the Communist days, Kharlamova's father was mayor of Saratov. He had urged her to explore the wider world, but even now Kharlamova insists that she would never leave for very long. Saratov is her home, the home of her family. But because of her involvement with the CASE program, her horizons have broadened and her curiosity has been whetted.

Rostov on the Don

The newest CASE to be established is in Rostov on the Don River. Considered to be the number-three university in Russia, the institution had entered several rounds of CASE competition before submitting a winning proposal on the third round.

A city on a major truck route to the Caucasus, Rostov is close to the chaos of post-Soviet troubles. Still, its wide boulevards and smart shops give Rostov a more cosmopolitan air than Saratov. On the "left bank" of the Don River, in a section called "Las Vegas" by the locals, boarded-up summer restaurants and casinos speak of a vibrant warm-weather life. Shabby camps, once summer retreats for Soviet factory workers, tell of a day when the system took care of all of a family's needs. Rundown and decaying, these camps now await an entrepreneur's transformation.

For the Carnegie Corporation team, Rostov was an experience of the birth of a CASE. We could smell the paint when we arrived at the new offices for the CASE staff, and camera crews from the local television station soon showed up to record the president of the university receiving the official international foundation recognition.

Marguerite Zakovorotnaya, a 30-year-old historian and CASE administrator, like many of the young women we met in the new Russia, proved to be adept at filling several roles: researcher, administrator and tour guide. She was clearly able to navigate the politics of the university, dominated by older men who had held their leadership positions for decades. She found nothing ironic, as she did much of the work during the visit, that the CASEs theme, like many others, focused on power and identity.

In October 2003, in Washington, D.C., at a gathering I attended, it was Zakovorotnaya who had presented the most fluid and influential report of a CASE forum at a meeting held at the celebrated Kennan Institute, which is the U.S. manager for the CASE initiative. Zakovorotnaya's paper, entitled *The Nature of Russian Political Power in Regional Perspectives*, examined what she called the "lost"—those unsure of where they fit into the changing Russian society. Before more than 100

U.S. scholars and others from the nine CASES, Zakovorotnaya caught the attention of the audience with her provocative and focused presentation.

"Russians are trying to define their post-Communist identity and to find organizing principles to construct their own world in the global society," she had told the audience that day. Dressed in a black turtleneck, skirt and tall black boots, Zakovorotnaya looked like she could call the U.S. home. But her accent and her insights revealed a very Russian scholar. "The feelings 'I can' instead of 'we can' now dominate," she had said, while also focusing on the need for a multidisciplinary approach to contemporary issues, which is an important criterion in selecting universities to develop a CASE.

Even all this time after that meeting in Washington, Zakovorotnaya was still aglow with the opportunity to have presented a paper. It gave her a certain competitive advantage among her colleagues, and although she spent most of our two days in Rostov handling logistics, it was clear that she had benefited from the travel opportunities offered by the CASEs program. Her husband owns the Ford automobile franchise in Rostov and the family has the financial ability to travel to Europe, but as a scholar, she wants to go to Novgorod or Voronezh, where other CASEs are exploring similar Russian power issues. In her conversation with me, her most passionate comments came when she talked about what Russia's universities are losing. "The intellectual sphere still exists," she said, "but it's evaporating. I can't imagine how we will progress if we don't have our intellectual potential stimulated, if we lose the people who *think*. We can't be robots," she said, referring to the old Soviet system of education. But most of all, she seemed to worry about young intellectuals leaving Russia for greener pastures—for her, the CASEs represent a form of protection against what she termed "the Russian brain drain."

Of the many young intellectuals I met with in Rostov, none epitomized the intellectual potential Zakovorotnaya wanted so dearly for the CASEs to promote and protect as much as Herman Mineev. Just 24, he was tall, dark-haired and emotional. His English was out of practice but he wanted desperately to converse in the language. He was frustrated when he couldn't find the right English words to discuss his many-layered ideas. But his eyes twinkled and his hands gesticulated with enthusiasm as he told me why he had given up his high-paying vice president's job at a mobile phone company to become a full-time, $30-a-month professor of sociology.

"I earned big money for Rostov," he told me. "If I wanted expensive jeans, I could buy them; if I wanted to go to an expensive nightclub, I could go to the nightclub. But I realized that it's not those things that I need. To think and do research, that's what excites me."

Mineev's field of study focuses on political science and history. But ethnic conflicts and how to prevent them—a field of scholarship the Corporation has supported for many years—is what seems to animate Herman most. "I want to find models that will prevent conflicts," he said, "because that's what worries me the most. Chechnya and Kosovo, for example: I want to know why some of these conflicts have bloody conclusions and others, like Quebec, achieve peaceful solutions." As he spoke in his halting English, I wondered if living close to the Caucasus made this field of study so alive for him. He was not focused on something theoretical: Mineev saw his work as vital and urgent.

He traveled by bus across town to meet me for a second time, anxious to have further conversation with an English-speaker and to pour out his ideas and beliefs. He has worked since he was 15 and risen to the top at each job. I was convinced that this was the kind of young intellectual who would find and take advantage of any opportunities that came his way. And even in this far-off town, hours from Moscow and seemingly unconnected to the West,

CASE scholar Herman Mineev, in Rostov.

Mineev talked about himself as a young citizen of the world. "There are no longer borders," he said. "Eventually, we will all be connected. The model of the Internet influences our minds and the way we live. We are one world."

Despite his optimism, I couldn't help but ask if he felt cut off from the rest of Russia—and the world—here in Rostov. Ending the isolation of scholars was one of the seminal ideas behind Vartan Gregorian's decision to create a higher education program that could reinvigorate and reconnect Russian intellectuals to their national and international peers, and the notion had permeated the CASE design. "I don't feel as connected as I would like," Mineev told me. "I want to study in many other

countries, including the U.S." I had no doubt that in the near future, Mineev would find a way to use his connection to the CASE program to make his dream of academic mobility come true.

Meeting Mineev was, for me, one of the highlights of this journey through an ever-changing Russia. It wasn't only his determination to speak English or his wonderful way of saying that material things didn't satisfy his Russian soul. It was the fact that he was experimenting with his life, following one direction and then another and that he believed he could change, invent and then reinvent himself again and again that appealed to me. It was so American!

"Eventually, we will all be connected. The model of the Internet influences our minds and the way we live. We are one world." —Herman Mineev, *CASE scholar*

But as much as my journalistic spirit needed to hear these stories and meet the young professors and students who would give life to the work being carried out at the CASEs, I was aware that, as a foundation, we are spending millions of dollars not only to benefit the lives of individual intellectuals but to promote deep-seated change in Russia's higher education system. Our ambitious hope is that the CASEs can serve as catalysts in bringing about transformation.

This is a goal shared by Andrei Kortunov, director of the CASEs program. "In the past, in Russia, we didn't engage in innovative, Western-style scholarship, developing data, collecting facts and analyzing our results," he explained to me in a lengthy interview one long night as we traveled from one regional CASE to another. "But it is what we hope to develop through the CASE initiative. CASEs," he continued, "are built on the assumption that you need to invest heavily in faculty, especially younger faculty, which should have a profound impact on both their research capacity and their teaching ability, because if these young professors can think creatively enough to design and implement an innovative research project, that ability will affect how they teach their students." Continuing, Kortunov said, "Political science didn't exist in the Soviet Union. You had scientific Communism. Sociology was perceived as a bourgeois alternative to the Marxist analysis of social problems, so sociology as a field never developed. And statistics, which economists need to do serious work, were unavailable—statistics were state secrets. Many social science scholars had to adjust themselves to the situation under Soviet rule. They were not allowed to fulfill the traditional role of scholars working in the humanities—to raise questions about society."

"Ending the Soviet style of education-by-rote will not be easy," Kortunov continued. "We need to develop a research culture that is not afraid to be both controversial and provocative, which means that one must take risks. And if you are working in a conservative university—which regional institutions tend to be—the risks for a scholar can be high." Outlining the challenges, Kortunov told me that one major problem is the fact that in Russian universities, there are layers of bureaucracy involved in the degree-granting process. Being innovative might antagonize older professors who have to approve a young scholar's degree because still, today, many in the top ranks of Russian universities cling to the old Soviet way of doing things.

But change must come. Building the humanities and supporting research based on intellectual pursuit is the only way that Russian educational leaders see the country reconnecting with Europe and restoring its status as a world-class power. In the highest circles of the Kremlin, there has even been discussion about joining the "Bologna Process," which would allow students in Europe and Russia to have equivalent degrees with credits that are valid in both European and Russian institutions. Currently, a Russian degree is not accepted in the West and Russian officials see this as a crippling problem in a globalized economy.

In the traditional Russian setting, the word "scholar" painted a picture of someone working for hours in a library, researching everything that had been written about a subject and then simply repackaging already accepted knowledge in a different way. Now, under Western pressure, and in the CASE framework, a scholar must be, in Kortunov's words, "Ambitious, not about his or her own personal career, but in terms of the questions and problems he or she is approaching." At the conclusion of our conversation, it was clear to me that for Kortunov, building a culture where intellectual honesty is appreciated, nurtured and disseminated, is critical to the very future of Russia, and to all its people.

To Voronezh, and Then Home

Voronezh State University—one of my starting points for this story, though in reality, one of the last stops on our Russian journey—is located in the old, picturesque city of Voronezh, about 350 miles south of Moscow. The university was one of the first institutions selected by the Corporation to develop a CASE and is far along in the connection business, having sponsored those 66 conferences Mary Popova had told us about in her presentation—and a number that I knew Kortunov was worried might represent what he termed "action but little substance."

Since I was still struggling with the concept of each CASE having an organizing theme aimed at attracting scholars from many disciplines, I was anxious to attend a university-sponsored, theme-oriented conference, and at Voronezh, I got my chance. The conference, which was in its last day when we Corporation travelers sat in on the proceedings, was being held in a room so small and hot that there were droplets of water and steam on the windows. About 50 scholars were crammed into the room and there was as much energy in the debate over the subject of language as was coming from the overworked heating system. The discussion centered on the "dumbing down" of Russian words as German and American phrases invaded everyday Russian discourse. Some thought it was the end of civilization as Russians know it; others thought it was proof that Russia is no longer isolated.

Although a few university students attended, most of the participants were professors from smaller universities in the region, a fact that confirmed for Deana Arsenian and Andrei Kortunov that the CASE had become a magnet for intellectuals from the provinces and had succeeded in making connections. And in the age of Internet connectivity, intellectual discussions don't have to end with the conferences—they can go on indefinitely, even with international colleagues. As an example, a young professor named Inna Ananievskaia, who studies Germanic and Romance languages, told us about meeting a Scottish professor at an earlier conference, a specialist in the same field who challenged everything Ananievskaia believed about her subject. "I never expected to be able to discuss my interests with a colleague at such a high level," she said, beaming as she told us the story. The debate didn't end with the conference: she and the Scottish professor are still happily arguing by e-mail.

In the conference room in Voronezh, there was as much energy in the debate as was coming from the overworked heating system.

On the flight home, I sat with Arsenian and discussed our experiences at the CASEs we had just visited. She was in a mood to be both philosophical and analytical about the program and its objectives. "Because of Russia's geography, its human resources and its relationships with other countries," she said, "as well as its nuclear, biological and chemical weapons status, Russia is poised to become either a major partner with the U.S. in dealing with global challenges or a major problem. How do you ensure that Russia becomes a reliable ally? We're betting that one way is to change the mentality of the upcoming Russian elite. If education is important for the cultivation of new thinking in Russia, then you can make a direct correlation between the Corporation's goals for the CASEs and larger U.S. goals. So the CASE program benefits both countries."

For myself, beyond the overarching ideals everyone hopes that the CASEs are striving to embody, I still wanted to sum up what a ten-day tour of a selection of the CASE institutions really revealed to a group of non-Russian-speaking philanthropists who have played a part in developing the program's strategies for reform. We came to see what the Corporation had wrought and to reinforce for the leaders of the Russian regional universities we were working with that the Corporation and its partners had high expectations and high demands.

During the course of our trip, we had met a handful of politicians who had proved to us that politicians share a certain style of optimism and confidence all over the world. We had dined with four university presidents—all men—who clearly wanted the prestige of having

their institution chosen to create a CASE but were not uniformly putting their office's clout behind the initiative, facts duly noted by Arsenian, who has a strong voice in whether the individual CASE projects will receive renewed support.

We had heard—and participated in—the traditional and seemingly endless vodka toasts to everything from Western friends to innovation. We had met ambitious young students who wanted financial and intellectual rewards, and mid-level professors who had survived the lean post-Soviet years and now wanted desperately to attract financial and intellectual support.

"Generally, my expectations were met," Neil Grabois told me on the plane as the reality of the Russian experience became past tense and conclusions started forming in his mind. "It's one thing to read proposals, designs and strategies, but another to see them put into practice at universities in foreign cultures." A former college president, Grabois knows what it takes to remain competitive in terms of academics, infrastructure and finances, so he is well aware of how important it is for regional Russian universities to win U.S. financial support. Though he was convinced that the Corporation-supported strategies were working in terms of building infrastructure and encouraging academic mobility, he was less sure that CASEs would be equally effective in reforming the bureaucratic and moribund Russian humanities field. "The social sciences have to examine a country's political and economic structures," he said, "so scholars working in that field are usually seen as hostile to the party in power. We'll just have to wait and see how that dynamic plays out in Russia," he concluded.

Before coming to the Corporation, Ed Sermier had spent many years working in high-level administrative positions for New York City, so bureaucracies are not unfamiliar to him, and he knows from experience how difficult it is for bureaucracy-bound institutions to change. "The more I saw of the CASEs, the more I realized how complicated what we are trying to do really is," he told me. "Maybe I'm just an unrepentant pragmatist, but I think there is too much going on in a university for the program to be the real lever for change that we want." Still, Sermier has no doubt that numerous individual Russian scholars are benefiting from their involvement with the CASE program, that strong investments are being made, and that the Corporation has the right people to lead the program, particularly in Andrei Kortunov. "I've rarely met any one person as honest, thoughtful and capable as Andrei," Sermier told me. "I hope that in the long term, he will become a key advisor to someone in Russia who can bring about real change."

And what were my reactions? Well, I had come to Russia to find out, through interviews and conversation, about the progress of scholarship in the country, but also about the aspirations and achievements of individuals, because for me, that's the real story of the CASEs. But in the larger sense, had the Corporation's work helped to change, even in some small way, how university leaders think, how the humanities are taught and how a research university should operate? As I said at the beginning of this article, I'm probably not the right person to make those judgments. But what I do now know with crystal clarity is how incredibly ambitious the CASE program is: on the one hand, it can be seen as a straightforward educational project, but on the other, it is a subversive partnership aimed at transforming the way Russian social sciences and scholarship will develop in the future.

"In terms of individual destinies, we have already accomplished something," Kortunov had told me. "We know we can make a difference in scholars' professional lives. But on the institutional level, we still must wait and see if the system of linking research and education is adopted by the higher education system at large. We would like the CASEs to become the backbone of the university system, flagships of the new research universities that will emerge in Russia."

There are thousands of colleges and universities across the 12 time zones of Russia, with thousands of students and professors, but overall, the Russian population is on the decline. The life expectancy for a man in Russia is just 57, and only 145 million people live in this massive, sprawling country that touches Europe on the east and the Pacific Ocean on the west. In the years to come, many universities will not survive the harsh economic realities facing the nation. Only the best will get the financial and institutional support to become world-class universities. Deana Arsenian and Andrei Kortunov are betting that CASEs will be the model for what will become the excellent Russian university of the 21st century.

I found it hard to bet against them. ■


AN
Interview
WITH...

Marta Tienda

Marta Tienda, who served for eight years as a trustee of Carnegie Corporation of New York, is Maurice P. During Professor in Demographic Studies and Professor of Sociology and Public Affairs at Princeton University, where she served as director of the Office of Population Research. Previously she was Ralph Lewis Professor of Sociology at the University of Chicago, where she served as department chair and editor of the flagship journal, American Journal of Sociology. *Tienda also held positions at UW-Madison and a visiting position at Stanford University. Tienda is past-president of the Population Association of America and a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Graduating magna cum laude with a B.A. in Spanish from Michigan State University and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in sociology from the University of Texas at Austin, Tienda has been the recipient of numerous fellowships and honors. She is interviewed here by the* Carnegie Reporter.

Carnegie Reporter: *Let's start with some of your recent work. In the last few years you've been doing specific demographic research focused on young Hispanics and immigrants and their advancement in higher education. It was as you wrote up your findings that you became very outspoken about the need for affirmative action, but you didn't expect that to be your conclusion when you began your research, did you?*

Marta Tienda: When I began the work in higher education, about six years ago, it was an outgrowth of my broader concerns with equity, access and opportunity. In that context, I was certainly aware that the political climate around affirmative action was in flux. There had been some progress—perhaps not enough—but the benchmarks for affirmative action were

COURTESY OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

not clear. And it was becoming increasingly apparent that existing affirmative action policies could not continue ad infinitum without some clear justification. But when I began to look at the evidence, the possibilities and alternatives that were "race neutral" in a society that in many ways had become race stratified, there didn't seem to be answers. After studying the data, I concluded that there was simply no hope that an individual could break the chains of educational inequality without affirmative action.

Reflecting on my own educational opportunities—I was the first person in my family to go to college, for example—it seemed to me that there were fewer opportunities today than in the past for minorities to access higher education and to advance in that environment. Through my research, it became clear to me that there is a lot of untapped talent out there, young people who, because of different kinds of situations, because of accidents of birth or other factors, are simply being held back. They went to the wrong school, their parents lost their jobs—all sorts of circumstances can prevent young people from achieving the kind of educational success that will lead to career and economic gains. As a society and as a nation, we simply can't go on allowing so many with so much to contribute to fall between the cracks.

CR: *And you considered it imperative to support your arguments with data and detailed research?*

MT: Absolutely. And in doing the research, there were several things that jointly led me to the conclusion that there is a continuing need for affirmative action. First of all, I started to read broadly on the subject, steeping myself in issues ranging from the Bakke decision[1] all the way forward to see what the trends were. And though you can look at this as a glass-half-empty or half-full issue, it is the case that while the proportion of blacks and Hispanics in higher education has risen, you have to factor in that they also now account for a higher percentage of the population than twenty-five years ago when the Bakke decision was handed down, so there have been no real net gains in over two decades. Therefore, we have to ask ourselves, while we have become the most diverse nation in the world, are we representing that diversity in our leadership? Are we using higher education to plan for the future? And that means making sure that the diversity of society is reflected in all its institutions and aspects—but in my research, I didn't see that.

In my research, I also focused on the alternative affirmative action plan underway in Texas known as the Ten Percent Plan.[2] It's a strategy that is allegedly race neutral and is supposed to provide equal opportunity, but while a bold experiment, to be sure, it capitalizes on the very inequities that required affirmative action in the first place. It attempts to level the playing field by guaranteeing automatic admission to the state's public colleges and universities for high school graduates in the top ten percent of their class. But there's a great deal of criticism of the plan because it allows kids who are attending less competitive schools to have an unfair advantage and also doesn't take into account other factors that may prevent high-achieving, low-income minority students from attending college.

"Through my research, it became clear to me that there is a lot of untapped talent out there, young people who, because of different kinds of situations, because of accidents of birth or other factors, are simply being held back."

[1] *In 1978, the Supreme Court ruled, in the case of the* University of California vs. Bakke*, that Allan Bakke, a white man who was not accepted to the University of California medical school, which had admitted less academically qualified blacks, had been illegally denied admission, but also said that medical schools were entitled to consider race as a factor in admission. The ruling was seen as upholding the general principle of affirmative action.*

CR: *In studying the data, you also found that there were geographic and family factors that were critical to whether a student had access to higher education and actually graduated from college.*

MT: There are a number of circumstances and characteristics that affect who goes to college and who doesn't. We know, for example, that if parents have a higher level of education, their children are very likely to go to college. For some young people, the idea of attending college is always on their radar screen. As a first generation college goer, I can tell you that isn't always the case for many of us, which has been confirmed by the data.

But what's important is that when we think about the sources of diversification of the U.S. population, the fastest growth is in the number of kids whose parents don't have any higher education. Consequently, even in those instances where the parents have moved up economically and socially, the probability of their children achieving a higher level of education than their parents is not clearly in evidence. But what is clear, as demonstrated by the data, is that the educational disparities between whites and nonwhites—particularly Hispanics—are growing. How are we going to stop that? If we, as a society, are going to accept that there are tolerable limits of inequality and that there will always be some form of economic, class, or racial inequality—not that I endorse that point of view—then don't we at least have to say, if these are the tolerable limits, can we afford to let them get worse?

The widening gap in opportunity and achievement between whites and Hispanics—in education and other areas—is particularly important to focus on because Hispanics are growing so fast as an ethnic group. The Hispanic second generation, the children of immigrants—the children whose parents tend not to have higher education—have a median age of 12.7 years. That's an enormously significant bulge moving through the population pipeline, and has major implications if you think of the words of Justice Sandra Day O'Connor who said, in an opinion handed down in the recent Supreme Court decision upholding the University of Michigan Law School's affirmative action policies, that she hoped "…25 years from now, the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary [to promote educational access]." If we are going to meet that charge a quarter century from now, we have a big job to do. To begin with, we have to break the connection between parents' educational attainment and the probability that a child will go to college because so many young Hispanics today have parents who didn't go to college.

The only way we can address some of these inequalities is by taking deliberate and systematic steps forward, and that means that for now we need to use affirmative action to make sure that we're getting the best and the brightest into the schools that will position them for opportunity and achievement.

CR: *You've never been an outspoken supporter of affirmative action during your career, so did this conclusion surprise you?*

MT: I was teaching a six-week seminar on affirmative action at the time that I started this project and I told my students that I didn't think affirmative action was the best solution to the problem of educational inequality and that one of the goals of the seminar would be to identify alternative strategies. At the end of the seminar, I was stunned that I had to retract my statement and say that I didn't think there

[2] *An alternative to affirmative action for individual students, the Ten Percent Plan admits the top 10 percent of every high school graduating class into state institutions of higher education.*

was an alternative to affirmative action.

During that seminar, one aspect of our research focused on when young minorities began thinking about going to college, and for many, it turned out to be late in the game—nearly one-third of those we questioned as part of a survey we conducted said they didn't think about college until high school or middle school. That's too far along in their educational career, especially if that decision isn't made until high school.

I was lucky, personally. When I was in seventh grade, a teacher asked me, "What are you going to do when you finish high school?" And I said, "I'm going to be a hairdresser." I'd seen people do hairdressing and I thought that it looked like fun. But then the teacher said to me, "Don't you want to go to college?" It was such a riveting moment for me that I even remember what the teacher was wearing that day. Until then, I thought that college was only for rich people and I was from a working class family. But when my teacher suggested college and told me that there were scholarships to help good students like me get to college, that was it. College was what I was doing and where I was going. And I never let go of that idea. Once I realized that I could *earn* a scholarship, that's when I thought, well, I'm going to continue as far as I can go.

CR: *It was important to you that you could* earn *the scholarship? That it wasn't free?*

MT: Yes. I don't believe in free. I think you need to work for what you get. I make my kids work for things. The only things they don't have to earn are books—books are given. If one of my kids wants a book, I always buy it. I never argue with them, never ask why they want it, and they know that. Everything else is negotiable. And that's just the way it is.

CR: *You once told a professor that you were going to quit because you felt he was urging you to go into Women's Studies or Hispanic Studies and towards work that you felt would pigeonhole you. It's interesting, then, that in last few years, besides focusing on minorities in higher education in general, you have also focused on young Hispanic women. What made you change your mind and focus your studies on the ethnic group that you are part of and on young women in that group in particular?*

MT: Well, because I can do it now. I can do whatever I want. And nobody's going to say "It's just because she's one of them." I've made my reputation and achieved what I needed to; my academic credentials are a matter of public record. So when I take on a project, I'm known for addressing the issues involved scientifically, as an investigation. I don't approach my work with preconceived beliefs—I do have hypotheses; I have expectations based on what I know and what I've learned. But that doesn't mean I'm going to confirm them with my research.

So now I am in a position to carry out objective research about Hispanics and Hispanic women. And it's even more important because of the role model issue. It was an important and lasting lesson for me to think about the fact that somebody might be looking at what I do and who I am to legitimate herself. I had never experienced that because, being raised in Michigan, I was not a typical Latina—there were not a lot of people like me where we lived. So I never felt uncomfortable because of who I was or worried about the fact that I was Mexican or that my family spoke Spanish.

Being poor, though, I remember very well, so that was an issue, but my ethnic identity was not. And about being poor, my main thoughts about myself in relation to other people were that maybe I'm different from you, but I'm not less than you. I had heard the expressions, "poor Mexican" and "dumb Mexican,"

but I never understood why those descriptions should apply. I certainly knew that I wasn't dumb, for instance. I wasn't at the bottom of my class, ever, so nobody could call me "dumb Mexican." It never fit. And if somebody tried to put me into that kind of box, I never let it happen. I resisted it, which is why earlier in my career I resisted doing women's studies or Chicano studies. I always wanted to go where my curiosity and my intellect took me. So that was the star that I always followed.

It was in graduate school at Stanford that I first realized who I was and what I did could have an impact on other women. It was a discovery for me that someone would look up to me and say, she's like us. Young women identified with me because of how I look and the way I dress. And they said, you know, you're like us. You dress like us and you talk like us and we see you standing up for yourself. That makes us feel that we can be like you. We feel legitimated by your example.

CR: *So being an established scholar, recognized for your science and your work, liberated you to work on Hispanic and women's issues?*

MT: Becoming a mature, established scholar takes time. It takes many years and hard work—there are no short cuts. None at all! But once you reach that mature status you can choose the issues you want to explore and make the kinds of scientific contributions that are going to have lasting impact.

A young woman who came here to Princeton for a special summer science program had an opportunity to do the calculus workshop but was told by another colleague, "You don't need calculus. You'll never use it." When I heard about that, I sat her down and said, "Excuse me, you invest now. Your job is to learn everything you can and invest it in yourself. You need calculus because, for example, that way you have the opportunity and the flexibility to become a demographer in the future or take mathematics or economics. But if you say no to calculus now, you've closed those doors and years from now you may find yourself wishing that you had taken the workshop." There are some times when windows of opportunity appear and you just have to take advantage of them, even if it means making sacrifices.

CR: *How did you end up choosing a career as a demographer?*

MT: I actually have an undergraduate degree in literature though, ironically, I always tested better in math and the hard sciences and I wanted to be a biologist. I loved natural sciences when I was going to college but I was told that you couldn't combine humanities and science. It wasn't true, but that's what happened, so I just stayed on the literature route because it was something secure that I knew I could do. But then, when I got to graduate school, I just gravitated toward the quantitative. It happened that in the summer between my junior and senior years, I started working with migrant farm workers, helping them to certify for food stamps. At the time, I had been thinking about becoming a Spanish teacher, but I had already done some student teaching and was demoralized by it, especially by what went on in the teachers' room. I heard teachers simply writing students off. So when I went to graduate school, I knew that I wanted to change fields from teaching to something else. My professors all said, "Oh, Senorita Tienda, that's because you had a very exciting summer. It will wear off." But it didn't. Being involved with migrant workers gave me some insight into the challenges faced by the census, for example. During that summer, I heard many people talking about the "fourth count," which, though I didn't quite understand it then, was

"Becoming a mature, established scholar takes time. But once you reach that mature status, you can choose the issues you want to explore and make the kinds of scientific contributions that have a lasting impact."

aimed at analyzing 1970 census data by certain race-ethnic groups, so, for instance, you could get an idea of how many Mexicans were living in Michigan. I was intrigued.

The rest was really sort of serendipitous. At Michigan State, where I went to college, there was a professor named Harley Browning who was a very respected demographer. He eventually became my major professor, but I met him because I was taking a course on Mexican society and in that class I did some work that attracted his attention: it was a hypothetical interview with Gloria Steinem, the leading feminist, in which I asked about her views on Mexican society. Professor Browning was intrigued with the paper and he said, "Well, you can really write. Come see me." After a couple of papers he said, "Do you want to be a demographer?" I said, "That sounds like a good idea." The rest is history.

CR: *Now let's turn to the world of foundations. You have served on a number of prominent foundation boards—including Carnegie Corporation of New York—and you are also the recipient of foundation grants. I think you have a unique perspective on this not-well-understood American institution, the foundation. How important do you think foundations are? Are they "levers for change" in our society, as many say? Are they important institutions that deserve the support and protection of the tax exemption they currently have?*

MT: I've had a wonderful opportunity to serve not only the Corporation but also on the boards of the Russell Sage, Kaiser and W.T. Grant foundations as well as on the board of the Jacobs Foundation of Switzerland and have some insights as an academic who has sought and won foundation grants.

From my perspective, the importance of foundations—where they are indispensable—is that they can afford to take risks as well as trail blaze, set standards and study issues in ways that our government, for instance, cannot. Second, foundations have the organizational capacity for change and for maintaining institutional memory, qualities that are not endemic to government, particularly at high levels, because they're constantly churning with political shifts and currents. Foundations have a vision, a mission. At the Corporation, we have revisited our mission many times and asked, what did Andrew Carnegie really want to do? Even in setting our spending rules we keep asking, where are we going? Are we still being true to the mission that our founder gave us?

In the same way that Supreme Court justices interpret the Constitution, the board of trustees at a foundation also interprets a foundation's mission within the contemporary period. What does it mean today versus what it meant when the institution was founded? And while supporting projects that further the mission, how do foundations make the most effective use of their limited resources? To answer those questions, foundation trustees and staff must do quite a bit of strategic planning.

But with focus and strong leadership, foundations can make a huge difference. At the Russell Sage Foundation, for example, the area of behavioral economics was something that was nurtured. At first, the staff of Russell Sage was seen almost like a band of renegades. Behavioral economics? People asked what that was. Now it's a very established part of how social scientists think about the combination of psychology, economics and individual behavior that transcends any one of those single fields alone.

At the Corporation, support for different aspects of education at differ-

"From my perspective, the importance of foundations—where they are indispensable—is that they can afford to take risks as well as trail blaze, set standards and study issues in ways that our government, for instance, cannot."

ent times in the foundation's long history has always been the key to fulfilling Andrew Carnegie's mandate to promote "the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." Take the Corporation's current work in teacher education: it's always been accepted that teachers are trained, that it's just something that happens. But we've also taken for granted that the training was good enough to produce high-quality teachers who can provide effective education to all students, which is not the case. By working with schools of education through the Corporation's Teachers for a New Era initiative, the foundation is helping the schools to improve, to do better in training and nurturing the best possible teachers, who studies have shown to be the most important factor in student achievement. It's a long-term undertaking.

Marta Tienda and her sons Luis and Carlos.

The data also shows us that teacher expectations have a lot to do with how a child performs in school. Foundations can support that kind of research and learning and truly make a big difference in how people craft programs and policies, and in how successful interventions get implemented.

CR: *You're saying that foundations have the capital and the patience to support such projects?*

MT: Yes, they do and they have the flexibility to decide, for example, that they will work on an issue for five years or ten years and stay the course. That's hard, not to look for the quick fix. Redesigning urban high schools, which is also a top priority now for the Corporation, is a difficult problem to tackle, but it hasn't stopped us from investing millions of dollars in big cities, including New York, with its large, comprehensive highs schools that have not been the most productive or efficient or produced the best educational outcomes for students. If institutions like the Corporation turn away from problems like that, who will take them on?

Another important role for foundations is their emphasis on public policy—you can't be any more strategic than trying to have influence in that arena. And one way to have that kind of influence is through the support of research and scholarship targeted toward specific problems. Policymakers need that kind of information to develop effective programs and policies, but in academia—the main source of the type of research I'm talking about—professors don't often think about how they can play a role in the public policy dynamic in this country or about the more far-ranging implications of their work. They just carry out the scholarship or the science, have it published and then the work ends. But foundations can help with the follow-through. It's like tennis: if you just hit the ball and you don't follow through, you don't know where the ball is going to go. Foundation support for research—and its dissemination—can help get the results into the hands that can do the most good with it, help to connect academics and policymakers so that high-quality, effective research findings can be used to arrive at solutions for the problems that beset society—or at least, to start along that road.

CR: *Dissemination is critical in your view?*

MT: I always tell my students that if you don't write down what you think or what you learn, you can have the most brilliant idea of the century but it will get lost. Many foundations have made getting the word out an integral part of their mission because what good does the most valuable research do if nobody knows about it? But the success and importance of foundations doesn't rest on one single factor. Leadership and vision are paramount—there's just no substitute for them. They set the tone, the direction and the priorities, but no single person can be responsible for that alone, especially in larger organizations. After serving for a number of years on foundation boards, it's clear to me that a well-balanced board is important because it adds perspective. A good board is a working board that is there to support the senior staff and the entire leadership of a foundation, but it also doesn't just sign off on everything because then there's no value added.

The government doesn't realize what an ally it has in the foundation world. Foundations really do buttress many government programs, which in countless cases have been implemented as the result of foundation-supported research or models. Foundations are the nation's partners in addressing many of its most critical problems, and will certainly continue in that role for years to come. ■

RecentEvents

Carnegie Forum on Money and Politics

On January 26, 2004, Carnegie Corporation of New York held a forum on Money and Politics, with Senator John McCain (R-AZ) as the featured speaker. A panel discussion followed Senator McCain's keynote address; it focused on the future of campaign finance reform and included Charles E. Kolb, president, Committee for Economic Development; Chellie Pingree, president, Common Cause; and Trevor Potter, general counsel, The Reform Institute, all Corporation grantees.

BEN FRAKER

Senator John McCain (l.), Vartan Gregorian (c.) and Meghan McCain (r.), the senator's daughter.

One month before the forum took place, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a landmark decision that essentially upheld Congress' right to limit the influence of money in politics. The ruling meant that most of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act—more popularly known as the McCain-Feingold law, after the two senators who sponsored it, McCain and Russell Feingold (D-WI)—would stand, and would apply to the 2004 presidential election.

Over more than a decade, the Corporation's investment in campaign finance reform—nearly $20 million—is viewed by many as having had a major role in building the "modern" campaign finance reform movement. In introducing Senator McCain to the approximately 100 policymakers, leaders in the nonprofit field, voting rights and other activists gathered at the forum, Vartan Gregorian said, "Campaign finance reform is not a Democratic or Republican issue—it is an *American* issue. To keep our democracy strong and vital, we all have to work toward clean elections, toward reducing the influence of money and special interests in the choices available to us as citizens."

Echoing Gregorian's concerns, McCain pointed to the Supreme Court decision, saying the Court had made it clear that "money is not free speech." He also credited much of the success of the McCain-Feingold legislation to the fact that "enough Americans were aroused by the issues that they demanded that we bring about change" in the way we fund election campaigns. He concluded his remarks by saying, "There is great dissatisfaction throughout the country with the state of politics in America," and called for bipartisan reform in a number of other areas, including Social Security and Medicare.

The 2003 Carnegie Medals of Philanthropy are Awarded

In 1901, Andrew Carnegie sold his vast steel empire to J.P. Morgan for $480 million (the equivalent today of approximately $10.1 billion). With that sale, the second phase of the industrialist's life began—that of philanthropist. Many also mark the date as the beginning of the modern era of philanthropy. For the next 18 years, until he died in 1919, Carnegie proceeded to give away the vast bulk of his fortune with a single purpose in mind: the betterment of humankind.

On December 10, 2001, the 22 nonprofit and philanthropic organizations that Andrew Carnegie created—in the U.S. and abroad—inaugurated the Andrew Carnegie Medals of Philanthropy to mark the centennial observance of the beginning of Carnegie's philanthropic career by recognizing individuals who, like Andrew Carnegie, have dedicated their private wealth to the public good and who have made long-term philanthropic contributions in the United States and throughout the world. At that time, it was announced that the Carnegie Medals would be awarded every two years.

Carnegie Corporation of New York hosted the first medals ceremony, which was initiated by the Corporation's president, Vartan Gregorian. Walter and Leonore Annenberg, Brooke Astor, Irene Diamond, the Gates Family, the Rockefeller Family, George Soros and Ted Turner were the first honorees. "We seek to reinvigorate and challenge the philanthropic community for tomorrow," said Gregorian at the 2001 presentation.

On December 8, 2003, the Carnegie Institution of Washington held the second medal awards, presenting the Andrew Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy to the Sainsbury family of Great Britain and Dr. Kazuo Inamori of Japan.

In the Sainsbury family, one of Great Britain's most notable philanthropic powerhouses, Andrew Carnegie's vision of philanthropy thrives. Today, there are 19 Sainsbury trusts, set up by 18 different family members spanning more than three generations. They support a wide variety of causes—

(Continued on page 47)

COURTESY OF JIM JOHNSON

Dr. Kazuo Inamori (l.); Richard A. Meserve, president, Carnegie Institution (c.); and Lord David Sainsbury (r.).

FoundationRoundup

Going Into Debt to Make Ends Meet

The U.S. economy is improving, but for many Americans the financial picture is growing bleaker.

Borrowing to Make Ends Meet, a Dēmos report, traces the substantial rise in credit card debt during the 1990s and foreshadows an economy in which low- and moderate-income families face increasing financial insecurity. As cash has grown tighter and savings have dwindled or disappeared, more and more Americans have turned to credit cards to meet basic needs such as food, rent and health care. The result is widening economic disparity and a growing number of people who are perpetually in debt.

While credit card debt is often thought to be the result of poor fiscal discipline and unnecessary consumption, a broader look reveals the causal effects of economic trends and policy decisions within the banking industry.

Overall, the average American family saw a 53 percent increase in credit card debt between 1989 and 2001. For very-low-income families, however, the increase was 184 percent and for senior citizens, 149 percent. Even middle-class families experienced an increase of 75 percent in credit card debt.

Part of the reason may have to do with rising costs for housing and health care during a time when earnings, particularly for low- and moderate-income groups, stayed flat or decreased. And though incomes in the bottom 40 percent of the income distribution finally rose in the late 1990s, they quickly declined as the recession began in 2000.

The number of working families spending more than 50 percent of their income on housing has increased dramatically, rising almost 60 percent, from 3 million to nearly 5 million families, just between 1997 and 2001.

Health care costs grew by 18 percent during the 1990s and by another 11 percent during 2000 and 2001. At the same time, the proportion of workers receiving full health coverage from their employers fell significantly.

Dēmos, a nonpartisan public policy organization working to improve democracy, strengthen effective government and foster greater economic opportunity, along with The Annie E. Casey Foundation and the Fannie Mae Foundation, provided support for this study.

For more information, go to www.demos-usa.org.

JOHNS HOPKINS
UNIVERSITY

Nonprofits Hard Hit But Meeting the Challenge

A report on the charitable segment of America's nonprofit sector finds organizations managing to increase both services and revenue over the past year, despite the financial stress brought about by a weak economy and government cuts.

About 90 percent of the organizations surveyed faced fiscal difficulties in 2003 and nearly half of this group defined the difficulties as "severe." Yet the majority wound up boosting revenue, and almost two-thirds were able to expand their activities to meet the greater demand for services.

Most organizations accomplished this through a combination of aggressive fund-raising, collaboration with other organizations, use of reserve funds and expanding their advocacy activities.

At the same time, belt-tightening forced more than half the groups to freeze salaries or decrease benefits. Over 70 percent reported postponing hiring, eliminating vacant staff positions or relying more on part-time staff.

Some respondents commented on the tension brought on by fewer resources and increased workloads. Others wondered about recruiting competent professional staff at a time of salary and benefit cuts. One particular worry is that the additional time and energy needed to assure survival may be detrimental to the services that charities are committed to provide.

The study focused on organizations working on behalf of children and families, the elderly, community and economic development and the arts. It is part of the Nonprofit Listening Post Project at the Center for Civil Society Studies at Johns Hopkins University and received support from Carnegie Corporation, the Ewing Marion Kauffman Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Surdna Foundation.

For more information, go to www.jhu.edu/listeningpost/news.

THE NATIONAL ACADEMIES
Advisers to the Nation on Science, Engineering, and Medicine

National Research Council Recommends Establishing Advisory Board for Biotechnology Research

Biotechnology research has led to many discoveries that have benefited medicine, agriculture and other life sciences, but its misuse has the potential to wipe out many of the advancements made over the past 100 years, and could also be used to create biological weapons.

A new report from the National Academies' National Research Council (NRC), *Biotechnology Research in an Age of Terrorism*, offers recommendations for upgrading current procedures for reviewing experiments of concern by creating a tiered, self-governing system of institutional biosafety committees linked to the National Institute of Health's Recombinant DNA Advisory Committee.

An independent National Science Advisory Board for Biodefense, made up of top scientists and security experts, would oversee the experiments, review processes and serve as a go-between for the scientific community and the federal government.

NRC also recommends expanding the number of research classifications to be

monitored, including the addition of experiments on rendering vaccines ineffective, conferring resistance to therapeutic antibiotics and antiviral agents and altering the virulence in pathogens and nonpathogens.

Finally, the report stresses the importance of building global consensus and guidelines on biotechnology research, with the goal of building a coordinated system of monitoring dangerous pathogens and toxins worldwide and promoting consistency in research oversight.

The report was sponsored by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and the Nuclear Threat Initiative. For more information, go to www.nap.edu.

PUBLIC CAMPAIGN
Clean Money Clean Elections

William C. Velasquez Institute

FANNIE LOU HAMER PROJECT

Following the Money

Research into individual contributions to political campaigns in 2000 and 2002 finds most of the money for federal campaigns coming from America's wealthiest neighborhoods, compounding the belief that the nation's political agenda is being set by a small but monetarily influential percentage of the population.

A new study called *The Real Color of Money* analyzes more than $2 billion of personal contributions made to federal candidates, parties and political action committees (PACs) by comparing zip codes of donors to race, ethnic and income information from the 2000 U.S. Census.

Findings indicate that nine out of ten of the individual dollars ($200+) donated during the two election cycles come from zip codes that are predominantly non-Hispanic white.

About 50 percent of the individual contributions came from zip codes defined as being wealthy, although just 12 percent of the voting-age population lives in these neighborhoods.

In contrast, low-income neighborhoods, accounting for nearly 9 percent of the adult population, contributed just under 6 percent.

The study suggests that campaign money, not votes, dictates who can run for office and that it may bring undue influence to bear on legislative priorities as well. The underlying implication is that concerns critical to citizens of color and poorer Americans, who lack the entrée large contributions presumably guarantee, are not given the same priority. As a consequence, they experience a poorer quality of life, especially in matters like basic health care and educational opportunities.

While individual political contributions do not fall into the "soft" money category targeted by the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act, there is evidence that states with clean money/clean elections rules have begun to see a broader diversity of candidates running for election, including greater numbers of candidates of color and those from low- and moderate-income echelons. Under these rules, candidates who agree to strict campaign spending limits become eligible for public funding, opening the way for citizens to run for election who may otherwise not be able to afford a campaign.

The Real Color of Money is a collaborative effort of Public Campaign, the Fannie Lou Hamer Project and the William C. Velasquez Institute. It was made possible by funding from the Ford and Joyce foundations.

For more information, go to www.colorofmoney.org.

THE PEW CHARITABLE TRUSTS

New Voters Project: Mobilizing Young Voters

A coordinated initiative to mobilize two million 18-to-24-year-old voters for the 2004 elections is under way in Colorado, Iowa, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon and Wisconsin.

The nonpartisan New Voters Project is combining campaign strategy with grassroots canvassing to encourage political participation among eligible young people, a potential voting bloc of almost 24 million people nationwide.

The project's coordinators are addressing concerns that America's youngest voters are generally disengaged from political participation. Data from recent elections across the country reveal low numbers of youth votes while other reports describe small numbers of young people working on campaigns, raising doubts about the future of democracy if the trend continues as young voters age.

Using a network of partners—including Rock The Vote, MTV, Youth Vote and the Campaign for Young Voters—the project will launch voter drives in each of the six states, using peer-to-peer contacts and professional organizers to register and encourage youth involvement during the election period.

The New Voters Project is being coordinated by The George Washington University Graduate School of Political Management, in conjunction with Public Interest Research Group (PIRG) centers in Colorado, Iowa, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon and Wisconsin. Principal funding for the initiative comes from the Pew Charitable Trusts. For more information, go to www.newvotersproject.org.

THE COMMONWEALTH FUND

New Study Uses Patients' Perceptions to Rate Quality of Health Care

Results of a Commonwealth Fund survey of patients' perceptions of medical care systems in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the United Kingdom and America suggest that the United States, which topped the list in per capita spending, may not be getting

the best value for its money.

The survey was based on standards of health care established by The Institute of Medicine, including patient safety, timeliness, and patient-centeredness (the degree to which physicians involve patients in care decisions). The study's findings are available in a report called *Mirror, Mirror on the Wall: Looking at the Quality of American Health Care Through the Patient's Lens.*

Americans reported the least difficulty in waiting for hospital admission and for surgical procedures. However, American patients, along with those from Canada and the U.K., were more likely to report waiting five days or more for a doctor's appointment.

In terms of patient safety, Americans were twice as likely as others to report a medical or medication error with serious health consequences.

The U.S. ranked last in healthcare efficiency. U.S. patients were most likely to be sent for duplicate tests and to have the test results fail to reach the doctor in time for an appointment. Americans were also more likely to say they had to repeat their medical histories multiple times.

Effectiveness of care was measured by the patient's ability to follow up on care and whether physicians reviewed the course of treatment with them. The U.K. received the best rating in this area, while America tied for last place with Australia. U.S. patients were also most likely to report going without recommended care because of the cost involved. For more information go to www.cmwf.org

from the arts and mental health to education and the environment—in regions as diverse as sub-Saharan Africa, Russia and the U.K.

Dr. Kazuo Inamori, Japan's well-known, self-made business visionary, lives his belief that one should contribute both materially and spiritually to society. Throughout his legendary business career, Inamori has used his gains to promote academic and cultural development and international understanding. His Inamori Foundation, with its annual Nobel-class Kyoto prizes, the Abshire-Inamori Leadership Academy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and his endowed university chairs are among his many means for contributing to the world community. His book, *A Passion for Success*, outlines his philosophy that philanthropy is part of a productive life.

The next Carnegie medals will be awarded in 2005.

A Nation at Risk Revisited

In 1983, when the 18-member National Commission on Excellence in Education issued its report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform*, concern about the status of American education in the United States resulted in an unanticipated level of public attention and debate. The report famously warned that, "Our Nation is at risk. The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people."

In the years that followed,

AIMÉE SISCO

Vartan Gregorian (far left); U.S. Secretary of Education Rod Paige (far right) and other former secretaries of education.

many educational reforms were undertaken, among them, a governors' conference on education convened by then-President George Bush, which was directly inspired by the report; 13 years later, President George W. Bush signed the landmark No Child Left Behind legislation into law. But for all the debate, increased spending, and national attention, how much has teaching and learning improved in the nation's schools since the release of *A Nation at Risk* more than two decades earlier?

That question was discussed at an October 23 symposium, which focused on *Reflecting on Two Decades of Reform*—a celebration of the 20th anniversary of the findings of the *Nation at Risk* report. The Corporation hosted the gathering along with the California-based J. Paul Getty Trust, bringing together the remaining 12 members of the Commission and about 75 other educational leaders, including U.S. Secretary of Education Rod Paige, former U.S. Secretary of Education Richard W. Riley and New York City Schools Chancellor Joel Klein. The current chairman of the Trust, David Gardner, had served as the chairman of the National Commission on Excellence in Education.

The symposium consisted of two panel discussions, one looking back on the report's legacy and another panel looking forward to the future of education. Many symposium participants agreed that America is still educationally at risk, and that a number of the reforms urged by *A Nation at Risk* and subsequent reports—including improving teacher education—remain unfinished. Even so, as Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, pointed out, "As the result of *A Nation at Risk*—and the growing body of research on how children learn and what constitutes good teaching—we have come a long way. The challenge ahead of us is to continue to improve our schools and the quality of American education."

Improving Education *Journalism:* **Educate** *the Writer, Too*

by Richard Lee Colvin

Richard Lee Colvin is director of the Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media at Teachers College, Columbia University. He joined the Institute in 2002 from the Los Angeles Times, *where he had been writing about national education issues. He is married to Melissa C. Payton, also a journalist, and they have two children in public school in Ridgewood, N.J. He is a graduate of Oberlin College and of the University of Michigan, where he earned a master's degree in journalism.*

The Washington Post recently published a fascinating article that explored why, precisely, "math is hard" for many people. The piece, written by one of *The Post's* education reporters, delved into both psychology and cutting-edge science, reporting that brain researchers are using neuro-imaging techniques to literally "watch" the brain as its owner puzzles over math problems. The technique has yielded important insights into how the brain handles the task of reading, insights that are beginning to influence instruction. The hope is that such research can bolster math education as well.

Beyond the article's intriguing central question, I was struck by how much the writer had to know or be able to find out in order to effectively communicate the information to her readers. Different pedagogical approaches, developmental psychology, the hierarchical nature of math itself, history and gender studies all had to be considered. The writer also had to have an appreciation of the fact that it's culturally acceptable in the U.S. for someone to admit publicly—as did a student quoted in the article—that, "I just think I'm not good in math."

Education Journalism Deconstructed

Deconstructing newspaper articles and broadcast reports about education is an occupational hazard for me. I became the director of the Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media at Teachers College, Columbia University, last May after more than 20 years of writing about education at three different newspapers, most recently the *Los Angeles Times*. The institute's mission is to promote reporting about education that is "fair, accurate and insightful"; its main method of accomplishing that is to offer in-depth seminars on newsworthy issues for journalists who specialize in covering, supervising coverage of or editorializing about education. In 2003, for example, the institute offered eight seminars on topics that included testing, school choice, leadership in urban schools, the poor preparation of many high school graduates for college or the job market and the erosion of access to higher education.

During each seminar, I'm struck anew by how appreciative my journalistic colleagues are for the opportunity to learn. Their reaction, in part, reflects the fact that newspapers, most of which are highly profitable, spend only a pittance on professional development. A 2002 industry survey sponsored by the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation revealed that the news industry invests less than half as much on training—based on percentage of payroll—than does the average U.S. company. The survey also found that a lack of training is journalists' number-one source of job dissatisfaction and that eight-in-ten journalists want more.

But the journalists' deep engagement at the seminars—asking astute questions from beginning to end—also shows how seriously they take their specialty. Journalists aren't held in the highest esteem these days by many Americans but it would do critics well to see them in action as they wrestle with issues that lie close to the heart of the elusive promise that is public education.

We ask a lot of our public schools. We ask them to prepare graduates for the job market and for success in college—two paths that more and more these days look alike in terms of the skills they require. We want graduates to flourish in intangible ways, to gain an appreciation for art and music and competition and effort. We ask schools to help young people prepare to participate in this fragile experiment in self-regulation that we call democracy. If all that's not enough, we believe that even as our society grows more divided economically, the schools can somehow overcome that fault and provide a springboard to opportunity for all.

The federal No Child Left Behind Act raises the stakes even further. Signed into law two years ago by President George W. Bush, the law prescribes a regimen of testing and accountability that's breathtakingly detailed. In sum, it requires that schools be judged on how well all of their students learn, regardless of the color of their skin, the magnitude of their parents' income, the language they speak at home or whether they cope with a disability of some sort. That goal is often espoused but rarely achieved. In fact, what's termed the "achievement gap"—that aggregate difference in academic achievement that leaves African American and Latino students far behind their white and Asian American counterparts—has been growing, and not shrinking, for years.

If we're asking all that of our schools, shouldn't we also be asking a lot of the journalists who report on them? And what must be done to make sure they're up to that task?

Covering Schools vs. Covering Education

Education writing started becoming a specialized task in American journalism around the middle of the century. With the advent of the G.I. Bill in 1944, military veterans began enrolling in college in record numbers. More students were going to high school instead of heading into factories. Suburbanization began. So did the civil rights movement and desegregation. The federal role in education expanded following the 1957 launch of Sputnik, which was seen, in part, as a failure of the American education system to keep us scientifically competitive.

Newspapers responded to those trends by improving their coverage of education. Large, influential papers such as *The New York Times* and the now-defunct *New York Herald-Tribune* were among the first to appoint education editors. Fred M. Hechinger, who served in that capacity of both papers and after

whom the Hechinger Institute is named, was among the journalists who founded the Education Writers Association (EWA) in 1947, in order "to improve the reporting of education to the public."

Today, many newspapers have education editors and cadres of reporters covering schools, particularly those seeking to boost circulation in the suburbs. But, as a wise editor told me once, there's a big difference between covering schools and covering education. Many newspapers require their school reporters to churn out multiple stories each week, a process that results in superficial articles about school board conflicts and other quick features that provide little context to help readers understand how schools work or the pressures they face. Yet it is just such stories that explain the complex environment of schools that readers most want, according to work done by Public Agenda, the nonpartisan polling organization.

Steve Farkas, Public Agenda's director of research, says the public wants help in evaluating the performance of schools and teachers and is far less interested in school board politics and personalities. A recent Public Agenda survey found that a plurality of Americans say that education is the community issue about which they most want to know more.

Are reporters up to that task? Some are. As I monitor coverage across the country, I see heartening examples of stories laying out complex issues in compelling ways. Another recent story in *The Washington Post* sensitively explored the dilemma of whether profoundly disabled students should be schooled in regular classrooms. *The Chicago Tribune* explored the nitty-gritty of state testing plans to uncover a widespread statistical practice that lessens the pressure to improve. *The Wall Street Journal* has examined the admissions practices of elite colleges.

But there's a lot I don't see. Rarely do I come across solid explorations of teaching and learning. What does good teaching look like? What should school leaders be doing to raise student achievement? What really lies behind the achievement gap? How can testing help focus the efforts of schools as well as students? Is the perceived problem of a lack of discipline in schools as bad in reality as it is in the minds of school critics? How is the growing phenomenon of school choice playing out for students? How can it be that 28% of college freshmen overall and 42% of those who enroll in community colleges have to take remedial classes? Are suburban schools as good as they're touted to be? Are they good for all students or only the elite headed for top colleges?

In general, what I don't see in education writing is the authoritativeness that comes from having a vast amount of knowledge. Lacking that firm base of knowledge, many stories seem naïve and built on the fragile architecture of pat, superficial quotes from educators or critics who point to a need for "more money" or "smaller classes" or private school vouchers and a crackdown on troublemakers as deceptively quick solutions to complex problems. For example, a story about testing might quote an advocate and a critic contradicting one another, with one saying it is a normal part of the learning process and the other calling it a crime. Such stories reduce the complexities of schooling to a he-said, she-said conflict that skates along the surface of the issue. They do nothing to further the public's understanding or create pressure for improvement.

Knowledge and Change

There's a lot that could be done to improve education journalism. But what it all adds up to is writing about education has to become a true specialty, much as covering science, business, sports, the arts or technology are all considered to be specialties, requiring deep knowledge of the domain.

Many of the journalists who specialize in those fields studied them in college or took specialized reporting classes in journalism school. But it's rare for education writers to have formally studied education. And as far as I've been able to determine, no journalism schools today have classes that deal specifically in all you'd have to know to write in-depth stories about teaching and learning or the other central components of schooling. So, it would be useful if journalism schools, perhaps in conjunction with education schools, offered such classes.

Some might contend that education is not a bona fide field and that journalists should stay as far from the jargon-riddled halls of education schools as possible. Having taken some education classes myself, I do not agree. But even if it were true, I would argue that education journalists need to at least have a working knowledge of the competing pedagogical theories that struggle for dominance in education. They need to know something about history so as to understand the recurring cycles of change that keep the school wheels spinning but not moving forward. They need to know about the rapidly changing demographics of the school-age population. They need to know about cognition, motivation, human development, linguistics, and the interaction between poverty and learning. The list is long. And as we push our schools to better serve an ever more diverse group of students, it gets longer all the time.

In addition to formal classes, training seminars, such as those offered by Hechinger or EWA, can make a difference. We have good evidence that writers and editors who attend these professional events tend to stay on the beat longer. They feel respected as professionals, develop pride in their own expertise and want to use it on the job.

Knowledge alone isn't enough, of course. All journalists, specialists or not, have to find ways to make their stories compelling through rich description, strong characters, jargon-free language and drama. So, attention to good writing and reporting, and investments in professional development to hone those skills, will remain paramount.

Newspaper managers have an important contribution to make. They can recognize the value of subject matter knowledge and promote journalists who work to develop it so that the education beat is no longer considered an entry-level or dead-end job. Rather than pulling the education writer into whatever story is breaking, they can turn elsewhere. They also can give reporters time to get into schools, to really see what's happening, rather than having to rely on the arid, generalized descriptions of experts.

Newspaper owners, publishers and top editors play a role as well. They can pressure journalism schools to develop the necessary courses. When they hire an education editor or reporter, they can demand that the person have the requisite set of skills or experience. They can give prominent play to education coverage and make a commitment to invest in ongoing training.

It was just over 20 years ago that the U.S. was galvanized by *A Nation at Risk*, a report produced by the National Commission on Excellence in Education that warned the nation's future was in jeopardy because of the mediocrity of its schools. The impact of that report, which touched off waves of reform that continue to wash over the schools, was surely due, in large measure, to attention from the press. If the No Child Left Behind legislation is to deliver on its promise of improved educational outcomes for all kids, the press must again contribute to the process by doing its job of monitoring progress, spotlighting problems, explaining research, and celebrating success. ■

CARNEGIE Reporter
Spring 2004

CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK
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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.

A FOOTNOTE TO *History*


AIMÉE SISCO

Left to right, front row: Mary Miller Thomson; Linda Thorell Hills; William Gordon Thomson; Louise Thomson Suggett. Left to right, back row: Sandra Thorell Hersman; Lennart Miller Thorell; Pamela Morrison Finlay Evans; Kenneth Brinton Miller.

In 19th century America, Andrew Carnegie not only built the formidable American steel industry, but he dedicated the fortune he amassed to cultural, educational and scientific institutions for "the improvement of mankind." His heirs are Carnegie Corporation of New York, which continues his grantmaking, and 21 other organizations that he founded and endowed.

Married later in life, in 1887, to Louise Whitfield, the daughter of a wealthy merchant in New York, he had only one daughter, Margaret, born in 1897. Mr. Carnegie's belief was that children should earn their place in the world, not inherit it, so after his death, he left no monetary bequests to his family. In his will, he wrote, "Having years ago made provision for my wife beyond her desires and ample enough to enable her to provide for our beloved daughter, Margaret, and being unable to judge at present what provision for our daughter will best promote her happiness, I leave to her mother the duty of providing for her as her mother deems best. A mother's love will be the best guide."

Louise and Margaret were both enthusiastic philanthropists, serving on the Corporation board. But at Margaret's death, the foundation's connection to the family ended. Recently, the extended Carnegie family—the fourth and fifth generations—had a reunion in New York and visited various Carnegie institutions to learn more about their relative, his spirit of giving and their heritage.

Sixteen Carnegie descendents visited Carnegie Corporation of New York, including Linda Thorell Hills. "Grandpa 'Naigie' would be astounded at his legacy of family," she says today. "He was grandfather to four, great-grandfather to fifteen, great-great grandfather to thirty-one. … All of us grew up with a very low-key approach to our heritage, knowing that who we were and became was very much up to each of us individually, and not a reflection of to whom we were related. Most of our friends have never known our family background." Linda's friends, however, have always been impressed by the large and elegant dining table that graces her suburban Colorado home, which is no surprise: it once graced the Carnegie mansion on Fifth Avenue, now home to the Smithsonian's Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum.

Some of the younger generation bear a striking resemblance to their famous ancestor and are very proud to be a part of his family. As one great-granddaughter said, "He had an incredible vision of what his philanthropy should do. We just hope that he can appreciate, in his eternity, what his money has helped to accomplish."

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