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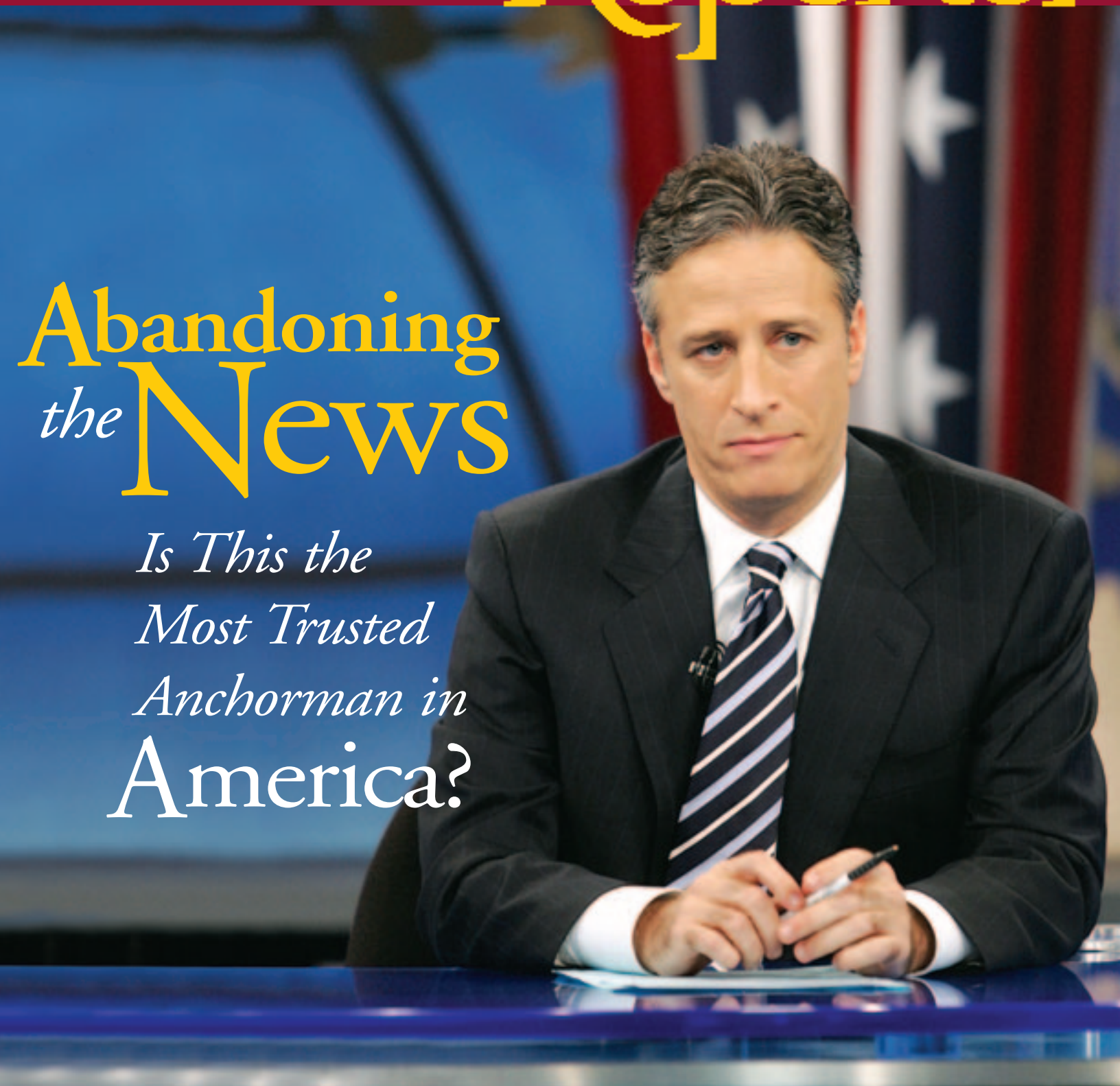

Abandoning the News

Is This the Most Trusted Anchorman in America?

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A Letter *from the* PRESIDENT

Shortly after joining the Corporation in 1997, I asked my colleagues what I hoped were provocative questions designed to stimulate innovative ideas about our future directions. I wondered, *What are we doing? Why are we doing it, and how well?* Such queries, admittedly, do not have easy answers and indeed, as the staff, board and I worked together to decide how best to use the Corporation's resources in the years to come, we found ourselves ending some programs and embarking on new ones. And now—astonishingly, it seems, since one never gets used to how quickly time passes—some of the initiatives we began at the turn of the century have reached their five-year mark. A good time to consider, again, not only what we are doing and why, but also, what we have accomplished.

In 2000, along with the Ford, Rockefeller and MacArthur foundations, we announced the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, an important element of the Corporation's interest in strengthening selected universities in sub-Saharan African nations. Our work aims to help these universities serve not only as models of successful transformation into institutions characterized by excellence, but also to assist women's higher education and support efforts to expand and improve the education of the next generation of African leaders. The four foundations originally pledged $100 million to this initiative over a five-year period; $146 million in grants has already been made. Carnegie Corporation expects to continue working with universities in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda to help them further improve research, teaching, access to technology and all the other factors that make an institution of higher education exemplary. But in South Africa, we are embarking on a different strategy that aligns with the nation's announced intent to transform its higher education system to reflect the development of a diverse post-apartheid society ten years into democratic reforms. Specifically, the Corporation is supporting three universities in order to achieve wider institutional impact aimed at the development and retention of academic staff and scholars, particularly those who are black and/or female. South Africa is anchoring its future in the ability of its universities to embrace all the nation's citizens, and we are proud to participate in reaching that goal.

During periods of profound change, universities become more central to the intellectual and spiritual soul of a country. We believe that is true for the nations of Africa, but also for Russia, which, in the post-Soviet era, is undergoing enormous social, political and economical upheavals. Working with the MacArthur Foundation and the Russian Ministry of Education and Science, the Corporation, over a five-year period, has established nine university-based Centers for Advanced Study and Education (CASEs) in Russia and four CASE-like centers in the Caucasus and the western part of the post-Soviet region, which serve to stimulate research in the social sciences and the humanities, bridge research with teaching, transform curricula and create academic linkages within Russia and between Russia and the United States. CASEs also help to promote the development of an intellectual culture throughout the Russian regions—an antidote to centralized power and a stimulant to democratic reform. To date, the CASEs have engaged over 3,500 scholars in their research agenda and supported close to 500 academics through additional fellowships. Moscow-based CASE director Andrei Kortunov says, of the initiative, "Creativity and entrepreneurial spirit has begun to emerge in these universities, which will lead them to become incubators for new ideas and learning."

The Carnegie Scholars Program—another effort that has marked a five-year milestone—is also concerned with generating new knowledge to enrich our understanding of the increasingly complex and globalizing world we all inhabit. In 2000, the Corporation resumed its historic support for individual scholarship in harmony with the concerns of Andrew Carnegie, who believed deeply in the power of the individual to change the world, and in knowledge and scholarship as the tools that can bring about that change. While in the past we selected scholars whose projects could help extend the boundaries of the Corporation's programs, this year's class is focusing exclusively on Islam in the modern world in order to build a cohesive body of thoughtful and original scholarship about Islam as a religion as well as about the cultures and civilizations of Muslim societies and communities, both in the U.S. and abroad.

An appreciation for how knowledge can both enrich an individual's life and transform societies undergirds all the Corporation's work. This is certainly true of *Schools for a New Society* (SNS), the Corporation initiative announced in 2000 and designed to help reinvent high schools so that all students have access to a high-quality education that will prepare them not only for college but also for economic success and full participation as citizens of a vibrant democracy. The core concept of SNS is district reform, meaning that entire school districts must create new, more effective ways of delivering education and involve the whole community in reform efforts. SNS was conceived as a five-year, $60 million initiative (which has also been supported by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation). So far, there are encouraging results: on a recent visit to Chattanooga, for example, one of the cities participating in SNS, I heard that interim statistics about student performance in algebra and reading, on ACT tests and in freshmen promotion rates are all improving. This kind of success is a harbinger of hope not only for students but for their communities as well, especially in urban areas: an excellent school system is the heart of urban revitalization.

To answer the question, "How well are we doing?" the Corporation has created a Council on Evaluation to formulate an approach to assessment. More generally, of course, we know that change can take decades. Though what I've written about here is work done over just five years and encompassing only a portion of the efforts we support, these programs represent the essential, underlying values of all the Corporation's grantmaking: that excellent education, accessible to all, is the lynchpin of democracy; that scholarship matters to an educated and informed citizenry; and that partnership with other foundations expands the impact of our resources. After all, as Thomas Jefferson said, America is an *idea*, "a crusade against ignorance," and if that crusade is to be sustained, it requires the efforts of all of us, working and learning together. At the Corporation, these are ideas that we honor through our work.

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President*

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Cover photo: Jon Stewart, © 2004 Getty Images

Abando

What's the future of the news business? This report to Carnegie Corporation of New York offers some provocative ideas.

ning the News

by MERRILL BROWN

There's a dramatic revolution taking place in the news business today and it isn't about TV anchor changes, scandals at storied newspapers or embedded reporters. The future course of the news, including the basic assumptions about how we consume news and information and make decisions in a democratic society are being altered by technology-savvy young people no longer wedded to traditional news outlets or even accessing news in traditional ways.

In short, the future of the U.S. news industry is seriously threatened by the seemingly irrevocable move by young people away from traditional sources of news.

Through Internet portal sites, handheld devices, blogs and instant messaging, we are accessing and processing information in ways that challenge the historic function of the news business and raise fundamental questions about the future of the news field. Meanwhile, new forms of newsgathering and distribution, grassroots or citizen journalism and blogging sites are changing the very nature of who produces news. With these elemental shifts in mind, Carnegie Corporation of New York has launched a major initiative on the future of news and commissioned this report, based on a survey of 18-to-34-year-olds carried out by Frank N. Magid Associates in May 2004. (A set of PowerPoint slides comprising a distillation of the survey data is available on the Corporation's web site, www.carnegie.org.) The goal of this effort is to assess where 18-to-34-year-olds get their news today and how they think they'll access news in the future.

For news professionals coming out of the traditions of conventional national and local journalism, fields long influenced by national news organizations and dominant local broadcasting and print media, the revolution in how individuals relate to the news is often viewed as threatening. For digital media professionals, members of the blogging community and other participants in the new media wave, these trends are, conversely, considered liberating and indications that an "old media" oligopoly is being supplemented, if not necessarily replaced, by new forms of journalism created by freelancers and interested members of the public without conventional training.

The Internet Migration

At the heart of the assessment of the news-related habits of adults age 18-to-34 are fundamental changes driven by technology and market forces. Data indicate that this segment of the population intends to continue to increase their use of the Internet as a primary news source in the coming years and that it is a medium embraced in meaningful ways. Newspapers and national television broadcast news fare poorly with this critical demographic group.

Surprisingly to some, among 18-to-34-year-olds, local TV is ranked as the most used source of news, with over 70

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percent of the age group using it at least once a week and over half of those surveyed using local TV news at least three times a week. The local TV ranking is driven in an overall sense by women and low- and middle-income groups. Meanwhile, the second-most-used weekly news source, the Internet, is number one among men, high-income groups, and broadband users.

With over half of Internet users now connecting via high-speed broadband services, daily use of the Internet among all groups is likely to climb, because broadband access, the way an increasing number of households go online, makes daily usage more likely. Already, Internet portals—widely used, general interest web sites such as Yahoo.com and MSN.com that include news streams all day, every day—have emerged in the survey as the most frequently cited *daily* news source, with 44 percent of the group using portals at least once a day for news. Measured by daily use, local TV comes in second at 37 percent, followed by network or cable TV web sites at 19 percent, newspapers at 19 percent, cable networks at 18 percent and national broadcast networks at 16 percent.

And by other measures, the Internet is already clearly ahead of other media among the young. According to the Magid survey, young news consumers say that the Internet, by a 41-to-15 percent margin over second ranked local TV, is "the most useful way to learn." And 49 percent say the Internet provides news "only when I want it" (a critical factor to this age group) versus 15 percent for second-ranked local TV. This audience, the future news consumers and leaders of a complex, modern society, are abandoning the news as we've known it, and it's increasingly clear that a great number of them will never return to daily newspapers and the national broadcast news programs.

Other notable findings revealed by the survey: although ranked as the third most important news source, newspapers have no clear strengths and are the least preferred choice for local, national and international news. On the TV front, cable news is the fourth most valuable news source just ahead of national network programs. Those broadcast newscasts are, however, considered the number-one source for national news. Cable is considered up-to-date and accessible, but not as informative as the Internet.

A Revolution In News And In Public Discourse

The dramatic shift in how young people access the news raises a question about how democracy and the flow of information will interact in the years ahead. Not only is a large segment of the population moving away from traditional news institutions, but there has also been an explosion of alternative news sources. Some have been assembled by traditional news organizations delivering information in print, on television and on the radio as well as via the Internet and mobile devices. Others include the thousands of blogs created by journalists, activists and citizens at large.

Clearly, young people don't want to

Through Internet and instant information in ways function of the **questions**

rely on the morning paper on their doorstep or the dinnertime newscast for up-to-date information; in fact, they—as well as others—want their news on demand, when it works for them. And, say many experts, in this new world of journalism, young people want a personal level of engagement and want those presenting the news to them to be transparent in their assumptions, biases and history.

While it is premature to definitively judge the impact of this revolution on public affairs, political discourse or on journalism itself, the writing is on the wall: the course of how the news will be delivered in the future has already been altered and more changes are undoubtedly on the way. How can we expect anything else, when the average age of a print newspaper reader is 53 and the

average age of both broadcast and cable news viewers is about the same? Baby boomers read newspapers one-third less than their parents and the Gen Xers read newspapers another one-third less than the Boomers.

Whether the industry is reacting fast enough to these dramatic changes is another question altogether. "By and large, the major news companies are still turning a blind eye to what is happening because it's challenging and they need to consider radical change," says researcher Rusty Coats, Director of New Media at Minnesota Opinion Research, Inc. (MORI). "[Change is] way too incremental at this point," he continues. "Major newspaper companies are embracing the Internet but are still using it as a supplement or as a means to sell print subscriptions and not seeing its unique value." Coats points out that there's a "big buzz" within the newspaper industry about developing "loyalty programs," marketing efforts designed to deepen the customer's commitment to a given product. So a subscriber to the *Chicago Tribune*, for example, might receive airline discounts as part of a program. "I'm all for rewarding valuable customers but I wish there was more thought devoted to developing new products. Does a newspaper publishing a youth-oriented web site once a month or once a week really think this will cause fundamental change? The real issue is how are we going to [compete with] Yahoo?" In that regard, Coats suggests that maybe big papers "need to own cellular services" or other large distribution vehicles to reach new audiences. What is needed, Coats and others argue, is a substantial commitment to new product development, investments that news companies—even in their triumphant days of dominance and vast profitability—were reluctant to make.

But these issues can no longer be swept aside by the news oligopolies that have dominated the latter part of the 20th century, as news executives and researchers generally agree. Indeed, those who gather, report and administer the delivery of news are increasingly focusing on the reality that technology, the enormous variety of media choices, demographics and to a certain extent, the struggles of traditional news organizations and the journalism community to adjust to change, have left mass audience, mass media newsgathering and dissemination in peril. And that's unlikely to change. As Lewis Dvorkin, AOL's top editorial executive and a long-time news executive warns, "I don't think that with the lifestyles of people today, the demands on people's time, today's family life and the extended hours of work, people will come back to the old ways of consuming the news."

Until recently, however, managers in the newspaper industry, for example, generally avoided confronting the decades of data about declining use of newspapers among the younger members of society. Instead, they took what is turning out to be false comfort in historic data that generally affirmed the view that older citizens always wind up with the familiar local newspaper because of their interest in world affairs, their pocketbooks, concern with local schools and the issues of modern life. But there's no denying that the numbers are changing. The deterioration of the newspaper marketplace has been steady among young people and would appear to be accelerating. From 1972 to 1998, the percentage of people age 30-to-39 who read a paper every day dropped from 73 to 30 percent. And in just the years between 1997 and 2000, the percentage of 18-to-24-year-olds who say they read yesterday's newspaper dropped by 14 percent, according to the Newspaper Association of America. The only conclusion to be reached after noting these trends is that no future generation of new consumers will fit earlier profiles since their expectations and their habits have changed forever—and technology is a big part of the reason why.

"Young people are more curious than ever but define news on their own terms," says Jeff Jarvis, who is president of Advance.net, a unit of Advance Publications, and who publishes a widely read blog, Buzzmachine.com. "They get news where they want it, when they want it. Media is about control now. We used to wait for the news to come to us. Now news waits for us to come to it. That's their expectation. We get news on cable and on the Internet any time, any place."

> portal sites, handheld devices, blogs messaging, we are accessing and processing that **challenge** the historic news business and raise fundamental about the future of the news field.

THE IMAGE BANK/PETER CADE

What this means is that American journalism institutions face risks of extraordinary magnitude. To be sure, the news industry is an evolving business, but even within that context, recent changes in the news business must be viewed as a wake-up call for all involved. Consider the fact that broadcast television's evening news programs, for example, are no longer the family hearth that brings people throughout the country together at meal time. Or that television networks, which used to employ dozens of high-profile correspondents around the world, now deploy just a few. (Certainly, in the years leading up to September 11, 2001, international reporting on television was in rapid decline, often almost invisible on national television.) Afternoon newspapers have disappeared from American life and cities that for decades had multiple newspaper choices now often have but one. *The New York Times, USA Today* and *The Wall Street Journal* are available on street corners throughout the country. The daily audiences of national news web sites dwarf those of their print counterparts.

Even the accepted, historic premise of how a free press and the skills of journalism bind together democratic institutions similarly merits a certain reassessment and reality check. There is little evidence that today's politicians accept the notion that it's mandatory to connect to the population via a "national press corps," often choosing to go around the press and communicate through their own Internet sites, through friendly talk shows and blog forums.

A Time For Radical Thinking

In a world where national leaders are turning away from the news media, citizens have an increasing lack of confidence in the press and young people are moving perhaps permanently away from traditional newsgathering organizations, a radical rethinking of how news is delivered seems necessary—even overdue. Press watchers and public figures have varying, though often critical views on the performance of the national press, and many critics claim that new forms of citizen or Internet media can help fix general media inadequacies and gaping holes in coverage of important issues. Nevertheless, many feel that the country still needs strengthened newsgathering capabilities to help Americans develop a true understanding of an increasingly complex world, and argue that only strong, national media organizations cover wars, elections, news from around the world and in metropolitan communities in ways that help inform large numbers of citizens.

Efforts to stave off what seem like catastrophic times ahead for the news business and its deteriorating relationship with young news consumers are already underway. Some examples:

■ Mainstream news services, after the traditional news industry's usual angst about new products and threats to core values, have begun to embrace weblogs (or blogs), the interactive, constantly updated web pages now so widespread online. Acceptance of blogging went so far this year that NBC News actually hired bloggers to comment during election night coverage.

■ An increasing number of younger anchors and reporters, some with web backgrounds, are showing up on television news programs. CNN 's Anderson Cooper is positioned for the younger audience, ABC News correspondent Jake Tapper is a former Salon.com writer, and Slate.com contributes regularly to National Public Radio.

■ The distribution challenge only gets more complex with time, but new means for reaching new audiences continue to develop. For instance, through MobiTV, a product available from Sprint and other cellular carriers, subscribers can now watch programs from NBC News and MSNBC cable on their cell phones. Throughout Europe, giant cellular carrier Vodaphone is now offering Vodaphone live!, providing video from television services ITN in the United Kingdom, N24 in Germany, Rai News in Italy and El Mundo in Spain.

Despite these innovations, some experts still warn that the news business—and with it, perhaps, the nation itself—faces a troubled future. As David Mindich, author of *Tuned Out: Why Americans Under 40 Don't Follow the News* (Oxford University Press, 2004) concluded in a recent interview on an industry web site that today's young citizens "are still just as thoughtful, intelligent—and I would argue, literate—as ever before. What has changed is that young people no longer see a need to keep up with the news."

News Source Best Described by Image

Among 18-34-year-olds, the Internet among top performers on many images; Newspapers not considered strong on any image

	Local TV News	National Net. News	Cable TV News	Internet	Newspapers
Trustworthy	21%	19%	21%	10%	9%
Up-to-date	19%	13%	24%	29%	4%
Offers "news I can use"	37%	11%	10%	20%	9%
Useful way to learn	15%	11%	14%	41%	8%
Entertaining	23%	12%	18%	20%	4%
Provides news only when I want it	12%	6%	9%	49%	9%

Source: Magid Associates for Carnegie Corporation of New York

Says Mindich in his recent book: "America is facing the greatest exodus of informed citizenship in its history."

The Challenge: Retaining Audiences While Building New Ones

At its essence, the conclusions of the Magid survey support much of what many researchers and careful students of the media have been saying and raises a set of dramatic red flags about news-gathering in the 21st century. One such scholar, Betsy Frank, Executive Vice President, Research and Planning, Viacom's Cable Networks, Film and Publishing, is a preeminent researcher and thinker about young people and media use and calls them "media actives." The media revolution, she says, "affects so many aspects of their lives and news just happens to be one of them. Nothing we see in their comfort with technology will go away as they get older. They have no loyalty to media institutions like their parents did."

Similarly, CBS News President Andrew Heyward says that young people are "information impressionists. News is gathered by the impressions they receive from many sources around them." How news executives today deal with the ways news is consumed, in the form of an image here, an instant message there, a cell phone text message headline, a web portal story or a newspaper shoved into a passing hand while racing to the bus, will say a great deal about the future of news as we know it.

For Heyward and other media executives interviewed for this report, the challenge is real. Whether it is thinking about the recrafting of the CBS Evening News in the post-Dan Rather-era or how to distribute CBS news content on new and evolving platforms Heyward, for example, says he's constantly thinking about ways to engage younger viewers. "We are going to have to be accessible without just being bite-sized," he says. "We are way behind in translating the strengths of television to the new media. We are nowhere on storytelling for the new media and for these younger audiences. We have to figure out how to use the new technologies in ways that address our strengths—immediacy and personality. There is a broader, new definition of news that we will need to develop for this next generation."

History suggests that news products tailored to meet the emerging needs of different times and different generations is not a far-fetched idea. Business coverage, for example, an afterthought in many newspapers until the 1980s and 90s, now gets vastly more attention from most news organizations than in previous eras. But perhaps an even more pressing concern, beyond simply beefing up coverage in one category or another or adding younger faces to a network newscast, is whether approaches to stories and prevailing traditions can really change. Can storytelling evolve to add more interactivity, citizen participation, inclusion of younger newsmakers and the use of music, innovative pacing and more engaging graphic and presentation elements? These changes—which represent many once widely observed taboos against embellishing straight news in any way—are at the core of what many in the business wrestle with today.

Progress toward those new definitions of news and public affairs may have been accelerated by the unpredictability and unexpected developments that were the media and new technology story underpinning last November's general election. The 2004 campaign provided any number of examples—both anecdotal and from the research already available—about the impact of the revolution at hand and how it engaged young news consumers. Former Vermont Governor Howard Dean built his campaign on connecting young Internet-savvy activists and both the ultimate Democratic nominee, Senator John Kerry, and the Republican victor, President George W. Bush, used the Internet as a critical part of their public relations and fundraising efforts, strategies directed largely at young people. Campaign commentary and coverage from bloggers moved from being perceived as idiosyncratic and away from the mainstream to being a critical part of the debate about the CBS News reporting on President Bush's military record and ultimately, the blogging phenomenon reached the level of attention that comes with a cover story in *The New York Times Magazine*. From a more concrete point of view:

- The Pew Internet and American Life Project determined that among 18-to-34-year-olds with high-speed Internet access, 40 percent said the Internet was their main campaign news source, twice the percentage that cited newspapers. The Pew Center also reported that 21 percent of all Americans identified the Internet as their main campaign news source, twice the percentage as in the 2000 election.
- A study of 18-to-29-year-olds carried out as part of "Declare Yourself," a national nonpartisan effort to register voters for last year's election, reported that 25 percent of young voters named the Internet as the first or second most important source for news compared to just 15 percent for newspapers. In that same study, Jon Stewart, host of *The Daily Show* on the Comedy Central network was identified as the most trusted of the TV anchors among the group that chose the Internet as their top news source, while among the entire group, Stewart tied with then-NBC anchor Tom Brokaw and came in ahead of ABC's Peter Jennings and former CBS anchor

Dan Rather when asked about who they "trust the most" to provide "information about politics and politicians."

It is widely believed that this election year data represents, in some ways, a sea change in both consumption patterns and in how news is consumed. Those Jon Stewart viewers or consumers of popular blogs like Talking Points Memo (talkingpointsmemo.com) on the left side of the political spectrum and Power Line (www.powerlineblog.com) on the right have, it would seem, changed the way they approach and view the news. Active consumers are unlikely any longer to rely on single sources for coverage of issues that matter to them. And they'll never be consuming news without clear chunks of opinion as part of the mix.

Few news executives are active, widely read bloggers. But for the one who can make that claim, journalist and blogger Jeff Jarvis, the election-year attention on Jon Stewart, the blogging phenomena and the surging growth of Internet use for both business and personal activities points out that attitude and voice matter more to today's young news consumers than earlier notions of journalistic objectivity and fact gathering. And Jarvis observes that today's young people want to understand—on an entirely different level from previous generations—the politics and attitudes of those who write and deliver the news.

That kind of transparency is what pundits like Jarvis are often most passionate about and indicates why, as perceived from the right and the left, Fox News Channel, Jon Stewart and bloggers have a lot in common. All three both dish and dig and combine opinion and fact gathering in ways that have caught on with significant numbers of consumers. Opinionated reporting, seen most clearly from bloggers, raised questions about the documents in the Dan Rather-George Bush scandal about use of unverified documents in CBS News reporting about President Bush's military record, and had stunning impact. Jon Stewart, meanwhile, hosts politicians of all persuasions while at the same time calling his program "phony news." Jarvis says that rather than be alarmed about Stewart's popularity and credibility as a "news source," news professionals ought to view Stewart's ascent as "as an endorsement of a new honesty in the news, of the importance of bringing news down off its pedestal and presenting it at eye-level." He adds: "I think we [are seeing] a phenomenon in news that cuts across age groups but includes young people: we are coming to prefer our news with opinion, or at least an admission of opinion."

What's more, Jarvis and others talk a great deal about giving audiences and especially young people a level of control about when they access news or choose to participate in public affairs. For the Internet world of the Howard Dean campaign with its reliance on online "meetings," web-based communications and fundraising and the blog world, in which anybody with a keyboard is a publisher in a new community referred to as the "blogosphere," everybody who wants to be involved not only can be, but can also make choices about when and at what level to become or stay involved. It's as easy, now, as turning on a computer.

New Products For A Different Consumer

In a growing number of urban areas, if you've gotten off a train or bus lately, it's likely you've been offered a free newspaper—or at least, a new version of a newspaper. Around 50 newspapers (and Luxembourg-based Metro International with editions in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia) have launched pared-down versions of their product, generally for free distribution at commuter locations. The goal: introduce busy young professionals and others to publications that highlight headlines, weather, sports scores and news you can use on the run. It's an Internet-inspired phenomenon, in part, because it serves a similar purpose: providing quick snapshots of what's happening in the world of culture, news and entertainment, and placing it directly in the hands of consumers.

Says Chris Ma, publisher of *The Washington Post's* giveaway paper, *Express*, "We're reaching commuters who are infrequent or non-newspaper readers and building an advertising business at the same time." About 175,000 copies of *Express* are given away daily. In Miami, Knight Ridder's *Miami Herald* now publishes *Street Weekly*, or *Street* for short, which it

The development of free papers represents single media industry response yet to the What's less clear is what **"newspaper-lite"** products

IMAGE 100

the **largest** readership collapse. these mean for journalism.

cheerfully refers to as an "alternative arts and entertainment free publication." *Street* has a free circulation of 70,000 throughout the Miami-Dade region and promotes itself as "Edgy, colorful and irreverent."

The development of these free papers represents the largest single media industry response yet to the readership collapse. What's less clear, though, is what the production of these "newspaper-lite" products means for journalism. Will these papers merely summarize the work of the parent publication or create their own voice and journalistic traditions? Will they make original reporting obsolete by a concentration on summaries, wire stories, graphics, stock data, sports scores and weather?

At the parent companies of these papers and at the large news organizations, talented producers and editors are wrestling with these same issues but often approaching them from a different direction, working on methods of bringing in younger audiences without disturbing powerful news products which, in most cases, continue to enrich their owners with consequential profit margins. Media executives like Sandra Rowe, editor of The Oregonian and a former chair of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, have their hands full trying to evolve their publications with the profitability paradigm as the vexing, short-term conundrum.

Rowe thinks there are many things her paper can do and is doing in terms of story selection, story telling, packaging and creative use of the Internet to engage young people, but wishes the resources were available to do more, especially to develop new products. "I look at this age group as really smart young adults," she says. "They don't have any patience for us wasting time and approaching things in predictable ways. So part of what newspapers can do is tell them something they don't know about something interesting." Just covering City Hall isn't enough, she says. "What they're looking for is a closer lens…[In order to be that for them] we have to be plugged in at City Hall so we can tell them how money is used and how they are affected. With this crowd, newspapers and magazines have to be visually strong and focused on what the story is—a story with a beginning, middle and end. If papers could do that, we could satisfy that age group." She also believes that editors who look at newspaper beats as independent sources of newsroom information are missing the boat, particularly when it comes to assessing the interests of younger readers. "Arts, business, commerce and education…these areas are no longer discrete and what's most interesting are the places where they intersect."

Though frustrated at the industry's slow pace, Rowe sees a day ahead when newspaper editors will have more products and ways to leverage their expertise. In this model, she says, her paper would be reaching different sensibilities with, for example, an alternative weekly, community papers, the leading regional portal and a network of sites. By managing multiple products and building a stronger economic base, Rowe thinks that such an organization would have the resources to put "the interest back in public interest reporting. If you can be the primary information source in the community," she adds, "and do so because it's your responsibility, the commercial argument would work and would be designed to support that."

The view that the traditional news organization, whether it's a daily newspaper or television network news operation, is effectively a "mother ship" feeding material to multiple products on multiple platforms isn't necessarily a brand-new one. But the scale of what Rowe is proposing is a start at rethinking fading traditions.

That's why it's already an overwhelmingly challenging time in the worlds of cable television and broadcast news, as well as in print media. Young people are moving away not just from television news to the Internet, but also away from television in general, a fact that makes it difficult for TV marketing organizations to even reach the next generation of news consumers since many have already abandoned TV for their computers. Still, enterprising television executives do have a variety of new tools and distribution mechanisms at their disposal. Within the new NBC Universal family, for example, there's an abundance of opportunities with CNBC, MSNBC, USA Network, the Sci Fi Channel and Bravo. Meanwhile, CBS News management is focused on CBSnews.com, and the assets of Viacom, the parent of CBS. Viacom owns Nickelodeon, Black Entertainment Television, MTV, and mtvU, formerly the College Television Network. On mtvU.com, today you can find CBS News headlines.

Like his competitors at ABC, CBS News President Andrew Heyward says he is committed to developing products for the broadband marketplace, a means to find potential television news consumers at their desktops at home or at work. Some news organizations have already made a promising start. Last summer, ABC News launched ABC News Now, a subscription-based news network designed to capture the desktop audience at work, at school or on the move. It will be available on broadband services, digital cable and wireless services. Nothing like it has ever been tried before in the U.S. and it clearly fills a void in the ABC News distribution plan.

Success in these areas is critical for the networks. "We would like to attract younger viewers," says Bill Wheatley, Vice President, News at NBC News. "We know advertisers will pay us more to reach them and NBC has long been accepted as a network with appeal to younger people. But in news, the challenge is great. The trick is that we are a mass medium and if we target young people too regularly and too narrowly, we will lose other parts of the audience. We may, though, come to a point where we will have to create programs just for younger viewers."

That is very likely what it's going to take to change current trends for mainstream news organizations. They are going to have to program for the demographic if they are to retain consequential news franchises. For CBS News, that means using those networks in their corporate family. For others with less obvious ways to reach younger viewers, an investment strategy will be required. And at some point along the way, game-changing strategies, what Rusty Coats would call "radical" or business strategists term "disruptive" tactics, are required. (Disruptive meaning along the lines of a model that has technology and telecommunications companies merging or aligning with news companies.) As Ted Turner changed the game at a much different moment in time with the invention of CNN, and as Apple changed another game by providing accessible music downloads, dramatic moves—accompanied by the simultaneous but deft, prudent tinkering of skilled print editors, television producers and digital media journalists and technologists—are unquestionably required.

Summing Up: The Message Is Clear

What the survey data commissioned by the Corporation—as well as the message that's coming in loud and clear from bloggers and their readers—are telling us is that there are new forms of participatory or citizen journalism that can engage those who had been outside today's news environments. Last spring, *The Bakersfield Californian* launched *The Northwest Voice* (http://www.northwestvoice.com), a community weekly paper and Internet site. Most of the content is produced by members of the community and submitted via the Internet. Similarly, The Command Post (http://www.command-post.org/) is a site created by a worldwide network of bloggers set up to cover stories and package links to other sites that add documentation. Many news executives cringe at the idea of such projects. But these are bold concepts and their premise—that news can actually be generated by readers—may be precisely what many young, dissatisfied news consumers will respond to. Similarly, news organizations need to connect to consumers through e-mail and instant messaging services, need to join the virtual online conversations that are a central place where news is discussed and need to not only embrace these approaches but also use new technologies in order to reach out to younger audiences.

It is also apparent that news has to be produced specifically for and directed to the audiences of the future, and reach them in the ways they want. In developing news products for this audience, what's required is to understand that yesterday's news is literally that and recognize that daily news delivery mechanisms, ranging from television newscasts to magazine shows to newspapers and their giveaway stepchildren, need an approach to the news focused on techniques that go far beyond who said what yesterday or the day before. New products could be built around information services designed for the Internet, or for cellular and multimedia delivery. These could include, for example, innovative, even risky programming models deliv-

ered over broadband with unique voices and tied into related blogs on specific topics, ranging from national security to local restaurants.

News executives need to quickly mobilize around what are today their secondary platforms, at least measured in terms of where, currently, their largest revenue opportunities exist. In other words, even if the daily newspaper industry's advertising revenue dwarfs its Internet business, the future of the American newspaper will be defined online from both a future readership point of view and perhaps in terms of future revenue streams as well. It is time for print industry investments in Internet products to match the online audience size and the extraordinary magnitude of the migration to digital news delivery.

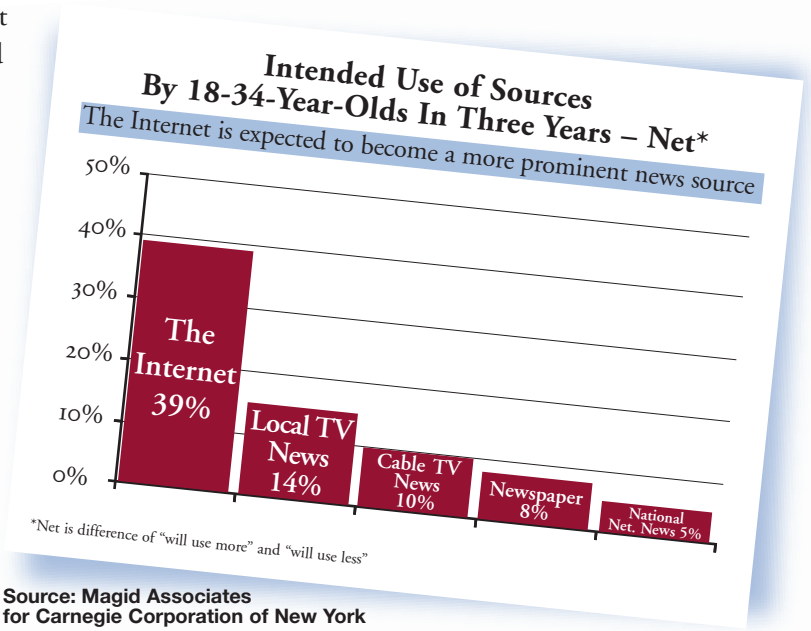
While making investments is imperative, the news industry needs to do so while simultaneously inventing new, creative business approaches. Few news organizations think methodically and creatively about product development, and resources allocated to studying and inventing new news products are generally miniscule. Even at universities and think tanks, research on these critical topics is limited. Nevertheless, the time has come to forge new liaisons between the disparate worlds of research, education and news organizations in order to maximize intellectual capability and limited resources.

Meanwhile, the news industry should recognize the importance of what's going on in places like Bakersfield and work hand-in-hand with bloggers and other independent journalists and citizens to experiment with the formation of new alliances and the development of new products. With safeguards, and appropriate standards as an early requirement, news organizations large and small should bring the public—including their local community—into their news gathering and news delivery planning processes in ways that were probably unimaginable just a few years ago. From the simple touches, like making every news professional's e-mail address available, to the more complex, such as engaging with news sources and the citizenry at large in meaningful dialogue, there are clearly methods for providing the accessibility younger audiences are likely to embrace. In other words, news executives need to think about their products as participatory community institutions, not merely as distributors of their own creative output, and open themselves to input, feedback, ideas and journalism from outside their own organizations. In addition, news organizations must recognize the value of the one piece of technology that's in virtually every hand around the world—the cell phone—so that the mobile revolution is, in fact, part of a news revolution.

Ironically, some large news organizations don't even adequately leverage the know-how and expertise within their own companies. There are hundreds of very capable, technologically savvy Internet executives within large news organizations whose views about the future and whose ideas for new products and initiatives are dismissed or ignored altogether. Every major broadcast and cable news organization exists today within a corporate family that includes Hollywood studios, institutions where new technologies, new distribution channels, new production techniques and new storytelling techniques are developed. They talk infrequently and awkwardly.

Without this kind of dramatic rethinking, without a new openness to new approaches, the news industry is in peril. Certainly, the newspaper revenue model based in large part on classified and job advertising will never be the same, with so much revenue disappearing to the Internet. One recent study said the popular, free Internet site, craigslist (www.craigslist.com), had cost San Francisco Bay Area newspapers $50-$65 million in job listing revenue alone.

While the outright collapse of large news organizations is hardly imminent, as the new century progresses, it's hard to escape the fact that their franchises have eroded and their futures are far from certain. A turnaround is certainly possible, but only for those news organizations willing to invest time, thought and resources into engaging their audiences, especially younger consumers. The trend lines are clear. So is the importance of a dynamic news business to our civic life, to our educational future, and to our democracy. ■



Source: Magid Associates for Carnegie Corporation of New York


BANDWIDTH

AND COPYRIGHT:

Barriers *to* Knowledge *in* Africa?

by KENNETH WALKER

Access to knowledge may be the key to advancement in the developing world, but the seemingly limitless amount of information available on the Internet is often not available to individuals and universities in Africa.

At a time when the developed world is putting the finishing touches on the so-called "Third Generation of the Internet," Africa is still struggling with the first. It has long lagged behind all other continents in the number of computers, users and percentage of people accessing the Web.

In developed countries, Internet access is virtually every teenager's birthright, but the vast majority of African students arrive at university without ever having received or sent an e-mail, or even having sat in front of a computer.

Many who have questioned whether Africa's digital divide with the rest of the world can ever be bridged, won't have to wait long for answers. Events are coalescing quickly to determine the fate of the continent's aspirations in education, development, science and

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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.

research, on which may hinge the viability of the modern African state.

There are those who insist that without the global knowledge to meet their development needs, many African countries are in danger of becoming failed states. Even short of that dire prediction is the concern, expressed by observers like Rookaya Bawa, Carnegie Corporation of New York program officer in the International Development Program, who says, "Gaining access to the wealth of information available through the Internet is critical to Africa's future. If we miss this opportunity, who knows how long it will take to catch up?"

On the other hand, there are those who believe that rapidly accelerating advances in communications technology might permit African societies to "leap-frog" into a brave new world of education, science, research and development that will enable the continent finally to overcome the information divide.

After essentially being left out of the first two decades of Internet connectivity, African universities are at the forefront of attempts on the continent to make up for lost time. In many African nations, universities have been among the first Internet providers and certainly provide the greatest access for the largest number of people, even sponsoring the Internet cafes that have become ubiquitous in many African cities.

The initial hurdle for most universities was just getting connected. Most of Africa—even today—is still not wired for regular landline telephone service.

Most of the developed world has been building electronic communication infrastructure for more than a century. And that has come to be augmented by cable, wireless and fiber-optic connections offered by a host of competitive business and government entities.

After decolonization, some African countries made serious attempts to build telephone lines, but they have been hampered by inefficient, state-owned monopolies as well as by high rates of theft of the copper wire used in telephone installations. As a result, universities interested in accessing the Internet almost all had to do so by purchasing bandwidth from satellite companies, often at more than 100 times the cost in the developed world.

The scramble for Internet access began at several African universities only within the last decade. There are great differences in both the pace of change at the universities and the skill levels among their information communications technology (ICT) personnel, according to a member of the new generation of Internet professionals. Jummai Umar, a 34-year-old Ph.D. research student on ICT and Knowledge Generation at the University of Abuja in Nigeria, who also works with UNESCO in researching ICT issues at African universities, points to different levels of ICT usage. Among them, she says, are the "middle-level users who are beginning to realize the value of the Internet and want to get connected. There's also the lower-level users who don't even know what bandwidth is. At some universities and technikons, they've never heard the term 'bandwidth,' and that goes for even the vice chancellors."

Bandwidth costs and related issues are perhaps the biggest problem African universities face in accessing the Internet. Broadly defined, bandwidth refers to the rate of data transfer, i.e., the capacity of the Internet connection being used. The greater the capacity, the more likely it is that access and downloads will be faster.

African universities have been forced to buy bandwidth from the intrinsically much more expensive satellite companies. What's worse, the purchases have been made through middlemen, boosting the costs even more.

Lowering bandwidth prices will promote Internet connectivity at African universities, but managing bandwidth use may be an even more important challenge.

Training a new generation in managing and accessing the Internet is another huge issue. Even as moves are being made on the first two issues, a newer, perhaps even more strenuous challenge is surfacing—the extent to which African scientists and scholars are being denied access to Web resources because of increasingly contentious intellectual property rights debates.

Among those concerned with these issues is the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, a collaborative effort involving Carnegie Corporation of New York, along with the MacArthur, Ford, and Rockefeller foundations, which have pledged $100 million over a five-year period to help strengthen African universities. Targeted initiatives include improving universities' capacity to utilize technol-

ogy, including the Internet. Currently, the Partnership is in the midst of an effort to help African universities gain control of the cost and training issues surrounding online access. The initial focus has been to facilitate the forming of a coalition of African universities that will be better positioned to negotiate lower bandwidth prices.

Alex Twinomugisha is the ICT Manager at the African Virtual University (AVU) in Nairobi, Kenya, which has been commissioned by the Partnership to bargain with satellite companies on behalf of Partnership universities. Reports Twinomugisha, "The bandwidth price has already started to come down. In less than a year, the average African university is paying $4 less per kilobit per second. And now that the universities have formed this 'bandwidth club,' prices will come down even more. In the new tender we are floating, we are looking at a target price of no more than $2.50 per kilobit per second. That means some universities may get up to six times more bandwidth for what they are paying now."

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Raoul Davion, the MacArthur Foundation representative to the Partnership, says the evolving technology and apparently steadily falling satellite prices could change the entire effort. "Getting together to buy bandwidth was originally conceived as a 'bridging' strategy," says Davion. "The Partnership felt that universities needed a way to obtain Internet access via satellite until terrestrial fiber-optic cable becomes available. But," he continues, "it's conceivable to me that with new technology, along with the continued growth of satellite companies, that this could be a leap-frog technology that enables Africa to avoid laying much of the terrestrial cable that was essential in the developed world."

As wonderful as those cheaper prices will be, Twinomugisha and Davion agree that managing the bandwidth will prove a much more important challenge. That will involve wholesale training and cultural transformations at nearly all the universities.

The inspiration for the bandwidth consortium was a similar arrangement by universities in South Africa that banded together to negotiate Internet access costs. The organization, called TENET (for the Tertiary Education Network), also specializes in training university ICT staff in managing bandwidth use. Duncan Martin, director of TENET, says, "Much of the bandwidth universities are buying is being wasted. Students must be prevented from doing selfish things like music downloads. There also need to be firewalls and monitoring use on a per-student basis." The foundation partnership is negotiating with TENET about training and advising ICT managers in Partnership universities.

Twinomugisha insists that, "The very first priority must be for universities to establish local area networks (LANs) that can be used instead of much more expensive Internet connections. For example, a lot of research and scholarly material that individuals now look for on the Internet can be placed on a LAN and shared in that way. Internet costs can be substantially reduced with better management and LANs."

However well managed, many critics still contend that the amount of money universities are spending on bandwidth is inappropriate. Says one skeptic, "Universities are worshipping at the altar of the Internet. When you have grossly overcrowded classes, dilapidated infrastructure, and sometimes water and sewer systems don't even work, how can these costs possibly be justified?"

MacArthur's Raoul Davion, as well as many ICT officials at African universities, have a ready answer to such questions: "With the proper bandwidth you might be able to teach 10,000 more students via distance learning, as opposed to hiring 24 more professors. And bandwidth also allows, for example, all the courses of MIT (Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and other

Internet learning resources to be online and adapted to meet the needs of African universities."

Still, AVU's Twinomugisha acknowledges that there are principled objections to the ICT focus. He says, for example, "Some professors just don't believe that distance learning is an effective strategy. We face problems on a daily basis with people who don't believe what we are doing makes a lot of sense, and people who are scared that technology might take their jobs."

Universities involved in the foundation partnership tend to be among the leaders in adapting ICT, but even among them, there are considerable differences. For all, the pace of change can be dizzying.

Nigeria's University of Jos has blazed a trail in ICT among West African universities, generally regarded as the region that has the most problems. Donna Allison Oti, a Senior Fulbright Scholar with a Ph.D. in Mass Communications, spent ten months at the university. "I was concerned before I got there," says Oti, "because I had heard about the connectivity problems at African universities. I was especially worried because I spent a year in South Korea, where I had a high-speed DSL connection from home." (South Korea is among the most heavily Internet-connected countries in the world.)

"Jos wasn't as convenient because I had to go to the office," Oti continues. "But to my surprise, I could get a broadband connection from several labs on campus. I could download large research files when I wanted and I was able to complete the preface to an anthology of poetry and a paper currently under review."

The story of how the university gained such a high level of connectivity is best told by Professor Len Liverpool, the school's ICT coordinator. "Eight years ago, there was a group of people at the university who were dedicated to making ICT flourish," Liverpool explains. "We didn't have much money, but we had strong institutional support, going over the tenure of three vice chancellors. In 1997, Jos had a student and staff population of 15,000, but we had no ICT staff. There were less than 10 computers and fewer than 10 people who had any computer skills at all. But today," Liverpool proudly points out, "we have over 3,000 e-mail users; over 400 networked computers; all three of our campuses are linked by 15 local area networks utilizing fiber optics and Cisco switches; and we now have an established tradition of training."

The goal, Liverpool adds, "is for every student and staff member to have an e-mail account and for everyone to have Internet access. We want many students involved in distance learning and at least 200 ICT graduates a year."

Dr. F.F. Tusubira, ICT director at Makerere University in Uganda, also oversees a program of notable ICT advances, but acknowledges that he's still coping with major challenges. "The bandwidth problem will be here for some time," he says. "The fundamental challenge is that satellite access is intrinsically expensive. People in America pay $500 for what our university pays $28,000 per month."

The cost is not the only constraint on Internet use, Tusubira adds. "Someone in Europe can download 1,000 abstracts in a brief period of time. Here it can take two days' work. That slows down the process of research and discourages people from relying on the system."

Tusubira believes that one major reason African universities have lagged so far behind in accessing the Internet is the history of authoritarian and repressive governments on the continent. "Many in the last generation of African leaders viewed mass communications as a security risk," he explains. "Some current leaders do, as well. It could be dangerous to allow many people access to a communications tool like the Web that is not easily monitored or controlled. It's like private radio stations: opposition parties can overthrow governments with that. There still are countries such as China, Iran, North Korea and Zimbabwe, where you can be arrested today for expressing certain opinions or even accessing certain sites on the Internet."

Prisca Tibenderana, Deputy University Librarian, Makerere University

But progress is being made. In Uganda, for instance, after much lobbying by universities and others in the ICT community, the government has agreed, in principle, to lay fiber-optic cables whenever it builds new roads. "Building a road costs $3 million per kilometer," Tusubira says. "Adding fiber optics would only be an additional $100,000 per kilometer." Such a plan is expected to be operationalized within a year.

Aminu Ibrahim, the deputy director of Nigeria's National Universities Commission, agrees that African governments have been very slow to

provide the kind of regulatory and funding help taken for granted by universities elsewhere. The toll on Nigerian universities, Ibrahim believes, has been particularly devastating.

"Even if we got all the bandwidth we needed, we'd still have problems," he says, and goes on to review some of the country's recent history, which impacts on his point. "The incursion of military rule sabotaged the universities. Universities that were supposed to be places of open inquiry were completely muzzled. The universities came to have the same kind of ethnic and religious intolerance and corruption that the military bred into the society at large. The result is that people and universities don't trust one another and are afraid to cooperate or even ask questions. The rest of the world has already 'moved to Mars' in ICT. We're still trying to climb out of the caves."

Even with the restoration of democracy in Nigeria, Ibrahim says, there has been no concerted, coordinated approach to providing universities with the necessary technological infrastructure necessary for advancement.

"In places like the U.S., South Africa, even Mexico," Ibrahim says, "there are special rates on all kinds of things for educational institutions. But in Nigeria, universities are charged the full commercial rate for telephone and electric service, which the government has monopolies on. Nigeria has two national telecom carriers owned by the government. Both have a fiber-optic backbone, but neither has connected any university, or even knew enough to ask. African universities need to learn how to lobby and apply some pressure."

Ibrahim then points out another example of how outdated and uncoordinated government regulations continue to hamper ICT development. "We organized a program through the U.S. embassy and Teachers Without Borders to get donations of used computers and other equipment," he says. "The first shipment sat in the port for 10 months, then the customs people put a tax on it. Once you added all that together, the donations made no sense. You might as well buy everything new."

> *"Every day, the technology becomes more available and easier to use. Africa can be one case where the last can become the first."*

Despite all the problems, Ibrahim remains optimistic, largely because of the "leap-frog" potential of evolving technology. "ICT has created this great divide," he says, "but it has also provided a solution. Every day, the technology becomes more available and easier to use. Africa can be one case where the last can become the first. The technology is changing so rapidly that having had it for a long time is no longer an advantage."

One development that has the potential of saving African universities almost as much money as they are now paying for bandwidth is Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP), which could greatly reduce many universities' telephone bills. Sunday Folayan is the past secretary general of the Internet Service Providers Association of Nigeria. Folayan initiated the phone call for an hour-long interview for this article using VOIP. "I paid a fraction for this phone call that I would have paid for the telecom landline," he noted.

Folayan has just launched a new company called General Data Engineering Services, which sells VOIP in Nigeria. "In just two weeks, we signed up 8,500 subscribers," he reports, "and we're still growing. I am sure that eventually the government will try to stifle VOIP because it means the end of the state-owned telecom. Universities pay at least as much in telephone bills as they do for satellite Internet access," he continues. "If they can slash their phone bills, they have that much more to spend on the Internet, or whatever. The universities need to break the shackles of economic dependence on the government."

At the same time that universities are struggling to reduce bandwidth costs, they are also exploring alternatives such as placing as much information as possible on so-called virtual libraries or LANs. Most of that work has been centered at university libraries, and Prisca Tibenderana has seen the transformation from the beginning. She is Makerere's deputy university librarian.

"Before ICT, libraries in most African universities were like ghost towns," she says. "They hadn't bought any journals or new books for many years and most students just stopped going there. They were useless." But now, ICT has opened university libraries to large populations. We have an average of more than 5,000 visitors a day and the problem is that there are too many students demanding Internet access and training and we don't have enough people to do that."

Still, Tibenderana is pleased about the library's renewed place in the university's life. "In 1997," she says, "we only had two computers, which people mostly used for e-mail on a small scale, and we charged fees for that. Then, in 1999, the World Bank gave us 15 computers and we started training people how to use them. In 2001, the African Development Bank gave us 40 computers and we started a computer lab. That same year, a Swedish donor funded subscriptions for three databases. Now we have nine databases that provide full-text access to scientific and scholarly journals."

The creation of this limited "virtual library" highlights what may become one of the largest obstacles to African scholars' access to Web resources, assuming the bandwidth challenges can be met. The problem is copyright restrictions.

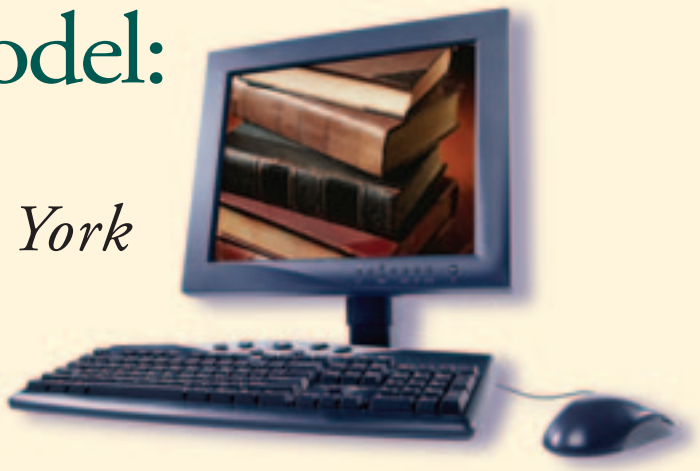
Tusubira of Makerere University explains: "In the U.K. and the U.S., there is a tradition of each student having his or her own textbooks, copies of journals and so forth. The tradition just doesn't exist in Africa. The reality is that people here copy books for the 3,000 students who can't afford it." He goes on to explain that this is certainly not what publishers want, since it violates their copyright to photocopy books and journals, but observes that the situation might be different if these publications were available to students, teachers and scholars at lower costs. "Publishers have to ask themselves just how much potential income they lose in poor African countries," he says.

Alex Twinomugisha at the African Virtual University agrees with much of what Dr. Tusubira says. He notes that copyrights on Western business and computer science textbooks are proving ruinous for the AVU. "The publishers are charging $800 for the books," he reports. "We only charge $1,000 for tuition."

The notion that textbooks could cost almost as much as tuition is staggering, but Twinomugisha thinks part of the solution may lie in a "collective bargaining" process similar to the universities' bandwidth consortium that would negotiate lower fees from

Virtual Library Model:

A Report to Carnegie Corporation of New York



In the summer of 2004, Carnegie Corporation commissioned a report about issues relating to the construction of a virtual library. The study, written by Tamara Kummer, a graduate student currently pursing a Master's degree in comparative politics at the London School of Economic and Political Science, analyzes not only the technical challenges of creating a virtual library (which include the storage capacity of hard drives and servers that would be used as the core of a virtual library), but the legal and ethical issues as well.

Certainly, the question of how to deal with international copyright restrictions is a focus of the discussion of legal issues, but the report also considers problems relating to the "authority for selection of materials" that will be included in such a library: does a librarian make the selection, is it a collaborative decision among users, is choice dictated by cost or what can be collected from public domain materials? As the report notes—in relation to materials that would be downloaded from the Web and made available via a local area network connected to the virtual library—"The person collecting materials from the Internet effectively acts as a filter between the users and what would potentially be available to them should they have access to the Internet."

Also discussed in the report are projects that are dedicated to sharing "literature, scholarly research and course materials free both of cost and copyright restrictions." These include Project Gutenberg (www.gutenberg.net); the MIT Open Courseware Initiative (www.ocw.mit.edu); The Avalon Project site at Yale (www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/avalon.htm) and The Directory of Open Access Journals (www.doaj.org).

Virtual Library Model: A Report to Carnegie Corporation of New York is available on the Corporation's web site, at this address: www.carnegie.org/sub/pubs/virtlibreport.html

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Dr. F.F. Tusubira, Director, Directorate for ICT Support, Makerere University

publishers. "I think if we come together we can guarantee publishers $1-to-$2 million in fees in exchange for pretty unfettered use at all the universities."

Twinomugisha also encountered copyright-related problems with publishers after creating a virtual library. "Publishers and database vendors say we must guarantee that we will know exactly who is accessing the information at all times at all the universities in the consortium so that appropriate fees can be charged. My position is, why do you care how many students will have access? How can they be sure that if we bought the hard copy book half the village won't just copy it?"

Tusubira also sees copyright issues as a true barrier to development. He says, "I don't think we in developing countries can afford to get caught in the trap of this global intellectual property regime, which strongly favors the West, where most of these laws are made and enforced. For Africa, ICT has become a question of survival. Anything that stands in the way must not be tolerated, especially when we have so many other challenges. It's like President [Yoweri K.] Museveni [of Uganda] says about the environment. If a man is cold, he will chop down the trees for firewood and if he's hungry, he will kill and eat the wildlife. He can't be expected to be willing to debate the nuances of conservation policy."

Aminu Ibrahim of Nigeria's National Universities Commission sees another problem and, perhaps, a potential solution. "The worst thing that can happen to any nation," he says, "is to become a total consumer of information. The property rights issues are becoming barriers that prevent Africans from placing their knowledge in the global stream. We have unique cultures, languages, histories, environments, fauna, flora, archeology and increasingly valuable information in the hard sciences. We have to figure out a way to barter African intellectual property for access to others."

Meanwhile, many African scholars are voicing growing concern about their inability to access Internet resources because of copyright issues. Professor I.S. Diso, vice chancellor of Nigeria's Kano University of Technology, says, " I am very much concerned about copyright and how it affects access to Web resources and documents in Africa." Diso is heading a French-funded investigation into the alleged harmful restrictions copyrights are placing on African scholars, scientists and researchers. They expect to release the findings later this year.

In Africa, though, concern about copyright as a barrier is—not surprisingly—mirrored by a growing realization of the part it can play in preserving unique African knowledge and protecting its ownership. In this regard, university officials across the continent report a reluctance on the part of many African scientists and scholars to place their work on the Web because of fear that it might be stolen in developed countries.

Virtual libraries present one way of meeting that challenge by allowing the dissemination of knowledge while still maintaining some measure of control over its distribution. In fact, UNESCO, The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, recently conducted a study and found, for example, a "compelling need" for the creation of virtual libraries in Nigeria. Virtual libraries, UNESCO found, are "crucial to the survival of [African] heritage, dialects, languages, cultures, value systems and collective memory/history, which will otherwise be subsumed by the more dominant languages or cultures of the world."

The study recommended that the creation of virtual libraries "should be a cornerstone of Nigeria's attempts to rejuvenate its educational system, as they would contain a variety of national and international content, including curricula, learning materials, books, journals, magazines, newspapers, new online services, and services traditionally offered by libraries."

One virtual library already being used by some African universities is a project run out of the University of Iowa called eGranary. Cliff Missen is the director of the project, which he describes as "an Internet substitute. We use really large hard drives to store nearly two million documents that publishers and authors are willing to share. We hope to raise that number to five million documents eventually. Once the hard drives are installed locally, people can access the material much faster than trying to use the Internet. We've got everything from a virtual hospital with thousands of pieces of patient literature to full textbooks."

There are nearly 50 eGranaries installed in sub-Saharan Africa. "I got

an e-mail from a professor at the University of Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania, who told me that eGranary has been installed at a high school at Mt. Kilimanjaro," Missen reports.

Cliff Missen believes that even if African universities overcome the bandwidth barrier to online access, they will continue to be haunted by other problems. "Many of their systems are unreliable, either because of power outages or other reasons," he notes. "We 'ping' machines at African universities all the time, and many of them are running only four hours a day. Either the power is out, or the modem is broken or someone hasn't paid the bill. Researchers can wait two days to download a large file and only find out later that the file was corrupted because online access was interrupted. How many times does that have to happen before a scientist just gives up?"

JSTOR (www.jstor.org)—which was originally created and funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and now receives support from Carnegie Corporation—is another organization working to provide copyrighted scholarly material to African universities. It started as a way to electronically store back issues of many scholarly journals so that U.S. university libraries could free up some shelf space. Eventually, JSTOR came to realize they had a valuable resource for developing nations.

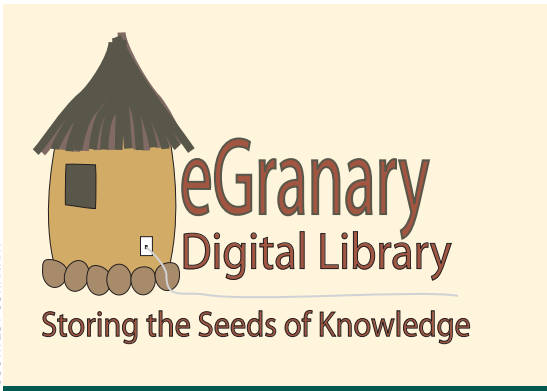
Bruce Heterick is JSTOR's director of library relations. He says, "We have digitized 17 million images of the pages of 400 of the most prestigious journals in 45 different disciplines. Scholars around the world use us for research. We're the only place scholars can find the text of previously published journals." When it comes to African universities, though, most just don't have enough bandwidth to effectively access JSTOR's resources. Says Heterick, "We would like to be more helpful to universities in Africa, and explored putting much of the material on local servers for them, but the publishers object to that. They don't believe that the kind of security controls and abuse monitoring we have on the Internet would be maintained on local servers, and they're probably right." But on the other hand, he says, "A lot of the publishers really do want to help out with developing countries. They cut their fees or donate works to a lot of sites like ours that have databases in health, agriculture, and the humanities, etc. They probably would be open to some system of local servers if they were convinced that the universities had systems in place and trained people monitoring access."

The debate about how to make copyrighted Web-based resources available to African scholars is a subset of an international controversy over access to information. There is a so-called "Open Access Movement," a growing, but loose collection of intellectuals, academics, personnel at nongovernmental organizations and government officials who believe that knowledge should be free. Some believe that owners of copyrights should be more generous in making information available while others believe that there should be some formal acknowledgement that the Internet, ultimately, makes it impossible to enforce such copyrights.

Dr. Bruce Alberts, president of the National Academy of Sciences and a Carnegie Corporation board member, is sympathetic to the access movement, although he believes in intellectual property rights.

"The world now has the opportunity to make the kind of knowledge that we have in the best libraries in the United States available for free to anybody in the world," Alberts says. "From what I see already, I am certain that there will be, within the next 10 years, plenty of invaluable knowledge available to anyone who is well-connected to the Web."

Universities in developed countries are fighting this battle perhaps even more aggressively than those in poorer countries. Academic and scientific journal publishers are coming under increasing criticism because of their regular, substantial subscription price increases, and their use of bundling, which forces libraries to subscribe to journals they don't want in order to get the ones they do.



COURTESY eGRANARY

There are close to 50 eGranaries installed in sub-Saharan Africa

Even Ivy League universities in America are facing a crunch. Last year, Cornell University announced that it would have to cancel more than 200 subscriptions to journals from the publishing colossus Reed Elsevier, which produces more than 1,600 publications and journals. Other major research universities have done the same.

Duke University recently announced that it would cancel $400,000 worth of Reed Elsevier titles. "We just don't want to tie up that much of our resources with one publisher," says Deborah Jakubs, Rita DiGiallonardo Holloway University Librarian and Vice Provost for Library Affairs at Duke. The journal cancellations, she says, are "what it will cost us to buy our freedom."

Tension, even hostility, between publishers and libraries is nothing new. From the earliest days of the printing press, publishers were wary of the idea of a central facility offering free access to books that people would otherwise be compelled to buy. But soon, libraries became the publishers' best customers.

Committees in both the British and American legislatures have passed resolutions demanding that government-sponsored research be available for free. In a report accompanying a budget bill for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) for 2005, the House committee said that after an article has been published, researchers who are financed by the NIH should make their final manuscripts available via PubMed Central, a popular digital archive maintained by the National Library of Medicine.

Responding to growing pressure, Reed Elsevier, the world's largest publisher of scientific journals, announced that authors publishing in its journals would be allowed to post articles in institutional repositories. Another development favoring the Open Access Movement is the recent announcement by Google, the world's most popular Internet search engine, that it has reached an agreement with some of America's leading university research libraries to begin converting their holdings into digital files that would be freely searchable over the Internet. Michael Keller heads the library at Stanford University, which is participating in the project. He says, "Within two decades, most of the world's knowledge will be digitized and available, one hopes for free reading on the Internet, just as there is free reading in libraries."

Google's founders, Sergey Brin and Larry Page, have long vowed to make all of the world's information accessible to anyone with a web browser. But actually, their recent deal with research universities hardly does that. While it will be possible to search, download, print and copy works that are in public domain (meaning, their copyright has expired), under the Google initiative, searches for works still under copyright protection will only produce a few paragraphs of the work.

From the earliest days of the printing press, publishers were wary of the idea of a central facility offering free access to books that people would otherwise be compelled to buy.

Still, Google, and its competitor Yahoo, as well as others such as Amazon.com, are in a mad dash to get a piece of the $12 billion scholarly journal business. Google has created a separate site, called Google Scholar (http://scholar.google.com/), for academic researchers.

These rapidly percolating developments may ultimately work to the advantage of developing countries like Africa. First, all the increased attention is forcing a growing international debate over copyright laws, according to Lawrence Lessig, professor of law at Stanford University and the founder and director of the Center for Internet and Society at Stanford Law School. "There is no Google for determining what works are protected by copyright," Lessig has written. "There is no Google for tracking down current copyright holders."

Second, just as the marketplace is creating advances that bring down the costs of technology, some believe the same dynamic is likely with scholarly information.

MacArthur's Raoul Davion believes that will happen. "How long do you think it will take Google to figure out they can do the same thing with scholarly information that Apple is doing with music? Sell every individual small amount of information for next to nothing."

Davion thinks these are the kind of innovations that will prove the salvation of African universities. "The kind of progress people expect in Africa," says Davion, "is the speed of light compared to how long it took the rest of the world to take these same steps. It took the West more than 100 years to build its technology infrastructure. Yet Africa has only been engaged in this issue for a few years. In any other context, these expectations would seem totally unrealistic. The kind of pace we are looking at expects the production of a computer literate population out of students who've never seen an e-mail.

"But everyone I know in Africa who works on these issues is optimistic," Davion continues. "African universities feel they've been shut off for so long from the global knowledge community, and they are so hungry and thirsty, they are just full speed ahead. There is probably some limit to the human ability to adapt to new situations and to incorporate new information. But there's no indication we're anywhere close to reaching those limits in Africa." ■

by
DANIEL AKST

Do Libraries STILL MATTER?

In the era of the Internet, will we still go to libraries to borrow books and do research? The answer seems to be a resounding yes, because libraries are more than just a place to keep volumes on dusty shelves.

Libraries are supposed to be quiet, but it's hard to imagine a place causing more noise than the new central branch of the Seattle Public Library, which sits with its off-kilter geometry and brightly colored interiors at the heart of a city mainly associated with digital technology.

"In more than 30 years of writing about architecture," Herbert Muschamp enthused in *The New York Times*, "this is the most exciting new building it has been my honour to review." He described the Rem Koolhaas design as a "blazing chandelier to swing your dreams upon."

Time Magazine put the building atop its list of best architecture in 2004. Visitors thronged the place from the day it opened, some of them flying to Seattle just to check out the building much as people fly to Bilbao to visit Frank Gehry's Guggenheim Museum. Seattle's up-to-date Central Library seems to embody everything new.

But since libraries are society's memory, the history of this particular library is worth noting. Construction of the original Seattle Central Library began in 1905, after a fire destroyed its itinerant predecessor and library advocates made a plea for funds to a steel tycoon on the other side of the country. Andrew Carnegie had already launched his campaign to fund public libraries all over the English-speaking world, and in a matter of days had agreed to provide $200,000 for a new building (and, later, $20,000 for furnishings). The resulting burly masonry pile, completed the following year, was too small inside of a generation.

In 1960 it was replaced by a larger International Style structure—one that was also, in about a generation, outgrown. Eventually this too was demolished, and with substantial help from Microsoft billionaires Bill Gates and Paul Allen—Andrew Carnegie's modern-day counterparts—the new facility was constructed.

1906 Seattle Central Library, built with funds from Andrew Carnegie

The question now is whether this futuristic structure is outdated

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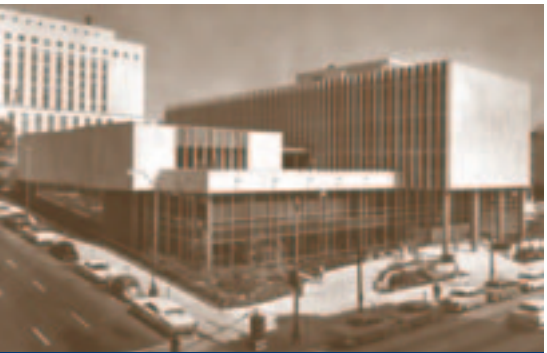
Daniel Akst is a writer in New York's Hudson Valley.

Vartan Gregorian dedicating the new Seattle Central Library in May 2004

ALL PHOTOS COURTESY THE SEATTLE PUBLIC LIBRARY

already—whether, in fact, it was outdated even while it was on the drawing board. Thanks in part to companies like Microsoft, most people have computers and most of those computers are connected. Roughly 80 percent of Americans have Internet access at home, work or school. High-speed wireless Internet connectivity is spreading rapidly, and lightweight tablet computers have begun to appear.



Seattle Central Library, dedicated in 1960, replaced the 1906 building

In December 2004, moreover, just months after the new Seattle library opened its doors, the Internet search company Google announced an agreement with Harvard, Stanford and Oxford universities, the University of Michigan, and The New York Public Library to digitize millions of volumes from their shelves and make the contents searchable to all for free via the Internet*. Google will pay for the scanning and the libraries will get digital copies of their materials. The rest of us—well, the rest of us get something resembling one of the world's great research libraries right in our living rooms.

"Within two decades," says Michael A. Keller, Stanford University's head librarian, "most of the world's knowledge will be digitized and available, one hopes for free reading on the Internet, just as there is free reading in libraries today."

Can that really be possible? If so, where exactly does it leave libraries? More important, where does it leave culture? On the one hand, the digital revolution represents the ultimate democratization of knowledge and information, of which Carnegie likely would have approved wholeheartedly. On the other hand, libraries perform an essential function in preserving, organizing and to some extent validating our collective knowledge. They are traditionally seen as a pillar of democracy. And they provide a place to go—the crucial "third place,"

**To a large extent, only the full text of only those materials that are in the public domain or out-of-print will be available.*

other than home and work or school (and as early library advocates liked to point out, other than the saloon as well). Unlike Starbucks, you don't have to buy anything, and the wares are as intoxicating in their way as any at a neighborhood bar—except they don't impair driving.

Nobody can reliably predict the far-off future, but for libraries, the digital information revolution raises a host of existential questions about the present. In this day of Amazon, the Internet, hundreds of cable channels and ubiquitous computing, what is the role of the institutions Andrew Carnegie thought were so important that he devoted himself and a good bit of his fortune to propagating them?

Carnegie's goal was one shared by many thinking people today: to empower working people to improve their lot, as he had improved his by using the personal library of Colonel Joseph Anderson of Allegheny City, Pennsylvania. Remember that in the days of Carnegie's youth, public libraries were rare and their collections paltry. Without a library, moreover, it was hard for a person to get educated. Books were expensive and not many Americans attended secondary school. The world has changed a lot since then, and most of the libraries Carnegie would later pay for are no longer serving that function (more about this later). But the idea of universal, tax-supported library service turned out to be far more important than the buildings themselves.

And on that basis, libraries are thriving. Today America's roughly 16,500 library outlets outnumber McDonald's, and thanks in part to new and expanded facilities built to serve burgeoning suburban and Sunbelt populations, materials circulation and library visits are up sharply per capita since 1990. Indeed, the Internet boom notwithstanding, the past 15 years have been something like a golden age for new library construction, with a number of cities and suburban communities building modern new libraries, some of them designed by such big-name architects as Koolhaas (Seattle), Michael Graves (Denver) and Moshe Safdie (Vancouver). This is nothing new; people have always regarded libraries as important public buildings whose appearance ought to embody community aspirations. That aspect of library purpose emerged plainly a century ago, when Carnegie was funding libraries. American libraries have always made architectural statements.

Similar continuity is evident at libraries in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago and elsewhere that have found a new sense of purpose in serving the hugely varied immigrant populations that have come to those cities, even if libraries nowadays are less focused on assimilation. The Flushing branch of the library system in the New York borough of Queens—a shiny and hugely busy new building—has gained national renown for accommodating the many languages and cultures in the surrounding community. Newark's public library runs a program to supply materials in 11 languages to all the libraries in New Jersey. The Chicago Public Library has materials in at least 45 languages. The San Antonio Public Library in Texas, which has a relatively new central building, created a large Latino collection. Libraries across the country also provide help with English, information on immigration and citizenship and a host of other resources to newcomers.

These are some of the many reasons people love their libraries in spite of the many alternative sources of information

A Library to Honor Teachers

Some of the unsung heroes of September 11th were the teachers near Ground Zero who had to first protect and then evacuate their students during the first frantic hours of the terrorist attack. To honor those New York City teachers, Carnegie Corporation supported the building of a professional development library where teachers can come to brush up their teaching techniques, challenge their pedagogy and renew their spirits.

Ed Sermier, Carnegie Corporation vice president and chief administrative officer and corporate secretary, along with Rookaya Bawa, program officer overseeing library work at the Corporation, joined Moises Romanowsky, assistant to the superintendent in Region 9 (which includes lower Manhattan), where the library is located. The plaque in the library will read in part: "..to honor the teachers of this region who work daily to plant the seeds of educational excellence and who, on September 11, 2001, were challenged to both protect and educate their students about life…"

EVEROD NELSON

Moises Romanowsky (left), Rookaya Bawa (center) and Ed Sermier (right) at the new professional development library for teachers (below)

EVEROD NELSON

and entertainment we all have at hand. When people were asked, in a 2003 national survey conducted by the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion, "how valuable is having access to a public library in your community?" 67 percent said "very valuable" and another 27 percent said "valuable." Although no politician would dream of running on a platform of higher taxes, a remarkable 63 percent of those surveyed said they would support tax hikes for library services in their community. The average annual tax increase they would support: $49, which was about twice the nation's *entire* per capita library spending that year. Indeed, voters across the country have readily passed measures taxing themselves to pay for ever-bigger facilities and collections and more branches. In Seattle, for instance, a majority in 1998 approved a $196 million bond issue, at the time the largest library issue in American history, to pay for construction and renovation of libraries all over town (including part of the cost of the $159 million Central Library).

In a 2002 poll conducted for the American Library Association, fully 62 percent of adults in this supposedly aliterate nation reported having library cards—about equal to the proportion that regularly used the Internet. And despite the reputation of libraries as havens for children and the elderly, the adults who visited most were in the 25-34 age range, and they went twice a month. "Libraries are more than disseminators of community information or any other information per se," write R. Kathleen Molz and Phyllis Dain, two of the most insightful commentators on the subject. "They serve communities as cultural and educational centers—as knowledge institutions—and by all accounts the public seems to expect them to go on doing so."

Yet it's probably also fair to say that, these days, when most people want to know something they turn to the Internet. Sherry Shariati, who was a 24-year-old senior at San Francisco State College in 2002, told the *San Francisco Chronicle* back then that she had not taken a book home from a library since elementary school: "We are in the new age. If I want to get information, I go to the computer."

People turn to the Internet even when they are in a library. Most public libraries offer Internet access nowadays, and these terminals are heavily used. At the main branch of The New York Public Library recently, in its magnificently renovated reading room, I was one of many visitors—possibly even a majority—who had brought laptop computers. But something seemed odd about many of the others with laptops that day. Finally it dawned: we were sitting in one of the world's largest libraries, and many of these people had no books. They had come to the library, in other words, only in order to plug in their computers, availing themselves of the high-speed Internet ports installed at each table.

I was plugged in too, and wearying of note-taking from the library's copy of Molz and Dain's Civic Space/Cyberspace (MIT Press, 1999), I decided to see if I could get a copy to own. I quickly logged onto amazon.com, where I discovered that a brand new copy was $87.50. Thank God for libraries! But then I looked again. A used copy, in mint condition, was $3.95. I ordered it on the spot—from the library, mind you—and it was delivered to my home 100 miles away just a few days later. Even before it arrived, the thought crossed my mind: what on earth am I doing here? Given what I had just done, given what I now realized I could do, what is the purpose of a library?

As it turns out, this is not a new question at all. On the contrary, "the problem of purpose," as library historian Patrick Williams has called it, is as old as American libraries. From the very outset, American libraries have had multiple purposes, and throughout their history have undergone multiple crises of identity. The history of American libraries, in fact, can be seen as a grand tug of war between these utopian institutions and the people they would serve, with each struggling to recreate the other in its own image. In the long run, it's fair to say that both sides got bigger muscles from the exercise.

With roots in the middle 19th century, America's publicly supported libraries were intended by their founders as educational institutions that would extend the work of the new public primary schools. The architecture of libraries in those days—and for a long time to come—reflected these lofty intentions with impressive columns, pediments and masonry work. (Carnegie libraries were often the most imposing building in town by far.) Libraries would also offer a way for adults to educate themselves at a time when relatively few people attended secondary school. In addition, according to Molz and Dain, libraries were to be "civilizing agents and objects of civic pride in a raw new country." Technology was making books and periodicals cheap and abundant, resulting in what would soon become an avalanche of materials for libraries to house, preserve and organize. By default, they would have the additional task of creating a record for posterity.

These are all worthy goals—libraries remain the physical and intellectual custodians of human memory—but problems arose almost immediately. In city after city, despite the best efforts (and most fervent aspirations) of the new class of professionals known as librarians, circulation tended heavily toward popular fiction. This "epidemic" of fiction reading, as one top librarian called it in 1883, elicited the kind of exasperated condemnation that is today reserved mainly for popular music and television, and it presented a quandary.

Should libraries carry what people wanted or what librarians felt they ought

to want? Librarians and library trustees recognized early on that, as publicly supported institutions, it would not do to sweep aside public taste and offer only the kind of learned treatises and uplifting philosophy that most readers would never borrow. In the words of F.B. Perkins, a Boston librarian: "Trash... must to a considerable extent be supplied by the public library."

So the novels stayed, jacketed by a rationale that was neatly expressed by the Boston Public Library's audit committee in 1878: "Banish them from the library, as some advise, and you banish their readers also. Keep them in the library, and you keep their readers also; who with constantly improving taste, will finally select books of unquestionable excellence and profit."

Not all libraries succumbed; some limited their fictional holdings, and at least one, in Germantown, Pennsylvania, offered no fiction as late as 1892. In the pages of library publications and at professional conferences, the battle raged until finally, around the turn of the 20th century, it was clear that (in Williams' words), "the public's preference for books of little or no educational value was an enduring one."

The seeming preference of patrons for diversion over self-education drove some librarians to despair. In 1889, for example, James M. Hubbard, a former official of the Boston Public Library, contended in the *North American Review* that while libraries were established "to promote the education and elevation of the people," it just hadn't happened. "Libraries are in no true sense of the words educators of the people. They are the haunt, in every place, of a few scholars and persons of leisure, but their chief work is to furnish amusement for the young." Molz and Dain observe that public libraries have never really resolved this dilemma, and to the extent that circulation figures are a primary metric for success, there is always pressure to further accommodate public tastes.

Andrew Carnegie certainly never imagined he was merely sparing middle-class readers the price of a new bodice-ripper, though he considered reading and learning deeply pleasurable. His idea was to pay for libraries in order to help people help themselves. Accordingly, he would only fund libraries in places where the community was willing to provide a site and commit to tax itself 10 percent of the value of his donation annually for operations. Beginning in 1886, Carnegie (and later, Carnegie Corporation*) spent $56 million to create 1,681 public libraries in nearly as many U.S. communities, plus 828 more elsewhere in the world.

It's hard to avoid noticing that Carnegie's library philanthropy took place in a time not so unlike our own. America at the turn of the 20th century was a land of rapid technological change, particularly in communications. Airplanes, automobiles and movies were being invented, but in business, bigness was already the order of the day. Immigration was rapidly changing the face of the nation, and these polyglot newcomers, who had to be assimilated somehow, were coming from nations other than those which had supplied the people already here. Americans were moving to the West, as they still are, and income inequality was great, with the excesses of the rich much commented upon. People worked long hours, on the job or at home, and education was considered the ladder of economic (which was to say social) mobility.

Infused with an idealistic—if not messianic— "library spirit," librarians too subscribed to the notion of uplift by education. So did Carnegie, whose efforts transformed the American library landscape. In 1896, Williams reports, there were 971 public libraries in America with 1,000 or more volumes. In 1903, there were 2,283. Carnegie was responsible for much of the increase.

In 1896, there were 971 public libraries in America. In 1903, there Carnegie was responsible for much of the

But the changes were qualitative as well as quantitative. Perhaps the most enduring aspect of Carnegie's library philanthropy was the requirement that communities provide public funds for library services, a requirement that planted the idea that library services were a natural function of government to be provided at public expense—a notion beyond question today. Indeed, Carnegie's library giving helped communities embrace the idea that every place ought to have a library. Over time, public funding would have a growing influence over library purpose, since it was no longer a question of pleasing a single benefactor, a small group of trustees or a staff of paid professionals.

Now there was the electorate to consider. Even building a Carnegie library required a referendum, and in many communities it was the occasion for women to cast ballots in a public election for the first time in their lives (the 19th Amendment granting women's suffrage wasn't ratified until 1920). This was just one of the ways libraries

** In the past 25 years, the Corporation has not had a program of support for domestic libraries, except for a few grants for specific purposes. The Corporation's recent library-related efforts focus on sub-Saharan Africa.*

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The New York Public Library provides high-speed Internet access

were 2,283. Andrew increase.

empowered women, who were at the forefront of campaigning and fundraising for Carnegie libraries and gained valuable political and organizational experience by doing so. Local women's clubs played an especially prominent role in bringing Carnegie libraries to hundreds of small towns.

The Carnegie library program probably also hastened the feminization of library work, which was already under way. Abigail Van Slyck reports that as early as 1878, two-thirds of library workers were women, and by 1910 it was very nearly four out of five. According to Van Slyck, Carnegie's library philanthropy "augmented the conditions that supported the entry of women" into library work by dramatically increasing the number of libraries—and therefore the demand for librarians. At the same time, the efforts of James Bertram, Carnegie's private secretary and library-giving overseer, to simplify library design and keep down costs had the effect of lowering municipal library operating budgets (which were set as a percentage of Carnegie's capital grant). Women library workers in those days were paid a lot less than men, and so they got hired.

What's interesting here is how society was democratizing libraries even as libraries were supposed to be democratizing society. Around this time, for example, the idea of the library as a storehouse of treasures was fading away, replaced by what we would now call open stacks, which in turn reflected falling book prices made possible by advances in technology and economic growth. Now patrons could browse and obtain books for themselves—and bypass the embarrassment that might arise from asking for a volume on a sensitive topic.

At the same time, libraries started providing information on demand. Reference departments were created in the 1890s, around the same time libraries began to ease their traditionally restrictive policies toward children. From the modern perspective it's startling to read that a survey of 126 libraries in 1893 found 70 percent requiring visitors to be 12 years or older, but around the turn of the century more and more libraries began letting kids in, and many set aside children's rooms for their use. Admitting children in turn increased public support for libraries and further democratized their practices and holdings.

But these changes were consistent with the climate of missionary zeal that infused librarianship in the early 20th century, a time when librarians started suggesting their institutions might go far beyond books, offering lectures, classes, exhibitions, scientific specimens, photos and music rolls—much as libraries do today. Early Carnegie libraries, in fact, often had meeting rooms or other facilities. "In many towns, Carnegie libraries were the only large public buildings," writes Jones, adding that "they became hubs of social activities like concerts, lectures, and meetings and did double duty as museums and community storehouses."

But libraries have always been hothouses for the flowering of more exotic ideas, as well, and the newest was that of the library as a center of adult education, a concept promoted by Alvin Johnson in a 1938 study (funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York) called *The Public Library—a People's University*. Perhaps the timing was bad; the period following World War II saw a vast expansion of the higher education system, and the rise of community colleges offered a host of non-exclusive postsecondary learning opportunities. "Libraries never got very far with adult education," Williams reports somewhat wearily, "despite something like three decades trying. Many reasons were cited, but perhaps the most convincing was also the most distressing: people weren't interested. Only a fraction of people used the library at all, and only a fraction of a fraction used it for enlightenment."

In 1947 Carnegie Corporation funded a larger—and ultimately, more influential—study of libraries and this by now longstanding problem of purpose. Known as the Public Library Inquiry and published in seven volumes by Columbia University Press (along with various ancillary reports issued by other means), the study was directed by political scientist Robert D. Leigh and written by several scholars including Columbia University Library School Dean at the time, Bernard Berelson.

The Public Library Inquiry found that only one-in-ten adults and three-in-ten children used libraries, and of course much of this use was recreational, as it had always been. Most of the circulation was fiction, most of the reference questions were simple, and most of the users, rather than proletarians hungry for knowledge, were comfortably middle-class. Berelson stated bluntly that libraries simply weren't suited to bringing political enlightenment to the masses, and that

anyway, those most in need of such enlightenment were least likely to visit. And he suggested the library might leave popular entertainment to the commercial media. Indeed, one dispiriting message of the Inquiry, at least to the idealistic universalists of the library world, was that libraries might as well focus on providing "quality" material to "serious" readers.

But the Inquiry did not lay to rest the problem of purpose, and as times changed, libraries struggled to change with them. In the turbulent 1960s they launched aggressive "outreach" programs, and in the 1970s, with computers starting to have a broad impact, libraries sought to recast themselves as information delivery centers (or words to that effect); librarians were urged by their forward-looking colleagues to assess the "information needs" of their clients. A paper by seven librarians appointed by the president of the American Library Association (entitled *Toward a Conceptual Foundation for a National Information Policy*) said America must "reaffirm its mandate to its publicly supported libraries to seek out and deliver to all people the information they need or desire...All information must be available to all people in all formats purveyed through all communication channels and delivered at all levels of comprehension." For good measure, the paper added: "All information means all information," and "everyone means everyone."

But between the near megalomania of some library professionals on the one hand and the seeming reductionism of the Public Library Inquiry on the other, there were—and are—the flesh and blood users, who select themselves and have motivations as varied as the books on the shelf. Famed author and critic Alfred Kazin is a good example. While inhaling an entire century of American literary culture (thanks to days and nights at the public library, where he read not just books but yellowing pamphlets and early magazines), he couldn't help noticing the motley users who seem to come and go at libraries generally. Libraries, he wrote, were "that asylum and church of the unemployed; of crazy ideologists and equally crazy Bible students doggedly writing 'you lie!' in the reference books on the open shelves; of puzzle fans searching every encyclopedia; of commission salesmen secretly tearing address lists out of city directories."

The base and the exalted have always maintained an uneasy coexistence in the nation's public libraries, which is precisely the joy of these institutions and the culture they preserve. Even in the 19th century, people understood that libraries could help you both get educated and stay out of trouble. "A well-equipped library building would prove a genuine blessing," the Fairhaven, Washington Board of Managers wrote to Carnegie in requesting funds, "not only in affording instruction, but to attract and save scores who otherwise might find their way to saloons, gambling dens, and other places of ill repute." People who lament the decline of civic culture forget how often that culture involved alcohol. Theodore Jones, in his 1996 volume, *Carnegie Libraries Across America: a Public Legacy* (Wiley), notes that even tiny places like Berlin,

What Would John Steinbeck *Say?*

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John Steinbeck

On December 14, 2004, the City Council of Salinas, California, facing record budget deficits, voted to close all three libraries in the city, which is perhaps most famous as the birthplace of John Steinbeck (1902-1968). The author, whose works include *Cannery Row* and *Of Mice and Men*, immortalized the Salinas area in his 1952 novel, *East of Eden*. One of the libraries slated for closure is named for Steinbeck.

Salinas, often called "the nation's salad bowl" because of the broccoli and lettuce fields surrounding the area, is home to a large population of farmworkers and immigrants, many of them poor. As a consequence, says the *Fresno Bee*, "the city's libraries are popular destinations for people seeking citizenship primers, literacy courses, English-as-a-second language tapes, Internet access and after-school programs. Roughly 1,900 people visit on an average day."

The idea of losing a public library system that includes a branch honoring one of America's most famous authors was painful not only for local residents but for many across the nation, as well. The story was reported in newspapers ranging from *The New York Times* to the San Antonio, Texas *Express-News*. But in February 2005, with just two months to go before the libraries were to be shut, Salinas Mayor Anna Caballero announced plans for a fund-raising campaign to save library service in the city. An anonymous rancher has donated $25,000, with a promise to contribute $75,000 more if Salinas residents themselves donate that much, and several large corporations—including the publishing house McGraw-Hill—expressed an interest in contributing to the campaign.

In Steinbeck's masterpiece, *The Grapes of Wrath*, he wrote these words about injustice. "There is a sorrow here that weeping cannot symbolize." There still seem to be enough Americans who feel that way about closing the doors of a public library that hope remains for Steinbeck's namesake and the other branches in his home town.

PHOTO BY CLINT AUSTIN/NEWS TRIBUNE

Ron and Sally Miller in their home, a former Carnegie library

Wisconsin "stressed to Carnegie that its well-intended population lived amid no less than twenty saloons."

A century, more or less, after many of these libraries got going, relatively few are still serving their original purpose, at least physically. A recent national survey of Carnegie libraries is included in the Jones book. Of 1,689 U.S. Carnegie libraries, according to Jones, at least 772 were still functioning as public libraries. Another 350 survived to serve a variety of uses, often as a museum or home for the local historical society. A total of 377 had made it onto the National Register of Historic Places—more than any other type of building, while 276 are lost: demolished for various reasons, or destroyed by fire or some other disaster. Finally, at least one—the East End Library in Superior, Wisconsin—was bought by a local couple, Ron and Sally Miller, and turned into a home which, they report, is still often visited by former patrons who remember the library with great fondness.

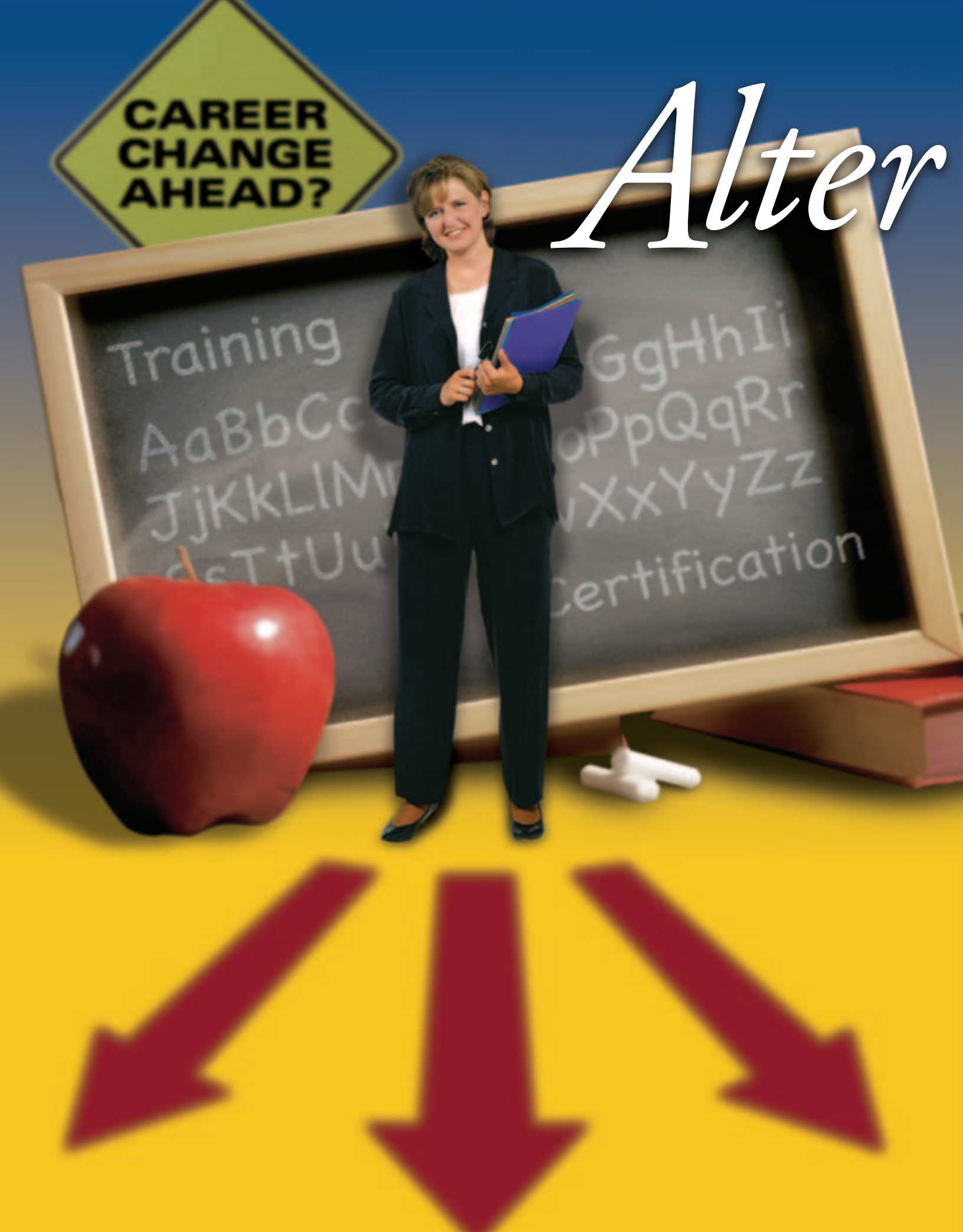
We do have more up-to-date information about California, where Andrew Carnegie funded 144 libraries, more than in any state save Indiana. Pat Skehan, a retired librarian who, with her husband Bernie, has made Carnegie libraries a personal passion, reports that 87 of the original 144 libraries are still standing, but only 36 are still libraries. Another 20 are museums, with the rest serving a wide variety of uses. (The Skehans have shot or obtained a photograph of every Carnegie library built in the state, and with the help of historian Lucy Kortum have amassed a wealth of commentary and images on their web site at http://carnegie-libraries.org.)

It is perhaps fitting that the original Carnegie libraries should endure more as a concept—universal, publicly supported library service—and as lovely old buildings than as functioning libraries. People will always need the knowledge that libraries have to offer, and that knowledge is always expanding. People may need as well the sense of refuge libraries can offer. "The public library's essential value as social space inheres in its being a public facility for private contemplation in company with others," Molz and Dain write, characterizing libraries as "stable, welcoming, venerable, but also modern," and "associated with education and culture and understood as communal property but not too associated with government."

Libraries will have a crucial role for years to come no matter how much of recorded human knowledge makes its way onto the Internet. No one has yet come up with a proven method of preserving digital information for a century or more, and the explosion of knowledge and information abetted by the digital revolution makes the organizing and cataloging skills of librarians ever more valuable. Already more and more free reference services are available each day—some libraries are contracting for such services in other time zones to make this easier—and you can try out a pay version, called Google Answers, on the Web (although the answers are unlikely to come from actual librarians).

Michael Gorman, the learned dean of library services at California State University-Fresno and president-elect of the American Library Association, has argued that digital technology, for libraries at least, represents an evolutionary change instead of a revolution, and should be treated accordingly. On the other hand, William J. Mitchell, professor of architecture and media arts and sciences at MIT, predicted fully a decade ago that the facade of the library "is not to be constructed of stone and located on a street in Bloomsbury, but of pixels on thousands of screens scattered throughout the world." As far as he was concerned, "there is nothing left to put a grand facade on."

Vannevar Bush beat everyone to the punch. In 1945 he published an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on what he called "memex," an imaginary workstation that would easily store and retrieve troves of data. Now that memex is here, and as more and more of what we know is funneled into it, it's conceivable that libraries someday will function more as secure archives, repositories of expertise and communal havens for Internet access rather than as physical dispensers of books and periodicals. And if that day comes, it means only that the library dream—of universal access to knowledge and information—has taken a giant leap toward becoming an every-day reality. Hallelujah. ■


CAREER
CHANGE
AHEAD?
Alter
Training
Certification

native Paths to TEACHER Certification

by Anne Grosso de León

For some, the increasing proliferation of alternative teacher certification programs is just what the doctor ordered—a dynamic, market-driven phenomenon designed to alleviate the nation's chronic shortage of K–12 teachers. Others regard alternative certification with skepticism, pointing out that shortcuts to teacher education tend to turn out inadequately prepared teachers, who are then expected to take on the most difficult challenges. Can both be right?

For those weary of headlines decrying the poor quality of American education in the twenty-first century—and in particular, the nation's failure to recruit, train and retain sufficient numbers of qualified teachers—consider this: In the wry, provocative history, *America's Women: Four Hundred Years of Dolls, Drudges, Helpmates, and Heroines* (William Morrow & Company, 2003), written by The New York Times editorial page editor, Gail Collins, she reports that noted public activist Elizabeth Buffum Chace's primary recollection about the curriculum of the Connecticut school she attended in 1816 was that it relied heavily on "memorization and beatings." Collins explains that by the time Chace was 12 years old, she had, in Chace's words, "recited *Murray's Grammar* a dozen times without a word of explanation or application from the book or the teacher." Chace went on to observe that, "for that time it was a good school.'" Maybe so, for according to Collins, at that time, "Teachers in the middle and southern states were so frequently drunkards that the alcoholic schoolteacher became a stereotype." Apparently, even then recruiting sufficient numbers of teachers, drunk or sober, was a challenge for the young republic. Collins points out that " . . . [I]n 1833, the estimated teacher shortage was more than 30,000." Moreover, even then men did not view teaching as a smart career move—despite the fact that in 1838 wages for male teachers in Connecticut were nearly three times that of wages for women. Collins cites educator Thomas Gallaudet's observation that, "[for men] there were so many other avenues open in our country to the accumula-

Anne Grosso de León writes about education.

tion of property and the attaining of distinction."

Who but the history Muse is more effective at vaporizing nostalgia for the "good old days"?

In America, the demand for qualified teachers has usually been a few steps ahead of their supply—and teacher education has always been a work in progress, generally occupying a marginalized status in the culture of higher education. The first "normal" schools in the mid-nineteenth century were at the high school level and were largely attended by women who were admitted at age 16; men were admitted at age 17. The course of study was typically one year. Teachers' colleges, an outgrowth of the normal schools, never attained the same high status of their liberal arts institutional siblings, nor have they yet.

Today, although university-based teacher education programs remain the primary source of new teachers in America, they are, according to Daniel Fallon, chair of the Education Division of Carnegie Corporation of New York, "now rapidly losing market share at a dizzying rate." School districts, desperate for the "silver bullet" that will provide them with teachers as quickly as possible, are increasingly looking outside the university to develop alternate paths to teacher training and certification. Certainly their sense of urgency has grown more intense in no small part because the No Child Left Behind Act mandates that all teachers be "highly qualified" in the subjects they teach by the end of the 2005–2006 school year. States failing to comply with the mandate can face stiff sanctions, including the withdrawal or withholding of Title I funds.

In June 2002, the *Annual Report on Teacher Quality* by the U.S. Secretary of Education delivered a blistering critique of university-based teacher education and certification. In effect, it called for the dismantling of such programs and a redefinition of teacher preparation, one that emphasized higher standards in the acquisition of content knowledge and verbal skills and far less emphasis on educational coursework requirements. The report characterized such coursework as "burdensome." At the same time, the report recommended that student teaching and attendance at schools of education be made "optional" and that other "bureaucratic hurdles" be eliminated. Declaring that schools of education and formal teacher training programs have failed "to produce the types of highly qualified teachers that the No Child Left Behind Act demands," the Secretary's report called on the states to "streamline" their respective systems of teacher certification. According to the report, "Across the country, there are several promising experiments that recruit highly qualified candidates who are interested in teaching but did not attend schools of education and place them quickly in high-need schools, providing training, support and mentoring."

A Center Established

In October 2003, the Department of Education awarded a grant of $2.5 million to the National Center for Education Information (NCEI) for the establishment of the National Center for Alternative Certification. The new center was to serve as a clearinghouse of information about alternative routes to teacher certification as well as a source for technical assistance and outreach. Given the dramatic growth of alternative route initiatives among the states in the past two decades, the timing of the establishment of NCAC was, to say the least, auspicious.

In 1983, only eight states reported having any alternative to the traditional university-based teacher education route to certifying teachers. By 2003, 43 states, as well as the District of Columbia, reported having some type of alternative route to teacher education and certification. These alternative route initiatives have resulted in the certification of more than 200,000 new teachers, with thousands more who have participated in university-based alternative teacher preparation programs also being licensed to teach. The numbers, though considerable, are relatively modest given the projected need for new teachers in the next decade: more than two million, with 700,000 needed in urban communities, areas suffering the greatest chronic shortages of qualified teachers.

C. Emily Feistritzer, president of NCEI and president and chief executive officer of the National Center for Alternative Certification, argues that the strength of alternative certification is its market-driven impetus. "Programs are created to meet demand," she explains, "and the market for teachers on the demand side is greatest in rural and poor areas." Feistritzer applauds the "tremendous enthusiasm" shown by states and colleges "to meet the demand not just for more teachers but for better teachers." Designed to attract nontraditional candidates to teaching, alternative certification programs, she says, have "forced everyone to revisit the question of what teachers must be able to know and do." The bottom line, says Feistritzer, is this: "If the alternative route did not exist would this person have gone into teaching?"

Maybe so, but others, such as Linda Darling-Hammond, Charles E. Ducommun Professor of Education at Stanford University, point out that "Alternative certification comes in all shapes and sizes, and is only as good as its preparation." On that score, she says, the reviews are mixed: "Some are

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Gail Collins, author of *America's Women* and Editorial Page Editor, *The New York Times*

high quality, and others are not," adding that in some cases, in the rush to create "short cuts to training," new teachers are placed in classrooms "on a hope and a prayer." Acknowledging that, "There are a lot of good alternative routes that don't give short shrift to good preparation," Darling-Hammond says "What separates high-quality programs from low-quality is what counts." The problem, of course, is that there is no consensus on standards in this fast-developing marketplace of alternative certification programs. If, among the growing profusion of alternative certification programs, weeds are sprouting among the flowers, might not the same be said of university-based teacher education programs, many of them long-established?

Carnegie Corporation of New York President Vartan Gregorian acknowledges that this is certainly the case. "We can no longer close our eyes to the problem of America's schools of education and the pitiful job most of them do in preparing our teachers," he says. "What is needed is nothing less than an unwavering commitment to a gold standard of teacher education, one in which university-based teacher education programs prepare teachers who are proficient in the fields in which they will be teaching, well versed in the latest theories and practices of pedagogy, skilled in technology and professionally mentored with solid classroom experience—all of which cannot be accomplished at warp speed." Carnegie Corporation has made such a commitment in the form of Teachers for a New Era, a multimillion-dollar, five-year reform effort aimed at creating a new teacher education model, inspired by the idea of a "gold standard" and designed to strengthen K–12 teaching.

In the meantime, in classrooms throughout the nation, particularly in high-needs urban and rural areas, each year children are being welcomed by increasing numbers of teachers who have come to their profession, and been certified, via alternate routes, i.e., judged to possess the minimum competencies to teach as required by their respective locality. Says Emily Feistritzer, "It's here. Anybody who thinks it's a debate is out of touch with what's going on." At the same time, she declares, "Schools of education will be around forever," and, "University-based teacher education programs will always be there."

Time for a Study

In an effort to take a measure of "what's going on," Carnegie Corporation of New York commissioned a national study to examine who actually participates in alternative certification programs and how these programs train teachers for the classroom. Says Dan Fallon, "Although there are thousands of different programs parading under the same banner, some are little more than desperation moves of school districts that demean and degrade the teaching profession. On the other hand, many are perfectly okay. We wanted to know: what might a good alternative certification program look like?" A report on the research study, *Insights into Alternative Certification: Preliminary Findings from a National Study*, written by Daniel C. Humphrey, associate director for educational policy, and Marjorie E. Wechsler, educational policy analyst, both of SRI International, an independent, nonprofit research organization, describes seven case studies, selected by the research team after culling through hundreds of alternative certification programs.

"Teacher education," explains Humphrey, "is a highly politicized and polarizing debate." As for alternative certification, he observes, those on the right tend to see alternative certification as a highly desirable, market-driven phenomenon; those on the left view the same phenomenon with concern, aware that the needs of the poor are often not well served by market forces. Those actually involved in quality teacher preparation, whether in traditional university-based programs or alternative route programs, are keenly aware that, either way, teacher preparation is a very complex and expensive undertaking. And then there are the programs themselves, which, upon examination, according to Humphrey, tend to challenge assumptions and conventional wisdom. "Rest assured," he explains, "any generalization you make about alter-

native certification is likely to be wrong." He adds, "Whenever someone argues that alternative certification is this or that, you should probably question it." In general, he says, the data collected and analyzed in the study do not support the arguments of either proponents or opponents of alternate certification.


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For example, according to the study, the notion that alternative certification programs attract a more diverse pool of teachers that includes greater numbers of men, older individuals, minorities, and "mid-career switchers"—many with special expertise in fields in which shortages are particularly acute, such as mathematics and science—is not supported by the evidence. In fact, the study found that alternative certification participants tend "to reflect the gender mix of the profession as a whole and the racial composition of their local market." Moreover, it turns out that only a very small fraction of alternative certification participants are "mid-career switchers" from mathematics and science professions. Similarly, the belief that alternative certification attracts many who never considered teaching as a career option before also turns out not to be the case. In fact, "large numbers of alternative certification participants have prior teaching experience or experience working with children in classroom settings."

On the "streamlining" aspect of teacher certification, the study found that while alternative certification participants are moved into the classroom more quickly, they do not obtain full certification any faster than participants in traditional programs. Clinical practice is shortened in most programs, and coursework can be quite similar to that of traditional programs or tailored to the particular program design. The value of on-the-job training, central to the arguments of proponents of alternative certification, varies widely, the critical variable being the nature of the school environments. According to the study, "Some participants experience rich and supportive environments in which they thrive and learn their new profession, while others experience chaotic and unsupportive environments that not only prevent them from learning how to teach, but also drive them from the profession." In cases where a good match cannot be guaranteed—that is, the training needs of the participants are not appropriately matched with the available supports offered by the school—the perceived benefits of on-the-job training never materialize.

The seven case studies examined in the Humphrey–Wechsler study do not settle the debate on the merits or limitations of alternative teaching certification, but because these programs are among the largest and best known in the country, and provide a range of approaches, they do provide valuable insights into the dizzying complexity of alternative certification.

School districts, **desperate** for the "silver bullet" that will provide them with teachers as quickly as possible, are increasingly looking outside the university to develop **alternate** paths to teacher training and certification.

The Two-for-One Route: Certification Plus a Master's Degree in Education

Established with discretionary funds in 2000 specifically to fill vacancies in some of New York City's lowest performing schools, located primarily in economically depressed areas of the Bronx and Brooklyn, the New York City Teaching Fellows Program simultaneously prepares its participants for certification and enrolls them in a subsidized Master of Education program. Courses such as "Classroom Organization" and "Skillful Teaching: Strategies for Effective Instruction and Classroom Management," offered by a dozen local public and private colleges and universities, are required courses for all participants. A two-month preservice training experience includes field work consisting of assisting and observing in classrooms and regular advisory meetings in which Fellows meet to share experiences and get instruction in classroom skills and management techniques as well as master's degree coursework. After completing the pre-service training, Fellows become teachers of record for the next two years while they complete their master's degree coursework and receive both school- and university-based mentoring as part of their in-service training. Each year, the program surveys participating Fellows to find out whether their expectations about the program have been met and whether they view their preparation as satisfactory. In effect, they are asked "Now how do you feel?" says Vicki Bernstein, who developed and runs the Teaching Fellows Program. The data collected, she explains, are used to make program adjustments.

The program provides Fellows with a range of support services, including workshops, meetings, and social gatherings; Fellows receive a bi-monthly Teaching Fellows newsletter, The Fellows' Forum, as well as weekly e-mails from the program office. Fellows are encouraged to ask questions and are promised a response within 48 hours. A new mentoring initiative includes monthly meetings between Fellows and their respective mentors. "Feedback," says Bernstein, is "essential and welcome," and ongoing, two-way communication is encouraged and highly prized.

Roughly one out of five of the candidates who apply to the New York City Teaching Fellows Program is accepted. With average undergraduate GPAs of 3.3, and 24 percent of the Fellows holding another graduate degree prior to entering the program, participants are "highly qualified and competent," says Bernstein. The average age of the Fellows is 29, so most have had work experiences in other areas. Some of the Fellows say that they always wanted to be a teacher, explains Bernstein, but for a variety of reasons never attained their goal. For many, the Teaching Fellows Program represents an opportunity "to do something more meaningful in their lives," she adds. The program is new, of course, and the fact that "the retention rates have improved over the last couple of years," with 86 percent returning to teach a second year, is a hopeful sign but not necessarily a harbinger of things to come. "We hope most of them will stay," says Bernstein, "but realistically, we know that people will change careers, both in and out of education."

The central goal of the New York City Teaching Fellows Program is to accelerate the process of bringing new teachers into classrooms where they are needed most, to teach subjects for which there is the greatest need—English, Spanish, math, science, bilingual education and special education. Although candidates are asked for their preferences regarding placement, assignments are primarily driven by the specific needs of schools and by each Fellow's qualifications and subject matter expertise. Ultimately, they are expected to be "flexible"—and they are. "Most of our folks wind up teaching in the Bronx and Central Brooklyn," explains Bernstein. Even allowing for the wobbly economy of the last few years, there has been no shortage of applicants. In a city that employs many thousands of public school teachers, however, the 2,000 New York City Teaching Fellows clearly will not fill the gap between supply and demand for qualified teachers in the city's underserved communities. However, Bernstein says, the program is "a significant investment" designed to narrow that gap.

"Grow Your Own": An Alternative Route for Paraprofessionals and Teacher Aides

There was no shortage of teachers in the Milwaukee public schools in 1987 when the Metropolitan Multicultural Teacher Education Program (MMTEP) was established as an alternative teacher education program, explains Linda Post, department chair of curriculum and instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. What prompted the creation of MMTEP in 1989, Post explains, was the realization that teachers in Milwaukee schools did not reflect the racial and ethnic composition of the students they taught. In 1987, 68 percent of the Milwaukee public schools' student population consisted of students of color, while only 18 percent of the district's teachers represented minority groups. At the same time, minority students were underrepresented in colleges and universities—including those offering teacher education programs—which

virtually guaranteed a shortage of potential teachers of color in the pipeline.

Many students of color, however, were enrolling in community colleges in a range of program areas. Many of these students found paraprofessional positions in urban public schools to support themselves while they pursued their baccalaureate degrees, a process that, given family and job obligations, was often protracted. An added impetus to the creation of MMTEP was the poor retention rate of teachers in the Milwaukee public schools—approximately 50 percent left within 3–5 years. The notion of "growing your own [teachers]" became a strategy for recruiting and training prospective teachers who had ties to the community and who would be more likely to make a long-term commitment to teaching within the community.

Ultimately, the establishment of MMTEP was the result of a collaboration of the Milwaukee Public Schools, the Milwaukee Teachers' Education Association, the Milwaukee Area Technical College and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Applicants to MMTEP must have a bachelor's degree and have been a paraprofessional or teacher aide in the Milwaukee public schools for at least a year; they must also be qualified for admission as post-baccalaureate students to the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee School of Education and perform satisfactorily in interviews and background checks by both the university and Milwaukee Public Schools.

Intense and "resource-rich," says Post, the program is deliberately kept small—on average, only 20 candidates are selected out of the 75–100 who apply. "MMTEP will never be huge," she declares. "I just don't know how you could do it with large numbers." Participants are called "residents" rather than "interns" to distinguish them from other pre-service training programs. MMTEP residents participate in a six-week summer session during which they take university classes and teach in Milwaukee public school classrooms with a master teacher. They are paid a teacher's hourly rate for five hours a day during the six weeks. Whether they continue in the program rests heavily on a positive evaluation of their ability to relate to the children and on their readiness to assume full-time teaching duties.

Explains Post, "Many have good rapport with kids but if they don't use their rapport to focus on instruction, we throw them out!" She adds. "We haven't found a way to screen for organizational skills."

During the year of residency that follows, participants serve as teachers of record in grades 1 through 8—while on leave from their paraprofessional or teaching aide position—and receive a full beginning teacher's salary with fringe benefits. Like the New York City Fellows, residents are not left to struggle on their own. MMTEP residents enjoy the support of a mentor who visits the classroom at least once a week. While mentors spend one day a week with teachers, "they may spend the rest of the week on the phone with them," says Post. Mentors and residents often "become best friends," she adds, "but mentors do not evaluate [residents]." Without the responsibility of evaluating the resident, which is left to the resident's university supervisor, mentor and resident are encouraged to enjoy a relationship based on trust and support.

The mentor-resident ratio is an astounding one mentor for every four teachers-in-residence. With an experienced master teacher in the classroom on a regular basis, residents are able to work with mentors as co-teachers and co-planners. In the meantime, residents continue their university coursework. It is only upon successful completion of the program that the resident is guaranteed a teaching contract with Milwaukee Public Schools. "If we counsel them out after one year," says Post, "they're gone." Because the teacher's union views the residency as a year of training, not employment, it does not represent certification candidates who have been "deselected." If things don't work out for candidates, they can return to their former positions as paraprofessionals or aides.

A ten-year study of MMTEP conducted in 1999 by Martin Haberman, co-founder of MMTEP with Linda Post, showed that a decade after graduation, 94 percent of MMTEP graduates were still teaching in Milwaukee public schools—many of them in the same schools in which they had been working as paraprofessionals and aides—and 96 percent of them received performance ratings of satisfactory or exemplary from their current principals. Data are being collected to update the study.

Today, the resource viewed as precious by MMTEP—paraprofessionals and teaching aides with strong ties to the community—is itself in peril. "In large school districts," explains Post, "paraprofessionals and aides are being cut." These are the very people, she says, who, "if they had a chance, would like to become teachers. . . . [Yet] here we are recruiting abroad."

The Use of Outrage as a Tool for Educational Reform

It would be hard to think of two alternative routes to teaching more dissimilar in design, yet more united in purpose, than MMTEP and Teach for America. Founded in 1988–89 by Wendy Kopp, then a recent Princeton University graduate, Teach for America recruits high-achieving recent college

graduates from selective colleges and universities who are committed to social change and eager to make a two-year commitment to teach in underserved urban and rural school districts.

Characterizing Teach for America as "a mission-driven organization" aimed at closing the educational achievement gap between rich and poor, Abigail Smith, vice president for research and public policy, and herself an alumnus of Teach for America, acknowledges that the program's primary goal is not to prepare teachers for certification, though that may be an outcome, but to advocate and cultivate leadership on behalf of social justice among its participants. According to the SRI International study, only 11 percent of Teach for America participants indicated that they expected to be teaching in ten years, and about one-third said that they "wanted to contribute to society before moving on to another field outside education." Says Emily Feistritzer, "Teach for America is a domestic Peace Corps program"—a point readily granted by Smith. "After two years," she explains, "we want Teach for America teachers to continue to address this gap between rich and poor [and] to use their outrage in other areas to get at this problem."

Remarkably, Teach for America appears to have succeeded in rising above the highly politicized and polarizing debate surrounding alternative pathways to teacher training. "The Bush administration has been very supportive of Teach for America," says Smith, "because, we like to think, it's a good program, but also because there are no regulations." On the other hand, she observes, "Social justice [proponents] also support it. So we can reach in both directions." While Teach for America receives some of its funding from Americorps and the Department of Education, 80 percent of its funding comes from private corporations and foundations.

Admission into Teach for America is a criterion-based process with an acceptance rate of 15 percent out of 16,000 applications. With an average GPA of 3.4, Teach for America candidates are an idealistic, high-achieving group of young men and women with demonstrated leadership, communication, and organizational skills. Above all, says Smith, they must have "perseverance." Candidates are first required to apply their perseverance in an intensive five-week summer training session and a one-to-two-week orientation in one of the 21 Teach for America regions located throughout the nation. Before they even start their formal training, however, says Smith, "They have already read a ton of materials. . .and had 12 hours of classroom observations, which they write about." Smith adds, "We work hard to instill [the idea that] learning to teach is an ongoing process." Keenly aware that they have a lot to learn, when Teach for America candidates enter the classroom "They go in with the attitude: 'I'm going to ask for help; I'm not going to act like I'm the be-all and end-all.'"

Of course, there's little danger of their developing swelled heads since, according to Smith, "The first year is overwhelming"—as it is for all new teachers. Despite the daunting nature of the challenges they face, the retention rates for the first and second years are high; by the third year, 60 percent are still teaching. Teach for America's most recent annual survey of alumni—and there are 8,000 now—indicates that approximately 60 percent are working in or studying education, as teachers, principals, education policy advisors, and leaders and staff of education reform organizations. The other 40 percent enter a variety of professions, including medicine, law, business,

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Wendy Kopp, founder of Teach for America, receiving an award from Senator Edward Kennedy, created to honor young Americans for their commitment to public service

journalism and government service. Regardless of the profession they choose, the essential goal is the same for all Teach for America alumni: seasoned by their deeply personal experiences in the classrooms of many of the nation's most impoverished schools, and fired by their outrage over the inequities they have witnessed, they are primed to advocate for educational equity and social justice for America's children.

And the children who are taught by Teach for America teachers, how do they fare? According to *Teaching at Risk: A Call to Action*, the report of The Teaching Commission, ". . .[I]nitial findings on TFA are positive." The report states that a study of Teach for America participants in Houston, Texas, conducted by Macke Raymond and Stephen Fletcher, "found that TFA teachers perform at least as well as, and in many cases, better than, other teachers hired by the Houston Independent School District." Citing the same study, however, Linda Darling-Hammond writes, "In 1999–2000, the last year covered by the study sample, about 50 percent of Houston's new teachers were uncertified, and the researchers report that 35 percent of new hires lacked even a bachelor's degree; so TFA teachers were compared to an extraordinarily ill-prepared group." The problem, according to Darling-Hammond, is that TFA teacher outcomes are not compared to those of "trained and certified teachers or to others with a bachelor's degree," even though, she points out, data were available to those conducting the study.

Regarding the latter point, Dan Fallon explains, "At the time that was not a question that interested them. They simply wanted to know, of the entire pool of teachers that they hire through nontraditional venues (excluding normally prepared certified teachers), are the Teach for America teachers competitive?"

What Darling-Hammond's analysis of the Houston study suggests is that schoolchildren taught by the intensely idealistic yet inexperienced Teach for America teachers might be only relatively better off than if they been taught by the largely underqualified and unqualified teachers concentrated in Houston schools and classrooms. Fallon agrees: "The study shows that Teach for America teachers are doing no harm in those positions (relative to what the pupils would otherwise have had for teachers) and are often doing better than the norm."

Another more recent study by Mathematica Policy Research, Inc., a group that conducts research on public policy issues, focused on the question, "Do TFA teachers improve (or at least not harm) student outcomes relative to what would have happened in their absence?" The sample included six of the regions in which Teach for America placed teachers at the time: Baltimore, Chicago, Los Angeles, Houston, New Orleans, and the Mississippi Delta. Teach for America teachers were compared to a control group defined as "any teacher who was never a TFA corps member"—a group that included "traditionally certified, alternatively certified, and uncertified teachers." The June 2004 study, prepared with support by Carnegie Corporation of New York, found that students in low-income, high-minority classes taught by Teach for America teachers fared slightly better in mathematics achievement and about the same in reading than similar students taught by the control group. The study concludes that "From the perspective of a community or a school faced with the opportunity to hire TFA teachers, our findings suggest that TFA offers an appealing pool of candidates." Indeed, according to the report, "The finding that many of the control teachers in our study were not certified or did not have formal pre-service training highlights the need for programs or policies that can attract good teachers to schools in the most disadvantaged communities. Our findings show that Teach for America is one such program."

Darling-Hammond draws a different conclusion from the study. The generally poor quality of the teachers in the control group, she observes, underscores a more fundamental question, "not whether districts should hire more TFA teachers but what our country is going to do about hiring a stable force of really well-prepared teachers for the students most in need so they can do more than tread water until they drown."

No Consensus

What is clear is that all students need good teachers—knowledgeable, committed, skilled, creative and caring people—but no one yet seems to have produced a definitive method for identifying who those teachers are—or who has the potential to become an effective teacher. For example, according to the Humphrey–Wechsler study, although "In many states, alternative certification now plays a central role in the production of new teachers. . .[On] a basic level there is no agreement about what constitutes alternative certification." For that matter, says Dan Goldhaber, a labor economist and research associate professor at the University of Washington's Daniel J. Evans School of Public Affairs, there is no consensus on the licensing examinations used to determine teacher quality. "They're all over the map," he explains.

In the course of his work at the university's Center on Reinventing Public Education, Goldhaber has studied the teacher labor market and the impact of teacher quality on stu-

dent achievement—perhaps the most fundamental educational issue of them all. In a new study funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York, Goldhaber will examine the relationship between teacher performance on certification or licensure exams such as Praxis I and II and student learning gains as measured over time by the standardized accountability tests used in North Carolina. While examining the nature of that relationship—is it "causal or merely correlational?"—the study will attempt to determine the consequences of the widely varying cutoff scores used by school districts, which result in the inclusion or exclusion of potential teachers. According to Goldhaber, not much evidence exists to demonstrate whether licensure exams are effective in "screening out potentially low-quality teachers." There is considerable evidence, however, that the use of these tests affects minorities disproportionately since minority teacher candidates generally experience a lower pass rate than white candidates. Is it possible that high-quality minority teachers might be eliminated from the pool of potential teachers by tests that may or may not accurately predict teacher performance and the impact of this performance on student learning gains? Goldhaber's study is intended "to help states make more informed decisions about the use of licensure exams." Meanwhile, lawsuits filed against school districts in Texas, California and Alabama are challenging testing practices in teacher licensing— practices that, plaintiffs charge, are discriminatory.

American Education at a Crossroads—Again

When the framers of the U.S. Constitution delegated responsibility for education to the states, it is unlikely that even this group of visionaries could have imagined the whirlwind of contentiousness that would ensue. "The U.S. Constitution has not provided Americans with a national voice for education," Vartan Gregorian observes, "but a chorus of voices, who, rather disconcertingly, rarely sing from the same libretto." Occasionally, as in the lawsuits cited, the lack of consensus finds its way into the judicial system for resolution.

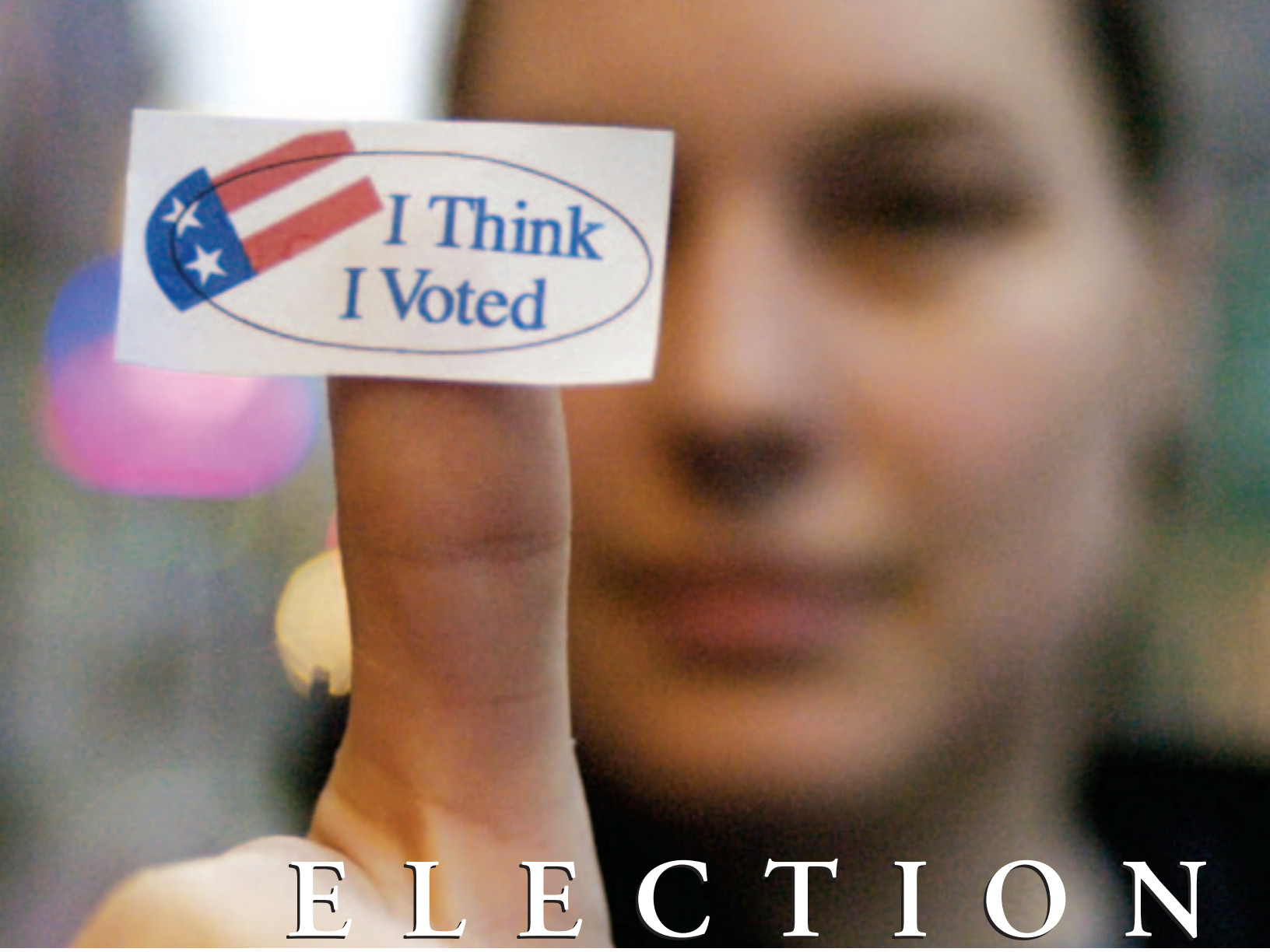
Since publication of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983, the report to the U.S. Secretary of Education by the National Commission on Excellence in Education that famously warned about the poor quality of American education, the educational and political establishments appear to have achieved consensus on at least one issue. Abundant research now is available to confirm what common sense suggested was true all along: good teaching matters. In fact, in the 20 years or so since *A Nation at Risk*, the consensus appears to be that it matters most. Louis V. Gerstner, Jr., chairman of The Teaching Commission and former chairman of IBM, writes in the preface to the Commission's report, *Teaching at Risk: A Call to Action:* ". . .[Our] nation is at a crossroads. We will not continue to lead if we persist in viewing teaching—the profession that makes all other professions possible—as a second-rate occupation. Nothing is more vital to our future than ensuring that we attract and retain the best teachers in our public schools."

As America's audacious experiment in mass public education continues to unfold—replete with inequity and resplendent with achievement—it is remarkable how frequently American education has found itself "at the crossroads." This time, as we try to come to terms with the formidable challenge of teacher education reform, we discover that the crossroads actually resembles a tangle of overlapping and intersecting paths. What's confusing, of course, is that there are many signs pointing to what seems to be a single place, a place called: "Quality Alternative Teacher Training (Certification Guaranteed)." Dotting this landscape of tangled paths are hundreds of institutions with their own signs beckoning the weary traveler: "Quality University-Based Teacher Education Programs (Certification Guaranteed)."

Two decades after the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, America's university-based teacher education programs have taken their share of hits, and, more recently, so have alternative teacher certification programs. As the respective proponents and opponents of "traditional" versus "nontraditional" approaches to teacher training face off, it's just possible that what is unfolding is the characteristically chaotic, utterly inefficient American version of the creative process. Do we know enough to create a new model of teacher preparation that will allow us to place the teacher education "debate" in the historical dustbin?

"We know enough," concludes the report on the Humphrey–Wechsler study, "to move the debate over teacher preparation beyond sweeping generalizations and overstatements to the crafting of policies and programs that put effective teachers in every classroom."

In a very real sense, where this critical teacher preparation takes place—in university-based teacher education programs or in alternative teacher certification programs—is largely irrelevant. What is relevant is whether traditional and nontraditional teacher education programs are ultimately successful in turning out the highly skilled teachers required by America's children—including all those many children still left behind. ■



ELECTION

Reform: LESSONS FROM 2004

by ROBERT RACKLEFF

One focus of the work of Carnegie Corporation of New York is on reducing barriers to civic and electoral participation. This report looks at whether those barriers rose or fell during the 2004 presidential election, in which many other state and local offices were also on the line.

The 2004 general election results answered most of the nation's over 3,000 state and local election administrators' common prayer, which goes: "Lord, please let the vote not be close."

President George W. Bush defeated Senator John F. Kerry decisively to win a second term—286 to 251 in electoral votes, and 62,028,719 to 59,028,500 in popular votes. Who won the presidency was beyond serious challenge and there was no repeat of the grueling five-week Florida recount battle of 2000 by which Bush won that state's electoral votes and the presidency by only 537 votes out of nearly six million cast statewide.

State and local elections officials avoided this dreaded ordeal in 2004—with a few exceptions, most notably in statewide races in North Carolina, Puerto Rico and Washington State. In the latter, Democrat Christine Gregoire was sworn in as governor after a two-month recount found her the winner by 129 votes out of some 2.9 million cast.

However, there were enough election problems around the nation to show the need for more improvements in the 2002 Help America Vote Act (HAVA), passed in the wake of the disputed 2000 presidential election results, and other election laws. While HAVA achieved significant progress, the remaining (and new) problems of 2004 have generated numerous calls for more reforms. Says Geri Mannion, chair of Carnegie Corporation of New York's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program. "In the aftermath of both the 2000 and 2004 elections, it is apparent that the struggle—and debate—continues about how to increase voter turnout and interest, expand and secure the right to register and vote, and how to ensure that all citizens' votes are fairly and accurately counted."

Moreover, numerous nonpartisan organizations and public officials are poised to help develop those improvements, which center on proposed uniform national standards for voter registration, provisional ballots, statewide voter databases, voter identification requirements and alternatives, and reliable, secure and auditable voting machines.

Other improvements include increased funding for the federal Election Assistance Commission's program to develop voting machine standards; improvements to poll worker recruitment and training; full funding for the state and local-level improvements required by HAVA; and declaring election day a national holiday to improve voter convenience.

What Went Right

The presidential election results were not only decisive, the surge of new voters reversed a recent trend of declining voter turnout. Fully 60.7 percent of eligible voters cast ballots by November 2, 2004—the highest turnout rate since 1968, when 61.9 percent voted. The 2004 voters totaled 122.3 million, up from 105.4 million in the 2000 presidential election. Not only that, 71 percent of all eligible citizens were registered to vote, the highest since 1964, according to Curtis Gans of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

"This year, 2004, was a good year for participation in American politics," says Michael McDonald of George Mason University. He notes that turnout soared in the 16 battleground states to 65.3 percent of eligible voters, 7.7 percentage points higher than turnout rate in the same states in 2000.

McDonald attributes this to the intensive organizational efforts to register and turn out voters—as well as the public attitude that this would be a close and important election— especially in battleground states. "The 2004 election may be a watershed," he says, because parties learned the importance of face-to-face contact between campaign workers and potential voters.

Gans acknowledges this mobilization effort, but believes that motivation was more important. "The substantial increase in turnout was due largely to the deep emotions surrounding the presidency of George W. Bush," he wrote in a post-election analysis.

By most measures, HAVA helped improve election systems. Some problems remained with voting machines, but they were not as widespread as in 2000. Some new federal standards and funding through HAVA helped replace many of the error-plagued punch-card and lever-machine voting systems with more accurate optical-scan and touch-screen systems. By January 1, 2006, all states receiving HAVA funds are required to eliminate punch cards and lever machines.

Voters made substantial use of expanded early voting opportunities, such as absentee ballots and in-person voting at selected polling places open up to two weeks before election day. Improved procedures for overseas balloting for civilian and military voters apparently enabled increased voting for those groups, as well.

The widespread use of provisional ballots vindicated the decision to require this remedy for voters otherwise unable

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to vote on election day, despite problems caused by conflicting standards for their use from one jurisdiction to the next. As required by HAVA, all who showed up at a poll, but found ineligible by poll workers, could sign a written statement of eligibility and cast their vote, subject to verification later by election officials. Voters cast over 1.2 million such ballots nationwide, according to an estimate by the nonpartisan Election Reform Information Project.

Improved voter registration databases in numerous states also helped many clear that potential hurdle to cast ballots. One sign of effectiveness was the lower number of provisional ballots cast in states with such databases, where it was easier to verify that persons were properly registered to vote. By 2006, HAVA requires all states to use such databases.

Also positive was an unprecedented level of outside election monitoring in the months leading up to, during and after the general election, involving a small army of election observers, monitors and lawyers from, among others, the U.S. Department of Justice, political parties, nonpartisan organizations and even international organizations, especially in battleground states. For example, the Election Protection Coalition of over 80 organizations deployed nearly 25,000 volunteers in the field and operated a telephone hotline that received some 39,000 voter complaints. Common Cause and several other organizations set up a national voter alert line that received nearly 210,000 telephone calls.

Partisan polling place observers were out in force, as well. "Republicans were watching Democrats, Democrats were eying Republicans," election.org stated in a post-election report. "All were watching poll workers and hearing from voters."

Even some watchdog groups were impressed by the improvements. "It is now abundantly clear that Election Day 2004 was a success," wrote Doug Chapin of the Election Reform Information Project, adding, "Record numbers of voters went to the polls, and while there were isolated problems across the nation, these problems were largely scattered and none of them provoked the kind of meltdown that made the headlines in November 2000."

What Went Wrong

Despite these successes, the surge of new voters in 2004 in many communities overwhelmed the capacity of the election system and revealed problems that needlessly impair or discourage voting by many citizens. These problems sustain doubts about the accuracy and fairness of results, according to nonpartisan experts and organizations.

As the Capitol Hill newspaper, *Roll Call*, editorialized, "Though the 2004 presidential election was, operationally, a rousing success when compared to the debased standards of 2000, American democracy is hardly out of the woods. If anything, voter cynicism is rising . . ."

While accusations of voter intimidation, tampering with electronic voting, and biased election officials were most likely to get media attention, the greater problems are more mundane. The United States continues to operate an election system administered by too many state and local officials who tolerate serious flaws, inconsistent rules, unaccountability and high error rates that would be intolerable in any other important enterprise, such as banking or even Las Vegas casinos.

Long lines at polling places continued to take a heavy toll on election day, forcing many voters to choose between hours-long waits or not voting. The many local and state variations in eligibility and voting procedures also treat voters differently—depending on where they live and vote—thus undermining their right to equal protection for all under the Constitution. With over 200,000 polling places nationwide, operated largely by temporary paid staffs or volunteers, the complexity and scale of these problems makes solving them no small task. But they must be addressed because, as Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation

By 2006, all states receiving HAVA funds must eliminate punch cards and lever-voting machines

notes, "Citizens having their voice heard through the casting of their votes is a symbol of the strength of our democracy. If large segments of the electorate doubt that their vote has been counted—or feel that obstacles to participation in an election have been put in their path—democracy itself is undermined and put at risk."

Here are several key problems highlighted by the 2004 election.

Flawed Electronic Voting Technologies

Voting accuracy in 2004 improved significantly after many states replaced punch cards and lever machines with more accurate touch-screen machines,

which record votes electronically, and optical-scan ballots, which are similar to machine-graded standardized tests. About one-third of all votes were cast electronically in 2004, up from one-eighth in 2000.

For example, a *South Florida Sun-Sentinel* analysis found that stringent new state voting system requirements that banned punch-card and lever-machine systems resulted in sharply lower numbers of spoiled ballots in the presidential election. Where spoilage rates were as high as 12 percent in 2000 in one Florida county, the 2004 rates had fallen to below one-half percent overall (and even lower, 0.3 percent, in counties with paper optical-scan ballots).

However, punch-card ballots and lever machines remained in widespread use in 2004, although this may have been the last major election using these widely criticized systems. For example, 69 of Ohio's 88 counties, or 73 percent of the state's registered voters, still used punch cards, a technology developed for the 1890 U.S. Census and now used in virtually no other important public or private enterprise. Lever machines (called "big iron" by some) were first used in 1892 and were still employed in 2004 in jurisdictions where 21 million voters live. By January 1, 2006, states receiving HAVA funds must replace all punch-card and lever-machine systems.

Many critics of their replacements, touch-screen systems (the most common form of "direct-recording electronic" systems), object mostly to their lack of a printed record of votes cast, preventing any way to verify accuracy. Votes are recorded electronically only, leading to suspicions that results can be manipulated without detection. "Without a paper trail, there's simply nothing to check against in order to verify accuracy," wrote a columnist in *Computer World*. Another critic called it a "faith-based" voting system.

Inconsistent Rules for Provisional Ballots

Called "fail-safe" voting by supporters, the requirement by HAVA that all states make provisional ballots available to voters in 2004 was a much-praised feature of the new law. Unfortunately, Congress failed to require uniform standards for their implementation, and the result was widely disparate rules applied by state and local election officials. One sign of these disparities was in the widely varying number of such ballots cast, ranging from a high of over 200,000 in Arizona to only 23,246 in Texas and 94 in Delaware.

For example, 31 states disqualified provisional ballots cast in the wrong precinct, even for statewide and federal offices. Ten states would not count provisional ballots without identification, while 15 states allowed voters to have their ballots counted if they could present verification of their registration "shortly after" election day.

The percentage of provisional ballots accepted and counted varied greatly, as well. It ranged from a high of 77.33 percent counted in Ohio and 76.08 percent in Colorado, to 7.69 percent in Oklahoma and 6.38 percent in Delaware.

Many observers criticized this uneven application of what was supposed to be a "fail-safe" way to correct registration errors by either election officials or the voter. The varying results of 2004 provisional ballot procedures, according to a *Business Week* editorial, "raise a fairness question: Why should a vote count under one state's rules but not under another's?"

The varying results of 2004 provisional ballot procedures, according to a Business Week *editorial, "raise a fairness question: Why should a vote count under one state's rules but not under another's?"*

Absentee and Early Voting Problems

Because of the growing popularity of absentee and in-person early voting in 2004, the resulting number and variety of problems revealed persistent shortcomings in how we administer elections. Local election officials continue to have problems getting absentee ballots on time to overseas voters, to absent voters in other states, or even to voters in their communities.

For example, media articles days before the general election reported that more than 58,000 absentee ballots mailed by Broward County, Florida, officials failed to reach intended recipients. Phone lines and staff were overwhelmed by the volume of complaints from voters seeking their ballots. Despite last-minute efforts, many could not receive and return ballots before election day, and potentially thousands

were thus prevented from voting. Where in-person early voting was offered, there were also problems: in many areas, the public turned out in such large numbers that they often overwhelmed the too-few sites and staff—creating long lines and long waits.

Enough data are not available yet to draw conclusions about the success of federal programs to improve access by military and civilian citizens living or working overseas, but individual reports of absentee ballot problems showed that some of these problems persist because of their reliance on far-flung postal systems. The Defense Department scrapped a plan to offer Internet voting to overseas military personnel after pre-election experiments showed they could not guarantee that voting records would be kept secure.

Impaired Voter-Registration Systems

The prospect of all states receiving HAVA funds implementing statewide voter-registration databases by 2006 promises a welcome improvement to a patchwork system of incompatible local systems, experts note, pointing out that voters in the 17 states that had such databases in 2004 had fewer reported problems.

However, HAVA did not address the problem of widely disparate voter-registration standards and their sometimes arbitrary application. These will continue to unfairly prevent many eligible citizens from voting, unless there are improvements. Such problems include overly complex application forms, arbitrary denials of eligibility, inability by election offices to process applications and inability of many voters to verify their registration on or before election day with telephone hotlines busy or unanswered.

For example, Ohio's secretary of state instructed county officials to reject completed voter registration forms not printed on card stock, which threatened to invalidate tens of thousands of forms that had been duplicated on more commonly used paper. He later reversed that decision. Florida's secretary of state ordered officials to throw out registration forms on which applicants failed to check a box saying they are citizens, even though elsewhere on the forms, they signed a statement affirming their citizenship.

Students in numerous college towns continued to face similar problems when local election officials attempted to bar them from registering to vote there, claiming that they were not "permanent residents" and must register in their hometowns instead. This was settled long ago when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in 1979 (*United States. v. Symm*) that students could do just that, but it remains a perennial localized problem.

In one egregious case, a Texas district attorney threatened to prosecute Prairie View A&M students if they tried to register to vote there. According to the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University, "While some cases of local voter suppression can be attributed to misinformation due to a lack of guidance from the state, most are the result of concerted efforts to prevent students from affecting local politics."

Persistent problems in managing voter-registration databases to eliminate registration of deceased voters or duplicate registrations of those who move to another jurisdiction also continue to plague our system. Over 181,000 dead people, for example, were registered to vote in the 2004 presidential election in six battleground states, nearly 65,000 in Florida, according to a *Chicago Tribune* analysis.

Florida's secretary of state ordered officials to throw out registration forms on which applicants failed to check a box saying they are citizens, even though elsewhere on the forms, they signed a statement affirming their citizenship.

An added problem is arbitrary registration deadlines, which prevent many people from voting and further suppress voter turnout. "Thirty-seven states cut off voter registration 20 to 30 days before election day, well before most voters become interested in the campaigns," reports the nonpartisan group, Dēmos.

Disenfranchisement of Ex-Felons

An estimated 4.7 million Americans cannot vote because they were convicted of felony crimes. They are barred by a patchwork of state laws that include lifetime bans, and other penalties, although two states preserve the right to vote while in prison. While many states offer restoration of rights by state clemency boards, the procedures are often so cumbersome that most ex-felons in

these states do not or cannot overcome this hurdle.

The result is the disenfranchisement of over two percent of all adults and, because of their higher rates of incarceration, thirteen percent of black men. In states with lifetime bans, one-fourth of black men are disqualified. Because of its lifetime ban, for instance, Florida had an estimated 620,000 ex-felons unable to vote in the 2000 presidential election. The problem was compounded when Florida elections officials produced ex-felon lists in 2000 and 2004 that were so inaccurate that they barred or would have barred thousands of qualified citizens from voting. Many suspect that this affected the 2000 election outcome, given that most ex-felons register and vote Democratic, and was roundly criticized by Democrats as a politically biased action by Republican state officials.

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In 2004, voters made substantial use of early voting opportunities

The inaccuracy of ex-felon purge lists and the incompatibility of criminal record databases with voter registration databases can also lead to eligible citizens losing their right to vote. Courts and election officials do not use common identifiers, such as driver's license numbers, requiring guesswork involving a mix of names, addresses and birth dates. Another complication can be the lack of statewide court data, so that a felony conviction in one county may not be reflected in the voter rolls in another county.

Republicans counter that, until such bans change, voting by ex-felons remains illegal, while many Democratic elections officials tolerate them, and that this can decide a close election. Analyses by the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* and *Seattle Times* found that several hundred ex-felons either did or may have voted illegally in the razor-thin Washington State governor's race. Similar reports in other states led to Republican criticism. "The Republican Party's top priority is to have every valid vote counted. But the truth of the matter is that there are issues with improper registrations," says Ben Ginsberg, former counsel to the Republican National Committee.

Inadequate Election System Resources

The nation's 3,000-plus counties spend an estimated $1 billion a year for election administration, according to a 2001 report of the Voting Technology Project by MIT and CalTech experts, funded by Carnegie Corporation. Despite increased federal funding for state and local election agencies, it has not been enough to fully fund the elections administration improvements required by HAVA.

As a result, resources have not kept pace with the growing demands for a modern, accurate, fair elections system. Long waits at polling places, called the "three-hour poll tax" by some, create unnecessary barriers and cause many voters to leave before voting or to forego voting entirely. "After an hour [of waiting in line] you cross a threshold into a problem. After two hours you're getting into the disenfranchisement zone," says Ed Foley, a law professor at Ohio State University.

Lack of election day staff, poorly trained poll workers, lack of facilities and machines to accommodate disabled voters, and malfunctioning or too few voting machines are causes of this perennial, but avoidable problem. Counties hard-pressed to fund other basic services often poorly fund their election offices. "One-quarter of our [local] election offices are as well funded as other parts of government, but the other three-quarters are not," Doug Lewis of The Election Center told a U.S. Senate committee in 2001.

Americans vote in polling places that range from plush to awful, MIT voting technology expert Ted Selker found during a coast-to-coast tour in the fall of 2004. Reno, Nevada, had the cushiest, he wrote in a post-election report, while voters in other sites struggled with poor lighting, inaccessible buildings, cold and drafty rooms and, in Chicago, "a homeless shelter that smells of urine." One polling place in Lee County, Alabama, had only two voting machines for over 10,000 registered voters, according to another report.

Other Election Problems

Other problems create additional concerns about voter participation and voting integrity, including accommodations for disabled voters; the choice of election days; the lack of competitive presidential, Congressional and other races; Electoral College campaign strategies that reduce voter choice in "safe" states; and partisan actions by state and local election officials.

While data are not available for 2004, earlier estimates are that voter turnout by the disabled is 20 percentage points lower than the rate for non-disabled persons, according to the Center for an Accessible Society. Physical barriers at polling places, voting machines the disabled cannot operate and difficult voter-registration procedures are factors. Advocates for the disabled estimate that 70 percent of polling places

are not wheelchair accessible. In conflict with critics of paperless touch-screen voting, disabled organizations have favored the system because they enable sight-impaired persons to vote (by listening to audible prompts over headsets) more easily and in privacy.

Compared to many Western democracies that hold elections on a Sunday or holiday, America's election day choice of Tuesday, a work day, creates unnecessary hardships for many voters, especially the working poor, that discourage them from voting. Among registered voters who did not vote in 2000, 21.5 percent said that "they could not take time off of work or school or because they were too busy," according to a 1998 Census Bureau study.

Lack of competitive races also helps suppress voter turnout. Highly sophisticated redistricting software has enabled leaders of dominant parties to create so many favorable districts that they can ensure large, long-lasting majorities in state legislatures and Congressional delegations. For example, by using such methods after the 2000 census, Pennsylvania's Republican-dominated legislature created Congressional district lines that produced a delegation of twelve Republicans and seven Democrats in a state with a half-million more registered Democrats than Republicans. California Democrats have long used such methods to increase their hold on legislative and Congressional seats.

As a result, the number of competitive U.S. House districts fell from 136 after the 1990 census to only 45 after 2000, according to *The Cook Political Report*. This not only suppresses turnout, it provides entrenched political power to incumbent officials and dominant parties with little accountability to voters. "We've reached the point where incumbents just can't lose," says Mark Gersh of the National Committee for an Effective Congress.

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Long lines and long waits were common in the 2004 election

The Electoral College system helped suppress turnout in 2004 by causing campaign efforts to focus on 18 battleground states and not reach out to voters in the 32 other states (and the District of Columbia) considered safe for either Bush or Kerry. This not only deprives voters in those states of the chance to hear directly from candidates, it also produces a debate about issues important only to a few key states.

Finally, the prevalence of partisan elections officials at state and local levels continued to cast doubts on their motives in numerous controversial decisions. Suspect voter purge lists, restrictive voter registration policies, varying quality of voting equipment and poll sites, controversial tabulation and vote validation decisions, secretive electronic voting machine decisions and other activities continued to undermine public confidence in the system's fairness and integrity.

The Next Few Years: The Push For National Standards

Continued public concern will provide numerous opportunities for improvements in how Americans vote. Congressional and state legislative proposals are already surfacing to address problems experienced in 2004 and numerous nonpartisan organizations and foundations are poised to help develop those improvements.

Many of the proposals involve establishing uniform national standards for key aspects of the elections and voting system, motivated by the principle cited by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Bush v. Gore* that Florida voters were entitled to uniform election standards that guarantee equal protection under the 14th Amendment. The Court added, however, that "Our consideration is limited to the present circumstances, as the problem of equal protection in election processes generally presents many complexities."

The Court's attempt to limit this principle to one state election only has not dissuaded reformers from seeking uniform national standards on a broad front. They note that HAVA has attached certain standards already to a state's acceptance of federal funding for elections administration. Here are some of them:

Reliable, Secure and Auditable Voting Machines

Observers from computer scientists to federal and state legislators have renewed their call for voting machines that provide a voter-verified paper trail to be rechecked in contested elections. These could be either optical-scan ballots, which are printed on paper already, or touch-screen systems with printers.

For example, after the 2004 election, California adopted an "accessible voter-verified paper audit trail" standard to guarantee a corresponding paper record for touch-screen systems. One feature allowed by the California standard is a paper copy of each vote displayed under glass or plastic, so that voters can review their vote but not handle the paper. Ohio's secretary of state abandoned touch-screen voting entirely and ordered all counties to adopt optical-scan voting exclusively for state and local elections in 2005.

Common Cause called on the Election Assistance Commission and National Institute for Standards and Technology to develop a national standard for a voter-verified paper trail. It also urged an open process, which allows access by security experts to voting machine computer codes to strengthen their security and prevent tampering.

Provisional Ballots

Only uniform national standards for the provisional ballot can fully realize its "fail-safe" potential for voters, according to proponents, including Common Cause. They would make such ballots available to virtually anyone who requests them, subject to verification later by professional elections staffs.

The Brennan Center has filed federal lawsuits to have the courts allow provisional votes cast by voters in the wrong precinct as a way to prevent disenfranchisement. "Congress's intent in enacting HAVA was, in part, to ensure that no eligible voters are turned away from the polls without an opportunity to vote," the center noted after a federal judge in Michigan ruled that counties there had to honor provisional ballots cast in the wrong precinct.

Declare Election Day a National Holiday

After languishing in Congress before the 2004 election, proposals to designate election day a national holiday are expected to revive. Supporters were encouraged by the recommendation in 2001 for such a holiday by the National Commission on Federal Election Reform, an advisory body led by former presidents Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. The commission recommended merging election day with Veterans Day to "increase availability of poll workers and … make voting easier for some workers."

Statewide Voter Databases

Although HAVA requires all states receiving federal funds (and the District of Columbia) to have statewide voter lists in place by January 1, 2006, reformers worry that federal standards may allow too many state-by-state variations that will affect quality and interoperability.

Standards would institute processes aimed at reducing mistakes by voters and voter-registration solicitors in filling out forms, ensuring these forms reach elections offices and are accurately entered into databases, providing protections from fraud, and making online verification available to voters who want to check their status. Standards should also include integration with other databases within and among states, such as state driver's license bureaus and the criminal justice system, and provide for computers at every polling place linked to the database.

"There should be national guidelines for registration, not a hodge-podge of local and state requirements," Common Cause stated after the 2004 election.

Election Day Voter Registration

The success of election day registration in helping to increase voter participation has encouraged Common Cause and others to advocate this as a national standard, overriding state laws that often close registration for federal elections weeks before they take place

Election day registration would especially benefit young voters, who frequently change residences—and thus election jurisdictions and voter precincts—as well as other adults included in the 16 percent of Americans who move each year. It would also benefit historically disenfranchised and low-income individuals, as well as new citizens.

Proponents counter criticisms that this would lead to fraudulent voting by citing the low number of incidents in states with election day registration and observing that it can actually reduce the possibility for fraud, as more registrations are processed in person by election officials.

The Brennan Center has filed suit in federal court in Connecticut to declare that state's 14-day registration deadline (except to vote only for president) as an unconstitutional disenfranchisement. It seeks to require election day registration as a constitutional right.

Required Voter Identification and Alternatives

Characterizing current voter identification requirements as an unfair burden on historically disenfranchised voters, reformers such as Common Cause advocate national standards that would make such requirements uniform and less restrictive. "ID requirements should reflect the lives of some voters who

move more often, do not drive, or simply do not have the types of ID required in some states," Common Cause states.

Identification rules should not only be uniform, but should also be posted prominently in every polling place and poll workers should be trained not to turn any eligible voter away.

Voting Rights for Ex-Felons

Supporters of eliminating barriers to voting by ex-felons have long believed that the prospects for Congress to act are virtually nonexistent, and instead are seeking redress in federal court. The Brennan Center, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law are pursuing such a case in federal court to overturn Florida's lifetime ban.

In the meantime, the ACLU has pushed for Florida officials to streamline the clemency process in Florida to, in effect, accomplish a near-automatic restoration of voting rights after completion of sentence. "Automatic restoration will help people qualify for work and support their families, which benefits Florida as well a former felons by working to lower recidivism rates," says the ACLU state director.

Nonpartisan Election Officials

Reformers note that controversial decisions in the 2004 election highlighted the great discretion open to election officials and thus the need to eliminate even the appearance of political bias, particularly by top state officials. The two favored proposals are either to prohibit such officials from having a role in campaigns or to require that they are elected in nonpartisan races.

U.S. Senator Frank Lautenberg introduced the Federal Election Integrity Act of 2005, to prohibit senior state election officials with authority over federal elections from participating in the political campaign of a candidate running for federal office in their state. "Allowing a state official to oversee a federal election while serving as a campaign official for one of the candidates in that election is a blatant conflict of interest," Lautenberg stated.

Opponents of National Standards

Not everyone embraces uniform national standards, especially many state and local elections officials who believe these will sharply limit their role. For example, in a task force report in 2001, these officials included recommendations for a stronger federal role and national standards, "but not for a national election system." They rejected federal prohibitions of specified voting systems and/or requiring uniform poll closing times and recommended greater reliance on voluntary standards, but also called for "stricter enforcement of and harsher penalties for election crimes."

Further, Congressional leaders have discouraged talk about reopening HAVA for major changes. Brian Lewis, key staffer for the Senate Majority Whip told a meeting of state officials in January, 2005, "We don't see any time for election reform . . . there was an obscene amount of time spent on passing HAVA [in 2002]."

Funding Problems

Whether they support national standards or not, election experts agree that much more funding is needed and generally look to the federal government for the necessary dollars, beginning with the almost $4 billion authorized by HAVA but not fully appropriated. Only about $1.5 billion has been budgeted by Congress, but much of that has not yet reached states for various reasons, among them, some states not yet meeting HAVA requirements and others unable to raise matching funds.

State officials continue to press for more federal funding, despite the best efforts of Congressional leaders to discourage them. The Bush administration did not recommend any more funds for HAVA for the current 2005 fiscal year, and Congress complied. "In our view, HAVA is fully funded," Lewis stated, "The states need to go get their money . . . it's sitting at the Election Assistance Commission (EAC). Everyone has the funding."

Increased funding for the EAC itself is a high priority because of its responsibility to develop voting machine standards, new certification processes, and numerous studies that can provide guidance to state and local officials in such areas as poll worker recruitment and training. Supporting federal funding increases is a broadly representative array of nonpartisan organizations, from the Paralyzed Veterans Association to People for the American Way and League of Women Voters.

Bowing to reality, many state and local governments accept that they must themselves come up with their own funding to make up for the lack of federal aid. Even poorly-financed local governments, for example, have increased their election budgets significantly.

Conclusion

While election administrators regard the 2004 election as the disaster that didn't happen—and a successful step forward—both supporters and critics of the system agree that much needs to be done. Research is already underway to provide new insights in our flawed election system.

However, many needs are already clear and compelling. Meeting them will require determined efforts by our nation's nonprofit sector, as well as civic, business and political leaders. To do less will only help perpetuate a system that fails to realize our aspirations as the world's greatest democracy. ■

RecentEvents

TAT LEONG

Vartan Gregorian (center), president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Foreign Policy and the Media Forum panel (l. to r.): Tom Brokaw, Cynthia Tucker, Richard Cohen and James Hoge

Carnegie Forums are an occasional series of roundtable discussions that bring together policymakers, educators, foundation leaders and others to discuss ideas and issues of critical national importance. During the final months of the 2004 presidential campaign, Carnegie Corporation of New York held a series of three forums focusing on concerns central to the Democratic and Republican platforms. Vartan Gregorian, president of the Corporation, hosted the events.

The first in the series, the **Carnegie Forum on Income Inequality**, held in August 2004, explored the widening gap between rich and poor Americans and the political and social ramifications resulting from this disparity (see *Carnegie Reporter*, Fall 2004, Vol. 3/No.1, p. 47).

The **Forum on Foreign Policy and the Media**, which took place in September 2004, centered on the "quality" of America's foreign policy debate and the critical need for deep discussion about the serious issues facing the nation as the threat of terrorism replaces the threat of Communism and the danger of weapons of mass destruction in the hands of rogue nations grows.

Americans' perceptions of U.S. foreign policy are greatly influenced by the news media, thus the forum concentrated on how the presidential campaign might be affected by news reporting on critical issues such as the war in Iraq, the role of the United States in the global community and the question of preparedness in an increasingly unstable world.

Governor Thomas H. Kean, chair of the 9/11 Commission (left) and Thomas R. Pickering (right), former U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation at the Foreign Policy and the Media Forum

Tom Brokaw, *NBC Nightly News* managing editor and anchor (he retired in December 2004), served as moderator for a panel of journalists from leading news organizations: Richard Cohen, columnist for *The Washington Post*; James F. Hoge, editor of *Foreign Affairs*; and Cynthia Tucker, editorial page editor for *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*.

Reprising a 2000 forum, the **Carnegie Forum on Education**, held in October 2004, focused on the education platforms of the Democratic and Republican presidential contenders. This time, surrogates for George W. Bush and John Kerry engaged in a lively debate over learning standards, urban school reform, access to college, teacher education, Pell grants, literacy and other issues critical to American education.

Expressing the views of the Bush-Cheney campaign was Sandy Kress, widely acknowledged as the architect of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, President Bush's major education initiative. A partner in the law firm of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld of Austin and Dallas, Kress has continued to advise the White House on education issues.

Laying out the Kerry-Edwards platform was Jon Schnur, a seven-year veteran of the Clinton administration who, during his tenure, served as policy advisor on K-12 education and White House associate director for educational policy. Schnur is founder and chief executive officer of New Leaders for New Schools, a nonprofit organization focused on attracting and preparing principals for America's urban public schools.

John Merrow, executive producer and host of *The Merrow Report*, an award-winning series of PBS Television programs about education issues, served as moderator.

EVEROD NELSON

Vartan Gregorian opens the Education Forum

EVEROD NELSON

Education Forum panelists (l. to r.) John Merrow, Sandy Kress and Jon Schnur

FoundationRoundup

Students Benefit from Civic Engagement

A new study from the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) indicates that college students who put more time and energy into educational experiences that matter to them, both in and out of the classroom, acquire a more substantive education along with important life skills, such as critical thinking, thoughtful decision-making and greater awareness of the world around them.

The 2004 study is based on the latest results of an annual survey NSSE conducts to measure the effectiveness of colleges in areas such as the level of academic challenge, opportunities for active and collaborative learning, quality of student-faculty interaction, enriching educational experiences and maintaining a supportive campus environment.

This year, a "deep learning" scale was added to the survey to probe three areas: higher-order learning, involving analysis, organization and synthesis; integrative learning, connecting disparate information and ideas to a central thesis; and reflective learning, applying what's been learned in the classroom to life experiences. Results from this new area of questioning indicate that students involved in "deep learning" activities report greater educational and personal gains and are more satisfied overall with college, and also, that students from historically black colleges and universities are far more likely to participate in a course-related community project and to report greater gains in personal, social and ethical development.

NSSE, located at the Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research in Bloomington, was launched with financial support from The Pew Charitable Trusts, with additional funding from Lumina Foundation for Education and the Center for Inquiry in the Liberal Arts at Wabash College. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Pew Forum on Undergraduate Learning co-sponsored the report.

To learn more about the *Student Engagement: Pathways to Collegiate Success* report, go to http://www.indiana.edu/~nsse/.

New York City Out-of-School Programs Strengthened

The New York City-based Wallace Foundation has committed $12 million toward strengthening out-of-school programs (after-school and weekend activities) for children in New York City with the goals of building participation in these activities and improving the quality of existing programs.

The five-year grant, made to the nonprofit Mayor's Fund to Advance New York City, builds on earlier Wallace-funded research aimed at supporting the development of quality standards and improving coordination of services for the city's out-of-school programs.

In a related step, the Wallace Foundation has released a report called *All Work and No Play? Listening to What Kids and Parents Really Want from Out-of-School Time*, which presents data from a national survey of 609 middle and high school students and 1,000 parents and guardians about what they want from out-of-school programs and their level of satisfaction with the programs currently available to them.

The study shows that more than half of all students participate in some kind of out-of-school program or activity nearly every day of the week. Although most youngsters agree they may have to be pushed by parents to "do things that are good for me," students and parents alike believe organized activities counteract boredom, a condition both young and old respondents think leads to "getting into trouble."

While everyone agrees on the benefits of out-of-school programs, striking disparities appeared when parents were asked to rate the quality, affordability and availability of programs. Minority and low-income respondents, by wide margins, were less likely than white and high-income participants to say it was easy to find affordable, high-quality programs that were conveniently located. Minority and low-income participants were also more likely to say that communities could do a lot more for elementary school children and teenagers.

For more information about the grant to New York City and the new report, go to www.wallacefoundation.org.

Public Health Preparedness and Bioterrorism Project

After the 2001 anthrax attacks in the eastern United States, Congress passed the Public Health Security and Bioterrorism Preparedness and Response Act, which authorized more than $4 billion to upgrade and improve the nation's public health system. The Century Foundation, with support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, organized the Public Health Preparedness and Bioterrorism Project, part of its larger Homeland Security Project, to study how states and cities were using these new resources.

The project involved a national survey of state and local health officials, a close analysis of changes to the public health system of one state (Illinois) and a working group of public health experts that put forth recommendations based on information gathered by the project.

Data from the national survey confirm that federal funding has resulted in positive benefits to the public health system, such as technological upgrades and better coordination between local communities and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. However, in spite of these improvements, experts have concluded that at the current time, no state is yet capable of meeting a major public health threat that would involve coordination between states and regional areas to accommodate and treat large numbers of patients.

The project's newest report, called *Breathing Easier? Report of The Century Foundation Working Group on Bioterrorism Preparedness*, offers recommendations for further improving the country's public health infrastructure.

Key among the recommendations is that government should define "public health preparedness" and develop minimum national standards. Other suggestions include enlarging the public

health workforce, sustaining federal and state funding priorities and maintaining and expanding the vital functions of the public health system, such as developing and administering vaccinations.

The report is available online at http://www.tcf.org/.

W.K. KELLOGG FOUNDATION
FROM VISION TO INNOVATIVE IMPACT

W.K. Kellogg Foundation Marks 75th Anniversary

This year, the Kellogg Foundation is celebrating its 75th anniversary through a series of special programs that will spotlight its grantees, encourage innovative practices and promote the vision of founder W.K. Kellogg "to help people help themselves through the practical application of knowledge and resources to improve their quality of life and that of future generations."

The activities include special grants targeting the Kellogg Foundation's hometown of Battle Creek and home state of Michigan as well as national and international projects. The anniversary grants focus on key Kellogg program areas—health, food systems and rural development, youth and education, and philanthropy and volunteerism.

The special awards include grants to U.S. organizations to strengthen the nursing profession and to build rural entrepreneurship. International grantmaking will support programs for AIDS orphans in Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa, and reward effective practices that counteract poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Plans also call for a series of global seminars that will be held in the United States, Brazil and South Africa. Late in the summer, the foundation will sponsor the Battle Creek PeaceJam, an international education program for young people, featuring Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

For more information about the foundation's anniversary plans, go to www.wkkf.org.

PEW/INTERNET
PEW INTERNET & AMERICAN LIFE PROJECT

The Future of the Internet

The Pew Internet & American Life Project has completed a survey of technology stakeholders about the future of the Internet in the coming decade.

Key among the findings is that most experts foresee the Internet becoming so important to profit, nonprofit and public organizations that it will become a prime target for attack. In fact, two-thirds of respondents expect at least one devastating attack to be directed at either the Internet infrastructure or the country's power grid in the next ten years.

Experts also predict that the number of users will multiply as computing devices proliferate and broadband usage increases, user information is routinely embedded in appliances, cars, phones and even clothes, and online business and personal transactions become more commonplace. At the same time, increased online activity may well result in a corresponding rise in Internet vulnerability; as more and more personal information is transmitted via the Web, opportunities for security breaches will also intensify.

Asked to rate the amount of change the Internet will make to various institutions, a majority predict the greatest transformation will be seen in the news and publishing industries, primarily because of the expanding popularity of blogging.

The experts also expect that Internet developments will affect the structure of formal education, with virtual classes becoming widespread and organized by interests and skills rather than age. They also anticipate changes in family dynamics as advancements in telecommuting will blur work and leisure boundaries.

The Future of the Internet is available online at http://www.pewinternet.org.

South Asia Tsunami Relief

Although fundraising for tsunami relief efforts continues, it is already clear that charitable giving in the wake of this disaster will reach unprecedented levels. The Foundation Center's *Philanthropy News Digest* has been compiling data about the philanthropic response from news media and other sources. Its archive of abstracted stories and lists of foundation and corporate pledges provides strong evidence of an overwhelming outpouring of gifts across the board.

While there can be no doubt that the enormity of the tragedy has been responsible for the tremendous influx of donations, there are indications that changes in the way individuals are making donations are also part of the story. Nearly $500 million in individual donations were made online within a month of the tragedy, an indication of just how much the Internet has revolutionized charitable giving.

The foundation sector has also been quick to respond, with millions of dollars pledged by grantmaking organizations within a few weeks of the calamity. This support has been designated for both short-term emergency operations on the ground and long-term programs to rebuild infrastructure and community services.

Within the business sector, it has been reported that corporate support for disaster relief will ultimately generate about $750 million in cash and in-kind gifts, which would outpace the sector's donations for disaster relief following the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Some businesses have also launched matching-gift programs to augment employee donations to relief programs.

While there is speculation that the overwhelming response to the tsunami disaster will result in fewer donations to unrelated nonprofits, experts who have examined giving patterns for 9/11 relief say this was not the case for that tragedy. In fact, a short-term dip in nonprofit donations immediately after the attacks was followed by an increase in charitable contributions overall as new donors developed regular giving patterns.

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

Getting Back *to* Basics

Teaching Our Children What It Means to Be AMERICAN

by LAMAR ALEXANDER

Lamar Alexander is a Republican United States Senator from Tennessee. The son of a kindergarten teacher and an elementary school principal, Senator Alexander has been the Governor of Tennessee, United States Secretary of Education, the President of the University of Tennessee, and the Goodman Professor at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

As Governor, he helped Tennessee become the first state to pay teachers more for teaching well and started Tennessee's Governor's Schools for outstanding teachers and students. Today he sits on the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions Committee and chairs the Subcommittee on Education and Early Childhood Development.

In 1988, at a meeting of educators, the President of Notre Dame University, Monk Malloy, asked this question: "What is the rationale for the public school?" There was an unexpected silence around the room until Al Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, answered, "The public school was created to teach immigrant children the three Rs and what it means to be an American with the hope that they would then go home and teach their parents."

But the last several decades have witnessed a sharp decline in the teaching of American history and civics in our public schools. Unpleasant experiences with McCarthyism in the 1950s, discouragement after the Vietnam War, and history books that left out or distorted the history of African-Americans made some skittish about discussing "Americanism." In addition, the end of the Cold War removed a preoccupation with who we were not, making it less important to consider who we are.

According to historian Diane Ravitch, public schools have virtually abandoned their role as the chief Americanizing institution. Instead, they promote "an adversary culture that emphasizes the nation's warts and diminishes its genuine accomplishments. There is no literary canon. There are no common readings, no agreed upon lists of books, poems and stories from which students and parents might be taught a common culture and be reminded of what it means to be an American."

Our national leaders have contributed to this drift toward agnostic Americanism. They celebrate multiculturalism, bilingualism, and diversity when there should be a greater emphasis on a common culture, English language skills, and a sense of unity.

The challenges of the 21st century create a new imperative to put American history and civics back in their rightful place—in our schools—because America's ability to meet these challenges depends on future generations understanding and applying the principles that unite us as a country.

Our National Inheritance

Looking around the globe, the unifying force within nations is often ethnicity. If you move to Japan, for example, you can't become Japanese. But in America, citizenship isn't based on color, ethnicity, or birthplace. It's based on a few commonly held beliefs. Throughout our history, we have made a point of passing our values and principles along to successive generations, informally, through community and family, and formally, through our public schools.

Thomas Jefferson, in his retirement at Monticello, spent evenings explaining to overnight guests what he had in mind when he helped create what we call America. By the mid-19th century it was just assumed that everybody knew what it meant to be an American. In his letter from the Alamo, Col. William Barrett Travis pleaded for help simply "in the name of liberty, patriotism and everything dear to the American character."

New waves of immigration in the late 19th century brought a record number of new people to our country from other lands—people whose view of what it means to be an American was ill defined. Americans responded by teaching them. In Wisconsin, for example, the Kohler Company actually housed German immigrants together so that they might be "Americanized" during non-working hours.

But the most important Americanizing institution, as Mr. Shanker reminded us, was the new common school. *The McGuffy Reader*, which was used in many classrooms, introduced to millions a distinctly American culture of literature, patriotic speeches and historical references. In the 20th century, President Roosevelt called upon that culture when he rallied the nation to war. He made certain that every GI who charged the beaches of Normandy knew they were defending our "four freedoms."

America as Ideology

"It has been our fate as a nation," the historian Richard Hofstadter wrote, "not to have ideologies but to be one." This values-based identity has inspired both patriotism and division at home, as well as emulation and hatred abroad. For terrorists, as well as for those who admire America, at issue is the United States itself, not what we do, but who we are.

America's variety and diversity help shape this ideology, but they don't tell the whole story. They are great strengths, certainly, but not the greatest. Iraq is diverse. The Balkans are diverse. America's greatest accomplishment is that we have found a way to take all that variety and diversity and unite ourselves as one country. *E pluribus unum*: out of many, one. That is what makes America truly exceptional.

Yet our public schools are not teaching the history and values that are the American ideology. Instead, students hear a watered-down version of our past, and civics is often dropped from the curriculum entirely. National exam scores reflect these deficiencies: Three-quarters of the nation's 4th, 8th and 12th graders are not proficient in civics, and one-third do not even have basic knowledge.

Until the 1960s, civics education, which teaches the duties of citizenship, was a regular part of the high

school curriculum, but today's college graduates probably have less civics knowledge than high school graduates of 50 years ago. So-called reforms in the 1960s and 70s resulted in the widespread elimination of required classes and curriculum in civics education. Today, more than half the states have no requirement for students to take a course—even for one semester—in American government.

As a result, we are raising generations of "civic illiterates."

A State-Based Solution

As a former Governor, I have seen some of the most creative policymaking happen at the state and local levels. So in thinking about how to tackle our civic illiteracy, I turned to my experiences starting summer residential academies—or governor's schools—in Tennessee.

Tennessee governor's schools focused on a variety of subjects, including the arts, international studies, and writing. The goals were twofold: help thousands of teachers improve their skills through intensive training and inspire outstanding students to learn more about core curriculum subjects. When they returned to their classrooms for the next school year, both teachers and students brought with them a new enthusiasm that motivated their peers. Dollar for dollar, the governor's schools were one of the most effective and popular educational initiatives in our state's history.

Today, there are more than 100 such schools in 28 states. The Governor's Schools of Excellence in Pennsylvania offer 14 different programs. As in Tennessee, students attend academies at eight different colleges to study everything from international relations to health care to teaching.

In 2002, I drafted legislation that would replicate this idea throughout the nation, but with the specific goal of inspiring better teaching and more learning of the key events, persons, and ideas that shaped the institutions and democratic heritage of the United States. The American History and Civics Education Act passed both Houses of Congress and was signed into law by President Bush on December 21, 2004. It establishes Presidential Academies for Teachers of American History and Civics, which would bring educators together for a few weeks in the summer months, and Congressional Academies for Students of American History and Civics, which would do the same for outstanding students.

Our ultimate goal is to establish American history academies in all 50 states. The legislation I proposed creates a pilot program of these academies, by awarding grants to educational institutions to sponsor the academies. Grants would be subject to rigorous review to determine whether the overall program should continue, expand, or end.

Testing Results

Encouraging a renewed focus on American history and civics is the first step to solving our national problem of civic illiteracy. The next is to evaluate the curriculum and methods used to teach our children these subjects. Thanks to the *No Child Left Behind Act* and state-based reform efforts, we're finally getting serious about accountability in our public schools. This accountability must extend to the teaching of American history.

Senator Ted Kennedy and I introduced legislation to create a 10-state pilot study of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) exam in U.S. history starting in 2006. NAEP tests are commonly referred to as the "nation's report card." The American History Achievement Act would authorize the collection of enough data to attain a state-by-state comparison of 8th and 12th grade student knowledge and understanding of U.S. history (NAEP's governing board already has the authority to do this in reading, math, science, and writing). We'll be able to determine which states are doing a good job of teaching the subject and allow other states to adopt their best practices.

The following examples illustrate how badly this is needed:

On the 4th grade NAEP, students are asked to identify the following passage: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness…."

Students were given four choices for the source of that passage:

a) Constitution
b) Mayflower Compact
c) Declaration of Independence
d) Article of the Confederation

Only 46 percent of students answered correctly that it came from the Declaration of Independence—our nation's founding document.

The 8th grade test asks students to "Imagine you could use a time machine to visit the past. You have landed in Philadelphia in the summer of 1776. Describe an important event that is happening." Nearly half the students were not able to answer the question correctly that the Declaration of Independence was being signed. They must wonder why the Fourth of July is Independence Day.

A New Mandate

Since September 11, 2001, the national conversation about what it means to be an American has been different. The terrorists focused their cross-hairs on the creed that unites us as one country, forcing all Americans to remind ourselves of our principles, to examine and define them, and to celebrate them: liberty, equal opportunity, the rule of law, *laissez faire* government, individualism, *e pluribus unum*, the separation of church and state. But in order to rise to the occasion of these challenging times, we need to do more than just identify our principles. We need to apply them to today's most pressing problems. Doing so requires a solid education in the history and values that shape our national identity.

Before I was elected to the Senate, I taught a course at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government entitled "The American Character and America's Government." The purpose of the course was to help policymakers, civil servants, and journalists analyze the American creed and character and apply it to public policy problems. We tried to figure out what would be the "American way" to solve a given problem.

We discovered that this was hard work because the principles of our creed are often conflicted. For example, when considering whether the federal government should pay for scholarships that middle- and low-income families might use at any accredited schools—public, private, or parochial—we found the principle of equal opportunity in conflict with separation of church and state.

And we found that there are great disappointments when we try to live up to our greatest dreams: President Kennedy's pledge that we will "pay any price or bear any burden" to advance liberty, or Thomas Jefferson's assertion that "all men are created equal," or the promise of opportunity inherent in the American Dream itself.

Samuel Huntington, scholar and author of *The Clash of Civilizations*, has written that balancing these conflicts and disappointments is what most of American politics and government is about. Teddy Roosevelt put it this way: "From the very beginning our people have markedly combined practical capacity for affairs with power of devotion to an ideal." Therefore, our ability to solve big public problems—education, health care, the environment, national security—depends on a basic knowledge of the principles and characteristics of that ideal.

Moreover, we deny future generations the personal richness and confidence that develops from knowing where you come from and what you believe. Heroes leap off the pages of our history books, and they become role models. Landmark national events add color and context to everyday life. And courageous acts offer strength and resolve when we face our own personal trials. The human spirit is lifted when it is grounded in the past, and our children grow stronger when they are nurtured in the fertile soil of the American experience. ■

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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 Milestone For The *Carnegie Reporter*

The Carnegie Reporter is five years old. For a journalist like myself, and a poet—editor Eleanor Lerman's higher calling—producing a magazine of ideas is clearly a labor of love. We began the magazine with one goal in mind: to create an appealing space where ideas important to the Corporation could be explored and examined. We wanted it to be well written, provocative and probing.

Vartan Gregorian's vision for the magazine was simple—to become the expression of Andrew Carnegie's famous mandate to his foundation: to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge. We sought to be a hub for the best ideas, no matter what their origin and reflect the work, strategies, successes, priorities and plans of many foundations.

It's a bit ironic that our cover story at this five-year marker focuses on journalism and the threat it faces as technology and reading habits change the way Americans consume the news. Journalism is a business, but in America it is so much more: it is the front line of democracy, where the debate in our society about values, budgets, ideas, policies, peace and war is engaged. Journalism is at a pivotal juncture as the forces of change reshape the business; the quality of American discourse and debate awaits the shakedown. The Corporation is focusing on how tomorrow's journalists will be educated for a more complicated society, and will weigh in on that question later this year.

As mainstream news collapses information into bite-sized headlines available on cell phones and in Internet dispatches, others wanting more appear to be turning to niche magazines like the *Carnegie Reporter*, the Carnegie Endowment for Peace's *FP*, to *Boston Review* and others to read deeper into ideas beyond the headlines. For all of us, the longer-style stories live beyond these printed pages—on the Internet—thus becoming timeless, and searchable, no longer just simple liners for birdcages! We believe the word remains the dominant force in this information rich, information overloaded society and join with other journals, periodicals and magazines that have emerged in this more superficial journalistic environment to serve a public yearning for understanding, not just news.

Journalism is a profession that intrigued Andrew Carnegie, but his attempts at publishing a newspaper in Scotland failed. Journalism is a calling and profession that has shaped my life and it seemed right to begin a magazine in his name five years ago. With it we could revive his publishing and progressive dreams. He believed passionately knowledge would bring understanding, and we believe words are the route to both.

SUSAN ROBINSON KING
Vice President, Public Affairs

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