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**Think Tanks on
the Rise**

**Black-Latino
Tensions**

**Foundations Partner
on African Higher
Education**

Will Knowledge SURVIVE?

*Studying the Humanities
at African Universities*





PHOTO BY MICHAEL FALCO

A Time of Crisis Means A Time to Invest in Public Higher Education

by VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President, Carnegie Corporation of New York*

In 1967, California Governor Ronald Reagan had a bone to pick with the University of California. He suggested that the university was competing too much with the likes of Stanford University and other private universities. The latter, he said, should be focusing on the best

and brightest students and the public university system should be dealing with all the rest. "In short," reported *The New York Times*, "he seemed to think of the public university system as a sort of welfare agency to help those who couldn't [make it into] the prestigious private universities, academically or economically."

Unfortunately, then-Governor Reagan was—and is—hardly the only American to greatly underestimate the value of public higher education, including many distinguished graduates of public colleges and universities who are either defensive about their alma mater on the basis of class or because they are concerned about the perception of others that public education is second rate. Such Americans have come to accept the terrible notion that excellence is the exclusive province of the private sector, but that is just not true. I simply do not believe that democracy and excellence are mutually exclusive. Indeed, democracy is built on the rock-solid quality and effective-

Democracy is built on the rock-solid quality and effectiveness of its public institutions.

ness of its public institutions. In the 19th and 20th centuries, for example, all of our civic and public monuments—banks, railway stations, libraries, and museums—were built as monuments to democracy and to the fact that the public sector has to be excellent. But in regard to public education, it is as if Rachel Carson's classic *Silent Spring*, which warned of the decimation of the natural world because humanity was ignoring the dangers of pesticides, also models the not-so-benign neglect of public colleges and universities. "It was a spring without voices," Carson wrote. For public campuses across the nation, silence has reigned in all seasons; few voices have been raised in praise of the contributions that public higher education has made—and continues to make—to the strength and prosperity of the U.S. and our democracy.

Today, however, in the midst of a great economic crisis, it is incumbent upon our public research universities, state colleges, and community colleges to partner with the federal government and our states to help revitalize our nation's economy and educate the next generation of Americans to meet the challenges of global competition. These institutions are in a unique position to do so: with their millions of students, thousands of laboratories, and outreach that touches countless communities in rural and urban America, our great public colleges and universities, along with those in the private sector, have the capacity to produce the people, ideas, tools, solutions and knowledge infrastructure our economy needs to regain its momentum and set a new trajectory.

There are many lessons in our past to remind us that, during times of crisis, investing in public education is a way of helping to stabilize the present as well as endow the future. It was during the Civil War, for instance, that President Lincoln signed the Land Grant College Act, which permitted states to sell large tracts of federal land and use the proceeds to endow at least one public college in every state. Since their founding, land-grant colleges and

universities have awarded more than 20 million degrees. And while the Civil War still raged, President Lincoln signed another piece of landmark legislation that created the National Academy of Sciences.

Fast forward to the years following World War II, when major new investments aimed at improving the public good were implemented. The 1944 "G.I. Bill of Rights" made an already democratic higher education system open in ways that were previously inconceivable to most by providing access to postsecondary education to men and women who had never dreamt of going to college. The G.I. Bill and its legislative offspring enacted during the wars in Korea and Vietnam resulted in the public investment of more than \$60 billion in education and training for about 18 million veterans. A "second G.I. Bill," enacted in 1985 and updated in 2008, provides new educational funding for military personnel.

It was also after World War II that the federal government began supporting university research in a significant way. Prior to the war, the best research was done in Europe and in corporate laboratories. But a seminal report published in 1945 argued that it was the federal government's responsibility to provide adequate public funding for basic research, which pioneers the frontiers of human knowledge to the benefit of society. Congress agreed, and created the National Science Foundation to do this job in 1950.

It was a crisis of another kind—rising poverty and growing concerns about racial injustice—that spurred the "Great Society" programs of public investment passed during the administration of President Lyndon Johnson. Among these was a major educational landmark that further democratized educational access: the creation of federal loan guarantees and subsidy programs as well as outright grants for college students. In the 36 years since the 1973 v Grant program was created, for instance, almost \$130 billion in grants have been awarded to an estimated 87 million postsecondary students.

But nearly a decade into the 21st century, one could argue that we've gone in reverse when it comes to opening up opportunities for high-quality public education that is also geared toward preparing students to succeed in a knowledge-based global economy. While there are still many positives to highlight, such as the fact that some 80 percent of America's workforce, leadership and other talent comes from the public sector, the negatives include the reality that the public education sector is declining in its competitiveness vis-à-vis private institutions because of salary disparities and the inability to secure major philanthropic and corporate funding, among other issues. Another factor: states limit their state systems' tuition levels while at the same time, many states have drastically cut support for their higher education institutions. Examples include the public universities in Michigan, Missouri and Maryland, which only get somewhere between 12 and 14 percent of their funding from the state, though the perception of most Americans is that public colleges and universities are subsidized at much higher levels.

In addition to decimating state support for education, the current economic downturn has put additional pressures on public colleges and universities, including two-year colleges, because of a tidal wave of applications from students whose families, facing job losses and bankrupt savings accounts, can no longer afford a private institution. Now, traditional-aged undergraduates are finding themselves not only competing for seats in classrooms at their state universities and community colleges, but also with unemployed and under-employed adults who are returning to campus to upgrade their skills. Just one example from a report by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities provides a glimpse into the magnitude of this problem: "The California State University System recently announced the unprecedented move to reduce enrollment by 10,000 students across its 23-campus system for the fall 2009 term in order to address midyear budget cuts...that stem from plummeting state revenues. At the state's 109-institution community college system, suggestions have

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A Note About the *Carnegie Reporter*

Why do we publish what we do? At Carnegie Corporation we know we can't effect the changes we are focused on in education and international relations simply by giving grants. We fashioned this twice-yearly magazine as a hub for ideas and a place where we could share ideas and strategies we are exploring.

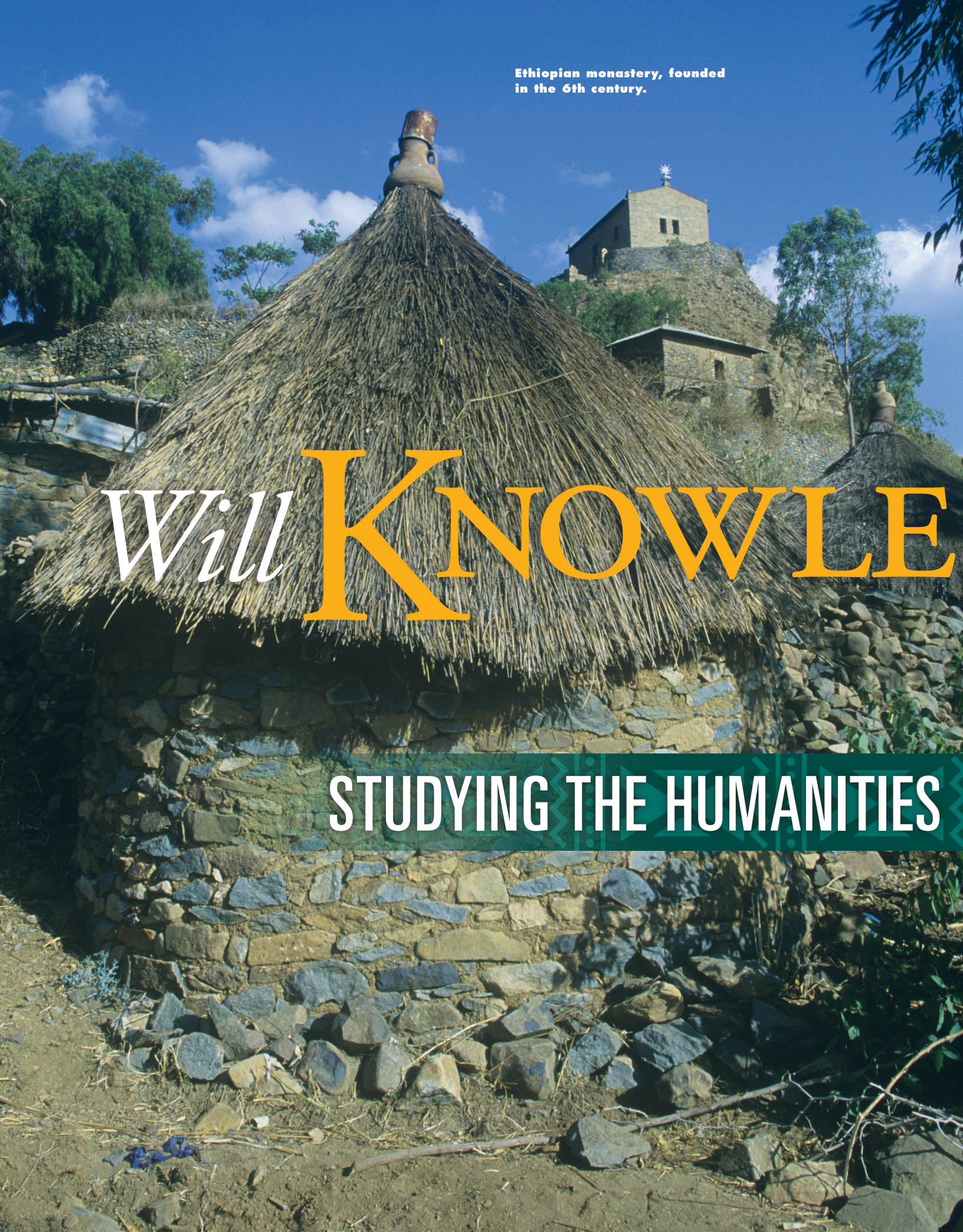
We sent South African-based journalist Kenneth Walker to tell the story of African scholars focused on the Humanities. Although not breaking news, this look at higher education in Africa is rich and fascinating and explains why our grant-making is now focused on encouraging a new generation of such scholars. The Corporation's Karen Theroux updates us on the seven-foundation partnership supporting African higher education that is ending after a decade.

I interviewed program officer Talia Milgrom-Elcott to explore the complicated strategy of changing how schools create human resource incentives to improve teaching and student outcomes. You can see a mind at work in this interview and a revolution underway in how teachers will view their jobs.

The Corporation has been building institutions for thinkers since before the term “think tank” was coined. Lee Michael Katz, a seasoned journalist, traces the rise of the “tanks” in Washington, D.C. and how influential they are, particularly during periods of change in presidential administrations. USC's Roberto Suro, who led the Pew Hispanic Center, previews his new book and challenges readers about the tensions between Latinos and blacks in the American drama of immigration.

We couldn't resist publishing General Colin Powell's moving speech at the City University of New York about the power of immigrants to renew the American promise. And, as always, we've included a few items on what's been happening at the Corporation. We hope you'll learn something you didn't know in this issue and that it will enrich your thinking and inform your work.

SUSAN KING, *Vice President, External Affairs and Program Director, Journalism Initiative, Special Initiatives and Strategy*

A photograph of an Ethiopian monastery. In the foreground, a large, conical thatched roof made of dried grass sits atop a wall of rough-hewn stones. A large, dark, rounded object, possibly a pot or a small shrine, sits on top of the thatch. In the background, another stone building with a cross on its roof is visible on a hillside under a blue sky with scattered clouds. The overall scene is a mix of traditional architecture and natural landscape.

Ethiopian monastery, founded
in the 6th century.

Will KNOWLE

STUDYING THE HUMANITIES

In the heart of the University of Ghana's Legon campus, in a gully alongside a road, sits a one-story building, three basketball courts long. More recently constructed than the surrounding structures, this building, divided into three equal spaces, houses lecture halls built to accommodate an explosion in the student population. On any given weekday, up to 1,000 students crowd into each room—sometimes spilling out onto the grassy knoll outside, where they have to strain to hear the lectures.

This scene represents a microcosm of the trends at many African uni-

cation in Africa, where there is serious debate about whether the humanities can thrive or even continue to exist. One key reason for this concern is that like much else at African universities, humanities faculties have undergone tremendous hardship following their heyday in the years after colonization. Back then, many European-trained African professors, flush with the nation-building inspiration of independence, produced a generation of internationally acclaimed scholars.

It was, in the words of Nigerian sociology professor Jimi Adesina, "The

James Angkaaraba Saanchi lectures freshmen in one of the huge halls at the University of Ghana. On this day, following his lecture, "The Nature of Language," a visibly tired Saanchi slumps into a chair in his office, jam-packed with papers, magazines and documents. In many ways, Saanchi's academic career tracks a similar history at many African universities.

"When I began my studies in the mid-70s," Saanchi says, "there were maybe 15 students in a typical class. Since I started lecturing in 1993, the student numbers have been increasing ever since. There are 700 students in my class. Some students don't even bother showing up for lectures. With this many students, they can't even ask questions. On our tests, we used to include questions that required written, essay type answers. Today, we just don't have time for that. Our tests are either multiple-choice or require true or false answers. Even with that, most lecturers can only schedule one test per term. Otherwise we would spend all our time marking papers."

The number of students at sub-Saharan universities has jumped more than 500 percent in twenty years, from 350,000 in 1975 to an estimated two million today. It's anybody's guess how

Kenneth Walker, who currently runs Lion House Production, a South African media company, 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.

versities—especially in the study of the humanities, which can be said to embrace the entire record of human achievement and includes the study of history, anthropology, language, culture, philosophy, literature, fine and performing arts and religion, among others. Based on this sweeping array, it might be easy to assume that the humanities would be at the core of any major university. But this is not the case at many institutions of higher edu-

Age of Triumph. Everything was possible. At the University of Ibadan, which I attended," Adesina says, "when you passed the natural sciences building at midnight, all the laboratory lights were on. The inspirational energy at many African universities at the time was electric. You could feel it." It was the same in Ghana and other sub-Saharan countries, which looked to their universities to provide the educated workforce needed for ambitious development agendas.

DGE by KENNETH WALKER

Survive?

AT AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

already overwhelmed universities will cope with the even greater demands of future population increases.

This explosion in the student population coincided with a series of catastrophic crises at African universities ranging from governance to finance. One key example was the conclusion reached in 1986 by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that, essentially, university funding in Africa was a waste of money compared to support for primary and secondary education. The privatization of education was mandated or encouraged,

Jimi Adesina recalls these years as, “the age of despair.” He says, “The feeling was palpable. In the 1980s, there was a major rupture. Humanities faculties suffered...Courses like philosophy and others withered. The conveyor belt that transferred knowledge from one African generation to another broke down.”

James Saanchi also remembers that time well. “In 1977 we had a military regime,” Saanchi says. “The atmosphere was very tense. The university would be closed for extended periods of time. The students were quite active. Some of

“Until then, when you finished studies abroad, you always came back to the university at home. But by the late 1980s, academic pay plummeted. And you couldn’t attract the best and brightest students anymore.”

This “brain drain” has had near fatal effects on African universities, some of whom host fewer of their native Ph.D.s than now live in the U.S. or Europe. At least a third of African Ph.D. holders live and work outside the continent. It has also severely handicapped the ability of African universities to replenish the ranks of their Ph.D.s. The University of



T*he number of students at sub-Saharan universities has jumped more than 500 percent in twenty years.*

and there were steep cuts in national education budgets. Even financial support sent to African postgraduate students for study in Europe or North America came to a complete halt. In addition, over the years, universities across sub-Saharan Africa were badly roiled by a combination of severe economic downturns, political turmoil, and an explosion in young populations clamoring for access. No aspect of university operations and scholarship was spared, and humanities faculties and courses arguably suffered the most.

At the same time, the commodity-based economies of most African countries took a nosedive, and political instability, including a wave of military coups, all had a negative impact on universities.

their leadership was pro-Communist. The military would frequently enter the campus. Students were killed.”

The experience in Ghana was replicated in many countries throughout Africa. Even when military coups were avoided, governments were often run by so-called “Big Men,” who dispensed with the inconvenience of opposition parties and elections. A further funding disincentive resulted from the fact that the humanities spawned political dissenters—intellectuals and artists all too willing to criticize government policies.

The deteriorating circumstances led to a mass exodus of African intellectuals. “That was when the brain drain started,” continues Adesina, who joined this exodus by leaving Nigeria to become a professor of sociology at South Africa’s Rhodes University.

Ghana, for example, awarded a total of only 15 Ph.D.s in the three years leading up to 2001. At the University of Ibadan, economics, the strongest department in the social sciences, produced only six Ph.D.s in a recent ten-year period.

Overall, faculty numbers at virtually every higher education institution have fallen woefully short of teaching needs. In Cote d’Ivoire, for instance, the numbers dropped from 828 in 1995 to 412 in 2000. Faculty levels in Uganda also dropped between 2005 and 2006. A 2002 report from Nigeria indicated that federal universities were understaffed by 50 percent and in some cases by 70 percent. Similarly low numbers are also found in Tanzania and Ghana. Other impacts are equally clear: in past years, lecturers at many universities had to hold Ph.D.s. Today, that is no longer



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James Angkaaraba Saanchi, Lecturer in Linguistics, University of Ghana.

possible. In addition, an “internal brain drain” has developed: academics have been increasingly deserting universities for employment in the private sectors, NGOs or government where pay and conditions are considerably better.

Reduction in faculty has produced a serious generational crisis in the middle ranks of the academic hierarchy. Nearly forty percent of current teachers and researchers at universities are either nearing or are in the process of retiring. Most of the remainder of faculty is at the junior level, leaving a serious shortage at the middle level of those able to move into leadership positions, be they administrative or intellectual.

Caught in the Middle

James Saanchi says one of the main reasons mid-level academics like himself can't climb the career ladder is the heavy burden of teaching and the low pay. “With the teaching here, there is so little time to think something through or to do serious research, he says. “And teaching is not lucrative. It's better than five or ten years ago, but salaries are still meager. People like me,” Saanchi continues, “who are married and have two kids,

must take extra jobs at private universities in order to pay for food, utilities and a car.”

The need by many African academics to engage in what some university officials refer to as “unbridled part-timing” is proving a large obstacle to the career paths of young academics because in addition to heavy teaching responsibilities, it prevents junior faculty from completing their research and dissertations. Incomplete and thus unpublished dissertations render their authors ineligible for promotion beyond the lecturer level through the

normal promotion process.

A report by the American Council of Learned Societies highlights further obstacles facing young academics. “They become doubly handicapped,” the report states, “both in performing classroom tasks and in inspiring those who should be following in their footsteps.” The report continues, “Competition for academic personnel is so severe that universities are recruiting under-prepared young faculty to administrative positions or promoting them to higher level faculty statuses—for example, lecturer to senior lecturer—outside normal procedures, that is, before they establish themselves as scholars who are known for their research and publishing records and, more importantly, before they are sufficiently qualified to communicate such skills to the next generation. In the end these pragmatic measures dilute the quality of classroom education.”

In regard to the study of the humanities, these issues have an ongoing effect. For example, the explosion in student numbers has resulted in a tragic irony for lecturers like Saanchi. Most of the torrent of students in humanities classes really would rather be someplace else.

Throughout Africa, students are clamoring for courses that will help them get jobs in information technologies, banks and businesses. Most of the students in Saanchi's class and other humanities courses had applied for one of the business-related courses but had to settle for study in the humanities. “This wasn't even the third choice for most of these students,” Saanchi explains. “They had to accept the courses if they wanted to attend the university at all.” He adds another troubling note: “A lot of graduates can't get jobs in banks and business, where the pay is two or three times what a lecturer is making. Many of these disappointed graduates end up teaching in primary or secondary schools.”

South Africa has avoided many, but not all, the problems of humanities faculties in sub-Saharan Africa. Although South Africa has more money to allocate for academic research than do other sub-Saharan countries, its funds go heavily into utilitarian and applied projects, with only tiny sums directed toward support of the humanities disciplines because they are regarded as impractical—not contributing to economic or political development.

South Africa is also experiencing both sides of the brain drain issue. The country is losing academics to the West, but because of its relative stability and higher life style, its universities have served as a strong magnet for academic expatriates from other African countries, like Jimi Adesina.

South Africa also is very much a part of the overarching debate affecting virtually all humanities scholarship throughout the continent—the issue of reclaiming African knowledge from European domination. “Africans are just shadows under the table of history written by Europeans,” is the description used by Dr. Mgwebi Snail, with South Africa's Vista University. Across Africa, humanities scholars are doing all they

can to upend this table. One critical area of their work focuses on reinterpreting the definitions Europeans have placed on African people, places and events.

This struggle of redefinitions and language is as old as the universities themselves. The struggle is fundamental, as these European definitions still hold sway in many African education systems, meaning African educators are continuing to pass these European definitions on to their children.

“We are in a grand struggle of interpretations and definitions,” says Dr. Adama Samassekou, the executive secretary of the African Academy of Languages (ACALAN) and a former minister of education in Mali. “The issue of knowing self is fundamental to values in Africa. Without our own identity, we are just objects of history being used by others. And language is fundamental to identity.” He continues, “The schools we have today are not African. Most African children begin learning in the language of other people. We are still using the steps of the colonial system. We must reconstruct the cultural identity of learners. We must reform programs everywhere in African history and language. I am very optimistic that this can be done.”

A similar idea is voiced by Ntombenhle Nkosi, CEO of the Pan South African Language Board, a government entity responsible for ensuring that all eleven of the country’s official languages are treated equally. She says, “I believe the education system in our country has failed to eradicate the myth that Africans needed to be saved from their savagery...The failure of the education system to present a balanced view in the production, dissemination and maintenance of knowledge in the last 200 years lies in the fact that the education system is largely dominated by...white scholars. The arguments often raised are that African languages do

not have the necessary sophistication to represent concepts in the English language—thinking that has led to African children being forced to learn through the medium of colonial languages and learn those languages at the expense of their mother tongues.”

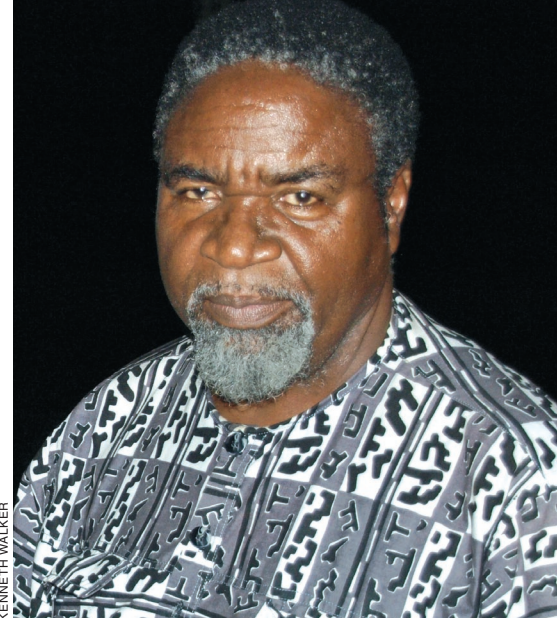
The Age of Recovery

Despite many setbacks, Africa is now, in the words of Nigeria’s Jimi Adesina, “in The Age of Recovery,” albeit one that is being experienced very unevenly across the continent. The glue that holds the Age of Recovery together, Adesina says, is an uncompromising aversion to the notion that Africa and Africans are to be studied as “others by others.”

As an example, Adesina noted that “anthropology was born of a European intellectual division of labor. When [Europeans] stayed home and studied their own people, they did sociology. When they went abroad to study other people, ate strange food and learnt strange customs and languages, they did anthropology. The result is that similar phenomena in other parts of the world are ‘explained’ differently.”

Modern African humanities scholars, Adesina insists, “must use a method of scholarship rooted in the collective self without regard to what Westerners have to say or think about us. Afro-centrism is nothing more than a legitimate demand that African scholars study their society from inside and cease to be purveyors of an alienated intellectual discourse... When Africans speak for themselves and about themselves, the world will hear the authentic voice, and will be forced to come to terms with it.”

The struggle to use research to assert African knowledge on its own terms is yielding many interesting results. Some of the work is being conducted by Professor Kofi Anyidoho, the director of the Humanities Institute of the Council for the Development of Social



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Kofi Anyidoho, Director of the Humanities Institute of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa and Professor of Literature, University of Ghana.

Science Research in Africa. Also a professor of literature at the University of Ghana, Anyidoho believes, “There is a whole world of knowledge waiting to be unpacked.”

One example he cites is music, noting, “It’s one of the ways in which Africans document important and historical events. There is a lot of music and dance waiting to be decoded. Architecture is another. In northern Ghana, many people used to wonder why so many houses had very short doors built for the inside rooms, so that you have to kneel to enter each room. It is only now that we are learning that this was a defense against slave catchers and other invaders.”

Other research, Anyidoho says, revealed how “certain plants were used to make captured slaves more pliable, to make them forget their lives as free people. One of these leaves was taken from something that was named the Tree of Forgetfulness. People in Benin developed ceremonies to undo the forgetfulness.”

The Humanities Institute is trying to ensure that most of its research is captured on video and audio record-

ings. “Even now,” Anyidoho continues, “we remain predominately oral in the production of knowledge. We must use technology to preserve our own knowledge systems.”

Preserving the Past to Serve the Future

Ghanaian scholar J.H. Kwabena Nketia, professor emeritus of the University of Ghana and director of the International Center for African Music and Dance, is a pioneer in the area of preserving African knowledge. Nketia is a world-renowned musicologist and

resources [or study]. Everything was focused on London and other places... This was the condition of just about all the universities in newly independent African countries,” he explains. “They more or less just continued the curriculum and language of instruction they inherited from the colonial powers. But a new consciousness of the lack of African foundation became very strong among the founding class of African scholars,” he adds “The problem was that the materials were not there.” Nketia, therefore, set out to find them.

He first achieved renown in 1955 with his examination of funeral dirges among local peoples in Ghana. He explains that, “I collected all kinds of dirges, talking drums and other local songs on tape. Funeral dirges were important sources of oral literature, history and philosophy. This came as a great surprise to a lot of people who thought of this music as simply a bunch of drumming, dancing and singing. These dirges were extremely rich in history. They were structured, and taught to children who would sing these songs as they went to fetch water. In this way, the histories of people were passed on.”

Ghanaians were among the earliest leaders of the Africa-wide challenge to achieve respect for indigenous knowledge. With the support of the Pan-Africanist government of Kwame Nkrumah, the University of Ghana established an Institute for African Studies. “Nkrumah wanted a big institute,” Nketia says. “We were the first to set up a graduate program in African studies. We had music, religion, etc. We had research fellows in

all these areas. This was a big transition. We were also giving diplomas...All of this was going on at the same time as the political movement at universities across Africa,” Nketia adds.

The highpoint for the humanities came after independence, Nketia recalls. “It was in the performing arts. The government came to see me about Africanizing the independence ceremonies. We introduced our own traditional music into the ceremony. The events we had for celebrating independence were full of singing and dancing. We brought traditional drummers and praise singers. I composed some of the songs. So there was a link between African studies on the campus and the cultural movement in the country.”

Nketia recalls how those heady days in Ghana and other African countries gave way to military coups and authoritarian rulers who began a steady retreat from their initial support for dreams of grand universities. “The people still had the enthusiasm,” he adds, “but governments were not progressing. They were going backwards. I tell people that I survived all the coups in Ghana.”

A Challenge to the West

Although the heart of the firmament in African academia involves the assertion of African definitions of African people, places and phenomena, some of the research also challenges Western tenets regarded as unquestionable. For example, human rights and liberal democracy are being faced with unprecedented challenges.

Leading the charge is one of the world’s foremost authorities on human rights law, Professor Makau Mutua, a Kenyan, who is dean of the University of Buffalo Law School, State University of New York.

Mutua, the author of *Human Rights: A Political and Cultural Critique*



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J.H. Kwabena Nketia (R.), Professor Emeritus of the University of Ghana and Director of the International Center for African Music and Dance.

composer; the most published and best-known authority on African music and aesthetics. At 87 years old and still very much active, Nketia has seen it all.

He was deeply involved in the 1957 creation of the University of Ghana. “The University was a British kind of thing when it started,” Nketia recalls. “In fact, it was called the London University College. It was a time when we really didn’t have much in terms of African

(University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), argues that unless and until “the human rights project goes beyond its predominant focus on political despotism and addresses economic despotism, it will be of limited use in Africa.” Building on that theme in a widely disseminated lecture, Mutua noted, “Third World scholars like myself come to the study of human rights with a considerable degree of discomfort and an in-built sense of alienation. With an alarming frequency, liberalism’s key tenets have been deployed to advance narrow, sectarian, hateful, and exclusionary practices and ideas.”

instance, was not represented at the drafting table at all. Instead, movement scholars and activists paint it as a universal creed driven by nobility and higher human intelligence. It implies that questioning its doctrine is perverse and unwelcome.”

“In terms of power or lack of it, and the consequent violations, there are no more important words than ‘capitalism, imperialism, colonialism,’ and ‘apartheid,’” says Mutua. “Yet the UDHR—the single most important human rights document—sanctions the right to private property. How credible is a document that calls itself a ‘common

This runaway notion of individualism, which is a central tenet of liberalism, has retarded the capacity of human rights thinkers to moderate selfishness with community interests. In other words, the individual should be placed within the society and constructed in such a way that he does not overwhelm his fellow beings or the society itself. The individual need not necessarily be placed at the center of the moral universe. Otherwise, the vices and abominations of globalization are bound to overcome the human race.”

Mutua calls for a “re-imagination of liberalism to make it useful for the



F*or rights to make sense in the African context, one has to go beyond the individual and address group identities.*

Mutua takes particular aim at the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which he calls the founding document of the modern human rights movement. “We ought to approach all claims of universality with caution and trepidation,” he says. “The drafters of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) could only have succeeded by presenting the human rights idea as universal, nonpartisan, acultural, ahistorical, and nonideological.” Mutua argues that the declaration was anything but universal. “Surprisingly, there was not an extended discussion about the political nature of the society that would be yielded by the UDHR,” he continues. “These are glaring omissions, especially for the launch of a universal creed. Africa, for

standard of achievement for all peoples and nations’ if it does not recognize that at its writing most of the global South was under European colonial rule and subject to the vilest economic exploitation by the merchants of capital? It is difficult to believe that such an omission was an oversight.”

The primary African objection to Western human rights precepts, according to Mutua, is that, “the human rights corpus views the individual as the center of the moral universe, and therefore denigrates communities, collectives, and group rights. This is a particularly serious problem in Africa, where group and community rights are both deeply embedded in the cultures of the peoples and exacerbated by the multinational nature of the postcolonial state.

African reality,” and cites as an example the widely hailed constitution of post-apartheid South Africa. “Indeed,” Mutua insists, “for rights to make sense in the African context, one has to go beyond the individual and address group identities in the political and economic framework of the state. Even in South Africa, for example, one of the states with an avowedly liberal interpretation of [individual] rights, there was an accommodation of group rights to language, culture, and other forms of identity. One way political democracy deals with the question of multiple nations within one state is to grant autonomous regimes for groups or to devolve powers through forms of federalism.”

Other researchers have looked at African culture, fashion, architecture



Ghanaian Kente Cloth: the geometric patterns are an example of African fractals.

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and art and helped make surprising new discoveries in indigenous mathematics.

Dr. Ron Eglash, associate professor at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York, has written a book called *African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design* (Rutgers University Press, 1999). Abdul Karim Bangura, a Sierra Leonean author and former president of the Association of Third World Studies, hailed Eglash's book as "bound to be regarded as one of the greatest books on African studies produced in this century. This brilliant, scientific work," Bangura continued, "contributes significantly towards shattering long-held myths and misconceptions about Africans (both on the Continent and in the Diaspora), the most pervasive and pernicious of which is the notion of Africans as inactive agents in history—a people devoid of writing systems, technological background and culture."

Fractal geometry has emerged as one of the most exciting frontiers in the fusion between mathematics and information technology. Fractals can be observed in many of the swirling pat-

terns produced by computer graphics, and they have become a vital tool for modeling in the natural sciences. While fractal geometry can allow one to get into the far reaches of high tech science, its patterns are surprisingly common in traditional African designs. Cornrow braids and Ghanaian Kente cloth textiles are but two examples of African fractals—geometric patterns that are repeated on smaller and smaller scales to produce intricate designs.

Eglash's research began in the 1980s while investigating settlement architecture in Central and West Africa. Aerial photographs of various settlement compounds revealed that many were composed of circular structures enclosed in other circles, or rectangles within rectangles, and that the compounds were likely to have street patterns in which broad avenues branched into very small footpaths.

As Eglash notes, at first he thought it was just a result of social dynamics. But during his fieldwork, he found that fractal designs also appear in a wide variety of intentional designs—carving, hairstyling, metalwork, painting,

textiles—and the recursive process of fractal algorithms are even employed in African quantitative systems

While in Africa, Eglash encountered some of the most complex fractal systems in religious activities, such as the sequence of symbols used in sand divination, a method of fortune telling found in Senegal. Some of his other findings include the use of sophisticated mathematical ideas in everyday objects. In the region of the Sahel, for example, artisans produce windscreens by utilizing a scaling design that gives them the maximum effect—keeping out the wind-driven dust—for the minimum amount of effort and material.

Supporting the Humanities

Recognizing the need to support the enrichment of research and learning in the humanities at African universities, such institutions as Carnegie Corporation of New York have stepped in to provide assistance. The Corporation, for example, is providing a four-year, \$5 million grant to the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) to work with a variety of African universities and other organizations to develop scholarly capacity in the humanities. The funds will support approximately two hundred doctoral and postdoctoral fellowships for researchers and current faculty in Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda who, because of their teaching load, have little time to devote to research and publication. The awards will be of particular benefit to academics who have not yet completed their doctoral dissertations by funding time away from teaching that will enable them to complete the necessary research and writing.

To complement the fellowships, the initiative will also support the preparation of publications resulting from postdoctoral research. In addition to these subventions, and to facili-

tate the management of the initiative, the ACLS will develop a web site to facilitate the applications process and to disseminate information about the research and publications sponsored by awards. In addition, the grant will help to establish a knowledge network for humanities researchers and faculty, in part by engaging eminent scholars to lead research-design and writing workshops, advise on program progress, and maintain oversight of research quality. To combat the isolation that so often plagues scholars in Africa, the initiative will promote contact and cooperation among scholarly communities in Africa and other parts of the world, and may include the creation of networked teams of researchers working on issues across and within regional boundaries.

It is hoped that efforts such as these will have some limiting effect on the ongoing brain drain problem besetting African universities. Professor Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, head of the Department of African American Studies at the University of Illinois, suggests that more needs to be done in this area. He says, "We need creative strategies. We can continue bemoaning the brain drain and engage in mutual recriminations. Or we can pursue 'brain gain' through the return option in which international migrants are encouraged and enticed to physically return to the continent—something Indian and Chinese professionals have done successfully." In addition, he continues, "there is the option that recognizes the migrants as new Diasporas and seeks to build effective strategies of 'brain mobility' or circulation between them and their countries of origin and the continent as a whole."

This trend is well underway, Zeleza points out. "There is an explosion of African knowledge networks and linkages with counterparts in the continent. There are new linkages in teaching,

research and public service. There are joint appointments, online investments, curriculum co-developments, joint research projects, and truly collaborative research. These trends must be accelerated and become more focused."

Zeleza also points to the appointment of increasing numbers of Africans to important positions in some of the large American foundations, such as Ford, MacArthur, Rockefeller and Carnegie Corporation. He believes this offers African intellectuals on the continent and in the Diaspora an opportunity to promote new research linkages and practices. Similarly, he adds, "the appointment of Africans in senior administrative positions in African studies programs provide a basis for building new Africanist research cultures and practices. The establishment of mutually beneficial institutional linkages and support between African researchers across the Atlantic and Mediterranean constitutes another area in which migrant African intellectuals could advance research in and on Africa."

Zeleza explains that Africans migrants are already the continent's biggest donors, sending \$150 billion annually in remittances. This sum exceeds foreign direct investment and official development assistance combined. And he believes that greater academic collaboration is inevitable. "Neither Africa nor the Diaspora can succeed in this ruthlessly competitive globalizing world without the other," he says. "The Diaspora will continue to be molested by racism and denigration as long as Africa remains underdeveloped, and Africa only stands to benefit and accelerate its prospects of development by maximizing the contributions of the Diaspora and by recognizing that it constitutes a strategic asset possessing enormous social, financial, and intellectual capital.

Zeleza accepts that many migrants may not be able or want to return permanently to their native countries. "But the contemporary revolution in telecommunications and travel has compressed the distances between home and abroad," he suggests. "This offers migrants unprecedented opportunities to be transnational, to be people of two worlds, perpetually trans-located, physically and culturally, between several countries or several continents. They are thus, uniquely positioned to help bring the resources and knowledge of the global north to Africa and to bring the knowledge of Africa to the global north. Globalization is not simply facilitating the rapid flows of capital and commodities, but also revitalizing old cultural and community networks, thus strengthening transnational ethnic, racial, and national identities."

Zeleza makes five recommendations to accelerate this collaboration.

1. Joint appointments in African and Western universities could enable academics to teach in Africa during a designated period, which would foster interaction not only between researchers but students, too, as well as expand and enrich knowledge in both areas of the globe.

2. The Internet offers unprecedented opportunities for collaboration between African scholars in the West and their counterparts on the continent. The establishment of virtual universities also offers a unique opportunity to utilize African intellectuals in the West and link them to students and colleagues on the continent.

3. Migrant African intellectuals should take advantage of study abroad programs sponsored by their institutions and various consortia. They should also encourage the development of more such programs in Africa that are available to African students.

4. Migrant African intellectuals should participate in existing, or in estab-

lishing new national and regional specialized institutes. Such institutes offer unique opportunities for concentrated and short-term teaching and training. Examples include the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA), headquartered in Senegal, which was established in 1973 as an “independent Pan-African research organization with a primary focus on the social sciences, broadly defined”; and the Ethiopian-based Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA), “a regional membership-based and donor-supported

enthusiastically agreeing with Zeleza after hearing his presentation at the international conference on the humanities that took place in Stellenbosch, South Africa.

Negash moved to Ohio four years ago after the government of Eritrea shut down the University of Asmara. “I had worked there because I care about the country. I care about African knowledge. I returned to Eritrea from Holland where I had been studying because I wanted to contribute to building the nation.”

For the first several years, Negash said, “things went well in Eritrea in terms of reconstruction and a cultural

and African students. I am developing a database of African languages with a Kenyan librarian.” Forcefully, he adds, “Africa cannot separate itself from the rest of the world. It must have its own culture *and* be part of the world. Africa needs to gain from the [West] and the [West] needs to gain from Africa.”

Negash refuses to be apologetic about living outside Africa. “Africans deserve to be wherever they can be. Their identity is not tied to a place. We contribute to knowledge production. Identity is not about the past. It’s very much about the future.”



There is an explosion of African knowledge networks and linkages with counterparts in the continent.

research and capacity-building organization whose mission is to promote dialogue and interaction between researchers and policy-makers in Eastern and Southern Africa with a view to enhancing the impact of research on policy-making and development planning.”

5. Migrant African intellectuals should contribute to curriculum development in African institutions through informal and formal communications with their colleagues on the continent; informally, through personal contacts, and formally, through linkages between their institutions in the West and African institutions.

Something Wonderful?

African literature professor Chirmai Negash is an Eritrean teaching at the University of Ohio. He found himself

renaissance. But then we had the border war with Ethiopia. After that, there was growing opposition to the government. Some ministers and intellectuals called for a constitutional and democratic government. Things went in the wrong direction after that. The government would not tolerate dissent. They wanted to silence critical thinking. The government closed the university and I was out of a job.”

Once in his new teaching position in Ohio, Negash said he began to realize that his knowledge was more important than ever. “I really care about African literature and language and generating knowledge about Africa. I can continue to contribute to nation building. I can represent African voices of dissent in the global space. I can teach African literature and language to top American

Negash notes that these issues became especially clear to him on the night Barack Obama was elected president of the United States. He says, “For the second time in three years, my ten-year-old daughter asked me why we moved to America. The first time she asked, I had no answer for her. I guess I hadn’t fully digested all the reasons, which I am discussing now. But on the night Obama was elected,” Negash continues, “it all came together. Africa and its universities are still moving away from its fairly recent colonial past. They are still evolving. None of us is certain exactly where they will wind up. But at least on that election night, while talking with my daughter, I could believe that Africa is moving toward something new—perhaps even something wonderful.” ■



Think tanks as conveners:
Barack Obama speaking at an
"Opportunity 08" Tax Policy
Center event sponsored by the
Brookings Institution and the
Urban Institute.

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PHOTO COURTESY RALPH ALSWANG

When Rep. Jane Harman, a key intelligence expert in Congress, sought a firsthand impression of Russian President Dmitri Medvedev during his trip to Washington, the opportunity came not in a formal room at the Capitol or at the White House, but at an event sponsored by a think tank in a Dupont Circle mansion.

During a lightning trip to the nation's capital for an emergency economic summit in November 2008, Medvedev still took time out to address The Council on Foreign Relations. Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright served as the high-powered moderator for a packed audience eager to learn the Russian president's views on relations with the soon-to-be-installed Obama Administration.

Those in attendance ranged from

NBC's then-*Meet The Press* moderator Tom Brokaw to influential California Democratic Congresswoman Harman. While seeing Russia's recently elected president was "a first" for Council member Harman, the institutional setting wasn't. "I'm a great fan of think tanks," she says with policy wonk enthusiasm.

"I go to a number of them," Rep. Harman adds, rattling off the names of the Brookings Institution, American Enterprise Institute (AEI), Center For Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) and Center for American Progress, which along with the Heritage Foundation, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Cato Institute are dominant players in think-tank-laden Washington. "I see it as an opportunity to have experiences different from what I get at work," Harman says.

Rep. Harman's remarks symbolize the view of many that think tanks are major players in Washington. They can be seen as almost a fourth branch of government, influencing Congress, U.S. federal agencies and presidential administrations.

The rise of think tanks in recent decades may reach a pinnacle during the Obama era. At its zenith is a new liberal think tank, the Center for American Progress. The Center was designed to bring about the election of a Democrat, then played a major role in President Obama's transition and is now supplying some top officials to his administration.

The start of a new presidential administration is a busy season for think tanks as they strive to show the worth of their ideas and their policy clout. Like accountants every April, every four years think tanks are immersed in a

AMERICAN Think Tanks

by
LEE MICHAEL KATZ

THEIR INFLUENCE IS ON THE RISE



frenzy of work. Instead of piles of tax returns, they file a blizzard of Internet memorandums, publications and even books of suggestions for the new administration. Studies were so plentiful that Carnegie Corporation created a web site entitled “Advice To The President,”¹ which included many think tank reports on subjects ranging from Afghanistan to U.S. economic policy.

“This is a particularly important time, a competition for people’s attention span,” explains Jessica Tuchman Mathews, President of the Carnegie Endowment. “The early period [of a presidential administration] is a time when new policy is made.”

University of Pennsylvania professor James McGann, who studies think

tanks, cites their “tremendous influence” and “demonstrable impact” on the ideas and policies that are formulated in Washington. “You read *The Washington Post*, it quotes representatives from think tanks,” he says. “These institutions are constantly meeting, formally or informally, with members of Congress.”

Lee Hamilton has seen their effect from both sides as a retired 34-year member of Congress who now heads the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington. “I think the role of think tanks in this town is hugely important,” he observes. “They really are an incubator of ideas for policy.”

Another facet of “the tanks,” as they are known colloquially in Washington, is providing a standing government talent pool for new presidents. “Many of the think tanks are developing tal-

ent for a new administration. You will see a large number of people leaving the think tanks to go into the Obama administration,” Hamilton predicts.

While Britain has a formalized government-in-waiting for a political party out of power, the United States lacks

Lee Michael Katz is a Washington, D.C., area freelance writer who has long observed the role of think tanks on national and foreign policy issues. He won a Stanley Foundation Reporting Project Journalism Award in 2007. Katz’s work has appeared in Carnegie Results and numerous magazines and web sites, as well as The Washington Post and through The New York Times Syndicate. Previously, Katz was national reporter and Senior Diplomatic Correspondent at USA Today and Managing Editor/International of UPI.

¹www.advicetothepresident.org

such a system. But “think tanks in the United States are the closest thing we have to a shadow government,” observes P.J. Crowley, a Clinton Administration national security official now at the Center for American Progress.

In his book *A Capitol Idea: Think Tanks and U.S. Foreign Policy* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006), Donald Abelson notes that think tanks “often serve as ‘holding tanks’ where policy experts congregate in hopes of being recruited into senior government positions.” Many might wind up as assistant and deputy assistant secretaries of Cabinet departments or as mid-to high-level political appointees in federal agencies.

But the Bush administration included perhaps the most powerful next-in-line of succession think-tank recruits: Vice President Dick Cheney, from the American Enterprise Institute, along with Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice from the Hoover Institution.

President Barack Obama’s appointments include think tank veterans tapped for high-level positions in different areas of government including Cabinet under-secretaries. President Obama also reached into the think tank world for two top foreign policy and national security positions. Susan Rice, from the Brookings Institution, is the new U.N. Ambassador. National Security Adviser James Jones was Chairman of the Board of the Atlantic Council, a Washington think tank focused on U.S.-European relations.

A Field Where America Leads

One reason for their prominence is the sheer number of powerful U.S. think tanks. Other nations may export goods to America, but the United States still leads the world in think tank production. McGann and a team of 30 interns surveyed think tanks across the globe. They found that the U.S. housed 1,777 of 5,000 think tanks worldwide.

The “unique” power of U.S. think tanks is a “distinguishing characteristic” of America, McGann notes. European nations, for example, have numerous political parties with strong intellectual arms. “In other countries, think tanks do not have the same degree of independence and influence.”

While American prominence in the field is clear, even experts concede that the definition of a think tank tends to be in the eye of the beholder. “Basically, I see them as public policy research, analysis and engagement institutions,” states McGann. “A necessity of think tanks is to engage policymakers, the media and the public in order to be effective.”

 *Think tanks often serve as “holding tanks” where policy experts congregate in hopes of being recruited into senior government positions.*

Former Congressman Hamilton also salutes the policy aspect of think tanks. “What has distinguished them from an academic institution,” he says, is “they know what the cutting-edge questions of policy are.”

But concerns about advocacy and differences in perspective have caused both Hamilton’s Woodrow Wilson Center and the contracting giant RAND to shy away from the term “think tank,” though others apply that label to them. “Lots of folks still describe us that way,” RAND Vice President Lindsey Kozberg acknowledges.

No matter who accepts the label, successful think tanks need to know their place, according to the Carnegie Endowment’s Mathews, “as a bridge between government, academia, business and, depending on the issue, science. Good ones recognize that their role is

not to be academic outside of academia or try to be government policymakers outside of government,” she says.

“Think tanks tends to emphasize what should be a sensible strategy,” notes former Secretary of State George Shultz. “People who are close to the problems can easily get dominated by tactics. That’s the contribution of the think tanks: strategy.”

Carnegie Corporation Right at the Start

Though flourishing in today’s Internet world, American think tanks began as an early 20th century idea, with the first of today’s top institu-

tions starting to emerge before World War I. The Bookings Institution and the Carnegie Endowment were created in the early 1900s. Their rise was fostered by President Woodrow Wilson’s distrust of academic experts in government and Andrew Carnegie’s quest for world peace.

In fact, Andrew Carnegie marked his 75th birthday in 1910 by announcing a \$10 million donation to create the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Its charge, he explained, was to “hasten the abolition of international war, the foulest blot upon our civilization.”

One of the Endowment’s first trustees was a former U.S. ambassador, Robert S. Brookings, who would later create his own institution. Due to its size and longevity, “Brookings is the granddaddy of them all,” declares Murray Weidenbaum, author of *The*



Former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (R.) and Russian President Dmitri Medvedev at an event hosted by the Council on Foreign Relations at the Washington Club on November 15, 2008.

Competition of Ideas: The World of Washington Think Tanks (Transaction Publishers, 2008), and a noted economist who runs a Washington University Center named after him.

Three organizations, including the Institute for Government founded by Robert Brookings a decade earlier, merged in 1927 to create Brookings, which remains a Washington giant. A significant Carnegie Corporation grant helped to provide the economic strength to back the merger and finance economic research that proved critical when the Depression struck at the end of the Roaring Twenties.

"We have Carnegie Corporation to thank for getting off the ground," declares Brookings President Strobe Talbott. The Corporation gave an initial gift of \$1.65 million over 10 years starting in 1922, according to Brookings Managing Director William Antholis. Smaller gifts followed from 1929 to 1940, as America grappled with the Depression.²

A decade later, World War II provided the impetus for the creation of the term "think tank" according to some accounts, with the name originally used

to refer to brainstorming groups dealing with thorny military issues.

After the war, RAND claims to be the first organization to be called a think tank, following its 1948 founding. RAND became a power based on government contracts and corporate support. A little more than a decade later, a new think tank emerged that would view itself as "the most powerful of the powerless."

Marcus Raskin was a White House aide in his 20s, but soon learned even John Kennedy's Camelot had to deal with political reality rather than "moral" questions. With another disaffected Kennedy Administration official, in 1963 he founded the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), which became a brand name for its unabashedly left-wing tone.

The IPS Dupont Circle headquarters was packed with visitors during the "uproar" of the 1960s. "Very quickly, with the Vietnam war, the civil rights movement, the women's movement, the Institute became a place where different people from the movements came. People came in from demonstra-

tions," Raskin recalls, and "camped out in the offices. Early on," Raskin notes, "we had predicted that Vietnam would be a disaster."

Tens of thousands of copies of an IPS anti-war *Vietnam Reader* (which became a kind of textbook for anti-war teach-ins) were distributed in 1965. Raskin was indicted on federal charges during Lyndon Johnson's administration with a group of other anti-war activists including Benjamin Spock. "The charge was encouraging people to resist the draft," Raskin says, but remembers, "I won before the jury."

While one left-wing think tank rankled the notoriously mercurial Johnson, he found the mainstream Brookings Institution far more to his liking. On Brookings' 50th anniversary in 1966, Johnson's speech saluted the "influence of scholars and thinkers" on his Great Society reforms. He delivered a memorable line about the think tank. "You are a national institution, so important" to the executive branch, "the Congress and the country," Johnson declared, "that if you did not exist, we would have to ask someone to create you."

²In the ensuing years, the Corporation has made grants totaling over \$16 million to support various Brookings Institution programs and activities.



WASHINGTON, D.C.

Location, Location, Location.

Washington is known as the epicenter of the think tank world.

There are 374 think tanks in Washington, according to a survey carried out by University of Pennsylvania professor James McGann. That number is not only the most in the United States, the capital's think tank total is more than in all of Great Britain or any other country in the world.

"Think Tank Row" in D.C. is centered around the city's lively Dupont Circle. Nearby on Massachusetts Avenue, Brookings and the Carnegie Endowment sit side by side in imposing buildings taking up half a city block. Both are abuzz on a Friday afternoon with policy luncheons and other events.

Across the street is the modern black-fronted Peterson Institute for International Economics. Peterson's next-door neighbors are the Center for Global Development and Center For Policy Studies. The embassy of Uzbekistan barely squeezes in next to Johns Hopkins University's international studies school and its Center For Transatlantic Relations.

Working Washington is a compact city and other major think tanks are not far away. The American Enterprise Institute and the Center for Strategic and International Studies are in prime downtown D.C. locations. Heritage occupies a large building on Capitol Hill, just a stroll away from Congressional offices.

In Washington, the think tank connection extends beyond the workday. The collegiality and impact of think tanks is so rooted in D.C. that for decades they have had their own softball league, taking out competitive rivalries with games played in the shadows of Washington's monuments.

Even out-of-town institutions strive for a Washington presence. In January, the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations opened its new Washington building, blocks from the White House and the World Bank. And RAND may be headquartered in California, but it has a large "campus" in the Washington suburb of Arlington with hundreds of employees.

No matter what a think tank's ideological stripes are, a physical presence in the capital can be linked to policy influence.

After a few years in California, the Cato Institute's libertarian operation moved to Washington. Even for an organization seeking less government, a D.C. location is critical. "If you're sitting there in San Francisco, throwing out these tirades against government, it's going to be heavily discounted," explains Cato founder Crane.

But one major American think tank, the Hoover Institution, flourishes in California, thousands of miles away from Washington, on the campus of Stanford University. Hoover has the "disadvantage" of being far from D.C., admits George Shultz, who has spent much of his career as a quintessential Washington power player. "But it has the advantage of not being in Washington, so you tend not to be working on whatever issues are titillating people in Washington at the moment." As an example, he cites the "gigantic impact" of a Hoover fellow and economist, the late Milton Friedman. "We're talking about the world of ideas here," Shultz declares, "and you don't have to be in Washington to have an idea."

In the early 1970s, Raskin's decidedly liberal activities earned a place on Richard Nixon's enemies list, which he cites as a point of intellectual pride. "The interesting thing is that as the political parties gave up having ideas, think tanks emerged. Think tanks became the place where ideas began to germinate."

But in 1976, the Washington car bombings of two IPS staffers, Orlando Letelier, a former diplomat who opposed the Chilean dictatorship and Roni Moffitt, brought the global impact of those ideas home in a deadly fashion. The Institute commemorates its fallen staffers with the Letelier-Moffitt Human Rights awards.

During the mid to late 1970s, an ideological revolution occurred: the think tank pendulum swung decidedly right. Raskin recalls with a touch of irony that when the Heritage Foundation started, "one of its early monographs was a discussion of IPS saying the Institute never had enough money, but we'll have enough money and we'll be able to do on the right what they could only partly do on the left."

Backed by beer magnate Joseph Coors and others, Heritage set out in 1974 to have a conservative impact on Congress and the White House. "People would come up with wonderful, principled positions that free markets were good, but they wouldn't be able to translate that into specific legislative proposals," explains Edwin Feulner, founder and President of Heritage.

Ronald Reagan's election in 1980 provided a turning point for Heritage. Aided by 450 volunteers, Heritage put together a massive document, the *Mandate for Leadership*, calling for conservative changes across government. "It was our coming of age," Feulner says. "It made us serious participants in the policy process." Reagan is said to have given the *Mandate* book to every one of his Cabinet secretaries. And "what made

the Heritage name,” Feulner observes, “was when Ronald Reagan called us both his favorite think tank and the feisty new kid on the conservative block.”

Like political power, think tank influence flowed back and forth among Republican and Democratic-oriented lines in the next two decades. The 1990s brought a response to Heritage from the Democrats. The Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) became a rarity among think tanks as a partner of the Democratic Leadership Council. The party affiliation helped carry PPI’s ideas into the Clinton campaign and administration.

After Republicans took over the White House in 2001, the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) was known for supplying prominent conservatives to the Bush administration, including Dick Cheney and U.N. Ambassador John Bolton. “You do such good work that my administration has borrowed twenty such minds,” Bush noted at AEI’s annual dinner in early 2003, using the event to bolster his argument for what would soon be the war in Iraq.

Also in 2003, Clinton administration refugees established the Center for American Progress in an unabashed attempt to promote liberal “progressive” values and take back the White House for Democrats. “They took a page from the Heritage Foundation playbook” on creating muscular political influence, notes McGann.

P.J. Crowley of the Center acknowledges “we have, to some extent, modeled ourselves on the Heritage Foundation and have tried to [promote] for the progressive wing of political thought the same kind of idea genesis that Heritage did for the conservative movement back in the 1980s.”

This effort extends to a lengthy document designed to provide the intellectual backbone for change. Much like Heritage’s powerful tome following Reagan’s election, the Center for

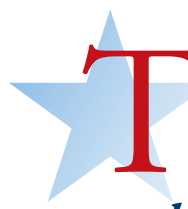
American Progress recently released a book-length report, *Change For America*. It was termed a “progressive blueprint” for the Obama administration.

Big Dollars Fuel Big Thoughts

Money still matters in the world of ideas. Today’s top think tanks aren’t made up of a few scholars in musty offices, but are major financial operations. Leading think tanks operate

putting money in these institutions year in and year out.”

Yet more money can also bring more worries about the ethics of its use in such an influential American arena. Especially in recent years, “a funding pattern of think tanks, whether they’re conservative or liberal, is that it is very project specific,” McGann notes. The think tank analyst is concerned about the possibility of a wealthy partisan



*Think tanks compete to retain
and recruit economists and foreign
policy experts to tackle those two major
American challenges.*

roughly in terms of \$10 million to \$40 million annual budgets, with some exceptions, according to McGann.

The explosive growth of major think tanks has been fostered by a stunning display of financial growth in recent decades. Cato Institute founder Edward Crane recalls an initial budget of \$600,000 when starting out in 1977 and recalls, “We probably had about 10 people.” As CATO was heading into 2009, “I’m looking at \$25 million budget and 115 employees,” he says.

Crane courts high-dollar individual contributors with twice a year Cato immersion retreats. The key to the think tank’s financial success is to keep major contributors involved, he points out. Cato “is not looking for some massive direct-mail operation with a group of people giving \$15,” he explains.

But increasing financial muscle is not limited to any point on the ideological spectrum. Despite the rise of conservatism that spawned Cato and Heritage, centrist and liberal think tanks have also experienced rapid growth since 1980, McGann notes. “There’s a lot of people

donor potentially having “a distorted and negative impact on these institutions. Someone is determining the agenda of what gets researched.”

For think tank scholars, rising budgets have brought one welcome trend: the value of think tank experts has also increased greatly over the years. Senior fellows at one major think tank earn about \$150,000 to \$200,000 a year. “Superstar” or high-demand area scholars can earn \$250,000 or more annually.

The increasing salaries reflect intellectual supply and demand. Think tanks compete to retain and recruit economists and foreign policy experts to tackle those two major American challenges considered hot fields for research.

Not Always Peaceful Coexistence

Both think tanks and universities are focused on ideas and scholarship, but with different missions. So the research bent of think tanks without classrooms or faculty meetings can lead to a clash of intellectual cultures and roles. Setting the stage for possible discord is the perception that “the role that universities

once played is now largely played by think tanks,” opines John Bolton.

At think tanks linked to universities, conflict or jealousies can arise with college faculty members. Shultz acknowledges at Hoover “there used to be quite a lot of tension, but there isn’t very much right now.” One earlier conflict was sparked by a former director of Hoover said to have noted that Hoover was in Stanford, but not of Stanford.

The same former director would also rally donors to the conservative-leaning think tank by quoting Stanford professors. “Some member of the faculty would make a wild statement of some kind and he’d go to a wealthy donor and say, ‘you see how necessary it is to have Hoover on campus when you have this kind of stuff,’” Shultz recalls. “People on the left didn’t realize they were great fundraisers for Hoover.”

But Hoover now “is less controversial” with a new director, joint appointments and Shultz’s own efforts to reduce tension. “It hasn’t necessarily gone away,” he says, “but it’s died down a great deal.”

The tensions at Hoover have served as an example of what to avoid for others in the field. “We benefit a lot from the earlier experience of Hoover,” says Murray Weidenbaum. “Those of us who head university-based think tanks go out of our way to avoid creating a gap—and if there is a gap, to bridge it.”

Great Impact But Hard to Quantify

One reason think tanks have become more influential is a greatly increased ability to disseminate their messages in an interconnected world, along with having the resources to carry out sophisticated research. The computer revolution increased the impact of think tanks “because technology made institutions like this one more powerful,” Jessica Mathews of the Carnegie Endowment notes. “One of the effects of the Internet

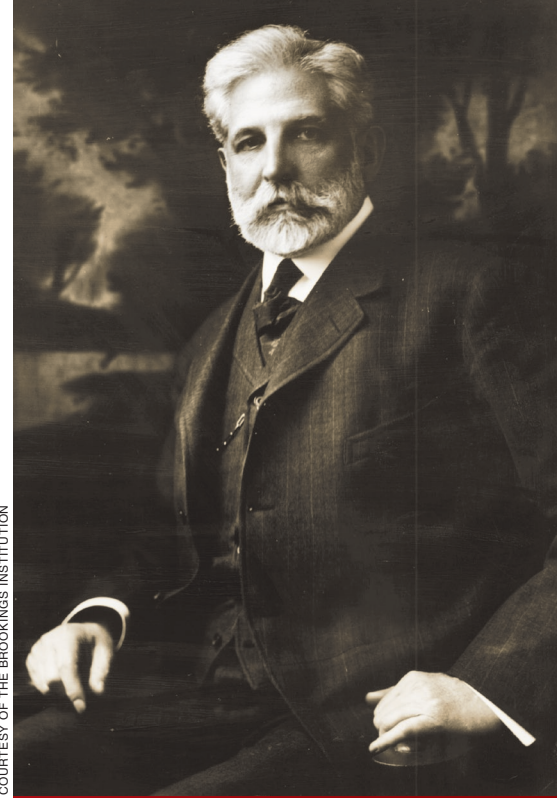
was to kind of lower the relative volume of the most important voice [government] and to raise the impact of smaller voices—for example, think tanks.”

That voice is also magnified by computer-aided research, which eases the task of keeping an eye on government activities or analyzing policy. Mathews remembers that when she was at the World Resources Council, an analysis of endangered habitats was done “by two young people on a laptop, which before would have required 100 people using a main-frame computer and a lot more time.”

Making sure that their work reaches decision makers is the goal of think tanks—and it is often achieved. The critical analysis disseminated by think tanks can have great impact on a member of Congress with a limited staff. “I just used them constantly,” recalls Lee Hamilton, currently President and Director of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. “Brookings, AEI, Heritage, Cato and all the others pour out papers... by the truckload.... They have new ideas and the relevance to the problem to serve as kind of an intellectual reservoir for the policymaker. The problems we have in government today are so difficult and so complicated,” Hamilton says, “that you need help as a policymaker—and think tanks supply that.”

Hamilton’s service on the landmark 9/11 Commission demonstrated a vital contribution of these institutions in the fight against terrorism. The 9/11 panel encountered many people in the think tank world “who are [deeply concerned] about the way to make the American people safer,” he says. “You’ll find some real experts on very technical matters” from detecting nuclear material to border controls.

The kind of company think tanks keep can be found in a Congressional Research Service report. The report elevated the importance of think tank ideas by noting “a sense of urgency to



COURTESY OF THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

Robert S. Brookings, founder of two institutes and a school that merged in 1927 to form the Brookings Institution.

utilize public diplomacy to the maximum extent possible was expressed by top level officials, think tanks, and the 9/11 Commission.”

Rep. Frank Wolf (R-VA) points out that think tanks also provided significant expertise for the well-known Iraq Study Group that he fostered. Indeed, think tanks have long claimed a role in some of the most important U.S. government policy questions, from Brookings and the post-World War II Marshall Plan to Cato and the notion to privatize Social Security advanced during the Bush administration.

But it’s often difficult to actually measure think tank impact, acknowledges Lisa Shields, Vice President of the Council on Foreign Relations. “Because we’re in the business of ideas, it’s quite hard to trace with real accuracy where an idea came from and whether it had an impact on government,” she says. “So some of this is anecdotal.”

“There aren’t DNA tests in this business,” adds Weidenbaum. “The

bottom line is influencing public policy.” He reveals another way in which the Washington think tanks sell their intellectual wares. The “newest wrinkle” for think tanks is to hold briefings on Capitol Hill for congressional staff and sometimes even members of Congress. “They’re not as influential as they like to think,” Weidenbaum suggests, “but they’re far more influential than my colleagues in academia want to admit.”

A Revolving Door That Renews Intellectual Vigor

A high-level Washington appointment can be all-consuming work for four or eight years. One critical role played by think tanks is to provide an idea haven for individuals coming out of the twenty-four-hour demands of serving in a presidential administration. “Some people come out of government and into Brookings and spend that time

ally think in a way that isn’t possible in government leadership with its “pressure just to keep paper moving, meetings going, unscheduled crises, numerous mini-crises,” says Talbott. As an intellectual breather, Talbott offers “a short- or long-term landing place for people who have been exhausted by the process of government,” but are still very interested in issues.

John Bolton, now in his second stint at the American Enterprise Institute between top State Department and U.N. posts, says time at a think tanks offers intellectual preparation to face the inevitable crises. “Henry Kissinger once said that being in government means spending intellectual capital, and that you cannot regain it until you leave,” Bolton explains. “Certainly, in the national security area, there is little or no time for reflective thinking... Time outside the government in a real

“because I wanted to write about my experience as Secretary of State and it’s a major undertaking if you do it right. That’s what Hoover is about, trying to get something worthwhile written that has an impact.”

The transition from government official to analyst offers several advantages ranging from a less frenetic environment to an opportunity to stretch one’s thinking, according to P.J. Crowley. “There’s a lot more sanity in the think tank world than there is in government. You’re not on the treadmill as much,” he says. “It is a chance to step back, to actually think. If you’re in government, you’re dealing with those boundaries that have already been set. In a think tank, you start with a blank piece of paper.”

Those coming from the think tank world can supply fresh perspective, government insiders note. At the State Department, that long-term view is often overshadowed by “always dealing with the crisis du jour,” says the Department’s Deputy Spokesman Robert Wood. As a career diplomat, Wood has not worked for a think tank, but has worked with numerous senior officials from think tanks who migrate to the State Department in Washington. He appreciates the contribution they can bring to government.

“It’s extremely useful to have people from that kind of background in policymaking positions,” Wood says. Think tank scholars are able “to look backward” to help find “the best way to go forward.” Woods adds that these scholars also have a good sense of how to put a crisis in perspective. He says, “That’s one of the added values they bring into the building.”

Former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice is so associated with Stanford and Hoover that she made clear her plans to return to campus



Think tank scholars are able to “look backward” to help find “the best way to go forward.”

recharging their intellectual batteries,” notes William Antholis. “And sometimes they go back in.”

This practice is often referred to as a revolving door. But Strobe Talbott actually sees it as a “two-way” revolving door. Just as he was preparing to lose U.N. Ambassador Rice and other Brookings scholars to Barack Obama, Talbott was simultaneously wooing outgoing members of the Bush administration to come to Brookings. “The way we can replenish the freshness of the intellectual [life] in the institution is to bring in somebody from government.”

During their respite, those whose political party is out of power can actu-

ally think tank or a university helps provide a basis to respond to the unknown once [you are serving] in government.”

The need to relax and contemplate away from the crisis atmosphere applies even at the very highest levels. For George Shultz, who was also served as Secretary of Labor (1969 to 1970) and as Secretary of the Treasury (1972 to 1974), being Secretary of State from 1982 to 1989 “was a tremendous learning opportunity. You’re drinking from a firehose of information and events,” he says. “But you don’t have a lot of time to reflect on it. You do here.”

Shultz returned to Stanford University and the Hoover Institution

even before leaving office. As Secretary of State, Wood notes that she brought perspective while seeking out views from “the think tank policy community in Washington...It’s always important to have a set of fresh eyes from the outside.”

Other Cabinet secretaries with critical tasks also turn to think tanks for advice. During the Bush administration, P.J. Crowley points out that he and several think tank colleagues were brought in to share ideas with then-Secretary of Homeland Security Michael Chertoff in a standing quarterly breakfast.

The Media is Often the Message

Perhaps the biggest competition in the think tank world is for the airwaves and column space. The tanks compete for network television exposure, newspaper space and web presence. Think tank events are a staple of programming on the C-SPAN public affairs network. Researchers can get media training on how to come across on camera for major networks or news stations.

In fact, a scholar’s ability to generate media coverage may make a difference in whether she or he can fund a project. “It helps,” notes the oft-quoted Norman Ornstein of the American Enterprise Institute. “Funders are looking for ideas, but they want those ideas to get out there in the public.”

While private influence with a member of Congress can be another route to success, Ornstein says public attention allowed him to get ideas “into the mainstream” that became part of the well-known McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform legislation.

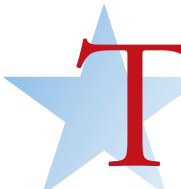
Ornstein’s facility with the media is legendary in Washington. For decades, his clever comments and popular research efforts have earned him the title of the “king of quotes.” Reporters on deadline know he will come through to fill in a hole in a story.

Ornstein is so ubiquitous that some editors have demanded national reporters stop quoting him. “I’ve had a number of newsrooms in which I have been banned for a period of time,” he says with a touch of pride. “I’ve had ‘quote quotas’ from *The Wall Street Journal* and *Los Angeles Times* in the past.”

That public recognition also pays off in private influence on Capitol Hill. “It’s given me better access to politicians and in the policy world. Often if I call

■ News articles and bylined columns on newspaper op-ed pages are ways think tanks can spread their ideas. “Being able to publish in the newspaper is a really critical element of an influential think tank,” explains Carnegie Endowment President Jessica Mathews.

■ A number of think tank scholars are syndicated or contract newspaper columnists, including E.J. Dionne of Brookings, as well as Sebastian Mallaby and Michael Gerson of the Council on



T*hink tanks are a valued source for the media because of their expertise and because they can be honest about the reality behind top issues.*

a Senate office, the person who answers the phone might know [my name], so you’re more likely to get through.”

While AEI’s Ornstein is noted for his media attention, another think tank claims it is the leader in institutional coverage. “Brookings has been the most quoted think tank as long as I’ve been alive,” says Brookings Vice President for Communications Melissa Skolfield. She cites a study by the liberal FAIR media watchdog group showing Brookings as the lead institution in garnering newspaper citations.

Leading think tanks are a valued source for the media, partly because of their expertise and partly since they can be honest about the naked reality behind top issues. Reporters from all over the world are looking to quote think tank experts who can talk far more freely than government officials. Some examples:

■ Carnegie Endowment officials logged 120 interview requests during the summer 2008 crisis between Russia and Georgia.

Foreign Relations, who all appear in *The Washington Post*.

■ Others churn out op-eds regularly for a number of major publications. Former U.N. Ambassador Bolton, seen as a conservative lightning rod in the Bush administration, has turned into a prolific editorial-page contributor, especially on foreign policy and national security issues. In January, he hit the daily double for think tank influence by having his byline in both *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* on the same day. Just a few days earlier, Bolton’s writing appeared in *The Wall Street Journal*.

But East Coast think tanks don’t have a monopoly on media coverage. Out in California, Hoover benefits from the time difference, with East Coast and Midwest reporters able to reach their experts for late comments as deadlines loom. “As things close down across the country, we’re still open,” Hoover spokeswoman Michele Horaney points out happily.

Hoover also tries to bridge the thousands of miles between Palo Alto and

Washington or New York by bringing in many prominent journalists for brief study programs.

Think tanks are so respected by the media that they figured into a major 2008 presidential campaign hoax. A prankster from a fictitious think tank claimed to have leaked unflattering details about Vice Presidential candidate Sarah Palin from the McCain campaign—and his claim found its way into mainstream media outlets. *The New York Times* headlined a story about the think tank fraud, “A Senior Fellow at the Institute of NonExistence.”

In fact, think tank influence is seen as so pervasive that it has spawned all sorts of rumors and conspiracy theories. Just last fall, RAND had to post a notice on its web site denying it called for war with China. “Something like that can catch on in the blogs,” says RAND’s Kozberg,

so RAND was quick to respond: “There is no such recommendation.”

There has been so much Internet speculation about its activities during its 60-year history that RAND actually posts preemptive responses on its web site. Examples range from its work on the question of UFOs to RAND’s denial that it advised Richard Nixon to cancel the 1972 election. However, RAND does admit its staff took LSD “trips” during a 1960s study of the psychedelic drug.

A Rare World of Bipartisanship

Think tanks compete in everything from media coverage to backstage influence at the White House and on Capitol Hill. But they are also famously cooperative, working together on issues and even lending each other a stage across ideological lines.

“It’s one of the rare bipartisan things in the city,” declares Congressman Wolf. “Congress is so partisan and so divided, the lack of civility is dominating the institution.” The result is increased effectiveness for research organizations. Think tanks “can play a very important role in the successes that I have,” the longtime Virginia Republican notes.

Though Brookings is not conservative, “when you go over there, you can find a scholar or somebody who’s been involved in government who can give you an honest answer,” Wolf says. “You can go to some of these places and get good research done and...bring people of different viewpoints together.”

Right- and left-wing organizations don’t hesitate to work together on areas of mutual interest. “We’ve paired with arch-conservative groups on certain issues, say civil liberties,” states P.J. Crowley of the unabashedly liberal Center for American Progress. “On an issue-by-issue basis, we can find some interesting bedfellows. At times we’ve done programs with Cato, we’ve even done programs with AEI, occasionally with Heritage,” all of whom generally have far different viewpoints on issues.

Think tanks are “an oasis for civil discourse above the shouting on cable news,” says Cato’s Ed Crane. “If you go to a conference here at Brookings, or AEI or Cato, you will hear reasonable people arguing with each other. I think it’s more a mutual respect.”

Looking Into the Future

After its success in aiding a Democratic return to power, the Center for American Progress seems poised to be the “in” think tank during the Obama administration. Even ideological opposite Feulner of the Heritage Foundation observes, “they’ll have a center seat at what’s going on.”

“They will come to the fore in the same way Heritage did,” adds expert

TOP U.S. THINK TANKS

Ratings from University of Pennsylvania 2008

Global Go-To Think Tanks Report

1. Brookings InstitutionWashington
2. Council on Foreign RelationsNew York
3. Carnegie Endowment for International PeaceWashington
4. RAND CorporationSanta Monica, Ca.
5. Heritage FoundationWashington
6. Woodrow Wilson International Center for ScholarsWashington
7. Center for Strategic and International StudiesWashington
8. American Enterprise InstituteWashington
9. Cato InstituteWashington
10. Hoover InstitutionPalo Alto, Ca.
11. Human Rights WatchNew York
12. Peterson Institute for International EconomicsWashington
13. United States Institute of PeaceWashington
14. National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER)Cambridge, Mass.
15. Center for Global DevelopmentWashington

Rankings are taken from the University of Pennsylvania Think Tanks and Civil Societies program. An expanded version of this list appeared in Foreign Policy magazine and is available on the University of Pennsylvania’s web site: http://www.sas.upenn.edu/irp/documents/2008_Global_Go_To_Think_Tanks.pdf

McGann. “This will really help make the Center for American Progress.”

Indeed, Center founder John Podesta was one of the most prominent faces of the presidential transition. During President Obama’s inauguration, CNN anchor Wolf Blitzer pointed to Podesta as holding the “hottest seat in town” as cameras showed Podesta speaking to the new president on the parade reviewing stand. One of Obama’s first personnel

“one of them is an American,” Mathews notes. The Carnegie Moscow Center, she says, “has become a brand name in Russia.”

But the new offices have had uneven success. The office in China has remained small with only one full-time Carnegie staff member in late 2008 because of Chinese “ambivalence” toward foreign groups. By contrast, “Beirut has been meteoric,” Mathews

impressive 15 percent annual growth in an economic downturn.

“This year, it’s going to be tough sledding,” he says. “I’ve had a lot of people tell me, ‘I’m not going to be able to meet last year’s contribution.’”

Even a long-established institution like Brookings is facing uncertainty. While it is cushioned by a sizable endowment less wracked by the stock market than some other organizations, Brookings President Talbott notes, “There’s no way one can be invulnerable in a market like this. We’re up for a challenge.”

Technology may provide a relatively low-cost lifeline. All the major think tanks are trying to court contributors, spread political influence and reach audiences around the globe through the Internet. Some are trying to reach younger supporters through a presence on Facebook and other social networking sites.

The Internet’s “been a big part of our success,” Crane says. “We have a daily podcast...A guy does nothing [but] social networking on the Internet for Cato. I don’t understand any of it,” remarks the 64-year-old Crane, “but I have enough sense to realize it’s important, so we’re putting resources into it. We’re ubiquitous on cable TV and we have 45,000 people a day come to our web site, so I think we’re getting some juice in the debate.”

Changes have left such institutions using a combination of old and new methods of disseminating research. “Everyone’s role is still adapting” to technology, notes P.J. Crowley. Though he may spend years on a homeland security report, think tank experts are also positioning themselves for instant web analysis. “A significant part of our effort is not only developing policy positions, but communicating them in any way we can,” he says. “As something is unfolding, you can try to write 1,500

All the major think tanks are trying to court contributors, spread political influence and reach audiences around the globe through the Internet.

picks was former Center Vice President Melody Barnes as head of the White House Domestic Policy Council.

But there is also a downside to such popularity in Washington. “That could also be the death knell,” McGann says, if “they get raided and all their people go into the Obama administration.”

Meanwhile, the Carnegie Endowment is looking beyond the U.S. as it aims to carve out an international niche, exporting American-style independent research to other political cultures. It now has overseas offices from Beirut, Lebanon to Beijing, China, two offices added in recent years along with Brussels.

The Carnegie Endowment’s Moscow Center has long established its credibility, opening after the fall of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s. But its effectiveness was in doubt at first.

“People would tell me that we do really good work, but that we’d never be really influential because we weren’t Russian,” Mathews says of her early trips to Russia. But now, the Endowment has 42 people in its Moscow office and only

says, thriving despite Lebanon’s political turbulence, with 14 staffers studying reform this winter. “We’re trying to reconceptualize the way think tanks operate,” Mathews explains. “You need to bring the perspective from the region into American policymaking.”

The Carnegie Endowment’s ultimate goal is to “become the first international and hopefully global think tank.” That effort extends to hiring ex-British diplomat Peter Reid, formerly a well-respected spokesman for his country’s embassy in Washington. The Endowment hopes to expand in Africa, India, elsewhere in Asia and Latin America. “That’s our mission,” declares Mathews.

The current financial crisis, however, may have an impact on these and other think tank plans as it is quickly becoming more than an issue for the tanks to study. A slumping economy could affect think tank expansion and operation. Ed Crane jokingly complains that heading Cato has turned him into “a glorified fundraiser,” but seriously worries about sustaining his think tank’s

words for the [newspaper] Outlook section or you can write 350 words for the blog.”

Ultimately, think tanks may turn to a “hybrid” model, relying more on the blogosphere than on scholars in stately buildings, predicts McGann. “The process is being transformed by technology. [In the future] policy may not be formulated within the physical walls of a think tank.”

Think tank research may be, literally, in someone’s hip pocket as laws are made. Brookings is working on trying to make its 20,000 page web site accessible by cell phone, Antholis says. “One of our target audiences is 28, 29 year-old Congressional staffers...We [want them] to access and read the Brookings web site on their cell phones.”

The Institute for Policy Studies is harnessing organizations all over the world to create a “virtual think tank.” But founder Raskin also points to one accomplishment that he notes has its origins with the Institute’s civil rights efforts, which began more than 40 years ago. “We see ourselves as a little bit ahead of history,” he says, pointing to Obama’s election.

Yet President Obama faces both a shattered economic system and a spate of foreign policy problems. There is a call for “think tanks precisely because of the problems facing the government,” declares Talbott. “There is a desperate need here for analysis.”

And his counterpart Feulner at Heritage notes that think tanks are uniquely positioned to meet that need, well beyond electoral changes. “Politicians basically have a short attention span to the next election... Somebody’s got to be around to remind people these are permanent issues and you need permanent institutions to keep them on the front burner,” he says. “We’re here for the long haul.” ■

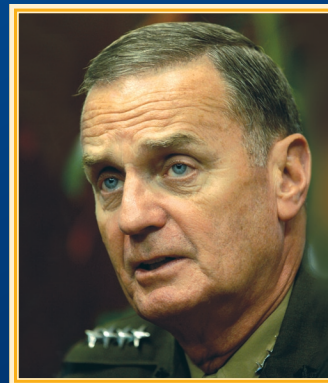
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From the **THINK TANKS** *to the Obama Administration*



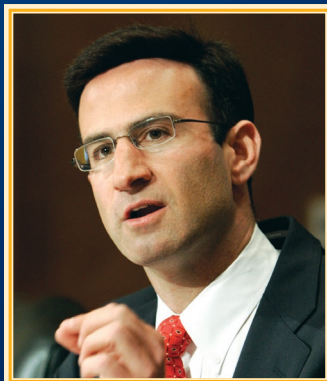
CENTER FOR AMERICAN PROGRESS

Esther Olavarria, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Policy, Department of Homeland Security, from the Center for American Progress



ASSOCIATED PRESS

James L. Jones, National Security Advisor, from the Atlantic Council



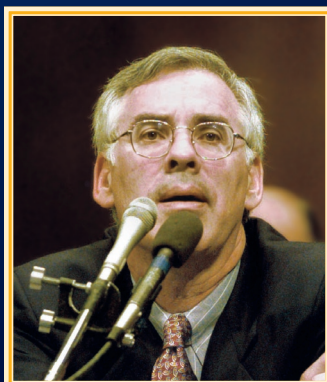
ASSOCIATED PRESS

White House Budget Director Peter Orszag, from the Brookings Institution



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Susan Rice, UN Ambassador, from the Brookings Institution



GETTY IMAGES

Richard Danzig, Senior Foreign Policy Advisor to Barack Obama, from the Center for a New American Security and the Center for Strategic and International Studies



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Melody Barnes, White House Domestic Policy Council Director, from the Center for American Progress

Blacks AND La

by ROBERTO SURO

STILL AN EVOLVING

Creating pathways to educational opportunity and to civic participation are two top priorities for the Corporation's National Program. In this essay, Roberto Suro, a professor at the University of Southern California's Annenberg School for Communication, examines how relationships between blacks and Latinos are developing with important implications in both those realms.

Roberto Suro began a career as a journalist in Chicago in the mid-1970s when Latinos were beginning to become a sizeable presence in the city, sometimes moving into African American communities. Since then he has charted the growth of the Hispanic population in various roles as an author and researcher, serving as founding director of the Pew Hispanic Center from 2001 to 2007. Suro previously reported on developing Latino identities in the Spring 2006 edition of the Carnegie Reporter.

On the flatlands of South Los Angeles, blacks and Latinos share neighborhoods of neat houses and broken institutions, a hospital shut down by federal regulators, a community college that has lost its accreditation, police districts where gang crimes fill the blotter. They share a geographic space and are often rivals for the same resources. Nonetheless, they inhabit different worlds and they represent two different trajectories through American history. Those trajectories now cross paths in South Los Angeles and many other American cities. Their intersection illuminates the scope and complexity of the demographic change that has overtaken the United States. But how do we describe the relationships between

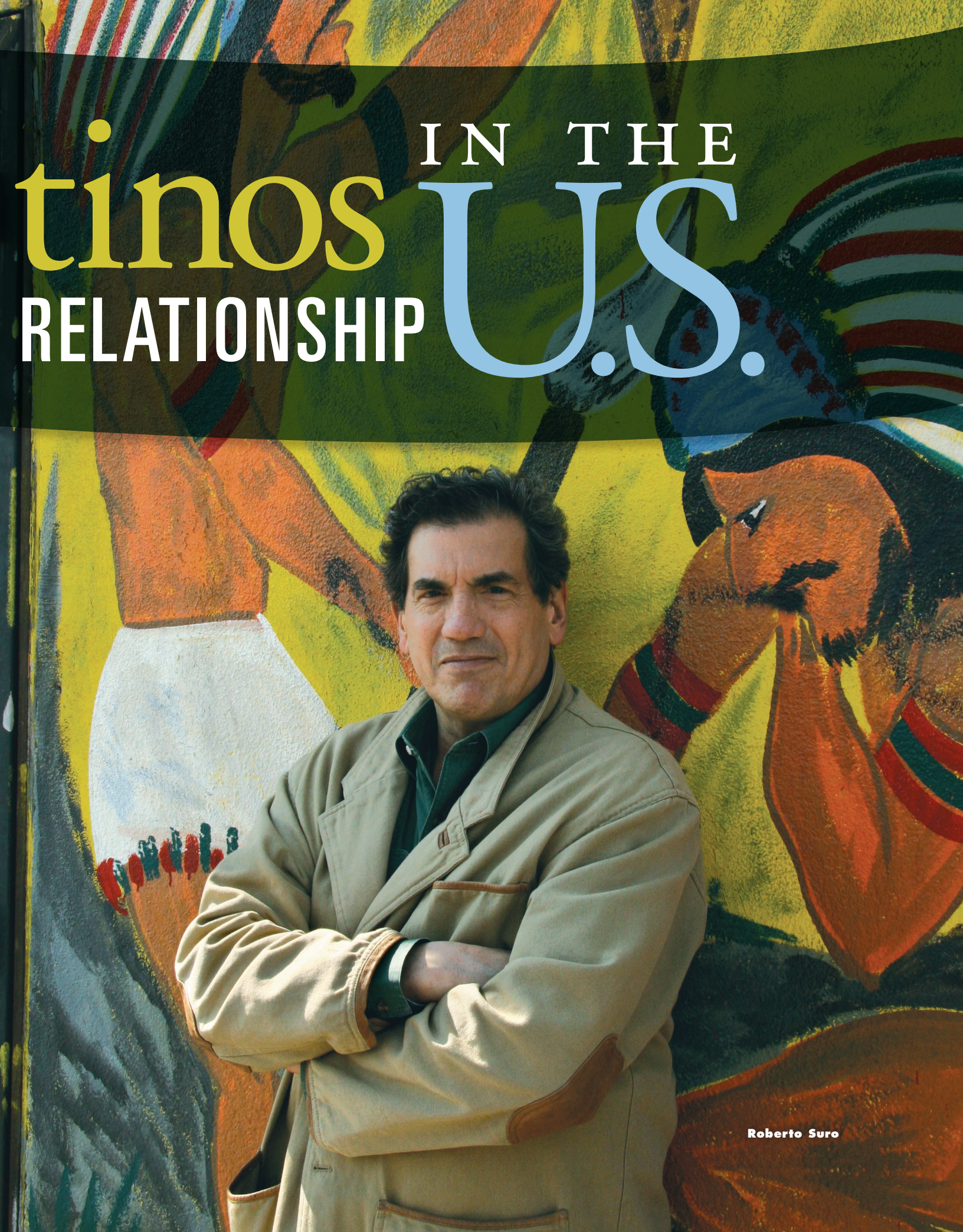
blacks and Latinos? The lack of a ready vocabulary points to the changes still to come in the ways that the nation understands and manages the strands that make up its population.

The most vividly reported depictions of dealings between blacks and Latinos emphasize conflict, most often criminal violence, between young men. For example, Lee Baca, the Los Angeles County sheriff, published an opinion piece in the *Los Angeles Times* last year that appeared under the simple headline, "In L.A., Race Kills." Insisting he would not sidestep the issue as others had, Baca proclaimed, "So let me be very clear about one thing: we have a serious interracial violence problem in this county involving blacks and Latinos."

He cited a variety of incidents, and most disturbingly, he said his evidence showed that "Some of L.A.'s so-called gangs are really no more than loose-knit bands of blacks or Latinos roaming the streets looking for people of the other color to shoot."

Other public officials, including the city's police chief, William J. Bratton, disputed the assessment. Race may be a factor in prison riots but on the streets, it's mostly battles over drugs and turf, they argued. And besides, most murders of blacks and Hispanics—as many as 90 percent—involve victims and perpetrators of the same group. Citizens were left to guess who was right and how many racially motivated murders are too many. An editorial in the *Times* noted wearily that the same alarm had been raised before, citing almost identical language in a report 15 years earlier. That storm passed. Another will come before long. Conflict, antagonism and rivalry are recurrent themes.

But so is cooperation. The other oft-cited depiction emphasizes commonalities, blacks and Latinos working together, "people of color" who share a common basis for political and social collaboration. However, emphasize-



• tinos IN THE RELATIONSHIP U.S.

Roberto Suro

ing their mutual designation as being other than white obscures more than it explains. To start with, it obscures the fact that race is constructed in many different ways in Latin America and so that diversity of identities is reflected in the Hispanic population. On census forms, about four-in-ten Hispanics designate their race as white. More importantly, there are profound differences in the ways that Latinos and African-Americans have arrived at the state of “otherness” in American society and in the ways that it is lived. Both Latinos and blacks are not white, but that status has different origins and different consequences for these two groups. Moreover, within these two distinct populations, identities are proliferating so that now there are many ways to be Latino, many ways to be black. And, as a result, there are ever more ways not to be white. Asians, who are not considered in detail in this essay, add still more identities and historical trajectories to the “people of color” formulation. Under such circumstances, color alone becomes a weak vehicle for understanding the ways racial and ethnic groups interact.

Racial Identity and the Presidential Election

Both conflict and commonality across color lines were used to explain the ways Latino voters responded to President Barack Obama at different points in the 2008 campaign. During the primaries, some commentators interpreted strong support for Hillary Clinton among Latinos as an indication that Hispanics would not vote for a black candidate. Their political behavior was said to be motivated by identity politics, specifically an animus toward blacks. Commentators readily overlooked the fact that Hispanic voters shared key socioeconomic characteristics with Clinton’s base among white voters: middle aged, middle class,

middle of the road. Then, when Latinos backed Obama by a better than two-to-one nationwide in the general election and provided winning margins in four battleground states, the black-Latino rivalry had to be put away. It was suddenly gone and forgotten.

However, the people-of-color portrayal—blacks and Latinos coming together in common purpose—doesn’t explain what happened either. Obama was very careful not to position himself as a minority group advocate. He did not articulate an agenda designed to appeal to blacks and Latinos on the basis of their identities as non-whites. Yet, of course, he is quite manifestly not white and that is an important aspect of his political persona. Indeed, he appealed to many voters, including many whites, because he offered a version of racial identity that looks beyond whiteness as the norm in American society, that looks beyond the color lines..

The two default modes of explaining relations between Latinos and blacks—conflict over color and cooperation because of color— would seem to be mutually exclusive. And yet, Latino voters first rejected Obama and then embraced him. At best, these two stark formulations are useful to explain discrete events, and one can find many examples of each, often within a single community. But, as the 2008 election suggests, it is time to look beyond color and find different ways to think about color and its consequences. In this regard, voting behavior in 2008 is a signpost, one of many, pointing us toward a much larger event that is still unfolding.

Twenty-five years ago, non-Hispanic whites (we’ll just call them whites here for convenience’s sake) made up 80 percent of the American population. Their position as the dominant and unchallenged racial group seemed as safe and secure as it had been for two centuries or more. Twenty-five years from now,

whites will make up about 50 percent of the population. That is a done deal. It doesn’t depend on the continued arrival of non-European immigrants en masse. In 2007, only 57 percent of the women having babies in the United States were white. Transformation on this scale will necessarily produce changes in the way society defines “otherness.” Our vocabulary, whether it is race-based—“people of color”—or numerical—“minority groups”—begins to lose its authority when the population is almost evenly divided between those defined as insiders and outsiders. And, along with the vocabulary goes a slew of policies, attitudes and social constructs that will need to be revised to account for the new realities.

Whites of European descent have constituted a large majority of the nation’s population since its founding. Even when they were the minority in places such as parts of the antebellum South or the Western frontier, the perception of demographic dominance has been an important element of their ability to define social, cultural and political norms by virtue of their demographic dominance. That fundamental national characteristic is now inexorably fading. But this profound change is not the result of conscious decision making at any level. No presidential candidate proposed that we undertake it. No Congress voted to make this a country that is half white and half not. No social movements took to the streets to advocate for demographic transformation. Some voices were raised in protest against the rise of the non-white population, complaining mostly about immigration, but those protests arrived belatedly, for the most part, after the change had been set in motion. And nobody dissented against the decline in fertility among whites which has proved the most potent transformation in the long run. Overall, no one

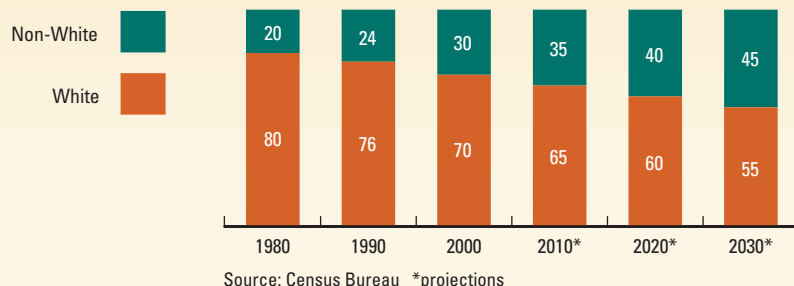
much talked about these changes while they were happening, and certainly no one planned for the new realities. Slowly, steadily, and due to many different factors, the population changed. Now, as a result, American society will inexorably change. Politics and policies will change. Perceptions and attitudes will change, all in response to the

they navigate the spaces they share, helps illuminate the ways that race, color and class—always dynamic concepts and always intertwined—are evolving.

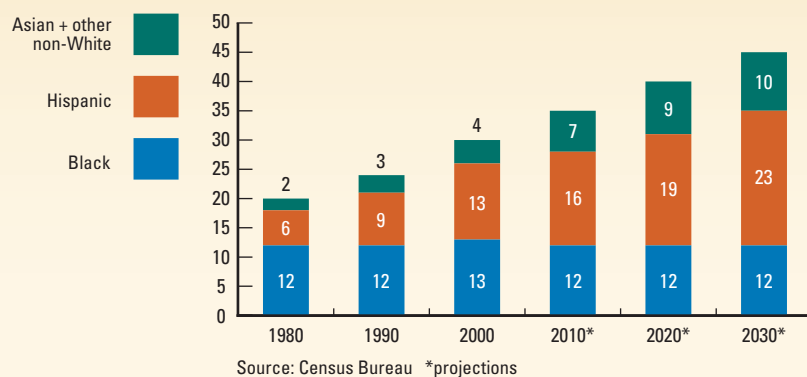
In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois predicted, accurately enough, that “the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color-line.” How would we

Different Trajectories, Shifting “Norms”

If nothing else was changing except that the white share of the population was dropping from overwhelming dominance to a slim majority, American society would have plenty of change to be processing. But, the demographic transformation has occurred along another axis as well: the non-white population is rapidly growing more diverse due mostly to the growth of the Hispanic population and the emergence of Asian groups, as well. This marks another kind of shift for a country that could once define itself first, as white, and secondarily, as divided between white and black. Now, neither of those constructs holds. We are in the process of revising our notions of both what constitutes the norm and what constitutes “the other.” African-Americans have long exercised a unique role in our national consciousness because slavery and its aftermath are so central to its formation. Moreover, blacks historically were the only non-white population group of sufficient size to merit consistent consideration in our social and political discourse. Until recently, Latinos, Asians, and Native Americans were relatively small and geographically concentrated populations. While these groups became the objects of regional concerns at different times, the national dialogue focused on the divide between the white majority and the black minority. The growth of the Hispanic population requires reconsideration of that framework. Twenty-five years ago there were half as many Hispanics as there were blacks in the U.S. Twenty-five years from now the Hispanic population will be twice as large as the African-American population. The non-white population now includes two substantial groups, not one, and the larger of the two is not the group that has historically played the role of the outsider in American society.



The Decline of the White Majority: Shares of the US Population 1980-2030



Greater Non-White Diversity Shares of the US Population 1980-2030

change that has already taken place in our population. In other words, we are playing catch up with established facts. We are playing catch up in the ways we describe and assess our people and the tools we use to manage the differences among them. The interplay between blacks and Hispanics is just one of the venues for this very large process, but it highlights the changing boundaries between inclusion and exclusion. Understanding how African Americans and Latinos relate to each other, how

update that statement today? Du Bois wrote of an unresolved problem arising from a well-established population. Four decades after emancipation American society was still painfully adjusting to the fact that 12 percent of its population was black. At the beginning of the 21st century, both the meaning of color and the ways the lines are drawn are changing. There is not just one scar, old and deep, but there are also new kinds of lines being drawn on shifting terrain.



some places and scarce in others just as poverty, crime and environmental hazards trend to be more prevalent in some areas than in others. Now, patterns of segregation also offer a way of understanding how population change is an engine of societal change.

While segregation was a deplorable feature of American society, to some it was at least a simpler concept to understand—though not accept—when it was a matter of black and white. The statistical methods for measuring segregation have grown more complicated as has the landscape being surveyed. As an over-

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Both Latinos and blacks have struggled against barriers imposed by the majority society. But, they have faced different barriers and have waged different struggles. Most notably, African-Americans trace their origins in this country to a forced migration as slaves. Latinos have arrived by many routes, mostly voluntary. And those origins are merely a point of departure for distinctly different narratives. Those narratives oblige us to look beyond color, not to lose sight of it, but to understand how it has interacted with a variety of other factors to produce two very different trajectories through American life.

Consider the question of civic enfranchisement—the ability to exercise political power at the ballot box. Over the course of the past half-century African-Americans have made extraordinary gains, starting with the dismantlement of Jim Crow barriers. Over the same time period, the number of Latinos barred from any kind of civic participation because of their immigration status has increased several times over. While increased enfranchisement is a central theme of the African-American narrative, a decrease is similarly central to the Latino

On the flatlands of South Los Angeles, blacks and Latinos share a geographic space and are often rivals for the same resources.

narrative. This comparison is not meant to equate illegal immigration and the violation of voting rights in the segregated South in any way, not in the mechanics of the matter and certainly not in the moral judgments that apply. Rather, the intent here is to underscore the disparities: two peoples, different barriers, different struggles, different trajectories. Those trajectories are now converging in presidential politics, on city streets and in many other areas, as well. And it is in that convergence that we might see clues about the future of a country undergoing a profound and irreversible change in the makeup of its population.

Residential segregation has long served as a way of looking at how different sectors of our population relate to each other. It can be a powerful measure of social status because access to jobs and public services are often concentrated in

all trend, for example, the segregation of blacks has been on the decline since the 1980s, but that does not necessarily mean that African-Americans are now much more likely to share neighborhoods with whites. The growth of the Hispanic population has complicated the picture. A study published by the National Research Council in 2006 shows that by one important measure, the exposure index, the biggest change in recent years is that blacks have much greater exposure to Latinos. Meanwhile, blacks' exposure to whites was virtually unchanged.

The exposure index indicates the probability of an individual sharing a census tract¹ with an individual of their own or another group. Examining the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas, the NRC study found that by this measure, isolation for blacks—the extent which they share neighborhoods with

¹Census tracts are small, relatively permanent subdivisions of a county.

other blacks—had dropped by 19 percent between 1980 and 2000. Exposure to whites was virtually unchanged, however, increasing by less than one percent. In the meantime, blacks' exposure to Hispanics had jumped by 70 percent. The extent to which this is happening varies considerably from one city to another depending on its history, the relative size of different populations and other factors. But, the basic trends are the same across the nation.

Spatial isolation has long been one of the defining social characteristics of the African-American population. It was often the product of deliberate segregation, an unmistakable result of the white mainstream's actions and attitudes, and it has had grave consequences for blacks across generations. This isolation is now declining somewhat, and Latinos are a major factor in producing that change.

Simple growth explains much of that change along with the geographic dispersal that has accompanied that growth. Between 1980 and 2000, the size of the Hispanic population more than doubled, increasing from 14.6 million to 35.3 million. (It now stands at about 46 million.) Meanwhile, over the course of those two decades the non-Hispanic black population grew by only 29 percent, increasing from 26 million to 33.7 million. (It now stands at about 39 million.) And, as the Latino population grew, it also dispersed. Once concentrated in a few states and in central cities, Latinos have become a substantial presence in suburbs and in many parts of the country where they were once scarce. By virtue of their growth and dispersal alone, Latinos were likely to end up sharing neighborhoods with blacks to a greater extent than in the past. Therefore, the extent to which Latinos have integrated black communities is not necessarily the result of a deliberate effort. Indeed, looking at how the exposure indexes have changed for Latinos reveals some complex cross currents.

Again looking at the 100 largest metros between 1980 and 2000, the overall trend for Hispanics is toward greater isolation, not less as it is for blacks. While black isolation decreased by 19 percent between 1980 and 2000, it increased for Hispanics by 51 percent. Newly arrived immigrants everywhere have a tendency to cluster in enclaves, and that is certainly true for many Latinos today in American cities. But, other Latinos are dispersing across metropolitan landscapes, and Latinos have never experienced the same kind of systemic and widespread segregation visited on blacks. As a result, even with a trend toward increasing isolation, Latinos are less isolated than blacks. Moreover, Latinos have always had much greater exposure to whites. Although the trend is downward, Latinos in 2000 had 35 percent more exposure to whites than did blacks. When it comes to black-Latino intermingling, the change has been much less dramatic for Latinos than it has been for blacks. As noted above, black exposure to Hispanics increased by 70 percent between 1980 and 2000. But, over the same period, Hispanic exposure to blacks increased by only 10 percent.

Reflecting on Trends

To summarize, Hispanics are becoming more isolated, while segregation decreases for blacks. Nonetheless, even as their exposure to whites decreases, Hispanics are still more likely to share neighborhoods with whites than are blacks. And, one result of the growth of the Hispanic population means that blacks are increasingly sharing urban neighborhoods with Latinos.

In trying to unravel these complicated trends, several notable scholars have put forward what they call the "buffer hypothesis." According to this argument, the growth and dispersal of the Hispanic population is softening established color lines by creating more diverse urban populations in which seg-

regation among all groups is declining. That may well be true, but there are extenuating factors to consider. First of all, the separation of blacks and whites has remained exceptionally enduring, and a mixing of blacks and Latinos does not heal this divide or remedy its consequences. There may be new and different kinds of color lines on the American landscape, but the oldest and most fundamental of them persists. Research by John R. Logan, a sociologist at Brown University, shows that even the growth of the black middle class and black movement to the suburbs had little impact on the residential segregation of African Americans. And, black-white segregation remains vast. Logan measured it in 2000 using a statistical method called the "index of dissimilarity." For blacks and whites in metropolitan America he found a dissimilarity index of 65.2. That means that 65 percent of all blacks or all whites would have to move into integrated neighborhoods to end the segregation. In cities with large black populations, the measure of segregation was much higher, over 80 in New York and Chicago for example. The average was brought down by cities with smaller black populations like Seattle with a dissimilarity score of 49.6.

The movement of Latinos into black neighborhoods has to be understood in this context. As much as racial barriers have been broken in other realms, blacks and whites mostly live apart. By necessity, those overwhelmingly black neighborhoods have become bastions, focal points for the development of small businesses, political organizations and social services. In recent years, Latinos have become a growing presence in many of those neighborhoods, and in some extreme cases, parts of South Los Angeles, for example, they quickly have become the majority.

"Anxiety about change" is the way Erin Aubry Kaplan described her reac-

tion to the sight of a Latino family moving onto her block in South L.A. A columnist for the *Los Angeles Times*, Kaplan wrote about “big, resonant, unsettling changes” that have produced a sense of “our declining importance” among African Americans. In a 2007 column she wrote that the moving van down the street and the new Latino family “brings me closer to that reality than I care to be.”

Kaplan then described a school meeting that was designed to bring blacks and Latinos together but went awry after a black father complained about administrative staff who couldn’t speak English. “Nobody expects Latinos to solve our problems,” Kaplan concluded. “But we are tired of implicit calls for us to be ‘reasonable.’ Given our crazy-making history, is it surprising that we are a bit paranoid, that we react less than ideally to things like demographic shifts in our communities? Especially when those communities feel like the only currency we have left?”

Segregation still has dire consequences in the changing landscape of urban America, but integration, when it involves blacks and Latinos, is not an automatic remedy. It does not fix the sub-par schools and other public services that are often the hallmarks of segregated neighborhoods populated by only blacks or Latinos. If a neighborhood is a zone of exclusion—a place marked by low incomes, under-performing schools and high crime—it doesn’t matter much whether the population is monolithic or not.

The people can change, and the circumstances remain the same. Moreover, rapid succession between groups or even fast turnover among residents of a single group can have negative consequences. There, is, for example, the “rinse cycle” phenomenon in which the most established and successful individuals are continuously exiting an urban neigh-

borhood, depleting its resources, while newcomers starting at the bottom move in. That has been observed in immigrant enclaves throughout history, and it is also happening in some black neighborhoods that are experiencing a Latino influx. Thus, spatial mixing alone does not necessarily make communities stronger. That requires political, social and economic intermingling; people from different racial and ethnic groups working together to resolve common problems. It requires a blurring of the color lines between blacks and Latinos; civic mobilization that is based on something other than group identity.

Even though they increasingly share neighborhoods, other evidence points to a considerable social distance between blacks and Latinos. In a 2007 survey by New American Media (NAM), a nonprofit association of ethnic media organizations, substantial majorities of Hispanics (73 percent) and blacks (67 percent) said that most of their friends were of their own race or ethnicity. Asked about dating, small minorities said they had crossed color lines with 10 percent of Latinos saying that they had ever gone out with a black and 15 percent of blacks saying that they had ever dated a Hispanic. The statistics on intermarriage confirm these findings. Only two percent of Latino marriages and three percent of African American marriages involve a spouse from the other population. Meanwhile, intermarriage with whites is much more common for both, 9 percent for blacks and 23 percent for Hispanics.

When public opinion polls turn to the broader state of relations between the two groups, the results suggest generally benign but not particularly warm attitudes. In a survey by the Pew Research Center, a Washington think tank, conducted in late 2007, blacks took a somewhat more positive view of relations between the two groups with

70 percent saying they got along “very well” or “pretty well” compared to 57 percent of Latinos. And, negative views were more prevalent among Latinos with 30 percent responding “not well” or “not at all well” compared to 18 percent of blacks.

When the questions are more pointed, greater evidence of distrust becomes apparent. The 2007 NAM survey asked respondents about their comfort levels doing business with members of other racial groups. Among Hispanics, 61 percent said they were more comfortable with whites and only 3 percent said they favored blacks. Among blacks, 47 percent said they were more comfortable with whites and 10 percent favored Latinos. Few blacks (6 percent) or Hispanics (4 percent) expressed a preference for doing business with Asians.

These attitudes may have more to do with the overall state of race relations in American society than anything specific about dealings between blacks and Latinos. In the Pew survey, whites took somewhat dimmer views of relations among all groups than Hispanic or black respondents. And, the views that blacks and Latinos expressed about their respective relations with whites were not substantially different than their assessments of their relations with each other. In the NAM survey, Asian respondents similarly tilted in favor of doing business with whites rather than either blacks or Latinos. Although they are both on the same side of the color line that runs between whites and non-whites, blacks and Latinos do not necessarily express a particular affinity for each other or any special animosity.

Blacks and Latinos do, however, diverge in their perceptions of discrimination and opportunity in American society. While their attitudes towards each other may reflect the general state of affairs—race relations that are neither hostile nor

trusting—their attitudes toward society as a whole reflect their different histories and diverging trajectories.

Perceptions of Discrimination and Opportunity

The 2007 Pew survey asked an extensive battery of questions on the extent to which blacks experience discrimination. The results showed a wide gap in perceptions between blacks on the one hand and Latinos and whites on the other. For example, two-thirds of African Americans (67 percent) say that blacks often encounter discrimination when they apply for

Lining up to vote in
Columbia, South Carolina,
in 1948.



Increased enfranchisement—the ability to exercise political power at the ballot box—is a central theme of the African-American narrative.

a job. That view was shared by only 36 percent of Hispanics and 20 percent of whites. The survey found similar disparities when respondents were asked about blacks' experience of discrimination in college applications, housing and service in restaurants and retail stores. The gap in perceptions between blacks and Hispanics ranged from 21 percent to 31 percent on these four questions while the gap between blacks and whites ranged from 36 percent to 47 percent. These large and consistent disparities leave little doubt that blacks see their position in American society quite differently and far more negatively than either whites or Latinos. And, Latinos are only a little more likely to see discrimination against blacks than whites. In this case there is a color line in perceptions with blacks on one side and Latinos together with whites on the other.

But there is not just a difference in perceptions of discrimination. There are also contrasts in the way blacks and Hispanics see opportunity. The NAM survey asked respondents whether they believed in the proposition that "if you work hard, you will succeed in the United States." Three-quarters of Hispanics (74 percent) and two-thirds of Asians (64 percent) said they strongly agreed, but only 44 percent of African-American respondents shared that view. And, the answers were similar among blacks regardless of their economic standing. Another question in the same survey asked whether every American regardless of race or ethnicity had an equal opportunity to succeed. In this case, Hispanics strongly agreed with the optimistic assertion by a margin of two-to-one over blacks (59 percent vs. 30 percent) with Asians falling in-between (43 percent).

These differing perceptions reflect both differing circumstances and differing routes for arriving at those circumstances.

By most measures of economic well-being, Hispanics are better off than blacks but still lag significantly behind whites. That has been the case since the Latino population began growing although the distance between Hispanics and African Americans has been narrowing in recent years. So, for example, in 1980, the share of black families living below the poverty rate was six points higher than for Latinos (29 percent vs. 23 percent). In 2007, the gap had narrowed to two points (22 percent vs. 20 percent). What has not changed is that the poverty rate is consistently many times higher for both blacks and Latinos than it is for whites, 6 percent of families in 2007.

Similarly, in 1980 the average annual income for Hispanic households was 75 percent of what whites earned while blacks were at 63 percent, a 12 point gap. In 2007, it was only a five point gap with Latino households earning 69 percent as much as their white counterparts and blacks taking in 64 percent. Multiple factors explain both the gap and its narrowing. For example, while Latinos have lower earnings than blacks on an indi-



A café owner in the Mexican Town district of Detroit.

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In this regard, blacks and Latinos represent parallel but distinct trajectories through American history. They have both faced exclusion, although on very different grounds, and that exclusion has been enforced by very different means. Both, however, have been involved in a long series of negotiations, and sometimes battles, with American institutions to remedy, or at least ameliorate, that exclusion. These are different narratives although their plots share some similarities. Indeed at times these

vidual basis, Hispanic households more commonly pool income among multiple workers. The convergence in economic well-being in recent years is the result of both improved outcomes for blacks, and the increasing share of the Hispanic population made up of recently arrived immigrants starting at the bottom.

Without meaning to discount the importance of these differences, it seems that the gap in perceptions and attitudes also points to something broader and less easy to quantify. Both blacks and Latinos lag behind whites in important measures of economic well-being enough to put them on the wrong side of the line demarcating privilege in American society, and yet they have notably different views of barriers and opportunities in that society. It is tempting, therefore, to look to history for explanations of the differing attitudes and for clues as to how relations between these groups will be shaped and how they will each relate to American society as a whole.

“Otherness” Persists

Both Latinos and blacks have histories of exclusion in American society and of struggles to overcome exclusion, but, as noted before, they are very different histories starting from their points of origin. Much of the African American population is, of course, the product of slavery.

The great majority of Latinos can trace their presence in the United States to economic migration: the search for a better life.

The Hispanic population finds some of its roots in conquest: Puerto Rico, Texas, California and the Southwest. Some parts of the population are the result of political flight: Cuba, the Dominican Republic and Central America. But the great majority of Latinos can trace their presence in this country to economic migration: a search for a better life that, no matter how arduous, is essentially voluntary.

Despite the fundamental differences, there is one similarity in these stories. Both blacks and Latinos have come to this country primarily to meet a demand for cheap labor, and over the course of generations they have remained disproportionately represented among those who do physical work for low wages. That status has been a powerful factor in molding their group identities both in the ways they have been seen and treated by the white majority and the ways they see themselves. Their “otherness” is the result not just of color or culture but also of their place in the nation’s economic scheme.

trajectories have intersected. During the civil rights era, for example, Hispanics adopted some of the legal tactics and political ideologies pioneered by blacks. And, immigration has at times played a role in the black narrative, most prominently, of late, by helping produce notable leaders like Barack Obama and Colin Powell.

These parallel narratives now seem to be diverging in some important respects. Indeed, recent events seem to be taking blacks and Latinos in opposite directions. As one triumphs in the political arena, the other faces a new crisis in the realm of public policy.

With Obama’s election, much has been made of a generational change in the nature of black politics; an evolution from those who fought for civil rights to those who are building on those gains. And yet most blacks, as indicated by public opinion surveys, continue to see discrimination as a common event in African American life. Significant battles for inclusion have been won, particularly in

public institutions and public discourse. The discrimination and the legacies of discrimination that remain are deeply embedded in economic structures, institutional cultures and social habits. While still nefarious, they have proved much less actionable than more formalized bias, and with the decline of affirmative action, government is playing a smaller role in generating potential remedies. Even if civil rights enforcement is reinvigorated by the Obama administration, race seems to have moved away from the realms of politics and policy compared to the pre-occupations of decades past.

Meanwhile, the terms of exclusion for Hispanics have moved more squarely into the realms of politics and policy. About four of every ten Hispanics are foreign born, and among those newcomers, about half, some 9.6 million people, are unauthorized migrants. Another 5 million are children living with at least one unauthorized parent. These are the most recent arrivals in America's long tradition of importing low-cost workers and assigning them to a racialized caste. For several years now, the status of unauthorized migrants has dominated political discourse regarding the Hispanic population. And, just as blacks were celebrating Obama's breaking of barriers, Latinos were facing new barriers.

As Congressional efforts to enact immigration reform foundered in 2006 and 2007, the Bush administration undertook a campaign of raids, deportation and detention aimed at illegal migrants. Meanwhile, a variety of state and local measures were enacted to deny them jobs, housing and social services. Along with increasingly vitriolic anti-immigrant rhetoric and a rise in hate crimes aimed at Latino immigrants, Latino leaders have declared that the entire Hispanic population faces a humanitarian and civil rights crisis.

"Make no mistake; this is about all of us," is the way Janet Murgia,

president of the National Council of La Raza, the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights organization, put it in her keynote address to the group's 2008 national convention. In two important realms, then—discrimination and migration status—blacks and Latinos face distinctly different kinds of challenges in their dealings with American society and institutions. However, they face common challenges elsewhere.

In the urban neighborhoods where they are thrown together, young blacks and Latinos often produce images of conflict, fighting in schools and jails and on the streets. Yet it is among those young people where the fates of these two populations converge most clearly. Together, blacks and Latinos make up nearly four of every ten students enrolled in the nation's public schools, and by virtually every measure of educational outcomes they lag behind, usually very far behind, the whites and Asians who make up the other six.

Blacks and Latino students do not necessarily go to the same schools; in fact, they tend to be concentrated separately in schools in which one group or the other dominates enrollment. Relatively few go to schools where most of the students are whites. What blacks and Latinos do share are lower levels of achievement compared to whites and Asians on everything from kindergarten reading tests to advanced placement exams for high school seniors. Simply put, blacks and Latinos are roughly twice as likely as whites to drop out of high school. And, among those who do finish high school, blacks and Latinos are roughly half as likely as whites to end up with a bachelor's degree. These educational outcomes play out across a lifetime in lower incomes, higher unemployment and higher rates of incarceration.

Although America's population is changing, these are old color lines. They are boundaries in which the effects of

race and class are compounded by each other and form what the social scientists call "cumulative disadvantage." Lots of studies have shown that various factors such as education, employment, crime, housing and health care are all causally linked. Setbacks in different realms act on each other in ways that accentuate negative outcomes overall. Fixing any one or two problems at a time does not necessarily remedy the whole situation under such circumstances. For low-income blacks and Latinos, the individual factors may often differ. For example, while one is contending with discrimination based on race, the other is dealing with exclusion based on immigration status. But nonetheless, they share that condition in which the whole is much worse than the sum of the parts. Du Bois saw something similar more than a hundred years ago when he wrote, "To be a poor man is hard, but to be a poor race in a land of dollars is the very bottom of hardships."

Even if immigration policies are resolved, even if discriminatory barriers to high achievement are removed, the problems of the young and the unschooled—increasingly a population of non-whites—will fester. At many points in their parallel trajectories blacks and Latinos have each faced the special hardship that develops when color lines overlap with economic disadvantage. In the past they have almost always faced that hardship separately, and their distinct experiences with it have shaped their distinct identities. Now perhaps, in this regard, they have more in common than ever before. What remains to be seen is whether or not they will deal with this hardship together. If it happens, it will be in places like South Los Angeles and the other urban communities they increasingly share; places where black and Latino young men often fight each other even though they share that bottom of hardships and the dismal fate it imparts. ■

Talia Milgrom-Elcott is a Program Officer in Carnegie Corporation's Urban Education program, focusing on human capital and data and accountability. Prior to joining the Corporation staff, Talia was the Project Director of System Transformation at the New York City Department of Education. Working as part of Chancellor Joel Klein's team, Talia supported and helped to implement system-wide reform efforts, including the creation of over 300 Empowerment Schools and the redesign of student support services. She is interviewed here by Susan King, Vice President, External Affairs Director, Journalism Initiative, Special Initiatives and Strategy, about the National Program's hypothesis about the need to change "human capital" practices in order to reform schools and assure student achievement.



A PERSPECTIVE ON SCHOOL REFORM *and* HUMAN CAPITAL

*An Interview with Carnegie Corporation
Program Officer Talia Milgrom-Elcott*

Susan King: You're a lawyer, and you're an education reformer. That doesn't seem like a marriage made in heaven. How did these two worlds collide—or is it a marriage?

Talia Milgrom Elcott: Made in heaven? No, probably not. But I can trace how I got here. I went to law school with a little bit of the "children-of-the-sixties" idealism that law would be a tool for social change, and that having a law degree would enable me to do some more interesting things at a higher level than I could do without it.

What I learned in law school, perhaps more than anything else, is that the law can sometimes be a tool for social change, but it is more often a blunt instrument. Even though it was sometimes useful and even necessary to bring legal recourse as a solution to a problem, it was usually after the fact, when something had gone wrong, and I was much more interested in focusing on how to avert problems and how to fix the deep, systemic and often seemingly intractable

societal ills before they became full blown and needed legal remediation.

SK: You realized then that the law was most powerful at the end of a problem—way down the pike, when all the players meet in a courtroom.

TME: Exactly. There's no case—in legal terminology—unless something has gone wrong. And I realized I didn't want to ask after-the-fact questions. I wanted to ask, "how do you fix the things that are going wrong? What can we do proactively to change the circumstances, to provide opportunity, to alleviate suffering" as opposed to waiting until after a problem had become impossible to fix by any means other than to punish the person who has done something wrong. So, I walked out of law school with a real sense of the importance of addressing deep and intractable problems and with the realization that law was a tool but

not the sharpest of tools, and that I could find better ways to address really important and tough issues more directly.

SK: So you're at the point where you've earned your law degree, but you are convinced that social change is what you want to work on.

TME: Yes. I cared about issues of opportunity and access. Especially as they coalesce in inner cities. And what I found was that education sat in the middle of all these issues.

In focusing on education and on fixing public schools in the inner cities, where the people who most often face those problems live, I feel you have the opportunity to jump-start solutions and really change the game, change the field. If you improve students' education, it widens their opportunities and expands their access. You can radically alter life outcomes with a much smaller invest-

ment in fixing things like the system that we have for immigration or for “reparating” people when they return from prisons. Problems like drug addictions, HIV—these are deep and systemic. But there’s plenty of evidence to show the investment in education creates a multiplier effect with many benefits down the road, like reduced violence, and as a result, reduced prison sentences, a reduced prison population and a stronger economy.

When I was finishing out my clerkship with Judge Robert Sack of the Second Circuit Federal Court of Appeals, I spent a lot of time talking to people who were smart and interesting and asked them where were the most compelling opportunities to help create change in New York City, where was the energy? A number of people I really respected said that the Department of Education under Chancellor Joel Klein best embodied those qualities. I wanted to know who was doing innovative work and solving seemingly intractable problems around core issues that I cared deeply about, and the Department of Education sounded like that kind of place.

I sent a résumé off and got a call asking me to come in to meet with the chancellor. I walked into a meeting with him, and he basically asked me, “Why do you want to be here?” I said, “I’ll be honest with you, it’s not because I think the educational system is the issue.” Education itself wasn’t the passion I brought to this, although it turned out, when I thought about it, that I had spent time doing education volunteer work all through college; I spent a year at a youth village in the north of Israel that was basically a boarding school for at-risk kids from around the world. So, I had a deep connection to education, and I told Chancellor Klein that I really believed education was the smartest way of investing in solving other problems I thought were equally important

and as critical to fix. And that’s it. He said, “People say to me all the time, ‘You can’t fix education until you’ve fixed poverty,’ and I tell them ‘No, it’s the opposite: you can’t fix poverty until you’ve fixed education.’” We saw education the same way, as the lynchpin. He offered me a job that afternoon, and I worked with him and his team for the next two-and-a-half years.

SK: Building on your thought that it wasn’t necessarily education that called you, there are cynics who look at education and see a series of grand designs: it’s this reformer, that reformer, this theory, I’ve got the answer...etc.

TME: It’s a hodgepodge.

SK: Right, a hodgepodge. And the problems seem unsolvable because, after all the theories have been tried, in the end there’s nothing to prove what clearly worked.

TME: And that’s been the big criticism of education reform efforts over the last forty years. What do we know? The major critics of public education would point to the fact that while over the last forty years our investment in public education has doubled, our results have declined almost as much! It’s not quite that extreme, but our educational results continue to decline as our investment goes up. What are we doing wrong?

That fact, along with the reality that a lot of philanthropic efforts have had similarly shoddy results, has eroded public confidence in public schools. I take restoring trust in public education as part of the mandate driving this work. I’m a deep believer in public schools. I believe that they are critical to our identity as a country. They are, to borrow from Drew Gilpin Faust, the president of Harvard University, both the symbol and the engine of social mobility in this country. And they are a place where there is a chance to shape an identity as an American.

SK: What does that mean for the Corporation’s education reform work?

TME: Given that these issues are so important, the way I see my mandate is the same way a good teacher or superintendent sees theirs: I have a duty to get results. The more we fail, the more that public confidence declines—public confidence not just in the institutions of public schools but in the potential that the system of public education can even work.

But there are signs of progress. What we’ve seen in the last eight years, for example, are pockets of success. And we’re seeing the emergence of success that’s rooted in more than just individual, one-off schools with poor kids that are getting some really great results. We’re also seeing more than the “Stand-and-Deliver” model: the one great teacher in the failed Los Angeles high school who teaches his students calculus even though no one believes they can learn it. What we are seeing is some scaling up: we have moved from that one great teacher and one great school succeeding against the odds, to successful systems of schools. We’re also seeing that some of our charter management organizations (CMOs), some CMO systems, are getting good results with black, Latino, poor and immigrant kids. We’re seeing this in New York City, with thirty-four percent growth in the graduation rate over the years since Mayor Bloomberg came into office.

SK: But I want you to convince me of that. I hear about statistics, but I still say that it’s the teacher who inspires the student and makes the difference.

TME: We would totally agree. So a major focus of Carnegie Corporation’s work is to support those efforts that help identify who the effective teachers are and how you get them into the classrooms of underserved students, as well as how you get good information that tells you what is happening in your school

and how you use that information to change the practice in the classroom. The reason I came to the Corporation was to work with Michele [Cahill, Vice President, National Program, and Program Director, Urban Education], who I worked with at the Department of Education. We both believe that we must support concrete efforts that ensure that there are effective teachers in the classroom. Our work focuses on making good teaching the norm, not the exception.

This work focuses on how you develop the designs of schools differently, but, at the core, there is always the question of how you get great teachers and principals into the schools of the highest-need kids, knowing that at the end of the day the most important person for any individual student, at any one moment, is the teacher. The reason systems matter, the reason that the principal matters, that the school matters, is because great gains in one year can be completely erased in the next year. And we have plenty of evidence of this, too. The fact is that if a student has three bad teachers in a row over three years, the kid pretty much will never close the achievement gap, never be able to catch up to his or her peers. So, if a great teacher is followed by three bad teachers, then that great teacher is irrelevant to the student's development. Therefore, you need that great teacher, but you also need a system of great teachers, and you only get a system of great teachers—a sequence of them—in a school where the principal demonstrates great leadership, and in a system that knows how to get those principals into the schools that need them, and to support them in getting the teachers they need into the classrooms.

SK: You are focusing on human capital, data and accountability. It almost sounds like nothing about education. It doesn't sound anything like inspiration. Why are

these so clearly the levers of change to create inspiration for individual students?

TME: I've spent a lot of time figuring out why these three areas of focus are the critical ones and also how to articulate this.

I would argue, first, that this is a hypothesis about change, and we need to be held accountable for whether or not it works—but I think it's a good bet. We're seeing a lot of emerging evidence that supports this as a hypothesis, but for me it's still a hypothesis until I actually see the change on the ground.

Knowing that the teacher is the greatest influence on the student, and that the principal is the second greatest influence because, at least in part, the principal can choose and support the teacher, we must get highly effective teachers and principals into the highest-need schools. That is the key to transforming education options and opportunities for high-need kids. That's the first pillar of Carnegie Corporation's work.

And to do that well, you need to know what's happening in the classroom. How do you help the teacher become highly effective? In some ways that's the key question. And we would say that at least part of the answer is support and training. I'm thinking of a good human capital system, but an important element of such a system is getting information about students into the hands of their teachers. How are the teacher's students doing, what do they know, what don't they know, and how do they get what they need in order to succeed? How can teachers learn what they need to understand about their students and address what the students haven't learned? And so the second pillar of our work is data: how do you get this critical information about students into the hands of their teachers in a way that's timely and actionable.

And then we ask the question, how do you hold teachers and principals in the school system accountable for stu-

dents' results? How do you align students' outcomes with teachers' outcomes in a way that both rewards the best work but also encourages innovation?

What we have found, and it's true across systems—education has by no means innovated this, in fact, I'd call it a lagging sector—is that when you align interests, when teachers' interests parallel their students', when teachers understand that they will be held accountable for results, then people come up with really interesting solutions. When teachers are told that they really need to demonstrably improve their students' achievement, they find ways of doing that. When all these factors fall in line, what we've seen is innovation across the board in the places that are the most focused on outcomes.

So data and accountability are critical elements for success. That means knowing what's happening, getting that information into the hands of people who see the whole system so that they can make the right kinds of policy decisions, and doing all that in an environment of accountability, which unleashes as much creativity as possible. That's how you create the types of new programs and innovations that lead to real change and sustainable gains.

Great teachers and principals, innovative people who are accountable and have access to the information they need, will result in innovative designs. But these things can only flourish in a school and a system that is geared for student success. So even the best teachers and principals, with all the information and all the right accountability in the world, can't succeed in a school or in a school system that is dysfunctional—where they don't get paid on time, where they don't have the types of supports that they need, where they are working alone, where there isn't scheduling so the right teachers are teaching the right students and collaborating with their colleagues in a way that makes sense.

Large comprehensive high schools were built in the 1950s, and even earlier, based on a very different model of students and a very different model of success: the assumption was that many students would not graduate from high school and certainly would not go on to college. And that was acceptable. But in an environment and an economy that has radically shifted, it's no longer acceptable just to graduate from high school. You really are looking at the need for some kind of postgraduate certification, even if it's not a full four-year degree. You need to have a very different design for how today's high school looks and functions.

SK: We have talked about some cynicism around school reform. The difference now, it seems to me, is that with this emphasis on changing human capital, using data, and demanding accountability—there is a triangulation, in a way, around the problem of school failure.

TME: The reforms were always well meaning. And there was a certain sense of not being surprised, for example, when black kids failed. We weren't really surprised that immigrants never really learned English. Or that children who came from single-parent families dropped out of school.

Part of the shift in our thinking now is that when you believe that everyone can succeed, you begin to make demands of the system that it never before demanded of itself and failed to meet. In that way, you begin to fix not just individual schools, but whole systems of schools.

That is the first problem of the earlier reforms, and I think the second was that the reforms were small. They focused on curricular or instructional fixes, and didn't incorporate that idea that the system itself needed to change. But what was really needed was to wrench the system, to ratchet it up to a different level. Once people began to believe that every

child could succeed, it became clear that a very different educational system was needed because the system, as it was designed, didn't *intend* for every child to succeed.

In some ways, the organizing principle behind all the reforms became—had to become—exactly that belief: that every kid can graduate from high school prepared for college. And that belief raises a series of fundamental questions. Why does every student not have a high-quality teacher? Why does every school not have a high-quality principal? Why does that principal not have the autonomy, and the accountability, to do his or her job well? The tools and supports they need to make that happen? Why are schools scheduled the way they are? Why are they the sizes that they are? Why do they have or not have the supports that exist in other institutions? Why are there not supportive adults involved with every student if you believe that every child can succeed?

And those questions, I think, are the beginnings of the reforms that have very much informed the three pillars that Carnegie Corporation invests in: human capital, data and accountability, and school and system design.

SK: What's next for you?

TME: As I said earlier, I certainly feel like education sits in the middle of a lot of societal problems and of figuring out remedies. I didn't set out to make a career in human capital or in education reform and yet, here I am, four-and-a-half years into this piece of my career, feeling like there is a lot more to give and that the momentum continues to build. I feel very much a part of a movement that is on the upswing, with the results beginning to come together, the energy beginning to coalesce, and it feels to me like we can see a tipping point. If that point is finally reached, then I'll probably go on to find the next intractable problem, and the next. ■

“A Time of Crisis” *continued*

been made that upwards of a quarter million students may be turned away...as a result of sheer capacity limits.” Add to all this the need for public universities to upgrade and modernize their physical infrastructure in order to maintain fundamental educational, research and service functions to meet growing enrollments as well as respond to technological advances, and it is clear that something needs to be done.

The good news is that a groundswell of support for confronting these issues does exist. It grows out of a Summit on Public Higher Education that the Corporation convened in October 2008, in conjunction with Matthew Goldstein, Chancellor of The City University of New York. A representative group of public education leaders participated in the gathering, which eventually resulted in an open letter to then-President Elect Obama that, with Corporation funding, appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Boston Globe*. The letter, signed by more than forty chancellors, presidents and chairs of the boards of public higher education institutions, including five national and state higher education associations, called for federal, business, state and education stakeholders to establish a twenty-year vision for educational attainment as part of a national strategy to ensure America's continued competitiveness and security. There is ample precedent for such a call to action on behalf of public higher education. As long ago as 1947, the Truman Commission, created by President Harry Truman to examine the U.S. system of higher education, issued a report entitled, *Higher Education for Democracy*, that offered a vision of the role that public colleges and universities could play in advancing the life of our nation. Commenting on the report, President Truman said, “Higher education in our Nation is confronted today with tremendous responsibilities...Most importantly, we are challenged by the need to insure that higher education take its proper place in our national effort to strengthen democracy at home and to improve our understanding of our friends and neighbors everywhere in the world.”

Public universities and colleges recognize the urgency of improving education outcomes, raising graduation rates, preparing more first-rate teachers, and building human capital in science, engineering and mathematics. Now is the time for America's leaders and citizens to once again heed President Truman's challenge to ensure the vitality of our democracy by reengaging with and revitalizing our public colleges and universities in order to help them contribute—as they always have—to the progress of our nation.

A Quiet Revolution

by KAREN THEROUX

FOUNDATION PARTNERS SPUR CHANGE

Carnegie Corporation's decades-long history of grantwork in Africa has tackled issues ranging from apartheid to AIDS research, public libraries to public health. In the late 1990s the Corporation appointed a new president, Vartan Gregorian, who brought a fresh point of view to the foundation. A past president of Brown University, Gregorian urged a shift in focus to African higher education, arguing that supporting universities there would accelerate national development, produce capable leaders and encourage innovation. However, he believed this wasn't a task to take on alone. "He wanted to see more foundations sitting down together and crafting joint solutions," recalls Andrea Johnson, a Carnegie Corporation program officer in African Higher Education. "His vision was analyzing together and coming up with common strategy several foundations could flow into."

Meanwhile, presidents of three other prominent foundations with pro-

A coalition dedicated to revitalizing Africa's universities looks back on nine years of transformation and considers the challenges to come

grams in Africa were thinking along similar lines. Together they agreed to form the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, a unique collaboration of Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller, Ford and MacArthur foundations, officially launched in 2000. The leaders of the four institutions traced their decision to two important trends: First, a significant number of African nations were implementing democratic and economic reforms for the first time in thirty years, and second, despite still very difficult circumstances, many higher education institutions in those nations were responding in creative ways to these reforms and to the pressing needs of their countries.

"A number of universities were turning themselves around with little outside investment," recalls Joyce Moock, who was an associate vice president at the Rockefeller Foundation in the Partnership's early years. "This type of change gave a great deal of encouragement to foundations to go back and assist a movement that was already underway. The partners felt that smart grantmaking could catalyze the universities' cooperation with one another, while forming networks would bring down the unit cost and help leapfrog to the new technologies now available. Putting our heads together would be symbolic, we felt; we could raise the flag and show it was time to go back into Africa."

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BEN FRAKER

Partnership launch, April 2000: (left to right) Vartan Gregorian, president, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Jonathon Fanton, president, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation; Kofi Annan, United Nations Secretary General; Susan Beresford, president, Ford Foundation; Gordon Conway, president, Rockefeller Foundation.

IN AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Raoul Davion, program officer with the MacArthur Foundation, described the optimistic outlook of people then working in Africa on education and technology development. “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,” he told the *Carnegie Reporter*. “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.”

“While the challenges facing African countries are daunting, Africans determined to address them are increasingly focused on the crucial task of strengthening their universities,” Gregorian said in announcing the formation of the Partnership. “We believe that the graduates of these universities can contribute enormously to helping their countries move forward.” Susan V. Berresford, president of the Ford

Foundation, added, “This is clearly the right moment to have a ‘bias for hope’ and to increase support for their leaders.” Presidents Jonathon Fanton of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and Gordon Conway, then of the Rockefeller Foundation, also signed on and, at the time of the launch, the four foundations boldly committed to providing more than \$100 million in support over the following five years.

The Partnership for Higher Education in Africa is newsworthy because collaborative ventures in philanthropy on *this scale* simply are not the norm, even when there is broad agreement and a shared mission among organizations. “At first people didn’t know what partnership would mean,” Johnson says, “and the early meetings were actually rather contentious.” Accustomed to forging autonomous paths, most foundations resist joining forces in planning and executing major strategies—a fact that could have sabotaged this group’s goals. Instead, a satis-

factory solution was proposed from the start. As Jonathan Fanton simply stated, “This Partnership will be flexible and approaches will differ.” In other words, besides working jointly, each foundation could continue to support higher education institutions individually in its chosen way and in the country or countries where it had traditionally focused.

“But we are united,” Fanton stressed significantly from the beginning, “in the belief that strong universities and intellectual freedom are indispensable preconditions in developing and sustaining healthy democratic societies.” While the nature of the activities to be supported would vary, there would be regional and inter-country education leadership links along with continent-wide learning networks and collaborations in selected fields. “This process

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Karen Theroux is an editor/writer in the Corporation’s Public Affairs department with many years’ experience in educational publishing.

of change in African higher education is being aided by broadened recognition on the part of governments of the multifaceted contributions that universities can make in national development and poverty alleviation,” said Conway, pointing out that the change and innovation resulting from the Partnership’s efforts would come from the universities themselves, within the context of their own countries.

The foundation presidents and staff hammered out core principles for the Partnership and determined how it would run, including regularly scheduled staff meetings, an annual presidents meeting and a rotating chairmanship. “The four foundations crafted a joint statement word by word,” Moock says. “Everyone considered it very significant because we were saying something together we could not say by ourselves.” In this statement, the Partnership established that universities would receive support based on set criteria: ■ Being located in a country undergoing systemic public policy reform; ■ Supporting innovation, particularly through use of new technologies; ■ Engaging in a strategic planning process committed to helping build national capacity for social and economic development; ■ Having creative, broad-based institutional leadership in place.

They also outlined what the Partnership’s initial work would encompass, including such projects as analyzing the causes and consequences of change in African universities; creating regional networks to build economies of scale and critical mass in selected fields, especially science and social research, and building up the role of universities in sustaining economic growth, community coherence and social justice. The Partnership planned to establish a forum of leaders of African universities and to collaborate with participating institutions on grant strategy, evaluation and best practices.

The foundations’ grantmaking aimed to provide balanced academic and practical strategies, enabling universities to produce a new generation of scholars, analysts, scientists, technologists, teachers, public servants and entrepreneurs. Joyce Moock says the Partnership realized that the role of universities was to anticipate the future. They needed to develop “translational capacity—the ability to turn knowledge to use. This encompasses job creation and job attainment,” she says. “The whole enterprise of invest-

ment needs an atmosphere where new talent can flower.”

Beyond how African universities functioned, the Partnership intended to change the way these institutions were perceived, on the continent and globally, according to Carnegie Corporation’s Narciso Matos, director of the Higher Education in Africa program from 2000 to 2007. “It’s not about counting heads, or about how many students we have trained, how many study programs have been organized or how many computers we have provided,” he said. “What’s

Although decision making became more labor intensive, the benefit of this serious, in-depth discussion was more important than how the money was flowing. Ideas would flow and it improved our grantmaking skill.



November 2008 meeting of the University Leaders Forum on Developing and Retaining the Next Generation of African Academics, Accra Ghana.



Andrea Johnson, Carnegie Corporation of New York

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Narciso Matos, formerly of Carnegie Corporation of New York

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equally important is the change of mood, of attitude, of perception about education, about the role of universities, our role in promoting dialogue, improving the relationship between government and institutions in the country.”

To make sure these goals and interventions aligned with Africans’ own higher education priorities, the Partnership consulted with university leaders and commissioned seven case studies from scholars living and working in the individual countries. These studies not only enhanced knowledge about higher education in Africa, they also helped shape the foundations’ future grantmaking efforts. They focused on specific institutions, such as the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania

and Makerere University in Uganda, and the systems of higher education in Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria and the Eastern Cape Province in South Africa. (All seven case studies are available at www.foundation-partnership.org). The findings have been incorporated into official strategic development objectives and have been widely shared with African governments, other funders and the general public, including individual and institutional grantees. In addition, to assure ongoing interaction with leaders in African higher education, a formal venue was developed for supporting communication with and among vice chancellors—the University Leaders Forum, which first convened in 2004. In addition to informing the grantmaking of the Partnership, its ongoing meetings focus and elevate the level of debate within the African higher education community, and outcomes tend toward action and advocacy.

Working Together and Apart

The Partnership makes its grants through two funding vehicles: Joint Partnership Initiatives, and Individual Foundation Grantmaking. Joint Partnership support in four focal areas emerged in the early years: ■ ICT development ■ research and advocacy ■ regional networks for research and post-graduate training and ■ the University Leadership Forum for promoting innovation.

Over time, different partner alliances have formed around different issues, depending on the member foundations’ priorities. Individually, each Partnership member works directly with grantees in one or more of the focus countries according to the foundation’s mission, priorities and geographic mandate—often reflected in the organization, operation and culture of the universities—and funding decisions are made independently by each founda-

tion using its normal mechanisms for review and decision making.

Carnegie Corporation’s programs are concentrated in former Commonwealth countries, while the MacArthur Foundation works in Nigeria and the Great Lakes region. The Rockefeller Foundation has focused on eastern and southern Africa, and the Ford Foundation has pursued its grantwork throughout the continent from offices in Egypt, Kenya, Nigeria and South Africa. “We had the greatest number of overseas staff of any foundation and worked in more countries, but we didn’t have a coordinated approach,” says Ford Foundation vice president Alison Bernstein. “The Partnership enabled us to coordinate with other foundations and to coordinate internally. Joining with other foundations was a stimulus for our overseas Africa staff to look at higher education with a fresh perspective and to talk about social needs.” Working in partnership is never simple—not within an organization or with other donors, Bernstein admits, “so, yes, there were blemishes, but it was still a stimulus to more constructive grantmaking. The proof is in the pudding,” she says. “We have accomplished many different things that would have been very hard to do otherwise, especially in the first five years.”

After the Partnership was formed, foundations still had many individual projects going on, says Joyce Moock, yet there was a lot of discussion with partners from other organizations before actions were taken. “Previously, we would just do it,” she says, “but now we would bring our ideas to the table and get a lot of coordination, even for individual actions. It was like a think tank. Although decision making became more labor intensive, the benefit of this serious, in-depth discussion was more important than how the money was flowing. *Ideas* would flow and it improved our grantmaking skill. This is

an invisible side of the Partnership that the numbers really never showed.”

According to Bernstein, while foundation staff were initially more annoyed than enthusiastic about the idea of collaboration, over time it was born out that working together helped the field. “The presidents were on to something,” she says. Andrea Johnson admits that the impetus to collaborate was weak. “Presidential initiatives don’t necessarily penetrate deep into the foundation,” she says, “and there was probably a disconnect between the presidents’ intentions and the staff interpretation. Besides that, between 1998 and 2009 there’s been huge staff turnover in every core foundation, a situation that made it hard to create relationships.” Considering the turnover, Bernstein sees the way staffs have worked together as rather remarkable. Some of the worst weaknesses were eventually overcome with a coordinator’s office to help manage complicated projects. “It also gave grantees in the field a place to call and ask, ‘how do I contact the Partnership?’” Johnson adds.

In 2002 the Partnership set up headquarters at New York University, where its myriad activities were coordinated by Liz Levey, who among other tasks oversaw the setting up of the Partnership’s Web site. Suzanne Grant Lewis took over the coordinator’s role in 2006 and, with minimal staff, currently oversees Partnership committees and working groups, consultants and publications, internal communications and outreach. Lewis’s take on the Partnership is positive, yet realistic. “As we work together, the extraordinary foundation staff commitment is a big strength; there’s real good will and camaraderie,” she says. “It’s an interesting philanthropic experience and an important cause, and in spite of imperfections it’s done a lot of good. Foundations have improved their ways of interacting with grantees as a result of learning from one another.

Funders are glad they’ve gone in because it’s helped them branch out into new areas and deepened their involvement. The bulk of Partnership grants are having a tremendous effect.”

Bandwidth: More Is Better

Arguably no Partnership effort has had a greater impact than the Bandwidth Consortium, an idea that began taking shape early on and in time became the Partnership’s flagship project. The plan was to form an alliance of institutions and buy bandwidth in bulk from a satellite service provider. This approach would achieve a boost in digital connectivity at substantially reduced cost and make full digital participation a more realistic possibility for African universities. “The bandwidth project came out of listening,” Johnson explains. “We were at a workshop with African grantees in 2002 and every agenda item we came to, they said ‘we don’t have the bandwidth to do it, and we can’t afford to get it.’”

Bandwidth was (and is) a major expense for African universities, with service delivered by a patchwork of providers. Consumers in Europe and North America would typically pay less than \$100 a month for far more bandwidth than African universities obtained for thousands. In all but a handful of African countries, less than two percent of the population was online, generally with poor service. As one scholar complained, “If I want to download a journal article, I start the process, make a cup of tea, and go back to my computer, and it will still be downloading.” Johnson says it was clear to everyone there was a great need, and “if we didn’t deal with the bandwidth issue, we just weren’t being responsible. Yet it *never* would have happened without the Partnership,” she contends.

Even with widespread agreement on need, the Bandwidth Consortium was so ambitious and complex it took



Alison Bernstein, Ford Foundation



Joyce Moock, formerly of Rockefeller Foundation

three years to come to fruition. Its aims are twofold: first, to lower the cost sufficiently to enable institutions to purchase all they need; and second, to grow demand to the point that the Consortium would eventually become self-sustaining, operating without Partnership funding. Clearly, the program adds value to Partnership investments in African universities, where large portions of their grants are being used to build networks, train staff and access online resources, and the ability to afford more bandwidth has had a positive effect on the universities’ use of technology for teaching, learn-

ing and research. At the same time, the Consortium has effectively become a price leader, enabling some universities to use its pricing as leverage in negotiating discounts with other suppliers.

The Bandwidth Consortium is critically important because there is still no land-based fiber-optic cable available to most of the continent, meaning most Internet access in Africa is provided by satellite. While fiber is expected to become more widely available as early as 2010, this change doesn't guarantee that prices will drop. South Africa, for instance, has had access to fiber for many years, but prices below those provided through the Consortium aren't anticipated until a new international

cable becomes operational. As one of the largest Internet service providers in Africa, the Bandwidth Consortium can leverage lower prices for its clients and, as national fiber backbones are not likely to include all universities, it will continue to help the higher education sector bargain for cheaper, better quality services.

The Bandwidth Consortium announcement in 2005 coincided with the re-launch of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa. By this point, member organizations had contributed more than \$160 million (\$60 million beyond their original commitment). In its first five years, the most significant focus was on the development

of universities' physical infrastructure and human and organizational capacity. Support went toward building core capacity and advancing special initiatives at universities in six nations: Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda, with Kenya becoming the seventh nation that year.

Announcing a new \$200 million commitment to African higher education by 2010, the foundation presidents re-launched the Partnership in September 2005 in conjunction with the U.N. General Assembly and World Summit, and were joined by Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who was a key participant at the launch in 2000. Having witnessed how partnership enhanced the efforts of the original members, the William and Flora Hewlett and Andrew W. Mellon foundations also signed on, followed by the Kresge Foundation, for a total of seven partners. Judith Rodin, who succeeded Gordon Conway as president of the Rockefeller Foundation, made note of the progress underway at many African universities. "Knowledge, innovation and talent are critical currencies needed to thrive in today's interconnected world," she said, "and Africa's universities are increasingly looked upon to generate the ideas and talent necessary to address Africa's challenges, on Africa's terms."

"We expect the universities in which we invest to become the foundation of a higher education network that will serve all of Africa for decades to come," Vartan Gregorian added. Partnership members expressed satisfaction with how earlier investment was paying off, noting many accomplishments—from a Ph.D. program for plant breeders to bolster the continent's homegrown food supply, to bringing sixty percent of operations online at the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, a jump from 25 dial-up links to the Internet to a cam-

(Continued on page 45)

The gains made by the universities we support are heartening, but they are only a start. We know that to relax, even for a moment, is to risk sliding backward.



(left to right) John Butler-Adam, Ford Foundation; Claudia Fritelli, Carnegie Corporation; Suzanne Grant Lewis, Partnership for Higher Education in Africa; William Moses, Kresge Foundation; Katherine Namauddu, Rockefeller Foundation; Ria Collingwood, Partnership; Raoul Davion, MacArthur Foundation; John Schoneboom, Partnership.

Individual Foundation Grants

The grants listed here illustrate the diversity of activity, geography and funding arrangements within the Partnership. For a complete listing go to www.foundation-partnership.org and click on “grants.”

■ MacArthur Foundation support to Ibadan University (Nigeria) for \$10.5 million between 2000 and 2007 resulted in staff development, enhancement of information and communication technology and training, improved institutional facilities, and a stronger governance system of the university. One-hundred percent of the 140 lecturers who trained overseas returned upon completion of their fellowships. *This began as an individual grant and later attracted joint support.*

■ A grant to the Kenya Education Network Trust (KENET) of \$600,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation in 2007 supported the replication of KENET’s university e-readiness assessment methodology by several eastern African countries to support the effective use of information and communication technologies in learning, teaching, research and management. *This began as a joint grant and was continued individually.*

■ Grants totaling \$1.6 million were made by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to the University of KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa) for the Leadership and Equity Advancement Program (LEAP), in which black and women masters and doctoral graduates were appointed to three-year lectureships from which they can move into permanent positions as those positions come open. Mentoring support in teaching and research is provided. *These grants involve multiple funders, but not the entire Partnership.*

The remaining grants are all individual projects.

■ Kresge has a five-year \$10.5 million program to build the private fundraising capacity at four South African universities (Pretoria, Witwatersrand, United World College and Cape Peninsula University of Technology) and the Red Cross Children’s Hospital Trust, a training hospital of the University of Cape Town through support to the South African Institute for Advancement (Inyathelo). Complementing that support is a series of Kresge grants to each institution for the development of five-year strategic plans.

■ Carnegie Corporation of New York supports Makerere University (Uganda) School of Graduate Studies, for the professional development of academics in the conduct, management and dissemination of research in line with national development goals. Forty percent of beneficiaries are female.*

■ Ford Foundation support of \$400,000 to Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (South Africa) for the Phulisa project recruits and trains black and women doctoral students and young academics, and creates employment opportunities and career paths at the university.

■ At the University of Education, Winneba (Ghana), Carnegie Corporation funded the creation of a Graduate School of Research and Post-graduate studies with a focus on women.*

■ A 2000 MacArthur Foundation grant for \$50,000 supported a strategic planning process at the University of Port Harcourt (Nigeria) that led to additional institutional strengthening grants of \$4.6

million for staff development and the improvement of information and communications technology and library and science laboratory equipment.

■ The University of Witwatersrand (South Africa) received \$500,000 from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for their Senior Research Scholars programs, which bring retired scholars back to campus to mentor and work with younger scholars and graduate students on research.

■ The Rockefeller Foundation support to the African Population and Health Research Centre has enabled it to enhance community-based efforts in provision of comprehensive HIV/AIDS care and support to poor households in Kenya (\$1.4 million in 2007).

■ The Hewlett Foundation’s support to INDEPTH (an international nonprofit for demographic and health evaluation in developing countries) has strengthened the demographic surveillance sites and university population training centers in Ghana, Kenya and South Africa (\$2.1 million since 2005).

■ The University of KwaZulu-Natal is studying the nature of post-graduate educational research in South Africa, examining the problems investigated, methodologies employed and strength of the theoretical knowledge. Jointly funded by the Ford Foundation and the National Research Foundation, each providing \$240,000, the investigation provides postgraduate training involving collaborative policy research. This grant represents a future focus of the Partnership on the next generation of academics.

**Funding for these projects is part of larger grants.*

pus-wide system of 1,000 networked computers. (See the sidebar opposite for a sampler of successful projects.) At the same time, the foundations acknowledged the need to maintain their focus. “Strong universities and intellectual freedom are indispensable preconditions in developing and sustaining healthy democratic societies,” Jonathon Fanton commented. “The gains made by the universities we support are heartening, but they are only a start. We know that to relax, even for a moment, is to risk sliding backward.”

More Signs of Progress

Having secured greater connectivity, a logical next step was to exploit this capacity gain. One promising idea is e-learning, which has the potential to dramatically enhance teaching and learning at African universities. In 2005 the Partnership contracted with an Africa-based think tank, the Centre for Educational Technology, to determine the best strategic approaches for using e-learning. The resulting report proposed ideas for improving access to high-quality education and research opportunities, building academics’ capacity to teach effectively and enhancing institutional management and administration. “The report gave us the lay of the land,” says Carnegie Corporation program officer Claudia Frittelli. “It was phase one. Realistically, because there are still some gaps in infrastructure, the next phase should identify a number of small pilot projects. Once we see results, others will come along.”

With a \$6 million price tag, e-learning is the largest single joint investment of the Partnership so far, Frittelli says, and it will be supported equally by Carnegie Corporation and the Ford, Kresge, MacArthur and Rockefeller foundations in cooperation with the Centre and the South African Institute for Distance Education (SAIDE), an organization that supports open learning



EVEROD NELSON

Presidents meeting, June 2008: (left to right) Don Michael Randel, Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; Luis Ubina, Ford Foundation; Judith Rodin, Rockefeller Foundation; Vartan Gregorian, Carnegie Corporation; Paul Brest, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation; Jonathon Fanton, MacArthur Foundation.

and technology utilization. Launched in July 2008, the project includes proposals for educational technology strategies for eight selected African grantee universities in the first year, followed by implementation of e-learning activities in years two through four. Working with multiple universities provides leverage and promotes shared learning, according to Frittelli, and a concurrent research component will build an e-learning network, monitor best practices and disseminate findings. “We’re counting on the fact that professionals prefer to learn from their colleagues rather than attend training sessions,” she adds.

“What this project is *not*, is distance learning,” Frittelli explains, which “isn’t a practical choice with relatively few computers available.” The projects are all geared toward better pedagogy and improving the on-campus experience for both students and educators, particularly in under-resourced environments. Workload and access problems could be alleviated by putting course content online, which might also positively impact quality assurance. It would be especially helpful where textbooks and other learning materials are scarce.

“Of course, this is only the beginning,” she cautions, “and options such as the best learning management systems to use—open source? Something else?—are still being explored. Things will be really interesting two years from now when we see meaningful results.”

Another notable joint initiative is the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA). This closely interrelated and coordinated set of research, policy and advocacy networks, considered the go-to place for higher education data on the continent, is supported by \$1.5 million in grants from Carnegie Corporation and the Ford, Kresge and Rockefeller foundations. African higher education experts, including the Association of African Universities, collaborated on the Network’s design, and Partnership funding has been supplemented by an additional \$1 million grant from the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad).

The Network’s mission is to build awareness among decision makers about the relationship of higher education, development and democracy. Two research programs are currently under-

way: “Higher Education and Economic Growth” and “Higher Education and Democracy.” These programs have produced the first database on higher education and development across seven countries in Africa and an analysis of relationships between higher education institutions and national and regional economic activities. Another achievement is the *HERANA Gateway* (www.Heranagateway.org), an information portal linked to 17 Web sites offering information on African higher education.

Taking Stock and Making Plans

“The Partnership has transformed so many significant things,” says Tade Aina, who joined Carnegie Corporation in 2008 as program director of Higher Education in Africa. “It brought many other players to the table. Even if they didn’t want to come at first, it led them to think about higher education in a serious way. This changed the nature of the debate, which in turn changed the African universities themselves.” Aina cites the many investments in infrastructure, such as libraries and labs, in connectivity, journals, training of staff and post-graduate education, as major contributions. However, African higher education is currently afflicted by an acute crisis of capacity coupled with soaring demand, and research shows that several factors exacerbate the problem: the loss of older generation academics; a shortage of Ph.D.-level faculty (with too few men and women entering academia) and the ongoing brain drain. These factors make the need to attract, train and retain the next generation of African scholars a key concern, otherwise hopes for the continent’s social, political and economic transformation are dim.

The University Leaders’ Forum on the Next Generation of Academics, funded jointly by the Partnership and attended by vice chancellors of Africa’s most influential universities, has taken

on the challenge of analyzing current faculty capacity and developing strategies for reversing some problematic trends. These include climbing vacancy rates (40 percent or more) at some of the continent’s top universities, for instance, and about 20,000 professionals leaving Africa annually, with others moving to better paying jobs in the private sector or in the continent’s wealthier countries. As a result, universities with little capacity for graduate training are making do with teachers who have bachelor’s degrees or even with graduate students.

Over \$40 million in Partnership funds has been dedicated to supporting the next generation of academics

working within functional universities and collaborating through networks and other kinds of academic communities, a task Allison Bernstein sees as “the highest priority...the most important effort all the foundations can get behind.” The work needs to be done, even if it’s through the individual foundations, she argues. “These universities won’t be useful to their societies without qualified, competent faculty. Ford will do that kind of work regardless,” she says, “but collaboration would improve grantmaking.”

At the latest annual meeting of the foundation presidents in summer 2008, the decision was made to continue to provide support for many current proj-

The shift toward more government interaction is important because no matter how much donors invest, if the government climate is not positive or responsive and the citizenry is not engaged, projects will fall short.

since 2005. But research presented at the Forum indicates future support is desperately needed to combat “push” factors such as lack of infrastructure, gender discrimination, heavy teaching loads and low remuneration and “pull” factors such as higher academic status, better training, pay and public funding found in other countries, all of which influence potential academics’ decisions. A meeting of the Leaders’ Forum in Accra, Ghana in November 2008, intended as a call to action on African higher education, generated promising strategies for cultivating and acquiring new academic talent and for fostering the professors currently in place.

Solving the next generation problem will require highly trained academics

ects plus others in the pipeline, either as individual or joint projects, and to phase out the Partnership office at the end of their 10-year commitment in 2010. By that date, they noted, \$350 million in Partnership grants will have gone to universities and other African institutions and programs in nine African nations. The foundation presidents (including the newer members and presidents appointed after the 2000 launch) asserted their intention to carry on working with renewed vigor, forming new alliances as appropriate and relying on the expertise of foundation staff members to lead individual projects and coordinate joint ventures.

Going forward, greater efforts should be made to communicate with

relevant African government officials, Aina maintains. The shift toward more government interaction is important because no matter how much donors invest, if the government climate is not positive or responsive and the citizenry is not engaged, projects will fall short.



MICHAEL FALCO

He says policymakers need to do more than prove to the community that universities are important; they need to be champions for excellent universities. “Outsiders cannot be the only ones to make a difference,” he says. “The people must mobilize. It’s up to the donors to let people know they must get their own movers and shakers to champion universities, knowledge creation and transformation.

“We need to help Africans think differently about their universities in a more positive way, to manage differently and engage differently. And we need to help everyone think differently about how Africa and the U.S. can work together.” Influencing policy is critical, according to Aina. “At first the partners were timid about policy intervention,” he says, “and they held back from addressing issues like harassment, quotas, codes and ethics. But eventually they saw that when donors concentrate on specific issues, universities realize they have to pay attention. It’s important leverage and has a multiplier effect. Today there’s a very engaged debate

about all aspects of the future of education — by Africans and with Africans.”

The Partnership has supported 49 African universities affecting 350,000 students. A comprehensive assessment of its work by an independent evaluator in 2008 found that collaboration had achieved the intended leveraging effect. It offered greater convening power, enhancements to individual foundation grants and increased scale and scope of interventions through joint funding, although the foundations’ decision to remain autonomous has, at times, hampered the Partnership’s efficiency. Aina sees Carnegie Corporation as a central player in an ongoing effort to provide focused, systematic funding that responds to the defined needs of university partners. This “interactive engagement allows universities to improvise and to adapt aspects of initial strategic planning; in other words, to learn by doing. The Corporation has a long tradition of promoting knowledge and equity, peace and understanding in Africa. It will always have a role to play there,” he maintains.

The Partnership for Higher Education in Africa was designed to demonstrate the best that philanthropy has to offer by pooling knowledge and strategies. Launched in response to the innovations underway at many African universities, its goal was to make these institutions part of a global network where creativity is fed through experimentation and shared experiences, and to facilitate their transformation to robust intellectual institutions. This transformation would reflect a quiet revolution in institution building in Africa, able to unleash the talents of the continent for the well being of its people and those beyond its borders. Ten years on, this revolution, nurtured in part by a small group of committed foundations, shows signs of being solidly under way. ■

Omotade Akin Aina

Program Director, Higher Education in Africa

Sociologist and Africanist “Tade” Aina joined Carnegie Corporation in September 2008. He has been involved in the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa from its beginning, having previously served as an executive with the Ford Foundation since 1998. Aina was born in Lagos, the largest city in Nigeria, attended the University of Lagos and the London School of Economics and holds a doctorate in sociology from the University of Sussex. He was a professor at the University of Lagos for 16 years, lecturing on urban poverty, governance and development. He also helped found the Nigerian Environmental Study Team and the Lagos Group for the Study of Human Settlements.

“People need to be empowered through education to help themselves,” Aina says. “My mission is to continue to facilitate and promote access to knowledge and understanding that will drive the empowerment of African people to make the correct choices. Whatever that takes.”

RecentEvents



Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian accepts his honorary degree from Yuichiro Anzai, president of Keio University.

Keio University Celebrates an Anniversary

Tokyo's Keio University, the first private university in Japan, turned 150 in November 2008. To commemorate this landmark, the university presented honorary degrees to the institution's two international advisors. Vartan Gregorian, the Corporation's president, who served as President of Brown University from 1988 to 1997, was honored for his work with Keio as well as his contributions to higher education and his leadership in philanthropy. Peter Mathias, past president of the International Economic History Association, was recognized

as a former master of Downing College, Cambridge, which has a long association with Keio University, and as Chichele Professor of Economic History at Oxford University. In a rare tribute, Emperor Akihito (accompanied by Empress Michiko) marked the occasion by giving an address.

Continuing a Legacy of Social Innovation

Vartan Gregorian welcomed Luis Ubiñas, recently named president of the Ford Foundation, with a reception in September 2008. Ubiñas was previously a director at the consulting firm McKinsey & Company where he led research on the impact of new technologies on business and society around the world, including many of the locations where Ford has field offices—China, Mexico, Russia, Brazil and Chile. Ubiñas has a distinguished record of leadership in the nonprofit sector, particularly with organizations providing educational opportunities to low-income African-American and Latino students. Upon joining the Foundation he wrote, "I welcome the opportunity...to continue fostering an environment of creativity and innovation for our staff, and to keep the promise inherent in Ford's mission: to be a resource for the courageous people around the world."



Luis Ubiñas, ninth president of the Ford Foundation.

MICHAEL FALCO

Educating South African Students for the Real World

A delegation from Vaal University of Technology in South Africa visited the Corporation in November 2008 for an exchange of ideas on that nation's higher educational institutions formerly known as technikons. Vice chancellor Irene Moutlana led the discussion, which emphasized the role these institutions play in helping to fulfill South Africa's urgent need for stimulating economic growth and increasing international competitiveness. At a university of technology, technology itself is the object of study, she explained, and emphasis is placed on career preparation, relevance, practicality, experiential work-integrated learning and applied research. The goal is to produce a new generation of graduates with specialized knowledge and relevant skills required for success in the "real world." The discussion was hosted by Rookaya Bawa, program officer and manager, African Libraries Project.



Thomas Weiss and Sir Brian Urquhart

Wise Advice for the United Nations

In November 2008, professor and author Thomas G. Weiss, a longstanding grantee of Carnegie Corporation, led a discussion on the themes of his new book, *What's Wrong with the United Nations and How to Fix It*. Weiss is presidential professor of political science at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, and director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies, where he is co-director of the UN Intellectual History Project. According to Weiss, six decades after its establishment, the UN

EVEROD NELSON



(Left to right): Claudia Frittelli, program officer, International Program; Dr. Irene Nomhle Moutlana, Vaal University vice chancellor and principal; Dr. Velile Notshulwana-Mqota, professor of psychology, Essex County College, New Jersey; Dr. Gordon N. Zide, deputy vice-chancellor: Institutional Support; Omotade Akin Aina, program director, Higher Education in Africa and Rookaya Bawa, program officer and manager, African Libraries Project.

EVEROD NELSON

seems ill-equipped to deal with modern challenges to world order, and its system of related agencies and programs is perpetually in crisis. His book takes a diagnosis-and-cure approach to the world organization's troubles and outlines substantial changes in intergovernmental institutions needed to bring the UN back to health. Sir Brian Urquhart, who has held a series of key positions at the UN since its founding, also participated in the discussion. He wrote in the book's foreword, "I hope that Weiss's book may give rise to the kind of productive and far-sighted discussion that the original governments of the United Nations, led by the United States, found time to engage in during a world war over 65 years ago."

Leading the Way in Medical Education

In January 2009 the Corporation hosted a reception for George E. Thibault, the new president of the Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation, a privately endowed philanthropy located in New York City, which supports programs designed to improve the education of health professionals and works to enhance the representation of minorities in these professions. A physician who trained at

Massachusetts General Hospital and at the National Heart and Lung Institute in Bethesda, Dr. Thibault was previously vice president of Clinical Affairs at Partners HealthCare System, Inc. and a professor of medicine at Harvard Medical School. His research has focused on the evaluation of practices and outcomes of medical intensive care units and variations in the use of cardiac technologies. "It's a very exciting opportunity to influence medical education nationally," Thibault told the *Boston Globe*. "These are things that I've been interested in all my career, but now I can do them on a national scale."

Facing the Challenges of Middle East Policy

Danger and Opportunity, a new book by Ambassador Edward Djerejian, explores the struggle of ideas between the forces of extremism and moderation in the Arab and Muslim world. Djerejian is the founding director of the James A. Baker III Institute for Public Policy at Rice University, and a former United States ambassador to Syria and Israel as well as assistant secretary of state for Middle Eastern affairs under Presidents Bush and Clinton. In February 2009, Carnegie



JOSE A. RIVERA

Mary Robinson, Debora L. Spar and Vartan Gregorian.

Corporation celebrated the ambassador and the book, which includes advice for the U.S. president on coherent strategies for interacting with the Islamic world.

From Harvard to Barnard

Political scientist Debora L. Spar, the recently appointed president of Barnard College in New York City, was honored at a Corporation reception in February 2009. Among the guests was Mary Robinson, the first woman President of Ireland and the former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Spar, a gifted teacher-scholar and innovative administrator, was previously the Spangler Family Professor at Harvard Business School and Senior Associate Dean, Director of Research. Spar has devoted herself to the concerns of social justice, serving as Chair of the Harvard University Committee on Human Rights, and as the creator and Chair of Making Markets Work, a program to develop leaders in both the private and public sector in African nations.



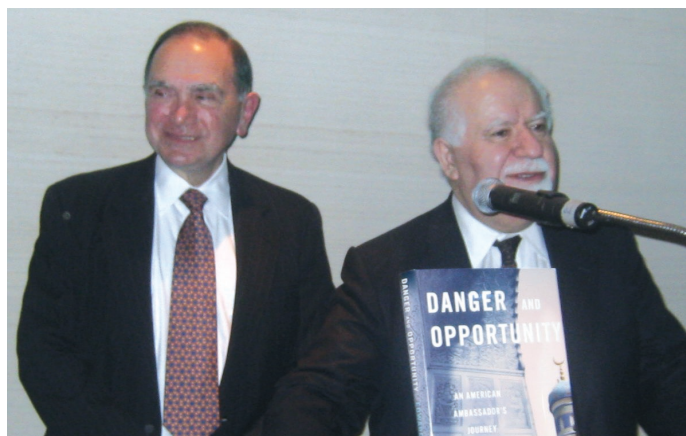
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Carnegie Corporation's Geraldine Mannion Honored for Creative Grantmaking

Geri Mannion, Program Director, U.S. Democracy and Special Opportunities Fund, and Taryn Higashi, Executive Director of Unbound Philanthropy, formerly of the Ford Foundation, have been named co-recipients of the 2009 Council on Foundation's Robert W. Scrivner Award. Recognized as grantmakers with a commitment to making a critical difference in a creative way, they received this prestigious award for conceiving new, effective ways of supporting immigrants' entry into the American mainstream. To get funds—quickly and without layers of administration—to local groups on the frontlines of immigration reform, the two broke from tradition and helped establish the Four Freedoms Fund (FFF), which combines donors' funds and develops strategy to protect immigrants against abuses, promote humane immigration policies, engage newcomers in civic life, and build bridges between receiving communities and new residents.



George E. Thibault, president, Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation



JOSE A. RIVERA

Ambassador Edward Djerejian and Carnegie Corporation President Vartan Gregorian.



(Above) Winning librarians flanked by presenters (far left) Annalisa R. Crews, library media specialist and Janet L. Robinson, publisher and chief executive officer, *The New York Times*; (far right) Vartan Gregorian, president, Carnegie Corporation of New York and Jim Rettig, president, American Library Association.
(Below) Paul McIntosh with colleagues and students.



Librarians Feel the Love

In December 2008 Carnegie Corporation, *The New York Times* and the American Library Association teamed up to honor the ten winners of the *I Love My Librarian Award*. Representing the best from the nation's 123,000 libraries, the awardees were recognized for outstanding service to their communities, schools and campuses. "These ten librarians deserve applause because their professionalism has won the attention and respect of their neighbors," said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation. Janet L. Robinson, president and chief executive officer of The New York Times Company, added, "Literacy and public access to knowledge are critical to our democracy and the work of these librarians, quite simply, enriches us all." A ceremony was held at the *Times* headquarters in New York City, where a \$5000 award was presented to each of the winners (listed in order of the photograph above, from left to right):



Janet L. Robinson introduces the winners.

- Linda Allen, Libraries Director, Pasco County Library System, Hudson, FL
- Margaret "Gigi" Lincoln, Library Media Specialist, Lakeview High School Library, Battle Creek, MI
- Jean Amaral, Reference Librarian, Antioch University New England, Keene, NH
- Iona R. Malanchuk, Associate University Librarian and Head of the Education Library, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL
- Elaine McIlroy, Director, Wellfleet Public Library, Wellfleet, MA
- Amy J. Cheney, Librarian, Alameda County Library, Juvenile Hall, San Leandro, CA
- Paul McIntosh, Library Media Specialist, Wadleigh Secondary School for the Performing and Visual Arts, Harlem, NY
- Jennifer Lankford Dempsey, Library Media Specialist and Technology Coordinator, Wrights Mill Road Elementary School, Auburn, AL
- Arezoo Moseni, Senior Librarian, The New York Public Library, Mid-Manhattan Library, The Art Collection, New York, NY
- Carol W. Levers, Community Services Librarian, Kansas City, Kansas Public Library; Weekend Supervisor, Plaza Branch Library, Kansas City Public Library, Kansas City, MO

ALL PHOTOS © PAUL M. GAYKOWSKI



(From the top) Paul LeClerc, president and chief executive officer of the New York Public Library with Arezoo Moseni; Paul McIntosh and Carol W. Levers; Amy J. Cheney and colleagues.



Librarian Elaine McIlroy (pictured above) wrote Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian a letter of thanks, excerpted here:

"More than a month has passed since the sparkling *I Love My Librarian Awards* ceremony, and I am still basking in the glow. As we were walking through the festive streets back to our hotel at the end of the evening, my husband quoted from one of his favorite movies, *Robin and Marian*, "we'll never have another day like this."

I want to thank you and the Carnegie Corporation of New York for your many contributions to the event, the award and our libraries. I am honored and energized by this amazing recognition and happy to report that my community is delighting in the award as much, if not more, than I am....

With this award, it's as if a smooth beach stone was tossed into a deep Wellfleet pond and wonderful and surprising responses keep radiating from the center. My favorite is that more people are using the library. The publicity and focus have brought them back, or brought them in for the first time....I am also looking at the library with renewed vigor and vision and leaping at some opportunities to institute new services and resources that have come my way because of the award."

Foundation Round up

GAVI ALLIANCE

"Vaccine Bonds" Invest in a Child's Welfare

The International Finance Facility for Immunization (IFFIm) will sell bonds in Japan to help fund programs that will provide vaccination for children in poor nations. Dubbed "vaccine bonds," they will help the 27 million infants globally who would not otherwise be vaccinated against most common childhood diseases. Funds raised by IFFIm on the world's capital markets support the work of the GAVI Alliance (formerly the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization) which uses philanthropic dollars, government contributions, and private investments for the purchase and distribution of vaccines to the poorest countries in the world. IFFIm hopes to raise more than \$250 million equivalent in Japan by selling bonds to retail investors.

"IFFIm's vaccine bonds are a special proposition not only because they are a AAA-rated investment but also because they offer investors the deep

inward satisfaction of knowing that their money is being used for something extraordinarily worthwhile," said Alan Gillespie, Chair of the IFFIm.

To learn more about this initiative and others from the GAVI Alliance please visit: <http://www.gavialliance.org> and <http://every-child.gavialliance.org>



COUNCIL on FOUNDATIONS

A Record \$5.4 Billion Donated to International Causes in 2007

According to the report, International Grant Making IV: An Update on U.S. Foundation Trends, prepared by the Foundation Center and the Council on Foundations, international giving is likely to grow in the near term and remain a focus of U.S. foundations.

The report examines the current state of foundation giving for overseas recipients and U.S.-based international programs. Among its major findings is the fact that international giving grew faster than overall giving between 2002 and 2007. In other words, international support rose more than

50 percent, compared to a 22.3 percent rise in total giving.

While the Gates Foundation accounted for more than half the increase in funding between 2002 and 2006, international giving still grew faster overall, benefiting from increased funding by new (and largely new) foundations with growing endowments, as well as indicating the responsiveness of larger foundations to natural and humanitarian disasters around the world.

The largest portion of grants went to U.S organizations targeting Sub-Saharan Africa, with additional overseas funding going toward global programs. Funding generally went to healthcare and environmental initiatives.

Highlights as well as a link for purchasing the report in its entirety can be found at: http://foundation-center.org/grainknowledge/research/pdf/intlgmiv_highlights.pdf.



Peter G. Peterson
Foundation
Our America. Our Future.

Partners Drive Federal Budget Reform

With urgent economic challenges facing the nation, the

Peter G. Peterson Foundation, The Pew Charitable Trusts and The Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget announced a partnership that seeks to build bipartisan consensus for core Congressional budgetary process reforms. The Peterson-Pew Commission on Budget Reform will bring together preeminent experts to make recommendations for how best to strengthen the budget process currently used by federal lawmakers.

The commission will meet over the next two years to address issues in existing budget rules, concepts and processes, among them inadequate oversight of the national budget, outdated accounting standards, and congressional gimmicks used to circumvent rules.

"The need for this effort could not be more urgent," said David M. Walker, president and CEO of the Peter G. Peterson Foundation. "The budget process lacks transparency and our federal budget path itself is unsustainable."

For more information on the Peter G. Peterson Foundation please visit: www.pgpf.org

For more information on The Pew Charitable Trusts please visit: www.pewtrusts.org

Recent Books supported by Carnegie Corporation



Making Modern Muslims The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia

Since the 9/11 attacks in the United States and the October 2002 Bali bombings in Indonesia

(which resulted in the convictions of students from a Muslim boarding school) Islamic education in Southeast Asia has become the focus of intense international attention. Carnegie scholar Robert W. Hefner, professor of anthropology and director of the Program on Islam and Civil Society at the Institute on Culture, Religion and World Affairs, Boston University,

believes much can be learned from looking at Islamic education and Southeast Asian politics side-by-side.

Based on a two-year research project by leading scholars from the area, *Making Modern Muslims* aims to shed light on the direction of Islamic education by examining where, culturally and politically, it has come from. The book focuses on schools

in five countries – Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Cambodia, and reveals the nature of the struggle for hearts and minds taking place across the region.

To read about other Corporation-supported books, visit our web site: <http://www.carnegie.org/reporter/18/books/>

THE BackPage

On February 5, 2009, General Colin Powell delivered an address at the Colin Powell Center for Policy Studies at the City University of New York. This is a condensed version of that speech.

I can't think of a better place to talk about the integration of immigrant populations into America than in this city and at the City University of New York. The city of New York is celebrated around the world as the place where people from all over the world first come to America. You know about the Statue of Liberty and about Ellis Island. We have a museum on Ellis Island that commemorates those arrivals. Our streets and neighborhoods bear the indelible marks of immigrants' cultures, their languages, their food, their ideas. Nowadays, there are many gateways into the U.S., but New York remains marked in a special way by its immigrant residents and by the neighborhoods and families they came to build over these many years. And it is important to note that people didn't just come here to find jobs or to go to school. They came to be Americans, because that meant to come from anywhere in the world and take your place alongside other people from anywhere in the world, and for all to somehow belong to something new, something wonderful. Never forgetting your roots, never forgetting where you came from or where your family came from, but now you're all one—a strong *one* in our great diversity. The city has thrived on its immigrant residents and there is a wise recognition in the policies of this city of how vital immigrants are to New York City and New York State.

In this most cosmopolitan of cities, City College has also played an extraordinary role in the lives of countless immigrants. Few experiences bind people to the life of their society more than the process of getting an education. Working-class people ensure middle-class lives for their children by sending them to school, getting them an education, and always looking for the next gen-

eration to do better than the current generation. My parents were not terribly well educated. My mother had graduated from high school and my father had not when they came here from Jamaica. And occasionally, when there were family disputes, we'd hear them arguing, and when she wanted to get even with my father, my mother, in that typical Jamaican

new country and make sure that their children appreciated what they were getting.

Immigrants become new Americans every day on campuses, in classrooms, in the company of other students struggling with their own transformations. Immigrant kids have for decades come to City College, both because it was

Appreciating Our Nation of Immigrants

by GENERAL COLIN POWELL

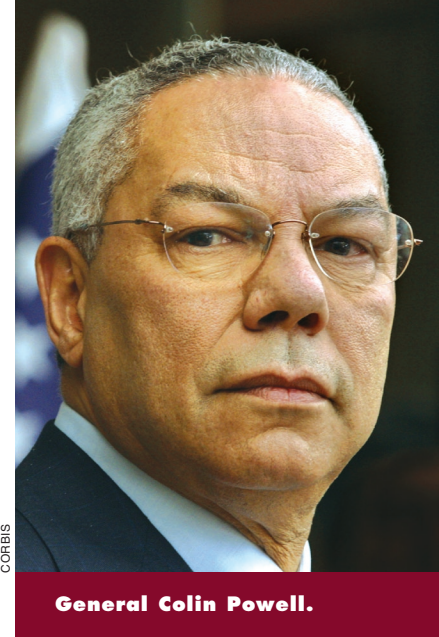
West Indian fashion, would suck her teeth as only a Jamaican can: "Cha, him who never graduated from high school!" She would always hold that over him. But between the two of them and all of my aunts and uncles, they understood that for the next generation to do better than they did, education was the key. We cousins and kids had nothing to say about it. It was an expectation that we would all go to school. Not only would we finish school, we would go to college and we would finish college. We were never asked about this. There was no discussion in the home. It was a given. And if you didn't meet the expectation of these simple folks who worked in the garment industry, you were shaming the family. There was no greater curse that could be put upon you than for one of your relatives, especially your mom, dad, or one of the aunts to say, "What! You have shamed the family." Hit me, beat me, do anything you want, but don't give me that "shame the family" bit, which is what they would do every single time, because they had dreams, they had expectations for you, and they insisted that you meet those expectations. It was that immigrant desire to do well, to work hard and become part of this

free and because it is still relatively cheap, and also because it explicitly set itself up to welcome people from all over the world into the life of this city and this country. In these classrooms, people from around the world are thrown together. They sometimes struggle with English and sometimes, if not always, struggle to make ends meet. Their ideas and lives jostle against one another in these corridors. And in that experience, they learn about the central importance of diversity to American life and to the American tradition.

Notwithstanding this positive experience, this great immigration experience of ours—we are an immigrant country—people sometimes forget this. There are too many of our fellow citizens and leaders who want to focus on a discussion about protecting America from the dangers that our immigrants pose. They worry about American culture being overwhelmed by an influx of people who don't speak "our" language or who worship in a different way or dress in an unfamiliar way. Others, particularly after 9/11, grew concerned that by too widely opening our doors to others we let in those who wished to harm

us. These views threaten to break the central connection that has always existed between America's vibrancy and her immigrant residents. Others argue that cheap labor from undocumented immigrants takes jobs away from American workers, drive wages down, and saps resources from our social services.

There are serious problems with these perspectives. To begin with, they often simply distort the reality of the situation. We've all heard high-profile success stories, immigrants who become prominent members of our society, but there is more routine truth that's often lost in that conversation. As baby boomers get older and leave the American workforce, this country will increasingly need new labor, and our needs will be most pressing not just in the high-skilled jobs that are currently in favor in immigration policies, but in semi-skilled and in skilled blue collar jobs. Moreover, there is substantial agreement that no matter what people might say, immigrants typically contribute more to our social services than they take from them. They pay Social Security taxes and income taxes and often never draw any benefits from the Social Security system. They make judicious use of



General Colin Powell.

CORBIS

health-care facilities, not withstanding the other points of view you hear, and they typically rely on family networks, connections and family structure to deal with their social service needs. Study after study from across the political spectrum confirms that our economy utterly depends on the contributions of immigrants, documented and otherwise. Advocates in both conservative and liberal think tanks argue for measures that will broaden and stabilize the supply of workers that come to the U.S. from abroad. Cities like New York have made special provisions to protect immigrants seeking social services in order to prevent inquiries into their status precisely because they play so vital a role in the prosperity of this city. We have to protect this valued group of people.

Now, obviously, there are reasonable concerns about the security of our borders and there is nothing wrong with efforts to reduce or eliminate the flow of new, undocumented aliens into our country. Reasonable proposals to make our borders less porous have to be part of any balanced immigration reform because it is not unreasonable to secure our borders. But this must be part of a comprehensive immigration reform effort. We cannot approach immigration policy reform as simply a matter of border security. For one thing, border management alone, without supporting policies, is not likely to work. If the political and economic incentives surrounding immigration remain unchanged, if nothing changes in our current policies, immigrants will continue to overwhelm whatever enforcement efforts we try to put in place. Resolving our immigration problems will require that we strengthen our borders, but also that we devise policies to promote economic development in neighboring countries.

When I was Secretary of State, I worked on this issue with Jorge Castañeda, then the foreign secretary of Mexico. We knew that the ultimate solution to undocumented immigrants coming to the U.S. was to create economic opportunities in Mexico and Central America so people could stay home and have decent jobs and a good quality of life. That still has to be our ultimate objec-

tive. And we have to do more than strengthen our borders; we have to find economic policies that help our neighbors, that embody sensible decisions about who is allowed into this country and under what circumstances. We can neither throw open our borders entirely, nor can we shut them down completely. We must, rather, think about the rights and roles of new Americans and temporary residents in relationship to our broader interests of security, prosperity, and democracy.

We have lived through some tough days since 9/11. And we're living in tough days now with respect to the economy. In such times, the newest and least integrated members of society are often particularly vulnerable. They often have the fewest reserves to fall back on in hard economic times, and they are easy targets when people begin to look for scapegoats. As a result, in our public politics we have too often been urged toward shortsighted and politically fearful responses, often toward people who many Americans see as different from themselves.

But in about another 20 or 30 years, the minorities of America are going to become the majority—some 51 percent. And any political party or leader who thinks they can ignore this issue, ignore immigration reform, does not understand the demographics of our country any longer, and doesn't understand that this demographic is being driven to a large extent by immigration.

Fortunately, we have had good leadership at the highest levels of government on immigration issues over the past few years. Immigration reform predictably raises questions of economic growth, the prosperity of our workforce, the security of our borders, and the character of our national community. I have seen this in action, and it is hard for any elected public official to take on immigration reform without angering some supporters. It takes commitment. It takes courage. And despite the risks and the costs, I saw President George Bush push long and hard for immigration reform beginning early in his administration in 2001. I saw him work very closely on a bipartisan bill in 2006, largely written by Senators Ted Kennedy

and John McCain. While the legislation did not succeed, we know that ultimately, we will have to go back to this kind of reform legislation and build on what was done in 2006.

I am pleased that President Obama does not regard immigrants as a threat to our society or to American workers. He knows that the real danger immigration poses is not that American society would be overwhelmed by new arrivals but that, in our response to immigrants, America might undercut ideals of freedom and equality, and by denying immigrants' rights and freedoms central to the our way of life, we would create a servant class, the very existence of which would undermine the American dream of moving up, of always doing better than your parents. He recognizes that America depends on active participation of immigrants, and I am confident that President Obama will work to build that recognition into our public policies and political traditions.

Some also argue that immigrants are a security threat. They assume that foreigners coming to America must remain foreign *to* America. That is not our history. Debate so often focuses on efforts to stem the flow of immigrants into our country or to establish conditions that immigrants must meet to become Americans that we may forget the powerful good we can do through our integration policies. An immigrant living in America can be isolated and mistreated, can live in fear of police raids and deportation. Isn't it better to bring them out so they can openly navigate the path to becoming Americans and fulfill the expectations that brought them here in the first place? In an immigrant's first embrace of this country, we often see ardent demonstrations of loyalty and patriotism—but only if we return that embrace. I have seen it thousands of times in my military career: the young men and women who come to this country as immigrants and volunteer to serve in our Armed Forces, the children of immigrants who volunteer to serve in our Armed Forces. You will find no better or more loyal soldiers than these young men and women who may already be citizens or who hope to do their service to become citizens.

Immigrants eventually become part of our social and economic fabric. But the policies with which we greet them are, in important ways, self-fulfilling. If we reach out, if we help, they will respond in kind. We can each embrace each other or we can embitter and disappoint immigrants by treating them as a security threat or as just a servant class. Or, we can truly provide for their integration in our society. We can consider their aspirations. Immigrants come to America because they expect life here to be more fulfilling, and our country has been strong in direct proportion to how we meet those expectations. And we must let immigrants know that we have expectations for them. They are expected to work hard, to learn the language, to learn our rules, to fit into our society, and as the generations that have come before them, become caring, considerate and law-abiding American citizens.

Anytime I have any doubts about this grand theory of immigration and integration, I remind myself that when I come home to New York, my greatest joy is to stop at a hot-dog vendor on the street to get a dirty-water dog with mustard and the red onion relish you can only find in New York. I just love them. After I order my hot dog, the vendor—who is always an immigrant—often recognizes me. When I try to pay, the response is always, “No. You can't pay me. I've already been paid: America has paid me. I'm here now. I'll never forget where I came from, but now I'm an American and my children are American and they're going school. Mr. General, America has paid me. Thank you.”

This experience always reminds me of the America that greeted my parents 85 years ago. I see an America that every day continues to greet people like this from all over the world. And if we're going to remain the America that we all love and respect, it has to be an America that greets everybody, whether you're a skilled intellectual or a technician of some kind or just a guy who got here with nothing and is working at a hot-dog stand so he can put his kids in school. This is what's made us great, and let's never forget it. American truly is a nation of nations. ■

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ADVICE TO THE *President*

Ideas to Shape the Agenda of the Obama Administration



Carnegie Corporation of New York has made a marketplace of ideas from top analysts easily accessible to the nation's policymakers. Launched in October 2008 with reports for candidates running for president, the website, www.AdvicetothePresident.org, is a nonpartisan Internet portal that aggregates research on a wide range of issues Americans today consider most critical. It features links to high-quality reports, articles and analyses from established institutions that have produced work they now hope will help guide President Obama and members of his administration. The site also aims to present concerned citizens with different views on such topics as the economy, immigration, healthcare, domestic security, taxes, environmental issues and foreign policy.

Visitors to the website won't find every report produced on every subject, but rather links to suggestions that represent many points of view demonstrating true commitment by those who believe in the great American idea of debate and problem solving. Currently, over 500 documents from 142 institutions are linked. The site is offered as a public service as well as a celebration of those who work in the spirit of the nation's founders to ensure that our democracy is renewed, energetic and dedicated to finding solutions to the problems that face the United States and the world.

www.AdvicetothePresident.org provides easy access to information from think tanks, educational institutions, news media, and nongovernmental organizations representing a broad ideological spectrum, and it reflects the Corporation's philosophy that good government is founded on the knowledge and participation of an engaged and informed electorate. "Americans share a belief in the promise of democracy and the ideals of equality and freedom set out in the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution," says Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation. "This site attempts to make it possible for noble ideas to continue to play an important role in our civic life."

The site drew steady traffic and was linked to the websites of top news organizations and think tanks such as the Aspen Institute and The Caucus, the politics and government blog of *The New York Times*. After the first 100 days of the new administration, the site will reside at the *Columbia Journalism Review* website: www.CJR.org.