

Carnegie

REPORTER



100KIN10

Joining Forces to End the STEM Crisis

The New Americans Campaign

Helping Immigrants Become U.S. Citizens

The Prague Agenda

Avoiding Nuclear Proliferation

Perspectives on Philanthropy

The Role of History as a Guide

Mentoring *for the* 21st Century

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



PHOTO BY MICHAEL FALCO

Last year, it was my privilege to speak at the National Mentoring Summit, convened by MENTOR: the National Mentoring Partnership. The theme of the gathering was *Mentoring Works: Inspire, Achieve, Advocate*, an idea that has particular relevance during this season of commencement ceremonies and speeches. Often, those of us who are asked to address graduating students speak to them of the importance of find-

ing a path through life that will provide them with both personal and professional satisfaction, and remind them of the help they have been given along the way by their teachers and their parents. But it is equally important to point towards the contribution that mentors can make as one progresses through both the successes and hardships that lie ahead for all of us, including students just starting to explore what the future holds for them. Navigating one's way forward in a time of great economic uncertainty and rapidly changing social mores is a challenging prospect for anyone. It helps to have people who have traveled a little further down the road offer to share what they have learned about how to get where you want to go. In that regard, mentorship is both an ideal and a practice that I am deeply committed to. After all, I am living proof that mentoring works. As a matter of fact, it was very important to me to make that point in my autobiography, *The Road to Home*.

Born in Tabriz, Iran, raised by my illiterate peasant yet wise disciplinarian Armenian grandmother, my life was changed thanks to a series of mentors: from my elementary school teacher; to the priest who baptized me and who allowed me to be an altar boy; to a pharmacist; an elderly rich woman with a wonderful library who lent me books; a French diplomat who served as Vice-Consul in my hometown, who encouraged me to go to Beirut Lebanon for my high school

education, where I learned French thanks to a paraplegic poet/copy editor of *L'Orient*, the leading French newspaper in Lebanon; and my headmaster, who was educated in Czarist Russia and had served as the last Prime Minister of that short-lived independent Republic of Armenia (1918-1921).

There are others I must also mention, including a history teacher who was educated in Prague's famous Charles University and who instilled in me a love of history; an English teacher, educated at British schools in Cyprus and later at Oxford, who taught me English; then of course my professors at Stanford University who adopted me, helped me and launched my career—from San Francisco State University; to UCLA; to the University of Texas, Austin; to the University of Pennsylvania, where I served as Founding Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and it's 23rd Provost; to the Presidency of The New York Public Library; to the Presidency of Brown University; and now, to Carnegie Corporation of New York, where I serve as President.

Throughout my career I benefitted from the wisdom of other nationally renowned scholars and individuals such as sociologist David Riesman of Harvard, philanthropists like Walter Annenberg, socialites like Brooke Astor, and corporate leaders such as Andrew Heiskell, Richard Salomon and Alva O. Way, among others. All of them taught me, guided me, and assisted me in making the right choices and wise decisions during different phases of my life. It is because of the benevolence of these many individuals that when I wrote my autobiography I wanted to use the title *With the Kindness of Strangers*. However, my editor reminded me that it would be an inappropriate title because Tennessee Williams had already used that particular phrase...!

All of these individuals taught me, guided me, and assisted me in making the right choices and wise decisions. It is because of them that I was able to make the transition from being a student to becoming a teacher myself. But along the way, it became clear to me that for those in the position of guiding students through what the 18th century dramatist Richard Sheridan called "the fatigue of judging for themselves" how learning becomes knowledge, it is vital to refrain from thinking of their students as blank slates. Not at all. In fact, I ascribe to Plato's notion of the role of teachers as those

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About the cover: To celebrate Teacher Appreciation Week, Carnegie Corporation, along with more than 40 leading education nonprofits, invited teachers, students, parents, and anyone else interested in great teaching to participate in a crowdsourced photo sharing project called "Picture This! Great Teaching." The photo on the cover, taken by Val Collins, shows the Goshen, Indiana High School Engineering Team, which competed in the Shell Eco-marathon. The event showcases student teams from around the globe who design, build and test ultra-energy-efficient vehicles—an example of how STEM (science, technology, engineering and math) teaching can lead to real-world achievements. See the "100Kin10" story above.



About This Issue

the spectrum of both the foundation's domestic and international grantmaking.

At the core of our work is a commitment to the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding, the mandate of the Corporation's founder, Andrew Carnegie. In that connection, contributing to progress and innovation in the field of education has always been among our top priorities. In recent years, the 100Kin10 initiative—an effort to recruit and train 100,000 excellent science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) teachers in a decade—has been an important component of Corporation support for education reform. In this issue of the *Reporter*, "100Kin10: Joining Forces to End the STEM Crisis" by staff writer Karen Theroux, looks at two innovative programs designed by 100Kin10 partners that are recruiting and training talented STEM teachers to serve in high-need schools, an effort that is vital to America's economic future, job creation, and global competitiveness.

Finding ways to address global concerns

of another kind was a passion for Andrew Carnegie, who devoted much of his time, energy, and wealth to promoting international peace and security. Nearly 100 years after Mr. Carnegie's death, the Corporation is still working to achieve his great aim of enabling people around the world to benefit from what he called "the sacred blessings of peace." Two articles in the *Reporter* address this objective from different perspectives. In "Creating and Implementing the Prague Agenda," Gary Samore, Executive Director (Research) for Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, looks through the lens of policies named for President Obama's 2009 speech in Prague to examine the administration's strategy for achieving "a world without nuclear weapons." Elements of the constantly evolving relationship between the U.S. and Russia are highlighted in an open letter to Russian President Vladimir Putin, written by Deana Arsenian, Corporation Vice President, International Program and Program Director, Russia and Eurasia, entitled, "President Putin: Restore Openness to Nonprofit Involvement."

As an immigrant to the U.S., Andrew Carnegie's view of the interconnectedness of

the world was rooted in first-hand experience. The hard work that characterized his early life and the astounding success he eventually achieved gave him a lasting sense of how important it is to provide new American citizens with opportunities to add their contributions to the vitality of our society. In "The New Americans Campaign: Helping Immigrants Become U.S. Citizens," Joyce Baldwin spotlights immigrant civic integration, an ongoing component of Corporation grantmaking over the course of its century-long history.

Finally, "Perspectives on Philanthropy: The Role of History as a Guide," by Patricia Rosenfield, a former Corporation Program Director and current Senior Fellow at the Rockefeller Archive Center, tackles the question of whether foundations and their staff could benefit from a deeper understanding of the successes and failures not only in their own institutions' past but across the range of philanthropic strategies.

We invite you to enjoy these articles along with the other features in this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*.

ELEANOR LERMAN, *Director, Public Affairs and Publications*

100K IN 10: *Joining Forces*



EnCorps Educators from across the state gather for the 2013 Boot Camp at UC Berkeley. For three days they network,

“None of us can solve the whole problem, but together, we can move the world.”

—PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

Knowledge of STEM—Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math—is vital to America’s economic future. But America is in the midst of a STEM crisis. Innovation, which leads to advances in science and engineering, is essential to fuel our future economy and create jobs, says the National Academy of Sciences. Yet for decades, U.S. universities have seen a serious shortfall in the number of likely innovators: STEM graduates. According to the Academy, preparing the diverse technical workforce and science-literate citizenry the country needs demands significant

changes to undergraduate science and engineering education.

Of course the crisis doesn’t start with college. In public middle and high schools, for example, far too many students are taught math or science by someone without a degree or certificate in either subject—that’s the bad news from the National Center for Education Statistics. These students will probably lack the knowledge and skills they need to be full participants in our economy and democracy, chiefly because there aren’t enough qualified STEM teachers to go around. That’s the problem

to End the **STEM** Crisis

by KAREN THEROUX



Learn new classroom management techniques, and practice hands-on strategies for STEM teaching.

PHOTO: WILLIAM PRYNE

President Clinton is referring to, and it's the problem 100Kin10 aims to solve.

100Kin10 is a collaborative movement conceived to respond to the nation's need for 100,000 new, excellent science, technology, engineering, and math teachers in the next 10 years. The movement's inspiration was a call to action in President Obama's January 2011 State of the Union address, reflecting his deep concern that the nation's prosperity, standing in the world, and ability to grow the economy depended on the quality of education American students receive—quality

that, particularly in the STEM field, just wasn't there. Later that same month, Michele Cahill, Carnegie Corporation of New York vice president, National Programs and program director, Urban Education, and Phillip Griffiths, professor of mathematics and former director of the Institute for Advanced Study, took action, bringing together a group of organizations eager to answer the president's call for more STEM teachers to keep America vibrant and prosperous. That group was the start of 100Kin10.

"The theory behind 100Kin10 was

that we could build a national network that would bring together myriad organizations, who would make specific commitments to action and collaborate with each other to make good on those commitments," Cahill says. "We believed this synergistic approach would lead to better ideas, utilization of resources, and outcomes than any single entity could produce."

The 100Kin10 movement is necessary because U.S. schools alone can-

Karen Theroux is an editor/writer in the Corporation's public affairs department.

not provide the quality and quantity of STEM education all students need to address our most pressing national and global challenges. Through this initiative, a broad spectrum of partner organizations, among them corporations, school districts, museums, institutes of higher education, foundations, federal agencies, professional associations, states, and nonprofits, are working together to recruit and train America's STEM teachers and retain them in classrooms. These organizations have made ambitious commitments to increase the supply of excellent STEM teachers, keep strong STEM teachers on the job, and build the 100Kin10 movement.

Last June at Clinton Global Initiative America—where the 100Kin10 movement was first announced—President Clinton acknowledged the initiative's efforts, which had brought in over \$52 million so far. Only two years ago, representatives from 28 organizations had officially kicked off 100Kin10 with an initial pledge of \$20 million. As of 2013, more than 150 partners have committed to 100Kin10, promising to recruit and train over 40,000 science, technology, engineering, and math teachers in the next five years—a tall order, but one the initiative's leaders are determined to meet.

The movement's strength is due in part to the fact that not any STEM-focused organization can sign on. Given the difficulty of the challenge, it's crucial for partners to be up to the task. Those who are chosen for 100Kin10 have proven their ability to contribute content expertise and programming or funding capacity to advance the initiative. Would-be partners have two ways to make a commitment and become part of 100Kin10: Foundations, corporations, and individuals interested in pledging financial support to 100Kin10 may apply to join the initiative's Funding Collaborative. Organizations

interested in making a commitment as programmatic partners may opt for the annual joining cycle, which includes nomination by a current 100Kin10 partner, submitting an application, and vetting by the University of Chicago. Nomination and application rounds are held each year, beginning in the fall.

"The magnitude and complexity of the challenge of 100,000 excellent STEM teachers demand new ways for a broad range of organizations from universities and nonprofits to states and media companies to take action," noted Talia Milgrom-Elcott, Carnegie Corporation program officer, Urban Education, who is leading 100Kin10. "That is why Carnegie Corporation created 100Kin10, a national network through which a cross-section of best-in-class organizations commit to take action and network together toward the overall goal."

Once they're accepted as 100Kin10 partners, organizations have multiple opportunities to communicate with and learn from each other, and programmatic partners have access to the funding marketplace to find support for their work. Opportunities to collaborate come through meetings that range from large gatherings like the annual partners summit, to midsize communications workshops, to small, targeted meetings for problem solving and sharing best practices. Webinars and newsletters also help keep partners aware of one another's work. The University of Chicago Urban Education Institute and Center for Elementary Mathematics and Science Education oversees the 100Kin10 vetting process to ensure that partners have made substantive commitments and are capable of carrying them out as promised. Additionally, the University of Chicago is developing tools for 100Kin10 partners to measure the quality and impact of their commitments.

Turning Science Students into Great STEM Teachers

Miami's first and only public research university, Florida International University is a multicampus, urban institution focused on student learning, innovation, and collaboration. More than 83 percent of FIU's 48,000 students are minorities, and almost 40 percent are the first in their families to earn a college degree. The university is the largest producer of STEM degrees for Hispanics and one of the top producers of STEM degrees for all minorities.

FIU's 100Kin10 commitment, known as "Teach STEM Miami," provides certification at the master's level in both science and mathematics for elementary and secondary teachers. The program involves the Colleges of Arts and Sci-

"The magnitude and complexity of the challenge of 100,000 excellent STEM teachers demand new ways for a broad range of organizations from universities and nonprofits to states and media companies to take action."

—TALIA MILGROM-ELCOTT



PHOTO: MARIA FERNANDEZ

FIU students practice problem solving with base-ten blocks.

100K IN 10 PARTNER:

Florida International University (FIU)

COMMITMENT: *Recruit, prepare, and retain 200 local STEM teachers in 26 low-performing schools in collaboration with Miami-Dade County Public Schools*

ences, Education, and Engineering and Computing, and is run by the university's STEM Transformation Institute, which was set up in 2011 to transform STEM education from preschool through graduate school. Working with local school systems, community colleges, business and industry, foundations, and national education leaders, it strives to create educational opportunities and offer support for all students, coming through multiple entry points,

to become part of a productive STEM workforce.

The Institute was created to serve as a living laboratory of best practices and policies for STEM professionals nationwide, and to bring together all the resources needed for STEM education in the most coherent fashion possible. "We see it as a larger institutional mission to bring these elements together," says Maria Fernandez, chair of the Department of Teaching and Learning,

and program leader and associate professor in Mathematics Education for FIU's College of Education. "And we want to go further than that. We have a group of education researchers already, and in our heavily diverse environment, we can turn the Institute into a lab to learn how to educate these diverse groups."

Public higher education has traditionally been the country's main teacher pipeline. But to be the best source of the best teachers, especially in STEM, requires a new approach. Discipline-based education research (DBER) is a teaching and learning strategy that operates from within a specific discipline such as physics or biology, and uses research to assess effectiveness and drive course reform. Florida International University is actively engaged in DBER, which has been instrumental in the development of the university's dynamic approach to teacher education in STEM.

"Changing how courses are taught will help all of our STEM students," Fernandez says, "and that will feed into the public schools." It's important to create new pathways into teaching, because "a lot of students walk into FIU not thinking that they'll be teachers, then change their minds and decide to help out their fellow humans," she says. FIU has seen how strengthening students' understanding of their field and providing better preparation at all levels can result in their taking a different path in STEM. Because many students are not sure at first, they all have the opportunity to participate in the Learning Assistant program, which involves trial teaching alongside university faculty, to see if they want to pursue a degree in science or math, or follow the teaching track instead. "If they choose teaching, they take the three required certification exams as part of their program, so when they graduate they're certified and ready to go," Fernandez explains.

Nationally, strategies similar to FIU's Learning Assistant approach are gaining momentum—a fact that motivated the National Academy of Sciences to request a National Research Council study on the effectiveness of these methods. DBER combines technical expertise and the study of learning theories, and looks at learning and teaching from a perspective that incorporates numerous factors, including the discipline's priorities, worldview, knowledge, and practices. DBER is not only useful for training future teachers. According to the Academy, this approach already has generated insights that can be used to better prepare students to tackle a wider range of challenges facing our nation and our species, from ensuring adequate food, water, energy, and mineral resources to support a growing human population, to controlling negative impacts such as pollution, global climate change, and loss of biodiversity.

The goal of the Research Council study was to determine how much physics, chemistry, engineering, biology, the geosciences, and astronomy have been

that make lectures more interactive, allow students to work in groups, and that incorporate real-world problems and activities have the greatest impact. For the future, the study recommended exploring similarities and differences among different student populations; outcomes beyond test scores and course performance. More widespread changes in teaching practice among science and engineering faculty are still needed to fully translate findings from DBER into practice, it concluded.

While giving students a more grounded science education could improve their teaching, giving them a chance to sample the teaching experience is equally important because, “there are perceptions about what teaching is about that, until you experience it, you don't really know,” says FIU associate professor Laird Kramer, a scientist whose research interests focus on nuclear physics. Kramer is also founding director of the STEM Transformation Institute. To respond to recommendations made by the President's Council of Advisers on Science and Technology to meet the national imperative for

campus teaching experience that allows students to explore an interest in teaching while helping fellow students learn, at the same time taking a seminar course that explores the “why” behind learning. Students who continue in the LA program take other courses that infuse education theory and practice into a chosen content area, showing the best way to teach in that area. Courses such as Perspectives in Math and Science Education, Inquiry-Based Learning in Earth Science, and Learning Math with Technology offer opportunities to explore a preferred discipline through the special lens of a teacher.

“It's important to recognize that the Learning Assistant program is effective because it allows students to experience being a successful teacher,” says Kramer. “They are also influenced by their peers,” he says. Learning Assistants work together in cohorts and provide each other with positive feedback. “Peer interactions are as important an influence to remain in the career as intrinsic motivations like enjoying the job and having a disposition for teaching,” according to Kramer. As

“The practices we engage in reinforce the importance of working together, including peer-to-peer learning communities. When someone starts to slip there's a friend to bring them back.”

—LAIRD KRAMER

influenced by discipline-based education research, and determine what it would take for the field to be developed further. Research-based instructional strategies are more effective than traditional lecture in improving conceptual knowledge and attitudes about learning, the study showed, and approaches

more and diverse scientists and engineers, the Institute's approaches include implementing collaborative learning models and innovative pathways to increase the number, diversity, and excellence of STEM graduates and teachers.

FIU's Learning Assistant (LA) program is a no-strings-attached, on-

scientists, we collaborate with hundreds of others, which compensates for one another's skills.

“The practices we engage in reinforce the importance of working together, including peer-to-peer learning communities. When someone starts to slip there's a friend to bring them

100K IN 10 PARTNER:

back,” Kramer says. “Some that try and don’t continue have found that they simply don’t feel teaching is for them. The program lets students think about the possibility of teaching, not only as a job but in terms of advocacy and social justice. They experience the rewards, and 12 to 15 percent do become teachers. The others will have a stronger educational stance later in life that filters into their support for teachers.”

All of the diversity in the school as a whole shows up in the Learning Assistant programs. Compared to other universities, FIU is demonstrating similar percentages of students who want to stay in the teaching field, but the proportion of minorities making that choice is higher. According to Fernandez, it’s very important to include diversity in STEM preparation so teachers can be better models for their students. Later on, these teachers tend to remain in the schools that are more diverse, which helps those schools become more stable. Since many of the students come from south Florida, working near home in Miami helps them make this long-term commitment. An important outcome is bringing all these organizations together: leaders, business, universities, districts, partnerships. “That’s one of the big pieces: collecting information from all parts of the community to better inform what’s going on in all different areas that everyone can draw on to better prepare STEM teachers at all levels,” she says. “That’s the most important aspect I see them being able to achieve.”

For all its success, the FIU program faces the same money and resource challenges as other institutions, according to Kramer. But he sees human nature as the bigger challenge in some ways. “How do you get a typical faculty to change their practices and mentoring of students? To stop saying things like, ‘you’re too smart to

EnCorps

COMMITMENTS: *Recruit, prepare, and support 250 STEM professionals as they transition into teaching math and science in high-need secondary schools by June 2014.*

Recruit, prepare, and support 150 STEM professionals over the next three years as tutors and mentors, to engage students in innovative science and math education.

Partner with innovative organizations to create alternative certification pathways designed for career changers to enter the teaching profession in an expedited manner.

Cristina Trecha, Director of the UC San Diego Science Project, leads an EnCorps Boot Camp workshop on Next Generation Science Standards.



Science teachers brainstorm ways to connect students with the new standards.

PHOTOS: WILLIAM PRYNE

be a teacher?” Everyone wants to do a great job for our students and everyone has a vision of what we need to get to, but some can be afraid to stick their necks out. Institutions are slow to change sometimes. External influences like 100Kin10 can be the answer for driving change when it’s most needed.”

Career Changers: A Promising Talent Pool

One important and growing source of STEM educators is successful work-

ing the achievement gap by giving professionals and retirees in science, healthcare, technology, engineering, finance, and math-related professions an accelerated process for transitioning into a teaching career.

EnCorps’ work is dedicated to meeting a well-documented national need. While talented, well-prepared teachers are essential to improved educational outcomes, such teachers are in scarce supply for the students who need them most. Low-income and minority

to expanded applications in the world of work. They also offer a pool of prospective teachers that could effectively grow the profession’s diversity—racially, ethnically, and by gender.

EnCorps was founded by former Hollywood producer Sherry Lansing, who, when she retired at age 60, recognized that many people need “something relevant to do in the so-called third act of our lives.” In 2008, 10 educators from the Bay Area made up the organization’s first cohort of teachers-

“Our folks are amazing... They aren’t scared of new standards and they know what it means to manage a lab or corporation, so they bring excitement and project-based, inquiry-driven learning.”

—ELAINE GUARNIERI-NUNN

ers in related fields. To be effective in the classroom, career changers need excellent, targeted teacher preparation, along with supported, positive first teaching experiences. These needs are met by the EnCorps Teachers Program, a nonprofit organization focused on closing the achievement gap by recruiting math and science professionals and supporting them as they transition into the classroom.

With three major commitments, EnCorps, one of the original 100Kin10 partners, is also one of the most active. Their main mission is to make it possible for corporate professionals to launch second careers in education, with the larger goal of giving all children in disadvantaged communities access to excellent math and science education. Knowing that public schools today face an acute shortage of quality STEM teachers, this innovative public-private partnership is dedicated to clos-

ing the achievement gap by giving students in at-risk schools “consistently have teachers with little experience or marginal qualifications,” according to a report from the National Comprehensive Center for Teacher Quality. Other research has projected a need for 280,000 new mathematics and science teachers by 2015 (far more than 100Kin10) and recommended recruitment of mid- and second-career teachers from professions such as engineering, computing, and health sciences.

A study by the Woodrow Wilson Center concluded that mid- and second-career teacher candidates offer a promising talent pool for the nation’s schools, but that pool was yet to be fully tapped. In addition to their expertise in high-demand disciplines, well-educated midcareer professionals who choose to enter teaching could bring valuable experience to the nation’s talent base of educators, the study said, and help connect teaching and learning

in-training; today over 10 times that many candidates are working with program staff throughout California. Executive Director Elaine Guarnieri-Nunn explains where things stand: “There are currently 130 individuals in the program at various stages in the transition process; almost 40 percent are currently teaching; another 15 to 20 percent will be ready sometime during this year. And we have just successfully recruited between 40 and 50 future teachers in the cohort of 2013.” EnCorps’ application process is designed to weed out people who aren’t meant to be career teachers. “A lot of people start applications but don’t get through the funnel,” Guarnieri-Nunn says. “They apply, and then once they are accepted, we invite them to a preliminary assessment day that includes long interviews, a model lesson, group discussion, an essay, etc. We’re looking for a set of competencies that these

activities evaluate. If they make it through, we invite them in.”

There’s really no typical candidate or participant in the EnCorps program, according to Guarnieri-Nunn. The distribution is about 55 percent men, 45 percent women, and 48 percent persons of color. “Ages, background, and motivation run the gamut,” she says. Their backgrounds range from biology and geology to engineering, finance, and a high percentage of software engineering due to their proximity to Silicon Valley. When the program began, the main target was early retirees, but attrition was high. Then, as the economy slowed, the demographics shifted considerably lower. A typical EnCorps educator today may be anywhere between 32 and 52 years old and have from seven to fifteen years in a STEM field.

“A common factor is that an aspiring educator who comes to us has always wanted to teach,” says Guarnieri-Nunn, “whether it took them five or fifteen years, they have always had that desire.” Her observation is backed up by the Wilson Center research, which showed a significant proportion of 24-to-60-year-olds with at least a bachelor’s degree would consider becoming a teacher in the future, and an equal proportion had considered teaching in the past—indicating this was a decision to which they had given serious thought. Potential teachers were also more likely to have attended selective schools, gotten above-average grades, and to have earned a postgraduate degree.

There are hurdles along the way for transitioning professionals, which EnCorps aims to address. A common one is that they need to negotiate the finances involved in getting a state credential. They also have to be sure they are making the transition at the right point in their lives. People outside the education field typically find the processes of preparation and licensure to be

confusing. Developing clearer, shorter pathways to teaching, that do not short-change quality, are vital to prospective midcareer teachers. Some change their minds and go back into industry. “Most people who quit, do so during the professional development/career pathway preservice opportunities,” Guarnieri-Nunn says. “They tutor for a number of months, then move into guest teaching where they work with a content-area teacher one day a week. Eventually they teach a lesson. If participants slow down at tutoring, they’re most likely to delay transition,” she says. “But those who catch the bug will quickly proceed to guest teaching. Then we help them transition into credentialing.”

The EnCorps approach is specifically tailored for the needs of career changers. They receive mentoring, individual support, ongoing advice and, eventually, help with passing certification exams. STEM professionals committed to working with high-need children are a niche market. The organization’s recruiting strategies are specific to that group, as is the critical preservice piece that’s designed to make sure they don’t crash and burn. People who think they know what teaching is like based on their own life experience may not understand who the learner is today, or what the classroom looks like. The first year for any teacher is tough. EnCorps supports its people, and doesn’t hesitate to counsel out those who shouldn’t be going into the classroom. They’re committed to supplying math and science teachers to low income and underserved schools because these schools are the most vulnerable, often stuck with unqualified teachers, or those who haven’t majored in math and science, or who lack experience. EnCorps aims to keep its people in the classroom longer than the average teacher, who leaves within five years.

Mature professionals are realists about the challenging conditions and

low pay they are likely to encounter in teaching. The appeal of teaching increases with education level and includes individuals of color, who are currently underrepresented in the teaching profession. For those who aren’t put off by these potential deterrents, the intrinsic satisfactions that teaching affords are what they truly seek in a second career. “Our folks are amazing,” Guarnieri-Nunn says. “It’s not surprising—they’re coming in with highly tuned leadership skills picked up from their first career, competencies that made them good leaders. They ask how they can change a faculty or school culture. They aren’t scared of new standards and they know what it means to manage a lab or corporation, so they bring excitement and project-based, inquiry-driven learning.”

As a result of organizations doing the kind of work EnCorps is pioneering, it’s possible to envision a whole new approach to STEM teaching, led by educators who embrace digital learning and think of the classroom, themselves, and their students in new ways. How they integrate digital media will mean more than just using tech in teaching; it will mean ascending to a much higher level of synthesizing knowledge. To quote Guarnieri-Nunn, “What kids will need to know 10 years from now is a world we cannot even imagine.”

But if we can’t imagine, we can prepare. As President Clinton commented about the 100Kin10 collaboration and its promise to tackle big challenges, “We do have the power to rebuild and reinvent these pathways to the American dream... [100Kin10] started with two dozen partners committed to making 20,000 STEM teachers.... Before you know it, we got over 100 partners and 40,000 STEM teachers. And you need to remember that about everything you do for the rest of your life.” ■

THE NEW AMERICANS CAMPAIGN

Helping Immigrants Become U.S. Citizens

The New Americans Campaign reaches out to immigrants who are legal permanent residents and encourages them to become U.S. citizens. Launched in 2012, the large-scale nationwide effort is already making an important difference.

by JOYCE BALDWIN

Sometimes immigrants need an extra nudge to take the first step along the path to U.S. citizenship and all the rights and responsibilities that citizenship entails. Naturalization boosts immigrants' income possibilities and opens the door to full civic participation, including voting in elections, serving on juries, and being able to travel with a U.S. passport. In turn, these citizens bring fresh talent pools and skills to the country's workforce and enhance the cultural richness of U.S. society.

But the naturalization process that leads to U.S. citizenship can be challenging, complicated and expensive, and can require legal expertise to avoid the risk of deportation. The process, as well as personal obstacles that immigrants face, can be so daunting that the 8.5 million legal permanent residents (LPRs) who are eligible to apply

for citizenship have not done so, and fewer than one million LPRs naturalize annually.

Now, an innovative and unprecedented coalition of legal-service providers, businesses, faith-based groups, community leaders, and nonprofit foundations has launched the New Americans Campaign (NAC; <http://newamericanscampaign.org/>) to encourage LPRs to embark on the journey to naturalization and help them navigate the process. The NAC substantially expands the limited capacity and resources available to future citizens and brings a fresh intensity and focus to the issue, using a wide range of services and outreach techniques, including free large-scale application-processing workshops combined with innovative technology efforts, all of which are delivered in multiple lan-

guages. One benchmark that indicates how successful this effort has been is that the Campaign increased its collaborations from 160 with 72 partners to 438 with 107 partners in the year following the first quarter of 2012. The NAC's broad efforts include innovative partnerships with public libraries, schools, and universities; the Campaign has also developed a large-scale volunteer recruitment program. This vigorous effort reaches diverse communities and has built an infrastructure for its nationwide partners that supports an ongoing learning community to spread best practices within the field, deploy new technology, increase access to English and civics classes and prepare for the future by increasing the organizations' sustainability.

The Campaign also seeks to bring attention to the area of naturaliza-

ANS



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tion and to reach people at the federal, state, and local level who are system changers. In an early 2013 letter to the Obama administration, the Naturalization Working Group (co-conveners: National Immigration Forum and NALEO Educational Fund) outlined actions to make the naturalization process more accessible, and its recommendations for financial accessibility and creation of an Office of New Americans are included in the Senate's proposed bill to reform federal immigration.

“Our dual goal is to try to help as many people become naturalized as possible while also building capacity in the sites for furthering the services in the future,” says Eric Cohen, executive director of the Immigrant Legal Resource Center (ILRC; <http://www.ilrc.org/>), which is the campaign's main coordinator. “We want to transform the entire system of naturalization assistance through new levels of collaboration and innovation among the nonprofits, businesses, and other institutions that assist le-

gally qualified residents in becoming U.S. citizens.”

The bipartisan nature of the NAC is ensured by the support of Doris Meissner and James W. Ziglar, who have served as commissioners of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), now known as the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration

Joyce Baldwin has written on a wide range of topics for many national publications and is author of two biographies for young adult readers.

Services (USCIS; <http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis>). Meissner served in the Clinton presidency, and Ziglar, in George W. Bush's administration. The former commissioners, who are senior fellows at the Migration Policy Institute, will spearhead a bipartisan advisory committee to support the NAC efforts and highlight its commitment to citizenship for immigrants as important for strengthening U.S. society.

In November 2012 Carnegie Corporation of New York announced a \$5 million grant to help launch the Campaign, joining the John S.

and James L. Knight Foundation; Evelyn and Walter Haas, Jr. Fund; the Grove Foundation; Open Society Foundations; and the JPB Foundation as the convening funders. Nine national organizations² as well as many regional groups, all with wide experience in the field, are partnering in the effort. The Campaign has knit together 80 organizations nationwide that are committed to the groundbreaking effort. In July 2011 the Corporation awarded \$2 million to the ILRC, which was also the hub of the pilot phase of the initiative that began in July 2011.

Major National Campaign


The Campaign seeks to revamp the field of naturalization assistance, smoothing the path to citizenship for eligible legal immigrants by providing expert assistance and encouragement. At one-day mega workshops, service providers help hundreds of people with their naturalization applications; an interactive Web site (CitizenshipWorks; <http://www.citizenshipworks.org/>) guides prospective citizens through the application process; text messaging provides updated information and electronic tools such as MP3 players and smart phones help people prepare for civics exams, expand their English vocabulary and prepare for interviews. The CitizenshipWorks "toolkit" is a comprehensive, easy way for people to determine their eligibility for naturalization, study for citizenship tests, find legal help, learn about upcoming naturalization events, and, in general, get their questions about naturalization answered. In 2012 the online tool won the Webby Award and the Webby People's Voice Award for Best Law Site and an evaluation conducted in 2013

showed that even for applicants who had never used a computer, 78 percent said it was "easy" or "very easy" to use CitizenshipWorks.

Outreach through the Ya Es Hora! campaign on Univision and its local affiliate stations has helped broadcast information to the public; as a result of these efforts from January to March in 2013 there were more than 2,000 hotline calls and 33,000 visits to the Web site. The NAC has developed media content in Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Pakistani, Spanish, Vietnamese, and English. Other avenues for building connections and sharing ideas include webinars and NAC-Ning!, an online opportunity to share tips, get technical assistance, connect with colleagues on a forum, and continue to build a sense of community.

The NAC partners in New York City; Charlotte, N.C.; Miami; Dallas; Detroit; Houston; Los Angeles; and San Jose focus not only on the urban areas but also reach out to rural communities and other immigrant groups that need assistance but have previously had little or no support because they are hard to reach. Together these sites have 3.3 million citizenship-eligible individuals, representing more than 40 percent of the LPRs in the United States. One of the sites, Los Angeles, has immigrants representing 140 countries who speak 224 languages; another site in Dallas is home to more than 780,000 immigrants who have not yet naturalized.

In each site several organizations work together, bringing their specific skills and experience to maximize the effort. For example, the Dallas site partners with the Catholic Charities of Dallas, the International Rescue Committee in Dallas, and Proyecto



U.S. IMMIGRANT POPULATION: FACTS & FIGURES

Based on the idea that "immigrant civic engagement is an increasingly critical issue for the United States," a 2010 study¹ prepared for Carnegie Corporation presents a wide range of pertinent data regarding key measures or "benchmarks" of immigrant participation regarding naturalization, voting registration, and voter turnout. One of the benchmarks cited in the report is that in 2008 about 56 percent of immigrant adults eligible to naturalize had not become citizens. About half of these adult noncitizens (over 18 years of age) live in California, Texas, and New York, but many other states, including North Carolina, Georgia, and Arizona also have hundreds of thousands of adult noncitizens. Furthermore there are wide variations in the distribution of these immigrants from state to state. For example, the top countries of origin for immigrants living in California are Mexico, Philippines, and El Salvador; in New York, the top three groups are from the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, and China. The report documents that high percentages of noncitizens live in North Carolina (71 percent), Texas (68 percent), and Arizona (64 percent). Data in the report are from the U.S. Census Bureau and the USCIS.

¹ "Benchmarks of Civic Engagement," Robert Paral and Associates, July 2010, for the 42-page document click on this link: http://www.robparal.com/downloads/Benchmarks_of_Immigrant_Engagement.pdf

² They are the Asian Pacific American Legal Center, Catholic Legal Immigration Network Inc., Immigrant Legal Resource Center, Immigration Advocates Network, International Rescue Committee, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) Educational Fund, National Immigration Forum, National Partnership for New Americans, and Pro Bono Net.



PHOTO COURTESY THE IMMIGRANT LEGAL RESOURCE CENTER

In May 2013, more than 100 people from the New Americans Campaign partner groups participated in a United for Citizenship National Naturalization Practitioners' Conference in Los Angeles to share experiences and best practices.

Inmigrante. Partners in other sites include the Organization of Chinese Americans, the Cambodian Association of America, and the Filipino American Service Group, Inc. In Detroit, site leader Catholic Charities of Southeast Michigan (CCSEM) partners with the International Institute of Metro Detroit, Michigan Immigrant Rights Center, and South Asian American Voices for Impact to hold workshops. “The wide range of immigration-related services offered by practitioners on the local and national levels could not be accomplished without our funders’ sincere commitment to American democracy,” says Jeanne Salerno, immigration services coordinator of the department of immigration and refugee services of CCSEM. “Our national funders have our deepest respect and gratitude.”

A three-day conference held in September 2012 in Baltimore, Md., offered an opportunity for partners

across the nation to share information and deepen their collaborative relationships. In May 2013, more than 100 people from Campaign partner groups came together in Los Angeles at the United for Citizenship National Naturalization Practitioners’ Conference, sharing best practices they had honed in their communities and offering tips and lessons learned from their experiences. “It was so powerful,” says Melissa A. Rodgers, who is project director of the Campaign. “Just for the topic of best practices in group processing, we had people from Texas, Florida, California, and New York, all coming together and communicating ways that work. Building a national infrastructure is really a key component of what we want to achieve, and we saw that in action at the conference.” She said the conference was enormously helpful in cementing the Campaign’s national infrastructure

since it offered opportunities for participants to share knowledge about how to scale up best practices in organizing a group processing workshop, how to recruit and train volunteers effectively and keep them involved, how to develop effective outreach strategies, and how to incorporate technology, among many other things. Rodgers said that although some best practices might seem pedestrian, they are crucial to success. Establishing training schedules for volunteers and clear roles for them as workshop participants as well as setting up a hierarchy and workflow, with some people responsible for checking in potential applicants, others involved in legal screenings, and still others ensuring that people move with ease from one station to another are all important to planning and executing a successful event. Some panel participants shared tips that were eye-opening to other attendees, i.e., one presenter described an

upcoming workshop for 1,000 people that is being planned in coordination with a local college, with the school providing free parking, security, and access to computers, as well as other essential services. “Sharing ideas for these kinds of best practices is making organizations stronger for the long run, not just for now,” she emphasized. “We’re reaching tens of thousands of people, but we are also building a mechanism that over time, even when the granting is ended, is going to enable us to reach many more people. We are focused on the long view as well as on the immediate urgency.”

High Fees an Obstacle

Low-income aspiring citizens have to weigh their dreams of becoming U.S. citizens against urgent considerations such as whether to pay the application fee for naturalization or put food on the table and pay the rent. Although fee waivers are available, information about this and how to file the waiver is not widely known among members of the immigrant communities. The NAC is working to change that. At nearly 1,000 NAC workshops immigration experts already have helped eligible low-income people fill out forms to obtain waivers for the application fee. “Funding from Carnegie Corporation and the other national funders has helped the NAC and its affiliates save immigrant communities an estimated \$36.6 million in legal fees and an estimated \$6.4 million in USCIS fees, for a net saving of \$43 million since the campaign began in July 2011,” explains Leah Muse-Orlinoff, best practices manager of the NAC. She added that between the first quarter of 2012 and the first quarter of 2013, the NAC more than doubled the previous num-

ber of applications completed by its partners, from 2,500 to nearly 5,300.

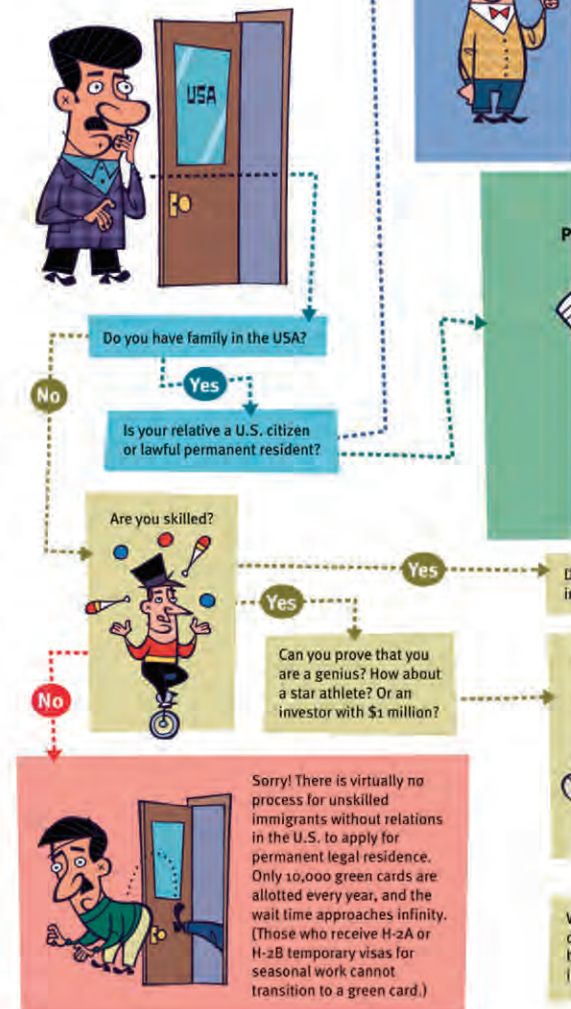
The need to learn English, a lack of knowledge about the process, and family and work demands can hinder people from applying for citizenship. In addition, application fees have risen dramatically in the last few decades, from \$35 in 1985 to \$680³ today, with an especially steep rise between 2004 and 2007 when the cost nearly doubled. For a family of four that seeks naturalization, the cost would be \$2,720. If an application is declined, the person loses the fee. By comparison, a 10-year renewal of a green card is \$450.

A 2013 study, “Nurturing Naturalization. Could Lowering the Fee Help?” provides new data that bolster the importance of “price sensitivity.” The report states that “...fee increases can have a significant impact on both the volume and the composition of who naturalizes. Fee increases trigger a dramatic decline in the naturalization of less-educated (and likely lower income) immigrants, an increase in the number of years immigrants wait to become citizens, and a change in the national origin of the naturalizing population, in particular a relative reduction in those who were born in Mexico.”⁴ Twenty percent of immigrants surveyed in two separate studies mentioned in the report said that cost was a major factor in whether to move ahead with naturalization or not, and one-fourth of Latino immigrants attending citizenship workshops said they had borrowed money to pay their fee. If people need legal assistance or have to pay for English language classes, that also significantly increases the cost of becoming a citizen.

An April 2013 *New York Times* op-ed, further reinforcing that fees can

What Part of Legal Im m

Opponents of illegal immigration are fond of telling foreigners to “get in line” before coming to work in America. But what does that line actually look like, and how many years (or decades) does it take to get through? Try it yourself!



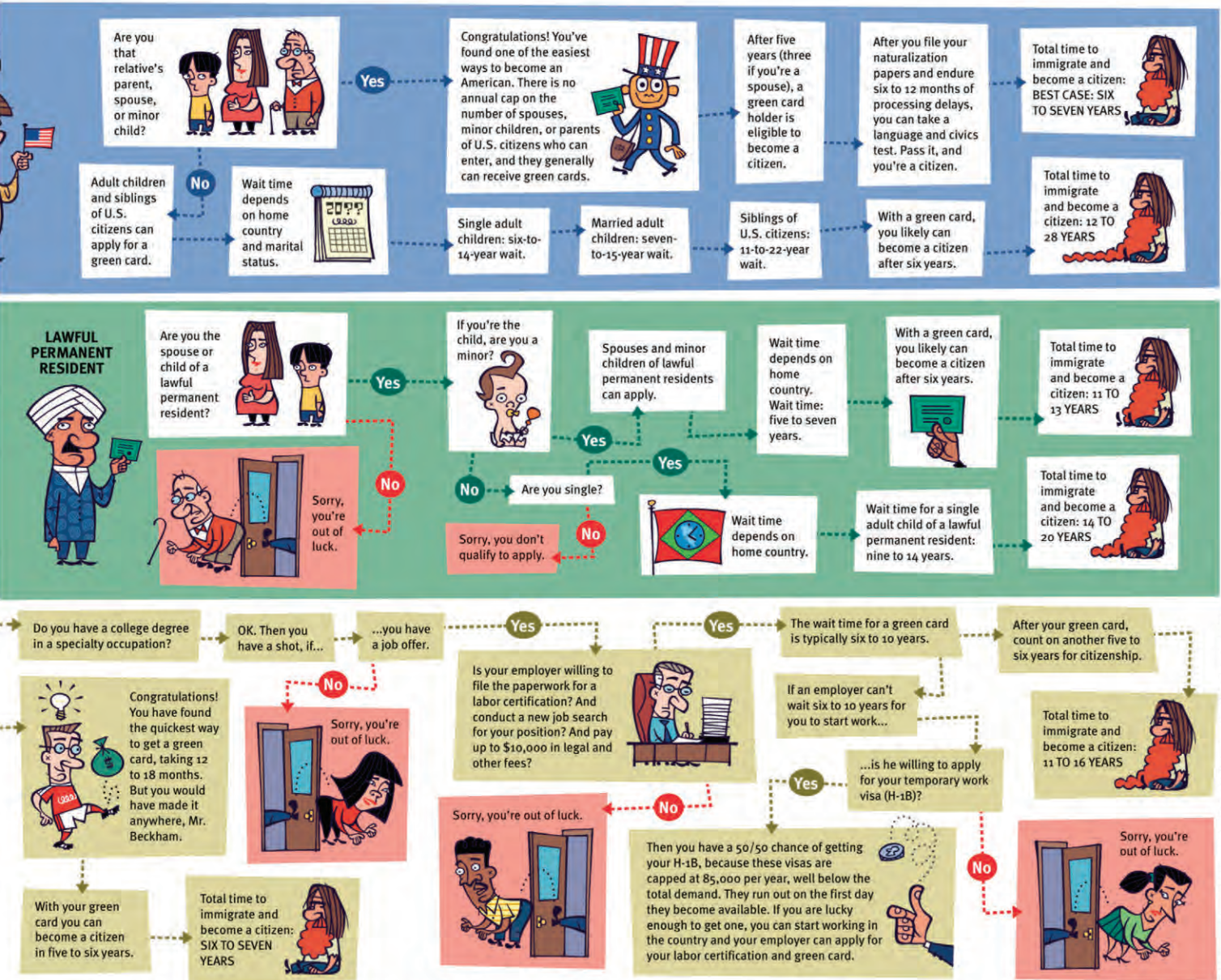
(Flynn is director of government affairs and Dalmia is a senior po

significantly impact a decision to apply for naturalization, points out that “... an employee earning the federal minimum wage would have to work for more than two months to pay for an application for himself or herself, a spouse, and two children.”⁵ The authors of the op-ed, Chicago mayor Rahm Emanuel and

³ The \$680 fee includes \$85 for fingerprinting.

⁴ Page 1, http://www.partnershipfornewamericans.org/storage/Nurturing_Naturalization-2013.pdf

⁵ http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/04/opinion/priced-out-of-citizenship.html?_r=0



... policy analyst at Reason Foundation. This chart was developed by Reason Foundation in collaboration with the National Foundation for American Policy.)

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Luis V. Gutierrez, a U.S. representative from Illinois, urge “an easy, common-sense fix to ensure that eligible permanent legal residents who are already in this country don’t have their path to citizenship blocked by onerous fees.”

“For a low- or middle-income family of four, the cost of filing applications is substantial,” says Geri Mannion, who leads Carnegie Corporation’s U.S. Democracy Program and the Special

Opportunities Fund. “Yet people so much want to become citizens, but sometimes they just need a little encouragement. It’s important to communicate and to raise awareness that citizenship is a positive thing. The New Americans Campaign is making great strides toward streamlining the process and helping eligible immigrants with fees, either by obtaining a low-income waiver or a loan.”

Reaching Out Across America

As of March 2013, the NAC had hosted more than 1,000 naturalization workshops and clinics across the country, assisting more than 52,000 LPRs from dozens of countries prepare their applications and providing them with information about where to get help learning English and studying for the citizenship exam. The Campaign has also held 120 CitizenshipWorks events

in multiple languages. Prior to the NAC campaign there were limited resources and staff to help with this much-needed assistance.

On the West Coast, the Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC; <http://apalc.org/>), which is a national partner in the Campaign, joined with USCIS and the Los Angeles mayor's office to host a workshop at the Central Library on March 13, 2013; the program included a mock interview to familiarize potential citizens about the type of questions to expect during a required interview with USCIS staff. The Los Angeles NAC team has partnered with local groups from the Cambodian, Korean, South Asian, and Filipino populations and has close ties with the Asian Pacific media, which promotes information about their services. "We have a very diverse spectrum of AAPI (Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders) groups represented in our community," says Joyce L. Noche, supervising attorney of the Immigration and Citizenship Project of APALC. "At the March workshop we had people who, as a group, spoke 10 different AAPI languages, and we were able to process over 200 applicants. It's the largest workshop we've ever done, so we're very proud of it." She added that APALC also launched Chinese and Vietnamese versions of CitizenshipWorks, and will be adding a Korean language version soon. Previously there had been English and Spanish versions.

Two of the Los Angeles NAC local partners have worked with Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa and USCIS director Alejandro Mayorkas to team with the city's 73 public libraries and have established "Citizenship Corners" in every branch library where patrons can find print and online information, including CitizenshipWorks. (Other such programs are in place in other

cities served by the NAC.) Librarians have attended special training sessions, including one for 50 public law librarians, that prepare them to assist people with information about naturalization;

automated calls to 20,000 recipients of public benefits; the lively, encouraging, and informative message about upcoming workshops was in English and Spanish. A phone bank special



PHOTOS COURTESY NALEO EDUCATIONAL FUND

At a NALEO workshop, people line up to participate and emerge with citizenship materials.

the libraries also offer workshops and English literacy classes.

In San Jose the NAC members created a partnership with the Social Services Agency (SSA) of Santa Clara County, which is where many immigrants turn for food stamps, money assistance, or medical insurance. "The success of collaboration with SSA is related heavily to the fact that it was already well known," says Vanessa Sandoval, immigration legal services program director of the Services, Immigrant Rights, and Education Network. "The feedback that we received from clients was enlightening and motivating. Many were low-income seniors for whom SSA was their only contact to the community; they were grateful for the opportunity to receive our assistance." Through the SSA partnership the group conducted



event with Telemundo, a local Spanish broadcasting station, also helped promote events.

The unique fishing communities of Vietnamese refugees living in remote areas of southeast Texas, such as San Leon, Anahuac, Bridge City, Port Arthur, and Oak Island, which are an hour and a half or more from Houston, came to the attention of Boat People SOS (<http://www.bpsoshou.org/>) after Hurricane Ike swept through the area in September 2008. "Immigrants in Oak Island had fled their storm-ravaged homes, and some were living in tents,"

says Jannette Diep. She and other BPSOS staff helped the immigrants connect with FEMA officials and get the help they needed. It was through this contact that the service providers realized that many of the immigrants were unaware they were eligible for citizenship. "Some of them had been legal permanent residents for 30 years," Diep says. "Their permanent resident cards were so worn out and were in an older format than the newly issued permanent resident card used now. It had never dawned on a lot of them that they could become U.S. citizens."

Since BPSOS joined the NAC, the group has been able to expand its outreach tremendously. Diep, who immigrated to the United States as a young child and became a U.S. citizen when she became eligible at age 18, says that every day she meets people with amazing stories: "Our organization serves many people who are torture survivors of the Vietnam War," she says. "They all have amazing backgrounds, but one story stands out. This client was fine during the citizenship class, but when he went through a mock interview session patterned after one that he would have with USCIS, he would get really upset and could not answer the questions. He couldn't handle the images that came back to him of being alone in a room and being questioned." Diep and other staff patiently worked with the client over several weeks, allowing him to express his feelings and talk about his experiences, while reassuring him that no one would hurt him or attack him. "You are in the United States, where no one is going to hurt you," she and others told him. The client slowly began to trust the situation and eventually was able to conduct his citizenship interview successfully. "He is only one example; there are many men in their 60s and 70s who have never been able to talk about their experiences before,"

Diep explains. Now he is a registered voter, as are all of our clients." To underscore the importance of voting, before the 2012 presidential election, staff members called each one of the new American citizens they had helped to make sure they had registered to vote and later called again just prior to the election, urging them to cast their vote.

In Miami the six NAC partners plan to hold weekly workshops in the Miami-Dade area for members of their diverse ethnic community. Connecting with offices of elected officials, which is where immigrants often seek citizenship assistance, has resulted in a new way to inform people about the NAC events. Their relationship with the South Florida Congressional delegation is in place, and plans are in the works to partner with state and local officials. The Miami group also has pioneered a partnership with their schools so they can bring their citizenship message directly to students enrolled in adult education English as a second language (ESL) and civics classes. "It's a good fit," says Randolph P. McGrorty, site leader and executive director of the Catholic Legal Services, Archdiocese of Miami (http://www.miamiarch.org/ip.asp?op=Legal_Services). "The students attending these classes are already motivated to become citizens; they have demonstrated an interest and taken that first step. We let them know what help we can provide. We hope to ease this program into the day school and even the college level."

Hickory/Morganton, a remote area of North Carolina about two-and-a-half hours from Charlotte, is home to thousands of Hmong refugees who escaped persecution after the Vietnam War. Resettled in this rural community, they are employed mostly by local factories while growing their own food and living much as they did in Laos. "Communities like this are isolated

geographically, but also linguistically and socioeconomically," says Cat Bao Le, executive director of the Southeast Asian Coalition (SEAC). "It's sad to hear stories of people saving up money to fly to Fresno or Minnesota, larger Hmong communities, just to receive citizenship services. There is not even



TEST YOUR CIVICS SAVVY

The civics portion of the citizenship application is an oral test that assesses an applicant's knowledge of U.S. history and government. Each person is asked up to 10 questions and must answer six of them correctly to pass the test. The USCIS Web site has a bank of 100 questions, which applicants can use as a self-test; the information provided in these questions is the basis for the oral interview. Although the questions appear on the Web site as multiple choice questions, applicants are not given choices, but must provide the correct answer.

Here are 10 questions selected at random from the USCIS site. How many are you able to answer correctly? (Answers are given below.)

1. If both the President and the Vice President can no longer serve, who becomes President?
2. When was the Declaration of Independence adopted?
3. What is the name of the national anthem?
4. How many U.S. Senators are there?
5. Who is in charge of the executive branch?
6. We elect a U.S. Senator for how many years?
7. We elect a U.S. Representative for how many years?
8. Why does the flag have 13 stripes?
9. During the Cold War, what was the main concern of the United States?
10. Who was President during the Great Depression and World War II?

1. Speaker of the House. 2. July 4, 1776.
3. The Star Spangled Banner. 4. 100.
5. The President. 6. Six years. 7. Two years.
8. Because the stripes represent the original 13 colonies. 9. Communism. 10. Franklin Roosevelt.

a mainstream immigration attorney for hundreds of miles around, and certainly not a culturally sensitive service to help this community in their native language without charge.” The two other NAC partners in the Charlotte area are the Catholic Social Services of the Diocese of Charlotte and the Latin American Coalition. They share resources, data bases of volunteers, and reach out to immigrant communities across the western part of North Carolina to bring citizenship information and services to diverse groups of immigrants in urban and rural settings.

SEAC has held workshops for other Southeast Asian communities in the Charlotte area, including a number at churches and grocery stores, which are often staffed with community volunteers as well as the help of collaborative partners such as the Latin American Coalition and Catholic Social Services. The next fair will be a citizenship fair in Samthong village, an even more remote Lao village near Charlotte. “The community is very hidden and made up of mobile homes on small plots of land, even the street signs are in Lao. You wouldn’t know they were there unless you were looking,” says Le. “The more we do our work, the more these communities are emerging and asking for our services. It’s been eye opening.” One workshop, which was held in a renovated barn in a delightful country setting, introduced many refugees to the idea that they, too, could become American citizens. “Seeing these folks who really want to be citizens and are really ‘jazzed’ at the idea that they can finally be American citizens makes you step back and appreciate what you have and gives you perspective,” says Andrea Slusser, immigration supervisor at Catholic Social Services, Diocese of Charlotte and the NAC Charlotte site leader. “They see U.S. citizenship as a treasure.”

“A December 2012 workshop assisted Southeast Asian, Latino, and Slavic immigrants and called out more than 45 volunteers plus another 10-to-15 language-specific volunteers and

for law students interested in pursuing immigration law as a career through one- or two-semester internships.

The City University of New York (CUNY) Citizenship Now! (www.cuny.edu/citizenshipnow)



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Southeast Asian Coalition volunteers and attorneys gathered at the farm of Chia Xa (front row, third from left) who provided the use of his barn for a citizenship workshop for Hmong immigrants in a rural area of North Carolina.

about 12 attorneys and BIA accredited representatives,” says Adriana Galvez Taylor, immigrant rights program director of the Latin American Coalition. “Most of the people that come don’t feel very confident in their own ability to complete the forms. We put emphasis on the fact that completing the application is another step to achieving full access and full integration to legal services and legal rights. It opens the door to introduce other principals of civic engagement such as becoming more aware of issues in their communities.”

The Charlotte Campaign partners’ dynamic relationship with the Charlotte School of Law includes numerous paralegal volunteers at workshops, and, occasionally, a professor volunteering for legal review duties. LAC’s immigration practice provides a training ground

edu/citizenshipnow) has a cohort of 1,800 volunteers including immigration lawyers, paralegals, and others with an inherent interest in immigrant issues. Many volunteers were immigrants themselves or come from immigrant families. “Most other organizations look to us for their best practices in terms of using volunteers, providing services, and the form and function of how these services are delivered,” says Tamara Bloom, legal coordinator of this New York City group. She adds that volunteers receive specialized training and must adhere to the highest ethical and legal standards; in turn they are recognized in special ways including designation of a “volunteer of the month,” who is featured in the group’s newsletter. As another symbol of the importance of their efforts, volunteers receive Citizenship Now!

e-mail greetings on their birthdays. “Our volunteers are an interesting mix of people,” explains Bloom. “They are incredible and remarkably diverse. Some of them have received services from us and completed their citizenship applications and then begin volunteering with us.”

Before the Campaign began, the primary mission of the International Rescue Committee (<http://www.rescue.org/>) had been to resettle refugees and help provide them with social services, but Campaign support has enabled the New York partner to extend its efforts to include naturalization. “Our collaboration has impacted us across the board and has expanded our outreach to nonrefugee communities,” says Paula Forero, director of immigration. “It’s been transformational for us.” She

and gaining citizenship—including low pay, long commutes, and worrisome family concerns—can be overwhelming. The Bethlehem Project is an innovative NAC program that has found a way to connect the needs of workers with the needs of businesses. Working with human resource personnel and other business staff, the project, which began in November 2012, links companies with service providers in their communities that arrange citizenship workshops on the business site during lunch breaks and before or after work. The program, which currently is working with six companies in four pilot sites (Miami, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and San Jose) has already helped hundreds of people through the three-step process that includes initial screening, application processing,

and civics instruction. The project’s name is a reference to the fact that in 1915 Bethlehem Steel was among the first U.S. businesses to offer free English language instruction to its immigrant employees.⁶

“The genius of the project is that it helps to eliminate the barriers that a lot of legal permanent residents face,” says Jennie Murray, manager of integration programs of the Bethlehem Project, which is administered by the National

Immigration Forum. “We run into many people who have had green cards for 20, 25, or 30 years. When they find out that they can get this service from their employer—who is someone that they already trust—and that they often can get a fee waiver or discount through the employer or the service provider, then they are able to jump over those barriers

and finally become citizens.”

In addition to helping immigrants, the program is a boon to businesses, aiding with recruitment and boosting loyalty, retention rates, and productivity. “A program like this fits perfectly into our corporate mission and culture; it allowed us to address an issue impacting almost 30 percent of our workforce,” said Nilmarie Almodovar, human resources director of the Betsy Hotel, South Beach, in Miami. “The program is easy to handle and coordinate. The program staff supported us through the different stages of the project... [They] were flexible in scheduling the sessions, and the speakers were very professional and knowledgeable. Our partnership with the Bethlehem Project demonstrates to our employees that we care and support their best interests, even beyond the workplace.”

My Journey to Naturalization

Every year more than 600,000 people become naturalized U.S. citizens; each one has a deeply personal story. Here are a few of them:

■ A single mother from the Dominican Republic who sought to improve her life by coming to the United States was faced with many bills, and her dream of becoming a citizen was stalled. Belma Brea had concluded that, “spending hundreds of dollars to become a citizen [seemed] like a luxury for [yet] another dream.” Since she “already felt like an American,” she wondered “why go through the hassle?” Then illness prompted Brea, who lived in New York City, to focus not only on her future but that of her oldest son, Yeiram, who was born before she came to the United States. Soon her concerns prompted action. Through the outreach efforts of the NAC, Brea learned about a citizenship workshop being held



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A citizenship workshop coordinated by Catholic Charities Diocese of Charlotte (formerly Catholic Social Services), Latin American Coalition and Southeast Asian Coalition.

added that since October 2012 the group has helped more than 4,600 immigrants file naturalization applications.

Helping Immigrants at Their Work Sites

For immigrants who are grappling with the demands of jobs in the service industry, the barriers to applying for

⁶ The company, which was located in Bethlehem, Pa., was dissolved in 2001.



CELEBRATING AMERICA'S IMMIGRANT HERITAGE

In 1848, 13-year-old Andrew Carnegie and his family immigrated to the United States from Scotland. As a tribute to this immigrant legacy of Carnegie Corporation's founder and as a tribute to all the thousands of immigrants who are new Americans, the Corporation, together with *The New York Times*, celebrates Independence Day with a full-page salute to immigrants in the newspaper. The ad, "Immigrants: The Pride of America," has captured reader attention with its signature red background and photographs of prominent people who are emblematic of the valuable contributions of millions of new Americans. A photograph of Andrew Carnegie anchors the page, a symbol of his personal commitment and that of his foundation "to helping immigrants become integrated into the civic fabric of our nation because enlightened citizenship is the everlasting strength of our democracy. Our national motto, *E pluribus unum*—'out of many, one'—continues to be an ideal we can all aspire to and a true guiding light for our nation."

Each advertisement features almost 50 naturalized Americans and honors people representing many segments of society including the arts, sports, business, academia, and research. Some are celebrities such as chef Lydia Bastianich, violinist Salerno Sonnenberg, writer Jhumpa Lahiri, and hockey legend Wayne Gretzky; others are business leaders, professors, university presidents, scientists, and astronauts, to name a few.

Gerda Weissmann Klein, who was honored in the 2012 "Pride of America" tribute, is the founder of Citizenship Counts (<http://citizenshipcounts.org/>), a national, nonpartisan organization based in Phoenix, Az. The group's mission is "to teach our children about America's rich history as a nation of immigrants who chose this country and have given meaning to its ideals." Alysia Ullman, executive director and co-founder with Klein, who is her grandmother, stated that Citizenship Counts developed a comprehensive middle

and high school curriculum about immigration and naturalization, which is distributed free of charge to educators and community groups throughout the country. The program, founded in 2008, has been integrated into schools in over 16 states, reaching thousands of students. In 2012 Citizenship Counts focused its efforts on a national initiative called A Journey that Counts: Promoting Citizenship Education from Sea to Shining Sea. To highlight the organization's important work, board member Diane Eckstein and her husband, John, together with two interns, Tyler Reber and Kelly Winter, and the Eckstein's dog, Kipp, walked and biked 3,500 miles across the United States—from San Diego to New York City—to promote the efforts of Citizenship Counts and the importance of civic engagement. They visited with 15 schools that use the Citizenship Counts curriculum materials and joined students, educators, and local community members at naturalization ceremonies, the culmination of the schools' Citizenship Counts studies.

A 2010 Presidential Medal of Freedom recipient and a Holocaust survivor, Klein was separated from her family as a teenager when German troops invaded her Polish hometown, and she was forced into a series of slave labor and concentration camps. Of the 2,000 girls who began the 350-mile death march, fewer than 120 survived. Klein's life was transformed for a second time when she met her husband, U.S. Army intelligence officer Kurt Klein, when he liberated her camp on May 7, 1945, the day before her 21st birthday. "The Journey that Counts was 3,500 miles in length, exactly 10 times the length of the march my grandmother was forced on at the end of World War II and was a celebration of life and a tribute to her," says Ullman. After Gerda and Kurt married, they immigrated to the United States, and she became a naturalized citizen in 1948. She is the author of nine books, including her autobiography *All But My Life*, which is the subject of the Academy Award and Emmy-winning HBO documentary, *One Survivor Remembers*.

by the NALEO Educational Fund, a Campaign partner. She sought help from them and began working with staff members to prepare her application and stepped up her efforts to learn English and prepare for the history and civics exam. It was a proud day for Brea when she became a U.S. citizen in April 2012, and she continues to look forward to being able to help her son begin the naturalization process and envisions the day when she is standing next to him at the naturalization ceremony, with both of them "waving the flag together and knowing that he can proudly say he's an American citizen."

"She is such an amazing, strong person, an inspiration," said Ana Almanzar, New York program manager of Civic Engagement, the NALEO Educational Fund, who worked with Brea. "She always brings a smile to my face."

■ Antonieta Vargas came to the United States from Mexico as a newlywed in 1952; her husband was a U.S. citizen by birth and had been raised in Mexico. She is the mother of Arturo Vargas, who is now executive director of NALEO Educational Fund. Mrs. Vargas, partly because of her son's work, decided in 1994 to attend a NALEO citizenship workshop at her neighborhood elementary school, and several months later she became a citizen at a ceremony in the Los Angeles Convention Center.⁷ At the ceremony, Arturo asked his mother why she had decided to seek citizenship after so many years. Mrs. Vargas quickly answered that she appreciated the work he was doing and wanted to support it and that she wanted to vote against Governor Pete Wilson and the ballot Proposition 187, the "grandfather" of all anti-immigrant state legislation, which Wilson had endorsed

⁷ At the time, Arturo Vargas was vice president of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF).

and used as a centerpiece of his reelection campaign.

“My mother, who is now 84, had decided she had had enough of the scapegoating of Latino immigrants and

become U.S. citizens. Mr. and Mrs. Mo took an English and civics class at a facility in Los Angeles’ Chinatown; with their long work hours it was a yearlong struggle, but their children helped them

are U.S. citizens, had prompted him for years to take the next step and apply. “You’re falling behind,” they told Juan, now 43 years old, married, and father of four children, all of whom were born in the United States. Garcia, who says, he “always loved this country,” eventually decided to become a U.S. citizen, and on the same day he took the oath of citizenship, he registered to vote. Now the man who once put his dreams of U.S. citizenship aside, says he looks forward to voting and perhaps, one day, to helping elect a president of the United States.

Looking to the Future

Reaching out to qualified immigrants in redefined and reenergized ways, the New Americans Campaign is building collaborations among groups that have been working independently for many years to provide services to immigrants. Their national collective efforts have been yielding unprecedented results, significantly boosting the numbers of immigrants who apply for U.S. citizenship, though the Campaign began full-scale only in late 2012.

“Welcoming immigrants to America’s shores and helping them become U.S. citizens who fully embrace their new country is a tradition that represents the very essence of our democracy,” says Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. “The New Americans Campaign is forging innovative, modern ways for continuing to honor this tradition, and by doing so, is helping to ensure that our nation remains strong, our society continues to advance, and that the hope we all have for the progress and future of America is realized in the years ahead. Carnegie Corporation is proud to be a part of this invaluable work.” ■



PHOTO COURTESY ARTURO VARGAS

Antonieta Vargas voting in 2013.

wanted a voice,” Arturo Vargas, executive director of NALEO Educational Fund, says proudly. “She was one of the million legal permanent residents in California who became U.S. citizens during the next decade, profoundly affecting the political landscape of the state. She has not missed an election since!”

■ When Hua and Huan Mo and their children immigrated to the United States from China, they hoped to find a better life for their family. But since they both work six days a week in a restaurant, it took them seven years to

along the way, and both Mr. and Mrs. Mo passed the citizenship test and became naturalized U.S. citizens. With their citizenship in place, their children were eligible to become U.S. citizens more quickly.⁸ “It’s quite fitting (that they all became citizens), since it was a collective family effort,” says Joyce L. Noche, supervising attorney of the immigration and citizenship project of APALC.

■ Juan Garcia, who emigrated from Mexico in 1985 when he was 18 years old, waited until he was 43 years old to become a citizen. His brothers, who

⁸ A child of a naturalized citizen may qualify for citizenship, if all other qualifications are met. See USCIS Web site for more details.



MAKING A DIFFERENCE:

Creating and Implementing



the PRAGUE AGENDA

by DR. GARY SAMORE

Editor's Note: Gary Samore, Executive Director (Research) for Harvard Kennedy School's Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, previously served as President Obama's Coordinator for Weapons of Mass Destruction Counter-Terrorism and Arms Control. In this personal essay, he reflects on the interplay between government and nongovernment organizations.



What is the value of nongovernment organizations, both in the academy and think tank worlds, to government policymakers? How are such outsiders useful (or not) to policymakers and what can be done to make them more useful? I've considered these questions from all three sides—as a government official, foundation funder, and think tanker. From 1987 to 2001, I worked as a civil servant in the State Department and National Security Council under the Presidents Reagan, George H.W. Bush, and Clinton, focusing mainly on

regional nonproliferation issues in the Far East, South Asia, and the Middle East. During the George W. Bush administration, I was outside government on both sides of the tin cup—as director of studies for the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London, vice president for International Programs at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, and director of studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. Most recently, from 2009 to 2013, I served as a political appointee, as President Obama's White House coordinator for

arms control, nonproliferation, and WMD terrorism, and now I'm back on the outside as executive director for research at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Harvard Kennedy School.

Having been in and out and in and out again, I think the development and implementation of President Obama's "Prague Agenda" is a good case study for the interplay between government and nongovernment organizations. Named for President Obama's April 5, 2009 speech in Prague, the Prague

Agenda is the administration's integrated strategy to advance U.S.-Russia and multilateral nuclear arms control, prevent nuclear proliferation, enhance nuclear security, and promote safe and secure nuclear energy, as steps toward achieving the long-term objective of a world without nuclear weapons.

The first point to make is that mainstream foundations in the United States have more opportunities to influence foreign policy than in almost any other country because of unique features of the American political system. In most countries, the career paths of foreign policy specialists rarely cross in and out of government. For the most part, academics and experts remain in their universities and think tanks for their entire careers, rarely serving a stint in government, while government civil servants serve out their careers in harness in government ministries, although some enter the private world of universities and think tanks upon retirement. In contrast, the barrier between the government and nongovernment careers in the United States is relatively permeable. Every change in administration in Washington sweeps a cadre of regional and functional experts from academia and think tanks and other parts of the private sector into key positions in the government as special assistants, deputy assistant secretaries, assistant secretaries, directors, and senior directors and above in the foreign policy bureaucracy at the National Security Council, Departments of State, Defense, and Energy, plus some parts of the intelligence community like the National Intelligence Board. As these newcomers move in, many officials occupying political appointments need to leave government to find gainful employ-

ment in the private sector, including think tanks and universities, while they wait for their next turn in government.

To a large extent, foundation funding makes this "circulation of elites" possible. The result—in Washington—is a proliferation of huge, well-funded think tanks like the Brookings Institution, Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), Carnegie Endowment, the American Enterprise Institute, and many others, which are unlike anything in Europe or Asia. The top schools of public policy offering master's degrees in international relations, such as the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins, the Kennedy School at Harvard University, the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton, the Fletcher School at Tufts University, the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, and many others serve the same purpose: training American and foreign students for potential careers in government and providing a haven where former U.S. officials can continue working, as faculty and fellows.¹ (For the most part, university political science departments have developed a quantitative discipline that seems deliberately divorced from policy realities and remains off limits to practitioners.²) Foundations have a strong incentive to support public policy schools and think tanks (and the experts who work there) to help develop young talent and allow seasoned veterans to analyze, generate ideas, critique, and generally prepare for their next turn at bat in government. Such experts are also more likely to return your phone call when they're back in government.

In theory, the American system should maximize the relative strengths of government and nongovernment organizations to generate fresh ideas, policy analysis, and advice. When it comes to formulating strategy and generating new ideas, outside experts probably have an advantage over harried government officials whose time and imaginations tend to be constrained by bureaucratic inertia, inter-agency politics, and the daily tyranny of tactics—preparing for the next inter-agency meeting, the next foreign trip, and the next round of negotiations. Outside experts who have served in government and have some idea how the machinery works should be more able to provide practical advice to those in government. Of course, the vast majority of outside policy advice is never acted on, usually because the recommendations are considered impractical and unrealistic, but from the standpoint of foundation funders, it's worth the investment to support a range of outside experts if only a handful of their ideas make it into government policy.

Origins of the Prague Agenda

The development of President Obama's Prague Agenda is a good case in point. As he has said many times, President Obama was inspired by the writings of the "Four Horsemen"—former Secretary of State George Shultz, former Secretary of Defense William Perry, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and former Senator Sam Nunn—who published a now famous op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal* in January 2007, in which they argued that the essential nature of the nuclear threat had shifted since the end of the Cold War from a confrontation between

¹ For a listing of top public affairs schools in international relations as ranked by Foreign Policy, see http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/01/03/top_ten_international_relations_masters_programs?page=0,0

² Robert L. Gallucci, Keynote Address at ASAN Nuclear in Seoul, South Korea, February 19, 2013. Online by the MacArthur Foundation. <http://www.macfound.org/press/speeches/macarthur-president-robert-gallucci-addresses-asan-nuclear-forum/>

the United States and Russia to proliferation to states such as North Korea and Iran and nuclear terrorism. To meet this new threat, the four senior statesmen advocated that the United States lead an effort to achieve agreement among all countries possessing nuclear weapons on a program of action to “lay the groundwork for a world free of the nuclear threat.”³

The ambitious program of action proposed by the Four Horsemen included reduction in the size of existing nuclear arsenals, eliminating short-range nuclear weapons, increasing warning and decision time for deployed nuclear weapons, halting production of fissile material for nuclear weapons, ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), and taking various measures to increase security of nuclear materials and reduce or eliminate the peaceful use of weapons-grade material.

Patently, some of the specific measures called for by the Four Horsemen were not achievable in the near term because of opposition from the other nuclear weapons states. Nonetheless, the central idea of reasserting the vision of a world without nuclear weapons and advancing practical measures to achieve that objective was timely and appealing for the Obama campaign. Senator Obama had developed a strong personal interest in nuclear security issues, working with Senator Lugar on the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, and the ambitious nuclear vision provided a positive agenda to balance the candidate’s strong criticism of the Bush administration’s foreign policy. No doubt, the credibility of the Four Horsemen message was enhanced by

the stature of the four statesmen themselves and its bipartisanism.

By the time their second op-ed appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* in January 2008, the Four Horsemen had attracted endorsements from nearly all living former Republican and Democratic secretaries of state and defense and national security advisors.⁴ Benefiting from a conference of bipartisan experts and former officials organized by the Hoover Institution and the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) in October 2007, the second iteration of the Four Horsemen message also took a more practical turn. Whereas the January 2007 op-ed advocated for agreement among all the nuclear weapons states, the January 2008 op-ed argued for actions by the United States and Russia as a first step, including strategic reductions and cooperative missile defense.

In the meantime, a group of outside policy experts led by Ivo Daalder at the Brookings Institution and Brooke Anderson at Nuclear Threat Initiative were working to translate the Four Horsemen message into speeches and policy papers for the Obama campaign.⁵ In addition to Daalder and Anderson, who became ambassadors to NATO and the UN, respectively, the group included a number of academic and think tank experts and former officials, such as Graham Allison, director of the Belfer Center; Bob Gallucci, dean of Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service; Matt Bunn at the Belfer Center; Jeffrey Lewis at the New America Foundation; former undersecretary of defense Jan Lodol; and former undersecretary of state John

Holum. The group also included former officials who later joined the Obama administration, including Robert Einhorn at CSIS; Dan Poneman at the Scowcroft Group; Michael Nacht, dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy at University of California, Berkeley; Laura Holgate at NTI; and Jon Wolfsthal at CSIS. Others involved in the Hoover Institution’s October 2007 conference who later joined the administration included Ashton Carter of the Belfer Center, Rose Gottemoeller of the Carnegie Endowment, and Michael McFaul of Stanford University. (Personal disclaimer: As director of studies for the nonpartisan Council on Foreign Relations, I was barred from formal association with either campaign, although I did respond to several requests for advice from the Obama campaign and would have done the same for the McCain campaign if they had asked.)

In his first major foreign policy speech of the campaign at DePaul University in October 2007, candidate Obama said that he would call for a world in which there are no nuclear weapons and outlined a few practical steps he would pursue on arms control, nuclear security, and nonproliferation.⁶ The Daalder–Anderson group generated a detailed fact sheet with policy positions, which was posted on the campaign Web site. In July 2008, candidate Obama hosted a panel discussion on nuclear, biological, and cyber threats and gave a speech with more details on his nuclear strategy. Drawing a link between disarmament and nonproliferation, Obama argued, “By keeping our commitment under the Nuclear Non-

³ Shultz, George P., William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger, and Sam Nunn. “A World Free of Nuclear Weapons,” *Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB116787515251566636.html>.

⁴ Shultz, George P., William J. Perry, Henry A. Kissinger, and Sam Nunn. “Toward a Nuclear Free-World,” *Wall Street Journal*, January 15, 2008, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB120036422673589947.html>.

⁵ Thanks to Ivo Daalder, Graham Allison, Matt Bunn, and Jon Wolfsthal for sharing their campaign memories with me.

⁶ Barack Obama, speech made on foreign policy at DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois, October 2, 2007. Online by the Council on Foreign Relations. <http://www.cfr.org/us-election-2008/barack-obamas-foreign-policy-speech/p14356>



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH

Gary Samore with "The Four Horsemen," left to right, first row: former Senator Sam Nunn; former Secretary of State George Shultz; former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger; current U.S. Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul. Back row, left to right: Dr. Samore; former Secretary of Defense William Perry; current U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Middle East Policy Matthew Spence.

Proliferation Treaty, we'll be in a better position to rally international support to bring pressure to bear on nations like North Korea and Iran that violate it."⁷ Shortly after his speech, the campaign issued a detailed policy paper, "Confronting 21st Century Threats," which contains detailed policy recommendations on arms control, nuclear security, nuclear energy, and nonproliferation and ultimately became the basis for the Prague speech.⁸

From Vision to Implementation

Thus, when President Obama took office in January 2009, the administration already had a detailed set of policy

proposals and strategy on nuclear issues, developed during the campaign by policy experts, many of whom, with the support of foundation funding, worked in think tanks and schools of public policy. As discussed, many of those who had a hand in preparing the campaign speeches, fact sheets, and policy papers landed jobs in the administration that gave them some opportunity to practice what they preached. Of course, campaign documents are not always (or even often) translated into policy by the victorious candidate. In this case, however, President Obama's personal interest and commitment ensured that his campaign promises

became the basis for his April 2009 Prague speech. Drafted by President Obama's brilliant speechwriter Ben Rhodes, with input from State, Defense, Energy, and the Joint Chiefs, most of the policy proposals survived the transition from campaign to administration, such as the vision of a world without nuclear weapons, emphasis on reducing the danger of nuclear terrorism (through a four-year program to secure vulnerable materials and President Obama's proposal to host a Nuclear Security Summit in Washington), and practical arms control measures, which (we hoped) were achievable. These included reaching agreement with Russia

⁷ Barack Obama, speech made before the Summit on Confronting New Threats at Purdue University, West Lafayette, Indiana, July 16, 2008. Online by the Council on Foreign Relations. <http://www.cfr.org/us-election-2008/barack-obamas-speech-university-purdue/p16807>

⁸ Barack Obama, "Press Release - FACT SHEET: Obama's New Plan to Confront 21st Century Threats," July 16, 2008. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, the American Presidency Project. <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=93199>

on additional nuclear reductions, beginning negotiations on a global Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT), and ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

in the Senate and the administration's other legislative priorities.

Inevitably, reality intruded even more as the Obama administration began an intense effort to implement

Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT) crashed against Pakistan's veto at the Conference on Disarmament (CD), and the refusal of Russia and China to accept any negotiation outside the CD.



President Barack Obama during a speech in Hradcany Square, Prague, the Czech Republic, April 5, 2009

Even by the time of the Prague speech, however, some of the campaign ideas were dropped or modified to reflect bureaucratic, diplomatic, and political realities. For example, the Prague speech was silent on the idea of working with Russia to increase warning and decision time for launching nuclear weapons, reflecting the conservative wariness of both the Russian and American militaries to any proposal that smacked of “de-alerting.” To accommodate nervous U.S. allies in Europe and Asia, who depend on the U.S. nuclear umbrella for their security, the Prague speech beefed up assurances to maintain a strong nuclear deterrent, and downplayed prospects that allies with nuclear weapons (the UK and France) would be asked to join the disarmament process anytime in the near future. Wisely, the speech omitted any target date for completing ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, recognizing the facts of life

the Prague Agenda. This culminated in the “nuclear spring” of 2010, which included the release of the new U.S. Nuclear Posture Review on April 6, 2010, signing the U.S.-Russia New START treaty in Prague on April 8, 2010, hosting the first historic Nuclear Security Summit in Washington on April 12–13, and the successful NPT Review Conference in May. As a general rule, the United States is not in a position to dictate terms to the other nuclear powers, so progress is necessarily limited to actions that the relevant nuclear states agree are in their own interests. For example, U.S. proposals to include verified limits on deployed and nondeployed nuclear warheads as well as strategic and tactical weapons in a new arms treaty with Russia quickly proved unrealistic because Russia refused to go along, and the ceiling on warheads in the New START Treaty was limited to deployed strategic warheads. Hopes to begin negotiations for a

Efforts to obtain consensus at the NPT Review Conference to strengthen the treaty, such as by limiting the Article X withdrawal clause or making the additional protocol mandatory, were blocked by the countries of the non-aligned movement, who opposed additional measures to strengthen the nonproliferation elements of the treaty until the nuclear weapons states took more concrete measures on disarmament and universality, including Israeli adherence to the NPT.

In general, as the government shifts from grand strategy to implementation, the interaction between the government and outside experts reverts to a more typical symbiotic (cynics would say parasitic) relationship. When it comes to implementing policies, government officials have all the advantages over outside experts by virtue of their immersion in the details of the interagency process, real-time interactions with foreign governments, and

access to classified information not available to outside experts. Within the Washington bubble, outside experts provide daily media commentary, criticism, and recommendations, much of which is dismissed by government officials as well-meaning but naïve advice from uninformed armchair amateurs (at best) or malicious criticism from partisan rivals (at worst). Often, the policy recommendations of outside experts are the same as options already being considered inside the government, and the ideas are helped or hurt within government circles according to the reputation of the expert endorsing them. Government officials sometimes float ideas through the lips of outside experts, and the outside experts stress their intimate access to government officials to enhance their reputations and raise funds. Amidst the flurry of classified memos, e-mails, cables, and intelligence reports of various stripes, government officials often don't have the time or appetite for lengthy policy reports from outside government. Instead, the most effective way to reach policymakers is an op-ed in a major newspaper (people still read *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Wall Street Journal*) or a visit to their offices.

With the focus on implementing the Prague Agenda, the Obama administration viewed outside experts and groups less as a reservoir for fresh ideas and more as opinion leaders and “validators,” who might be persuaded to support the administration's policies and refute its critics. The administration made a genuine effort to bring in outside experts on a bipartisan basis for consultations, to preview expected results, and to seek their support. In May

2009, for example, President Obama met with the Four Horsemen in the Oval Office to praise them for their inspiration, brief them on the administration's plans to implement the Prague Agenda with practical steps, and seek their support.⁹ Before the Washington Nuclear Security Summit in April 2010, Laura Holgate and I briefed the small group of experts who specialize in nuclear security on the expected “deliverables” of the summit, in hopes that, being well informed, they would speak favorably in the media. Unfortunately, a number of them complained that the administration should be seeking a comprehensive international treaty for nuclear security with global standards and mandatory inspections to verify compliance. For those of us who sat through the lengthy international meetings to prepare for the summit, such an outcome—no matter how worthy—was clearly impossible. It was slightly annoying to be criticized by some of those who should have been our strongest supporters, but it's all part of the Washington game. Outside experts need to put forward new and innovative ideas (i.e., more than what the government is already doing) to get attention and money, even if the ideas are impractical.

Inevitably, as we implemented the Prague Agenda, the administration was criticized from the left for not doing enough and from the right for doing too much. For example, the Nuclear Posture Review endorsed new declaratory statements that were intended to reduce the role of nuclear weapons in overall U.S. defense strategy. Updating the U.S. “negative security assurances,” the United States committed not “to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons

against nonnuclear weapons states that are party to the NPT and in compliance with their nuclear nonproliferation obligations” and stated that the “fundamental purpose” of U.S. nuclear weapons was to deter nuclear attack against the United States and its allies.¹⁰ In truth, the declaratory changes were primarily symbolic, but some experts on the left complained that we should have gone all the way to declaring that we would not use nuclear weapons against any nonnuclear weapons states under any conditions and that the “sole purpose” of U.S. nuclear forces was to deter nuclear attack. Our critics on the right charged (extravagantly, I thought) that our new formulations went too far, undercutting the credibility of U.S. nuclear assurances and potentially driving our allies to develop their own nuclear weapons. In fact, I thought we got the balance just right. If you are criticized by both sides, it's usually a good sign.

The issue of nuclear reductions also tended to polarize outside experts between the disarmament community on one hand and the pro-nuclear weapons lobby on the other. Some supporters of the Prague Agenda called for the administration to back much deeper reductions or proposals for a multilateral nuclear weapons convention mandating the phased elimination of nuclear weapons over a specified time frame. Such proposals were clearly unrealistic and ran the risk of creating false hopes and excessive demands among countries championing the cause of disarmament. On the right, some warned that ANY reduction in the role or number of U.S. forces, such as the retirement of the antiquated nuclear-tipped sea-launched cruise missile (TLAM-N), which the U.S. military was happy get

⁹ Barack Obama, Remarks by the President After Meeting with Former Secretary of State George Schultz, Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Former Senator and Chairman of the Armed Services Committee Sam Nunn and Former Secretary of Defense William Perry to Discuss Key Priorities in U.S. Non-Proliferation Policy, May 19, 2009. Online by The White House. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/remarks-president-after-meeting-with-shultz-kissinger-nunn-and-perry-discuss-key-pr>

¹⁰ Nuclear Posture Review, April 6, 2010 : <http://www.defense.gov/npr/docs/2010%20nuclear%20posture%20review%20report.pdf>

rid of, jeopardized the U.S. nuclear deterrent. Such criticism ran the risk of unsettling U.S. allies in Europe and Asia who depend on U.S. nuclear forces as part of their national security. In fact, the Department of Defense and the Joint Chiefs fully supported the steps President Obama took to implement the Prague Agenda, which maintained a robust nuclear capacity.

Of course, criticism of the government is normal and healthy. Nonetheless, I did find it disheartening (but not surprising) that some of the debate over the administration's nuclear policies degenerated into gratuitous, dishonest partisan sniping, like so much else in Washington. This reached a height during the ratification debate of the New START Treaty, in which (I thought) some outside experts were enlisted to exaggerate or invent arguments against the treaty that they probably knew—or should have known—were fallacious. The challenge for foundations, unless they choose to be in the business of partisan politics, is to support those organizations and experts who make a genuine effort to conduct serious, objective analysis and make recommendations and suggestions based on the national interest rather than currying favor or scoring cheap partisan points. In the arms control world, people like Linton Brooks, Frank Miller, and Walter Slocum ultimately have more ability to inform public awareness and influence policy because they are seen as credible and authoritative, no matter what their political leanings. Vice President Biden led the administration's ratification effort, and Senators Kerry and Lugar chaired hearings in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. I was very encouraged when the Senate ratified the New START Treaty in a biparti-

san vote of 71-26 in December 2010 because it demonstrated that official Washington was still capable of putting partisan politics aside for sake of the national interest.

As someone who has dealt with a variety of countries on nuclear issues, including Pakistan, India, China, Korea, Russia, Iraq, Israel, and Iran, I've also found that real regional experts who speak the language and understand the culture, history, and politics of their respective areas of study are the most helpful. For example, outside experts could not contribute much to the preparation of detailed negotiating positions with Iran, compared to government experts who were steeped in the technical details, intelligence reports, and intimate understanding of the relative diplomatic positions. The most important assistance outside government came from real Iran experts, such as Ray Takeyh of the Council on Foreign Relations and Karim Sadjadpour of the Carnegie Endowment. Their broad understanding of Iranian domestic politics and foreign policy provided an overall context for the nuclear negotiations.

Talking to Enemies, Frenemies, and Others

Another way in which nongovernment organizations seek to influence government policy is through so-called Track 2 and Track 1.5 meetings and conferences, in which outside U.S. experts and former officials meet with their counterparts from other countries to discuss issues and seek to develop ideas for negotiated solutions between the United States and other governments.¹¹ Such conferences are usually very enjoyable and educational for the participants. For example, when I was at the International Institute for

Strategic Studies from 2001 to 2005, I had several opportunities to organize meetings with Iranian officials and experts and even visit Iran as a guest of the Ministry of Atomic Energy—none of which I would have been able to do as a U.S. government official. The experience of dealing with Iranians outside government definitely helped to prepare me for working the Iranian nuclear issue in the Obama administration and frankly made me more skeptical that a negotiated solution was possible, especially after the election of President Ahmadinejad in 2005.

For the Obama administration, the Prague Agenda included a dual-track approach of engagement and pressure toward North Korea and Iran, countries that had “violated the rules,” as President Obama said in Prague. From early on, it became clear that the pressure track would outweigh the engagement track because neither Pyongyang nor Tehran were prepared to make the nuclear concessions necessary to satisfy U.S. concerns. In April 2009, North Korea reneged on its September 2005 nuclear deal with the Bush administration, celebrating with a rocket launch conveniently timed for the day before President Obama's Prague speech. Although U.S.-North Korean negotiations proceeded in fits and starts after that, North Korean behavior in 2009 created a deep skepticism in Washington about the possibility of a diplomatic deal with North Korea, reinforced by Pyongyang's subsequent actions, such as violating the April 2012 Leap Day agreement with another rocket launch. Similarly, Iran's rejection of the Tehran Research Reactor agreement in November 2009 and steadfast refusal to take up President Obama's offers to begin a serious bilateral dialogue inevitably shifted U.S.

¹¹ Technically, Track 2 refers to meetings of outside experts and former officials, while Track 1.5 meetings are ones in which outside experts are joined by serving government officials in a private capacity.

policy toward economic sanctions and political pressure, even as multilateral negotiations with Iran continued with little progress.

With official contacts between the United States and North Korea and Iran

The situation with Iran is more complicated. Unlike North Korea, where there is no such thing as independent or private views, some Iranian experts and academics on the conference circuit do in fact express personal views that dif-

fer from the government, including a greater willingness to compromise on the nuclear issue in exchange for better relations with the United States. Unfortunately, their views are not shared by the supreme leader and they are in no position to influence Iranian government policy. Nonetheless, in their desire to help mediate a solution between Tehran and Washington, some of the American participants were operating under a false optimism that a nuclear deal was close at hand and therefore did not understand why the United States was emphasizing sanctions and pressure against Iran. In addition, the American participants may have inadvertently created false expectations and confusion on the Iranian side when they expressed personal views that differed from the U.S. government—for example, on readiness to accept Iran's "right" to a safeguarded enrichment program. Prone to conspiracy and self-delusion, the Iranians may have believed that the former senior American officials they were meeting with were delivering "secret" messages on behalf of the administration, only to be disappointed when these "hints" of flexibility were not confirmed in the official meetings.

Another example of nongovernment Track 1.5/2 efforts gone awry concerned meetings to discuss the proposed 2012 conference on a weapons of mass destruction free zone (WMDFZ) in the Middle East. One of the main results of the 2010 NPT Review Conference was agreement by the NPT depositary powers (the United States, UK, and Russia) to work with the UN secretary-general to convene a meeting of regional parties on the establishment of a WMDFZ in the Middle East. Israel, which is not a party to the NPT, was especially wary that the conference would turn into an exercise to pressure Israel to join the NPT, despite high-level assurances from Washington that it would oppose such an effort. Almost immediately after the NPT Review Conference, a number of nongovernment organizations sprang forward to organize and host Track 1.5/2 meetings of experts from the Middle East (Israelis, Arabs, and the occasional Iranian) and outside powers to discuss the proposed conference and possible concrete results and build confidence among potential participants. Unfortunately, many of the meetings had the opposite result. Contentious exchanges highlighted deep differences between Israel and the Arabs and confirmed Israeli fears that the conference would be primarily an opportunity to pressure them. After much effort, the United States finally persuaded Israel to attend a preparatory meeting of regional parties to discuss the agenda and



AP PHOTO/FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS

An electromagnetic separation facility in Sverdlovsk, Russia, used for uranium enrichment, seen in an undated U.S. spy satellite photograph taken during the Cold War in the urgent context of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear standoff. Many such photos have been declassified and can be used for peaceful purposes, helping to verify and even advance arms reduction efforts.

stalled or blocked, various former officials and experts stepped into the gap, hoping to facilitate diplomacy. Frankly, the results were mixed. Track 2 meetings provided a convenient mechanism to pay for North Korean officials to come to the United States for informal meetings with U.S. experts and officials, but such discussions could not overcome the fundamental differences between Pyongyang and Washington. In fact, some U.S. participants emerged from these informal meetings even more pessimistic about diplomacy. Nonetheless, in the absence of other options, Washington will likely welcome additional Track 2 meetings with North Korean officials in the future for informal communication and information gathering as the administration seeks to establish a basis for resuming negotiations with Pyongyang.

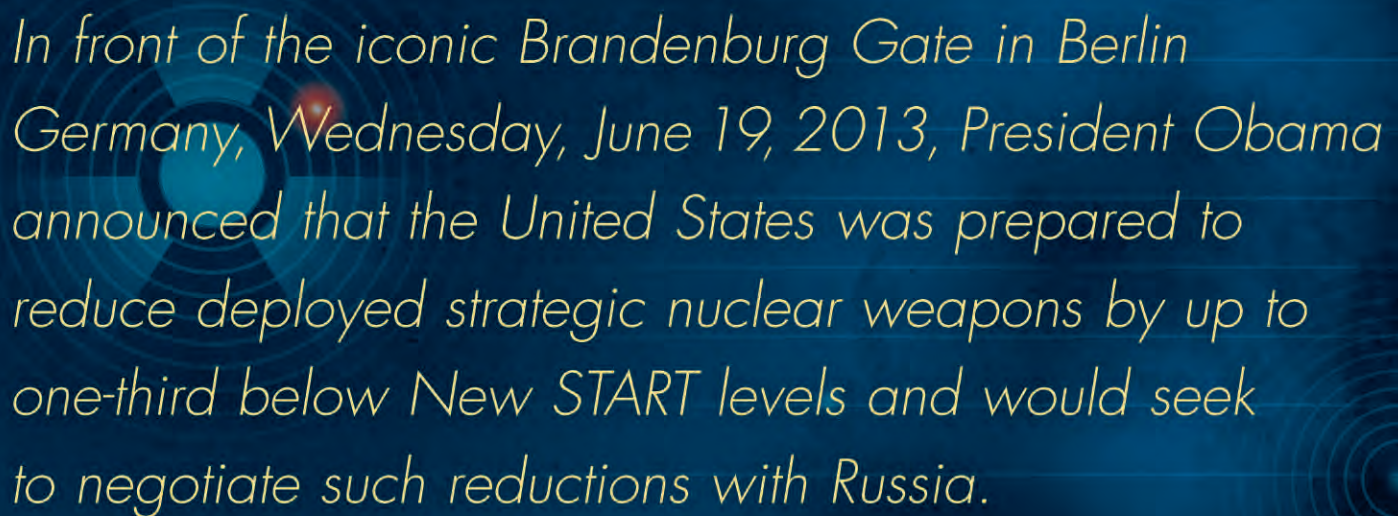
fer from the government, including a greater willingness to compromise on the nuclear issue in exchange for better relations with the United States. Unfortunately, their views are not shared by the supreme leader and they are in no position to influence Iranian government policy. Nonetheless, in their desire to help mediate a solution between Tehran and Washington, some of the American participants were operating under a false optimism that a nuclear deal was close at hand and therefore did not understand why the United States was emphasizing sanctions and pressure against Iran. In addition, the American participants may have inadvertently created false expectations and confusion on the Iranian side when they expressed personal views that differed from the U.S. government—for example, on readiness to

procedures of the proposed conference, but then the Arab League balked unless they were guaranteed the outcome they wanted.

To be fair, the main reason the Track 1.5/2 meetings failed in these cases is the same reason real diplomacy failed—the differences among the contending parties are simply too great to be bridged. Despite the inabil-

Russia are much less independent from their governments than American think tanks, and probably have much less influence on government decision-making, but over the long term, interaction with their American counterparts can help to enhance their stature and hopefully contribute to the emergence of a stronger civil society in those countries. From a foundation's standpoint, it is

accepts legal guarantees and limits on missile defense, which the Senate will not ratify even if the administration was prepared to accept such limits. Russia also rejected President Obama proposal for “bold reductions” in U.S. and Russian tactical nuclear weapons in Europe in the absence of a new treaty to limit conventional forces in Europe, which would take years to negotiate.



In front of the iconic Brandenburg Gate in Berlin Germany, Wednesday, June 19, 2013, President Obama announced that the United States was prepared to reduce deployed strategic nuclear weapons by up to one-third below New START levels and would seek to negotiate such reductions with Russia.

ity of Track 1.5/2 meetings to resolve intractable diplomatic disputes, I do think that the accumulative long-term effect of international meetings of non-government experts, academics, and former officials is generally positive, in terms of creating personal relations, improving understanding, and ultimately strengthening a civil society basis for improving official relations. This civilizing effect is especially important for U.S. relations with “frenemies” like China and Russia, where there is some basis for government-to-government cooperation on specific issues on the basis of common national interest, but deep cultural constraints in the form of mutual suspicion, misunderstanding, and misperception. Clearly, think tanks and outside experts in China and

impossible to quantify the impact of any particular meeting or set of meetings, but the cost is so small that the investment is worth the intangible benefits and potential payoffs.

The Way Forward

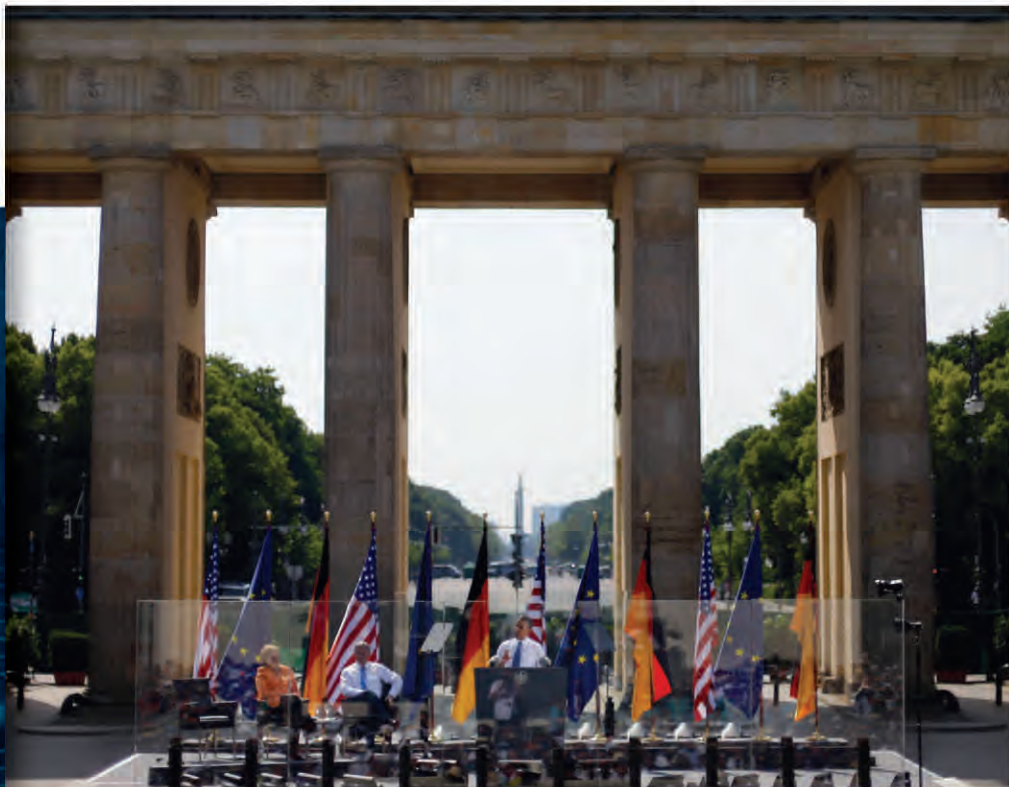
President Obama remains committed to pursuing the Prague Agenda, but near-term prospects for significant achievements are limited. In Berlin on June 19, 2013, President Obama announced that the United States was prepared to reduce deployed strategic nuclear weapons by up to one-third below New START levels and would seek to negotiate such reductions with Russia. Unfortunately, Moscow immediately rejected additional reductions in strategic forces unless the United States

In the absence of reciprocal measures by Russia, the president has the option of taking some unilateral steps within the constraints of the Nuclear Posture Review, but this will meet with stiff political resistance. In the meantime, there is little the United States can do to stop the Asian nuclear powers—China, India, and Pakistan—from proceeding with their nuclear expansion and modernization. Ratification of the CTBT is bottled up in the Senate. Negotiation of the FMCT is bottled up in the Conference on Disarmament. In the absence of significant progress on disarmament, the 2015 NPT Review Conference promises to be a contentious affair, especially if the WMDFZ conference on the Middle East remains stillborn. Disarming North Korea and

halting Iran's nuclear program continue to be problems without solutions in the absence of regime change in Pyongyang or Tehran, which is beyond American power to effect.

his presidency. One thing is certain: the main elements of the Prague Agenda will take many years to accomplish and achievement of a world without nuclear weapons is a distant generational

War deterrence to preventing proliferation and reducing the threat of nuclear terrorism within the overall context of seeking a world without nuclear weapons. The academics and think tankers that worked on Obama's campaign translated this big idea into a campaign document setting out a series of specific policy recommendations, many of which found their way into President Obama's Prague speech, which set the overall blueprint for the administration's nuclear strategy. Foundation support for these individuals outside government and the books, articles, op-eds, and memos that they produced were essential to translate vision into policy proposals for the incoming administration. And, given the unique character of the U.S. political system, many of these outsiders became insiders in the new administration, with responsibility for implementing the ideas they had developed outside government. As the administration shifted to implementation—and proposals came up against reality—the relative strength of the government emerged as the dominant factor relative to outside experts and organizations because the government is much more equipped to handle the daily management of the interagency process and negotiations and consultations with foreign powers. Outside experts acted as advocates, lobbyists, and critics, and their impact on government decision-making was reduced. Overall, however, the great power of foundations in the United States is their role in training and maintaining the cadre of foreign policy experts and specialists who bring fresh ideas and energy into government as officials and bring experience and realism out of government as researchers, teachers, and commentators. ■



Faced with these practical difficulties, the administration continues to look to outside experts and nongovernment organizations for fresh ideas and support. One bright spot is the Nuclear Security Summit process. The third summit will be held in The Hague in March 2014, and nongovernment organizations, such as the Nuclear Threat Initiative and the Stanley Foundation, have been holding a series of international meetings between outside experts and government Sherpas to develop ideas for a more ambitious approach to strengthen international cooperation for nuclear security. These ideas could be introduced at The Hague summit and conceivably brought to fruition in 2016 when President Obama has proposed to host a final summit of

goal. In these circumstances, perhaps the greatest value foundations can provide is to help train the next generation of international experts in arms control, nonproliferation, nuclear security, and nuclear energy to keep working these issues inside and outside governments.

Conclusion: Invest in People

In conclusion, the creation and implementation of President Obama's Prague Agenda illustrates the opportunities—and the limits—for outside nongovernment organizations and experts to influence government policy. As a senator with a strong personal interest in nuclear affairs, candidate Obama was receptive to the "big idea" of the Four Horsemen to shift American nuclear strategy from Cold



PERSPECTIVES

The Role of History as a Guide

by PATRICIA ROSENFELD

The work of philanthropy might seem simple, but in reality decision-making by foundation trustees, presidents, and staff is complex. In determining policies, strategies, and the awarding of grants, they take into account a considerable amount of information, ranging from their institution's mission and values to external political, social, and economic conditions. These decision-makers assess objectives, expected outcomes, and available resources of staff and funds, as well as the inherent, intangible characteristics of the foundation and its leaders, such as the willingness to take informed risks.

With increasing frequency, however, they tend to overlook their foundation's history, thus distancing themselves to some extent from the way their predecessors made decisions. After John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and Andrew Carnegie founded their institutions—the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913 and Carnegie Corporation in 1911—more than 100 years ago, for perhaps 50 years many of the people involved in overseeing these institutions, as well as other foundations established in the early twentieth century, carried the institution's history with them: it was an intrinsic part of their lives. But

as these philanthropies aged, their history became less and less accessible.

This article explores the possibility that such history provides a prism for enhancing foundation decision-making rather than a prison that locks program officers into familiar patterns of planning. Interviews conducted with former foundation leaders and staff members (including some trained as historians) offer insights into the challenges and potential applications of a foundation's history in its contemporary work. It is a complex issue that has not been sufficiently explored, and some foundation staff members—even those who argue



Carnegie Corporation Board of Trustees, 1941. Standing (left to right): Thomas S. Arbuthnot, Nicholas Kelley, Vannevar Bush, Russell Leffingwell, Arthur W. Page, Samuel H. Church, Henry James, Elihu Root, Jr. Seated (left to right): Frederick Osborn, Nicholas Murray Butler, Frederick P. Keppel (then Carnegie Corporation President), Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Margaret Carnegie Miller, Walter A. Jessup, W. Randolph Burgess.

on PHILANTHROPY:

for including history in current philanthropic decisions—raise counter arguments. Omotade Akin Aina, Carnegie Corporation program director, Higher Education and Libraries in Africa (HELA), who regularly draws on his understanding of institutional history for program development, speculated that many program officers today view history as limiting and even blocking new opportunities. Andrea Johnson, HELA program officer, whose career has spanned two Corporation presidential eras, expressed concern that new staff “might be so constrained by the history that they don’t form new alliances.” Alberta Arthurs, for many years director of the Arts and Humanities Division at the Rockefeller Foundation,

commented, “We don’t have a history of learning from each other or building on initiatives made by others.”

Several factors including the relevance of history, ready access to historical documents, and the demands on program officers, who have busy schedules and who are not trained historians, will be explored. Five case studies illustrate how knowledge of the institution’s history served as a prism for program planning. In addition to contributing to the foundation’s own decision-making, the history of an organization is important to other, newer foundations that can learn from the experiences of older foundations. As the number of private grantmaking foundations continues to increase at a rapid pace, there is a case

to be made for these new philanthropists to look back before moving forward.

Patricia Rosenfield, Senior Fellow, Rockefeller Archive Center, is a former Carnegie Corporation of New York program director of Carnegie Scholars, National Program. From 1990 to 1999 she chaired the Corporation’s Program on Strengthening Human Resources in Developing Countries. She recently completed a history of the Corporation’s international programs. Here she writes about the value of incorporating knowledge of institutional history in foundation planning, drawing on the history of the Corporation and interviews with former and current grantmakers at the Corporation and sister foundations.

This review also suggests the need for an analytical approach to facilitate the preparation of forward-looking historical reviews. Such an approach emerges from the seminal work, *Thinking in Time*, by Richard Neustadt and Ernst May.ⁱ They developed an analytical framework for enhancing the effectiveness of national policymakers through the use of history in their decisions. This article proposes that a similar framework is applicable in the equally challenging area of philanthropy.

Taken together, these discussions and stories suggest that the approach described by Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, might be achievable. In 2010, introducing his institution's centennial in the following year, Gregorian proposed a moment of stock-taking in which current staff might "acknowledge and appreciate the past, but not let it entangle or encumber us. We will build on successes of the past, heed the lessons of failure, and use the wisdom that accrues from such an accounting."ⁱⁱ

Relevance

Foundations are invariably shaped by the values and intentions of their donors; the twentieth century's most influential foundations have also grappled with the paradox of flexibility. From Carnegie to Rockefeller to Ford, among others, donors have charged trustees with adherence to the spirit of the founding gift while leaving them free to determine the specifics in light of changing times. In the Corporation's case, the mission is expansive: founder Andrew Carnegie envisioned the Corporation as a foundation that would "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding." The mission is made even more fluid by Andrew Carnegie's challenge in his deed of gift to the original Trustees, in which he states his conviction that

"Conditions upon the earth [sic] inevitably change; hence no wise man will bind Trustees forever to certain paths, causes or institutions...I give my trustees full authority to change policy or causes hitherto aided, from time to

humbling, to realize that most of the old ideas are still with us, and that many of the bright new ideas for attacking them today were bright new ideas 50 years ago."^{iv} He noted, however, Andrew Carnegie's charge to the Corporation



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The University of the Witwatersrand, a recipient of support from the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa.

time, when this, in their opinion, has become necessary or desirable. They shall best conform to my wishes by using their own judgment."ⁱⁱⁱ

Regarding the role of changing conditions, it is interesting to examine the different perspectives of two former presidents of Carnegie Corporation, both of whom had long experience with the foundation. In 1961, on the 50th anniversary of the Corporation, John Gardner, president of Carnegie Corporation from 1955 to 1967 (staff member from 1946 onwards), wrote, "One is struck anew by that paradox of all human history and human life: change and continuity. It is sometimes a little startling, and more than a little

that encouraged program changes as both national and global conditions evolved. Equally reflective of Andrew Carnegie's concerns, Alan Pifer, president of Carnegie Corporation from 1967 to 1982 (staff member from 1953 onwards), noted, "It is a truism that we live in a period of rapid change, an era driven by staggering scientific and technological advance, by demographic transformations of enormous consequence, by alterations in the nation's economic structure the import of which even the experts can scarcely imagine, and, finally, by almost constant turmoil in international affairs, fraught with dangers of almost inconceivable magnitude."^v

The predominant issues of the last century have been augmented by seemingly new ones: drastic global economic and social inequalities, increasing concern about climate change, and loss of faith in democratic governance in view of persistent inequities. These issues, however, have enduring dimensions, even as they take on new urgency or new parameters today. How can historical perspectives add value in shaping foundation activities as conditions change? This question is

ing nature of the profession. Typically, foundation officers no longer join a foundation and remain for the rest of their careers.

Historian David Ekbladh from Tufts University and others have noted that foundation program officers (and often administrative staff) previously stayed in one organization for significant lengths of time—thereby acquiring firsthand awareness of past examples to build on. Ekbladh pointed out that, “When [Frederick] Keppel, [Raymond]

whether program officers who make grants have the time, inclination, or expertise to uncover the historical narrative that would illuminate the context within which the foundation worked and help the officers grasp how the particularities of foundation grants interact with the vast array of factors and conditions shaping social change. Ekbladh elaborated on that concern, noting, “Often when foundation staff examine their history to put a particular program into context, it can be like shining a

When the Corporation relaunched its engagement in African higher education, the new strategy of supporting requests for funding was based on a particular university’s strategic plans and institutional priorities. This approach set the stage for what was eventually known as the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, a 10-year initiative from 2000 to 2010, undertaken by seven American foundations with universities in nine African countries.

not merely rhetorical: when examining potential areas of work based on external conditions alone, foundations often perceive them as fresh, distinctly different, requiring brand new, innovative approaches. As Gardner and Pifer both indicated, foundations have always been confronted with crises and changing conditions; changing conditions convey, in and of themselves, a certain kind of continuity.

Efficiency

The concern about efficient use of time is a real one for foundation staff, always working toward deadlines, overloaded with site visits, meetings, proposal development and reviews, and conversations with perspective grantseekers, scholars, and advisors. Moreover, staff capacity to take history into account is limited by the chang-

Fosdick, and [Paul] Hoffman were running the foundations (Carnegie Corporation, Rockefeller Foundation, and Ford Foundation, respectively), they knew the last 20 to 30 years from personal experience either with the foundations or the issues. Now it’s very different; some of the large foundations are a century or at least 50 years old and personal experiences simply can no longer encompass the full legacy of an institution’s efforts.”

The reluctance to delve into history may also reflect the training of program officers. As Kenneth Prewitt, Carnegie Professor of Public Affairs at Columbia University and formerly vice president of the Rockefeller Foundation remarked, “Foundations are not well equipped to use their history. They don’t have the right categories for historical analysis.” He questioned

flashlight in the forest—they don’t see the whole tree or the whole forest. They just see what the light strikes.”

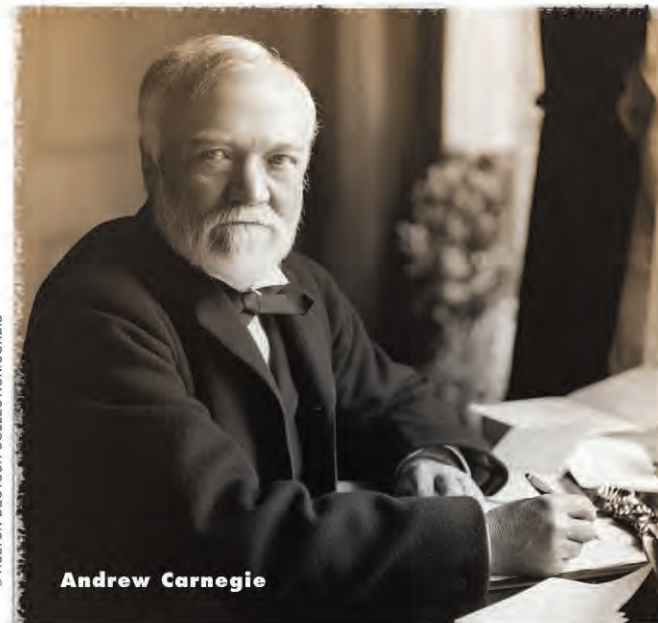
Feasibility

The apparent reluctance to delve into institutional history may not, however, reflect resistance or unwillingness so much as frustration. Foundation historical records are not always efficiently archived or easily accessible. Nonetheless, at the very least, program officers should be aware that other useful material, such as annual reports, board books, and institutionally produced publications, is readily available. These items give details on the scope and intent of foundation activities in earlier eras. Examples of such publications include Carnegie Corporation’s publication *Audits of Experience*, begun in 1930; the *Carnegie Quarterly*, which

ran from the 1950s through the 1990s and focused on grantee work; and the *Carnegie Reporter*, *Carnegie Results*, *Carnegie Reviews*, and *Carnegie Challenge Papers*, all of which cover programs, grants, and plans from the 1990s through the present, along with selected deeper historical analyses.

The Rockefeller Archive Center recently launched a Centennial Web site that presents Rockefeller Foundation programs over the past 100 years via short essays and historical documents, offering access to this material for any program officer considering entering a new field.^{vi} All the foundation's annual

In a 2000 speech about the Twentieth Century Fund, Smith emphasized that the "backstory" details should matter most to a program officer considering work in a new field. In his view, such details are essential to understanding the decisions of one's predecessors in the context of their times, whether external political, social, and economic conditions, or the internal operations of the grant-making institution.



From Carnegie to Rockefeller to Ford, among others, donors have charged trustees with adherence to the spirit of the founding gift while leaving them free to determine the specifics in light of changing times.

reports are also available on the foundation's Web site.^{vii}

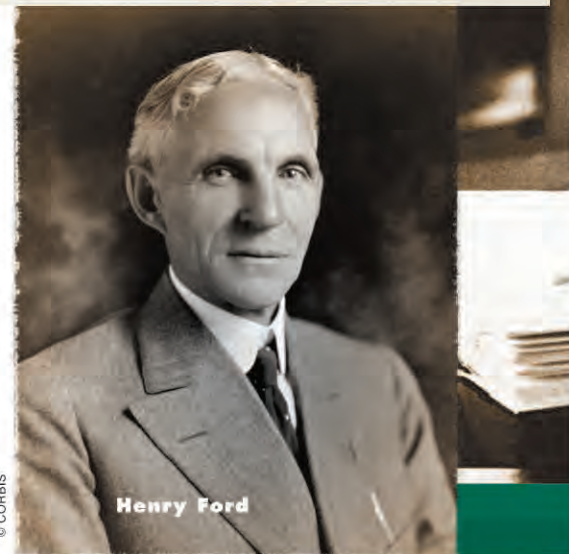
These materials are a start, but may not provide sufficient insight to understand the complex issues of the past or those confronting program officers today. Annual reports and institutionally produced publications present the stated objectives and clearest outcomes of grant programs, but only rarely reveal the complicated backstory and unintended side effects of foundation decision-making.

How to Use History

James Allen Smith, historian and vice president of the Rockefeller Archive Center and senior co-editor of the Rockefeller Centennial Web site, has broad experience putting an historian's academic training to use, first as program officer at the Twentieth Century Fund and, later, as president of the Howard Gilman Foundation.

Smith indicated further that from the beginning, "I wanted to know what kind of institution the Twentieth Century Fund was and to learn what I could of its history. Indeed, I arrived at the Fund at a time when its history and traditions seemed up for grabs." Smith found himself employing "historical and archival instincts, turning to informal oral history opportunities, drawing on the historical literature about Progressive Era institutions." Thus, he explains, "I was able in internal memoranda and board briefing books to help the Board understand the Fund's role in the new environment it faced in the 1980s. This was a practical, immediate use of the historian's skills, instincts, and temperament."^{viii}

In a conversation, Michael Seltzer, now Distinguished Lecturer at Baruch College's School of Public Affairs and former program officer at the Ford Foundation, reinforced Smith's observations by noting, "history is the



mother lode of knowledge on how we can be effective foundations." He added that "Knowing the institution's history is greatly facilitated by the accessibility of archived historical records."

A current grantmaker, John Craig, executive vice president and chief operating officer of the Commonwealth Fund, in 2012 conducted a survey of foundations about the value of archives.

He highlighted their importance, noting, “Permanent archives are a primary source for the institutional memory that is vital to learning organizations, and for the institutional pride that ensures the strong staff morale needed to achieve high performance. The staffs of most foundations are small, turnover in leadership is fairly frequent, and many new leaders come from outside the sector.”⁸ He made the distinctive point that access to historical analyses can contribute to successful transition in presidential leadership at foundations by commenting that, “The speed with which successive leaders of the Commonwealth Fund, for



John D. Rockefeller

example, have been able to take charge has been accelerated by the existence of a comprehensive history of the foundation.” At Commonwealth, Craig noted that such a “history was made possible by archival records dating back to the organization’s founding in 1918.”⁹

An especially compelling argument for the usefulness of archival records comes from Susan Berresford, presi-

dent of the Ford Foundation from 1996 to 2007. “As grantmaker and foundation leader, history meant an enormous amount for my work,” Berresford recently stated. While acknowledging that “There are always a lot of short-term new projects to support,” she identified four approaches across Ford’s history that consistently yielded “home runs.” These were “building entirely new institutions (such as the Kenya Community Development Foundation); funding social movements (even controversial ones such as civil rights in the United States); taking entirely new ideas from the margins to the center (such as with Mohammed Yunus and the Grameen Bank); and underwriting fellowship programs (for example, the \$325 million, 10-year Ford Foundation International Fellowships Program).” As Berresford explained, “It’s all about long term. You don’t know if these grants will pay off, but using history as a guide, you have faith based on the history. It’s important to look at the patterns. Where are the home runs? Where have we succeeded? Where have we failed?” Berresford and colleagues signaled their respect for the value of knowing Ford Foundation’s history by “instituting program officer training, urging the staff to review the history, and learn from both the big successes and big failures.” They similarly prepared orientation programs for new trustees.

When to Use History

Frederic (Fritz) Mosher, Carnegie Corporation staff member in both domestic and international programs for over 35 years, brings a depth of perspective on history almost unique amongst former Corporation staff members: he served under four Corporation presidents. Reflecting on what might prompt foundation staffs to look back, Mosher admitted that “An explicit reference to history doesn’t usually play a

role in grantmaking.” But he noted two key exceptions to this rule in the lifecycle of foundation decision-making: presidential transitions and Board discussions focused on revising or ending program areas.

When Mosher prepared for an intensive review by the committee of Corporation Trustees overseeing the program he chaired, Avoiding Nuclear War, he studied the history of the program carefully, as well as similar work at other foundations. His report added to the Board’s understanding and played a significant role in securing ongoing support for the program. Likewise, Geri Mannion, currently the Corporation’s program director of the U.S. Democracy Program and the Special Opportunities Fund, underlined the role of institutional history for presidential transitions. She found the reviews that she prepared in 1997 for incoming President Vartan Gregorian “made it clear where we had been, where we were, and where we could go forward.”

History: A Policy Science

Daniel Fox, president emeritus of the Milbank Memorial Fund, who is both an historian and a participant in the politics of policymaking, has written about the role of history in foundation decision-making and has applied findings from historical research in his decision-making at the Fund. In an article at the Fund’s centennial, he described how “the Fund has been consistent in its goals, and in how its board and staff implemented them, for most of its history.”¹⁰ Fox explained, when interviewed, that history should be viewed as a “policy science.” He elaborated, “Like practitioners of other disciplines of the policy sciences, such as sociologists, operations researchers, economists, and political scientists, historians use data from primary sources to meet rigorous methodological stan-

dards. Effective historical analyses can contribute to making and implementing decisions; evaluating strategies, programs, and projects; and then changing or sustaining them. Such analysis could, therefore, be important for the work of the philanthropic sector.”

Examples from the Field

The cases discussed below are drawn from a recent study by this author of 100 years of Carnegie Corporation international grantmaking and from the Rockefeller Foundation Centennial Web site.^{xii} They provide examples of foundation staff members using their knowledge of history toward a variety of ends: sometimes to address old issues within a new era, sometimes to redefine an existing relationship, and sometimes to discontinue work in a high-profile area of acknowledged accomplishment and longstanding commitment. Taken together, they offer a portfolio of the judicious use of evidence-based experience.

CASE 1: Nearly a Century of Continuity

African higher education exemplifies institutional continuity for Carnegie Corporation. From 1925 through 1975, the Corporation continuously built upon its growing record of investment in this field.

In 1925, the Corporation made its first grant in this area for a program to train teachers at the community level in Kenya. Known as the Jeanes approach, this type of community-based teacher training had been honed initially in the American South, with both Rockefeller and Corporation support, through the General Education Board. For the next 20 years, this grassroots approach dominated the Corporation’s strategies in British colonies in Africa. By the late 1940s, the Corporation took notice of changes in British support for higher

education in its colonies, as well as decolonization and rising independence movements. The Corporation then began to support higher education as a field and funded specific universities to strengthen them as institutions. This phase of work culminated in Nigeria in 1959 to 1960, with the Ashby Commission, a major undertaking to review the issues in national higher education systems, from personnel to infrastructure to curriculum. The subsequent report became a blueprint for the higher education sector in Nigeria and elsewhere throughout the region.

After the Ashby Commission, as other donors entered the field of higher education, notably the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and the U.S. Agency for International Development, Corporation staff members Alan Pifer and Stephen Stackpole, both executive associates, assessed the evolving situation, including a meticulous review of the Corporation’s work in Africa since the 1920s and recommended to the Board that the Corporation concentrate on teacher training.

By the 1960s, other agencies also increasingly supported similar initiatives. Because of the Corporation’s depth of experience, staff members and partners in Africa were able to further hone their focus to a neglected subfield: early childhood education and child development, the cornerstone for successful continuance in school. From the late 1960s through the mid-1970s, the Corporation founded and supported institutes of child development in Nigeria and Kenya that led to new understandings about different approaches to early childhood teaching.

After a hiatus of nearly 30 years from the field of higher education institutional support, Corporation staff members reviewed their own history and that of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations’ support for universities

in developing countries. They gleaned one key criterion as a basis for sustained success: listening carefully to the partners in the field and building on their plans. Therefore, when the Corporation relaunched its engagement in African higher education, the new strategy of supporting requests for funding was based on a particular university’s strategic plans and institutional priorities. This approach set the stage for what was eventually known as the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa, a 10-year initiative from 2000 to 2010, undertaken by seven American foundations with universities in nine African countries.^{xiii}

Carnegie Corporation’s history in Africa reveals an unwavering commitment to participation, yet a degree of flexibility as to content and even geographic emphasis. Stanley Katz, scholar on philanthropy and nonprofit institutions and lecturer with the rank of professor at the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University, considers that “This is the compelling historical overseas example for the Corporation.” To provide support that would target the greatest need, the Corporation constantly reviewed its own historical strengths in light of external conditions, including the work of other agencies.

CASE 2: A Prison or a Prism?

In 1975, with the impending retirement of long-time staff member Stephen Stackpole, Corporation President Alan Pifer charged the Board of Trustees to review the 50 years of the Commonwealth Program, including both the experience in funding higher education and other activities throughout the British Commonwealth. The consultant who prepared the reviews, E. Jefferson Murphy, highlighted both the successes and the challenges throughout all of these periods, noting that with the considerable resources

invested in higher education in Africa, the Corporation could easily continue work in this field and go from success to success.

The foundation's decades-long support for higher education in Africa could have been a binding constraint on identifying and engaging in new activities. That did not happen. The Trustees had been fully supportive of the Corporation's focus of its U.S.-based grantmaking on helping to advance social justice, starting in 1960s in the American South. They were also aware of the global opportunities in the new field of women and development as well as the international social justice challenge of confronting apartheid in South Africa.



Ralph Bunche

The resulting recommendations from the Trustees' review ended the work focused on the education sector as the primary program thrust in Africa and began to increase support for non-governmental organizations in the field of women and development and new approaches to confront apartheid in South Africa, the latter drawing on the public-interest legal and civil rights program in the American South. Grants were concluded for university-based activities in

West and East Africa and were focused instead on Southern Africa.

This example of not being restricted by one's history, although not explicitly discussed in this way at the time, reinforces the value of historically grounded strategic reviews, as indicated earlier by Mosher and Mannion. In this instance, the Trustees interrogated the history and, based on the answers, along with their understanding of contemporary opportunities, determined it was time to propel the Corporation in new directions.

CASE 3: Justifying a Major Grant

The Social Science Research Council (SSRC), funded in 1923 by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (consolidated with the Rockefeller Foundation in 1929), aimed to put the associations of the different social science disciplines into conversation with each other and develop a comprehensive "science of society."^{xiv} Soon, the major foundations of the day—the Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Corporation, and the Russell Sage Foundation—actively supported SSRC research committees, studies, and meetings. In early 1950, when former Carnegie Corporation staff member Pendleton Herring was president of SSRC, he and staff members of the Rockefeller Foundation, then the primary foundation supporter of the Council, discussed ways to cover its core operational costs. Herring astutely argued that SSRC added value as an informal operating arm of the foundations, saving them resources in staff and in grantmaking. As he noted in a lengthy letter, the SSRC strengthened the social sciences, built fields of knowledge and research, issued significant publications, and funded myriad fellowships developing prominent scholars in new fields. In short, the SSRC effectively brought together the

specialists, "upon whom the foundation must rely to achieve its purposes."^{xv}

Rockefeller staff considered Herring's arguments and conducted an additional review of their own nearly 25-year history with SSRC. An internal memo prepared by Rockefeller staff member Leland DeVinney highlighted signal accomplishments.^{xvi} One stand-out example was the SSRC's support of Ralph Bunche's postdoctoral research at the London School of Economics and his field work in Africa in the late 1930s. (Following that experience, Bunche served as a lead researcher for the Corporation's study by Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*.) Bunche went on to become a distinguished American diplomat and scholar, winning the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize for his mediation work with the United Nations in Palestine. He later became under-secretary-general of the United Nations. Another example that emerged in the Foundation's review of its involvement with SSRC was the comprehensive work an SSRC special committee did in researching and developing what eventually would become Social Security. In this case, the result of using detailed records was that the Rockefeller Foundation Trustees approved in 1951 an unusually large endowment grant for the SSRC, \$1.5 million, equivalent to \$13.4 million in 2013, as well as continued ongoing program support.

CASE 4: A Six-Decade Gap

Immigrant civic integration is an area in which the Corporation was actively engaged during its first 30 years. With the hiatus of more than 60 years, in the early 2000s, the Corporation began to reengage in that field, drawing, in part, on earlier lessons. As Mannion said, "In preparing for strategy development in this area, I looked at the Americanization studies and saw some of the same issues of anti-immigration

that are present today. I saw continuity in the pushback against immigrants. By looking at our history I saw that it was the same story, just different players.” In developing the program strategy, the Corporation thus learned from the past and worked in new contexts to identify ways to help immigrants better integrate into American society. In the new era of the twenty-first century, Mannion and her colleagues honed the focus on educating the public, build coalitions of immigrant-serving organizations, and identify new approaches to strategic communications on policy reform initiatives.

The earlier work to which Mannion referred is the Corporation-supported 10-volume Americanization study (*Study of Methods of Americanization or Fusion of Native and Foreign-Born*), completed in 1921.^{xvii} This study addressed different dimensions of immigrant life in the United States and discussed how to integrate immigrants into American society but refrained from endorsing any one model. As Vartan Gregorian described, the current focus of the Corporation on immigrant civic integration reflects, “a long-standing interest in the conditions affecting immigrants to the U.S. and their ability to flourish as American citizen.”^{xviii} The Corporation’s current grantmaking, echoing the impetus for the initial Americanization studies, aims to advance “immigrant civic integration as a means of increasing civic participation and strengthening U.S. democracy.”^{xix}

CASE 5: Knowledge of History Helps Right a Wrong

While early grants have sometimes inspired latter-day Corporation staff members, at least one grant has also haunted them: *The Carnegie Commission of Investigation on the Poor White Question in South Africa*, undertaken from 1928 to 1932.^{xx} The project’s

stated intent was to study conditions surrounding poverty among Afrikaners. Its statistically based surveys proved definitively that poverty correlated to many detrimental conditions such as poor nutrition, lack of education, and diminished standing in society.

These findings launched departments of sociology in South Africa’s institutions of higher education. Unfortunately, they launched as well the political career of a student of one of the study participants, Hendrik Verwoerd. Verwoerd used the study results as a platform for eliminating white poverty while promoting apartheid. He became a leader in the Nationalist Party, the party of apartheid, and prime minister in 1958, implementing draconian laws that institutionalized racial, economic, and other forms of discrimination against blacks, “coloureds,” Indians, and other South Africans of non-European ancestry.

This “Poor White” study and its unintended tragic consequences have led many scholars in and out of South Africa to charge that it played a key role in reinforcing apartheid in that country. Since the late 1950s, the collective sense of guilt felt by Corporation staff was palpable whenever the study was mentioned. This part of the Corporation’s history has never been forgotten, even after the Corporation terminated its grantmaking in South Africa in the 1950s. As previously discussed, the Corporation shifted to a social justice agenda in the United States in the mid-1960s and in South Africa in the late 1970s. The 1975 Trustee review in particular encouraged a focus on supporting anti-apartheid activities in South Africa.

In this context, and with history in mind, in 1980, the Corporation’s leadership welcomed the opportunity to conduct a study carried out by Francis Wilson, a leading economist in South Africa, who was acutely aware of the

earlier study. Wilson had persuaded President Alan Pifer and program officer David Hood, along with Ford Foundation senior staff member William Carmichael, to support the *Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa*.^{xxi} This second study was co-led by Mamphela Ramphele, a leading scholar-activist in the country who had been exiled to a “homeland” by the government. Wilson and Ramphele reviewed the design of the first study, led by a “Commission of Wise Persons,” and took a different route, engaging local participants from across the country who reflected a wide range of disciplines, experiences, and viewpoints. The major difference in the second study was that the participants were Africans of all colors and backgrounds. This time, the resulting 300 papers dramatically revealed the dire poverty created by the oppression of the apartheid system.

As David Hamburg, president of Carnegie Corporation from 1982 to 1997, said in his 1997 oral history interview, “Our inquiry in South Africa, we believe—and I think most South Africans believe—played a significant role in helping to roll back apartheid. It was started, to his great credit, in Alan Pifer’s time...The only plea that Alan Pifer made to me and to the Board was to continue the work in South Africa.”^{xxii} Hamburg explained further, “We wanted to get the facts straight... that was one piece of it. The second piece was to do that in a way that would involve blacks and browns and not only whites, to embed it as much as possible in the black community. I should say we built upon early Carnegie history... the poor white study.”^{xxiii}

This example provides much material for further consideration. While the second study aimed, in part, to make amends for the negative effects of the first Carnegie Corporation study, the very impact and prominence of the first

study made it nearly impossible for the Afrikaner apartheid government to prohibit the second from being carried out. The leaders of the second study, aware of the approach and results of the first, obtained detailed and accurate results by conducting this study with a conscientious eye toward the uses and abuses of historical bias. As Hamburg put it, "We basically revisited that study, looking at the whole population, which, of course, meant in our time [that] poverty was very largely black."^{xxiv}

Framework for Using History as a Policy Science

These case studies provide only a glimpse of the rich materials available to foundation decision-makers. A framework for systematic reviews would help program staff to incorporate more detailed ongoing analyses of past activities. Insight into how earlier program officers made decisions on comparable themes, whether in their own foundation or others, could help current staff avoid some pitfalls.

Geri Mannion, drawing on her experience at the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations as well as the Corporation, asserted, "Good program officers think about where the foundation has been and what it wants to do. They shouldn't assume that a foundation has never done anything in an area. Even if they don't like the older strategy, it is invaluable to have knowledge of the past." One way to make history more active, she suggested, would be to develop portfolios of what has been funded and the kinds of analyses undertaken by programmatic strategic reviews across time and institutions.

The historical analytical framework proposed by Neustadt and May provides a starting point for compiling such portfolios.^{xxv} Here are the seven main questions posed by Neustadt and May, somewhat modified for the foundation field:

1. What has been done that is similar to what was done in the past?

2. What were the conditions that prompted the first initiative?

3. What do we know about the resulting grants? What is unclear? What is presumed?

4. What are the similarities and differences in external conditions related to the program area under review between now and then?

5. What stories emerge from those grants or programs that have relevance for today?

6. What do we know about the nature of the individuals who were making those decisions and the foundations and the grantee institutions at that time?

7. If a review is undertaken to change or develop new foundation strategy: Can we answer the journalistic questions of "Who? What? Why? Where? How? When?" to complete the historical analyses?

Developing and using such a framework will enlarge a program officer's grasp of historical perspectives, enhance knowledge of past grants and program areas, and sharpen the capacity for assessing differences and knowing the key questions to ask. As Mannion puts it, "The first rule of philanthropy is to do no harm, which means doing your homework and connecting the past with what you want to do. We want to bring in new, creative people to the foundation world, especially in foundations of long history. But it is important that these new staff understand what the history means. Even officers of newly endowed foundations should talk and collaborate with other donors."

This article does not place history on a pedestal or consider history to be a closed book on a shelf or a file in an archive. Rather, as presented here, history is an active, living force that can enable a philanthropic organization to

make thoughtful, effective grants that will have a lasting impact.

Endnotes

ⁱ Richard E. Neustadt and Ernest R. May, *Thinking in Time: The Uses of History for Decision Makers* (New York: The Free Press, 1988).

ⁱⁱ Vartan Gregorian, "Committed to the Future, Honoring the Past: Some Thoughts About Our Centennial," *Carnegie Reporter*, 2010, Fall, inside front cover.

ⁱⁱⁱ Carnegie Corporation of New York, Board of Trustees meeting, Nov. 10, 1911, *Minutes*, v.1, 7.

^{iv} John Gardner, "Fifty Years in Review," *Fiftieth Anniversary Report, Carnegie Corporation of New York*, 1961, p. 34.

^v Alan Pifer, *Speaking Out: Reflections on Thirty Years of Foundation Work, Council on Foundations* (Washington, D.C.: Council on Foundations, rev.ed., 2001), 20.

^{vi} <http://rockefeller100.org/>

^{vii} www.rockefellerfoundation.org

^{viii} James Allen Smith, "Historian and Philanthropoid," *ARNOVA*, New Orleans, Nov. 17, 2000, pp. 4–5.

^{ix} John E. Craig, Jr., "The Archives of U.S. Foundations: An Endangered Species," *The Commonwealth Fund 2012 Annual Report* (New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 2012), 7.

^x *Ibid.*

^{xi} Daniel M. Fox, *The Significance of the Milbank Memorial Fund for Policy: An Assessment at Its Centennial*, *Milbank Quarterly*, March 2006, 84(1):1.

^{xii} Patricia L. Rosenfield, working title: *A World of Giving: Carnegie Corporation's First Century of International Grantmaking, 2013, TS, Carnegie Corporation of New York*.

^{xiii} For details, see <http://www.foundation-partnership.org/>

^{xiv} Rockefeller Archive Center, <http://rockefeller100.org/>, Social Sciences, Social Science Research Council.

^{xv} Pendleton Herring, "The Social Science Research Council and Foundation Operations," *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed June 1, 2013, <http://rockefeller100.org/items/show/55262>.

^{xvi} Leland C. DeVinney, "Memorandum regarding the Social Science Research Council," *100 Years: The Rockefeller Foundation*, accessed June 1, 2013, <http://rockefeller100.org/items/show/5499>.

^{xvii} See, for example, Frank V. Thompson, foreword, *Schooling of the Immigrant* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1920), <http://www.archive.org/stream/americanizations027372mbp#page/n9/mode/2up>, accessed Dec. 4, 2011. The summary volume was never published.

^{xviii} Gregorian, 2010, 44.

^{xix} *Ibid.*

^{xx} J. F. W. Grosskopf, R. W. Wilcocks, E. G. Malherbe, W. A. Murray, J. R. Albertyn, et al., *The Poor White Problem in South Africa*, Report of the Carnegie Commission (Stellenbosch, SA: Pro Ecclesia-drukkery, 1932).

^{xxi} Francis Wilson and Mamphela Ramphele, *Uprooting Poverty: The South African Challenge*, Report for the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1989), ix–xiii.

^{xxii} David A. Hamburg, *Oral History*, Carnegie Corporation Oral History Project, interview conducted by Mary Marshall Clark, Dec. 10, 1998, *Columbia University Oral History Program*, 358.

^{xxiii} *Ibid.*, 358–359.

^{xxiv} *Ibid.*, 360.

^{xxv} Neustadt and May, throughout the book, with guide for designing the framework, see pp. 232–246. ■

Recent Events



THE WOODROW
WILSON AWARDS

*There is no higher religion
than human reason.*



Kennan Institute Honors Gregorian for Russia Work

In December 2012, the Kennan Institute at the Wilson Center honored Corporation president Vartan Gregorian with its Woodrow Wilson Award for Public Service. President Gregorian received the award in recognition of his many contributions to improving U.S. understanding of Russia, and his long-term support for Russian education at the Corporation.

According to the Wilson Center, “the Award for Public Service is given to individuals who have served with distinction in public life and have shown a special commitment to seeking out informed opinions and thoughtful views. Recipients of this award share President Woodrow Wilson’s steadfast belief in public discourse, scholarship, and the extension of the benefits of knowledge in their own countries and around the world. Rather than basing policies and ideas on political or professional expediency, these leaders devote themselves to examining the historical background and long-term implications of important public policy issues. They encourage the free and open exchange of ideas that is the bedrock of a vibrant democracy.”

Digitized Cultural Treasures for Afghanistan

In January 2013, a ceremony at the U.S. Department of State with Afghan President Hamid Karzai, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton—joined by Librarian of Congress James H. Billington and Carnegie Corporation of

New York President Vartan Gregorian—announced the gift of a collection of digitized treasures from the holdings of the Library of Congress relating to the culture and history of Afghanistan to libraries and universities in that country.

Digitization of the Afghan collection is part of an ongoing project of the World Digital Library, a cooperative global initiative led by the Library of Congress. Under the project, items of historical and cultural significance from some 77 countries are being digitized. The World Digital Library has received \$4 million in support of this work from the Corporation. The Library of Congress will also provide copies of these treasures to Afghan institutions, including the Kabul Library, the American University of Afghanistan, Badakhshan University, Balkh University, Bamiyan University, Herat University, Kabul University, Kandahar University, and Nangarhar University.



Vartan Gregorian, Afghan President Hamid Karzai, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Librarian of Congress James H. Billington.

Dean Lisa M. Lynch and Vartan Gregorian at the Heller School graduation.



PHOTO: MATTHEW MUISE

Vartan Gregorian Given Brandeis Honorary Degree

Vartan Gregorian received an honorary degree at Brandeis University’s 62nd commencement in May 2013. The university praised President Gregorian’s work in education, saying, “He has worked tirelessly throughout his career to advocate for higher education as an essential element of a civil society. As president of Brown University from 1988-97, he led the institution to international prominence, instituting the President’s Lecture Series, presiding over the building of a residence quadrangle that now bears his name, teaching classes, and directing a successful capital campaign.”

At the ceremony, Gregorian was lauded as a “higher education visionary, passionate advocate for the humanities, professor, scholar and leader [whose] legacy is promoting a deeper appreciation of the role of higher education in society.” Delivering the commencement address to

the Heller School graduating class, Dr. Gregorian urged students to leave the world a better place than they found it. “What have you done to deserve your ancestors?” Gregorian asked the graduates. “What will you do as ancestors of future generations?”



A Closer Look at a Troubled Country

The publication of Barnett R. Rubin’s new book,

Afghanistan from the Cold War through the War on Terror, was celebrated at the Corporation in May 2013. Mr. Rubin served as special advisor to the late Ambassador Richard Holbrooke during his final mission to the region and still serves the Obama administration under Holbrooke’s successor, Ambassador Marc Grossman. One of the country’s foremost authorities on modern Afghanistan, Mr. Rubin has dedicated much of his career to the study of this remote mountain land.

In this book, the author explains how the Taliban arose in resistance to warlords after the Soviet withdrawal, and he examines the arrival of Arab Islamists, the missed opportunities after the American-led inter-

vention, the role of Pakistan, and the challenges of reconstruction. Mr. Rubin discusses the significance of ethnic rivalries, the drug trade, human rights, and U.S. strategic choices, analyzing the missteps in these areas taken by the international community since 2001. The book's final chapters provide an informed look at some of the thinking that is shaping policy debates inside the administration today.

Global Kids Come to Carnegie Corporation

Global Kids—an educational non-profit dedicated to global learning and urban youth development—visited Carnegie Corporation of New York in June 2013, to share their moving reenactment of Vartan Gregorian's childhood, as depicted in his autobiography, *The Road to Home: My Life and Times*.

Through Global Kids, young people examine global issues, make local connections, and work to create change through peer education, social action, digital media, and service-learning. The organization works to ensure that urban youth have the knowledge, skills, experiences and values they need to succeed in school, participate effectively in the democratic process, and achieve leadership in their communities and on the global stage.

As a result, Global Kids has an over 90 percent high school graduation rate, with close to 90 percent of participants attending college and becoming campus leaders and advocates for global engagement and social action.

A video of the *Road to Home* reenactment is available here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EPU5Xy-2kGc>

Tackling Higher Education Challenges in Africa

Representatives of Carnegie Corporation's Higher Education and Libraries in Africa (HELA) program hosted a grantee convening in Nairobi in May 2013. The topics under discussion included policy, leadership, and governance. International Program Vice President Deana Arsenian attended the convening, which was facilitated by Program Director Tade Aina and Program Officer Claudia Frittelli, with support from the African Leadership Center, a Corporation grantee based in Nairobi.

Thirty-seven participants were there to share research, knowledge, and practices, and to map the future. Among them were the leaders of key grantee organizations, including the Center for Higher Education Transformation; Trust Africa; Council for the Development



Deanna Arsenian (first row, far left), Tade Aina (first row, fourth from left) and Claudia Frittelli (second row, fourth from left) with leaders of grantee organizations at a convening in Nairobi, Kenya.

of Social Science Research in Africa; National Council of Higher Education, Uganda; National Council of Tertiary Education, Ghana; Tanzanian Commission for Universities; Evaluation Research Agency; and University World News. Six resource experts including an immediate former member of parliament, two former vice chancellors, university administration managing director served as discussants. The convening endorsed the proposal for a continental summit on African higher education to be held in 2014, to address current factors, challenges, and opportunities of higher education.

Corporation President Receives Distinguished Service Award

In April 2013, Vartan Gregorian was recognized with the Council on Foundations Distinguished Service Award, which honors exceptional individuals who embody the intellect, integrity, leadership, and accomplishments that define excellence in the field of philanthropy. The Council on Foundations, formed in 1949, is a nonprofit membership association of more than 1,700 independent, operating, community, public and company-sponsored foundations and corporations. The Council recognized President Gregorian's

groundbreaking investment strategies and consistency in keeping Andrew Carnegie's legend alive, calling him a standard bearer for systems change and a proven leader in a rapidly shifting global landscape.



"I am particularly pleased that among the previous recipients of the Distinguished Service Award was one of my predecessors as president of the corporation, the late Alan Pifer, who received the inaugural award in 1984," President Gregorian said. "I am also deeply honored to be recognized by the Council on Foundations, which plays such a major role in setting policies and providing a forum for its members. The Council represents the generosity of the American people and the vitality of American philanthropy that are central to the strength of our democracy."

"Vartan Gregorian has been a true champion of the Carnegie Corporation's mission to do 'real and permanent good in this world,'" said Vikki Spruill, the Council's president and CEO. "All of us in the philanthropic sector seek to have an impact in the communities we serve, and Vartan absolutely exemplifies the power of philanthropy to drive innovation and create change."

(Continued on page 44)



Students from Global Kids; Evie Hantzopolous, president (front row, far right) and Carole Artigiana, founder (back row, far right) with Vartan Gregorian.

PHOTO: VIRGINIA MALLON

Recent **Events**... *Continued from page 43*

'I Love My Librarian' Award Winners

The winners of the Carnegie Corporation/New York Times "I Love My Librarian" awards for 2012 were recognized for their outstanding contributions to their libraries and the communities they serve at a special ceremony in December 2012, hosted by *The New York Times*.

Each year, nominations for the award are open to librarians working in public, school, college, community college and university libraries. More than 1,500 library patrons across the U.S. nominated a librarian, and 10 winners were selected. The awards were presented at TheTimesCenter in Manhattan, where Robert K. Massie, renowned historian, a Pulitzer Prize-winner and best-selling author of *Catherine the Great: Portrait of a Woman*, delivered the ceremony's keynote address. Mr. Massie received the Carnegie Medal for Excellence in Nonfiction in 2012.

The winners are:

- Dorothy J. Davison
Horrnann Library, Wagner College, New York, N.Y.
- Roberto Carlos Delgado
Peter J. Shields Library, University of California, Davis
- Beatriz Adriana Guevara
Charlotte Mecklenburg Library, Charlotte, N.C.
- Rachel Hyland
Tunxis Community College

Library, Farmington, Conn.

- Susan Kowalski

Minoa School District: Pine Grove Middle School Library, East Syracuse, NY

- Rae Anne Locke
Saugatuck Elementary "Secret Garden" Library, Westport, Conn.

- Greta E. Marlatt
Naval Postgraduate School — Dudley Knox Library, Monterey, Calif.

- Mary Ellen Pellington
Octavia Fellin Public Library, Gallup, N.M.

- Madlyn S. Schneider
Queens Library, Queens Village, N.Y.

- Julie Hatsell Wales
McNair Magnet School, Rockledge, Fla.

For more information visit www.AtYourLibrary.org/ILoveMyLibrarian.

A Rousing Rite of Passage for Fifth Graders

To join in celebrating the fifth grade class graduation at the Vartan Gregorian Elementary School in Providence, Rhode Island, in June 2013, President Gregorian spent the day with students at the school, which is named for him. The former president of Brown University in Providence visited the elementary school at the invitation of a student.

The visit coincided with the



PHOTO: VIRGINIA MALLON

Students from Vartan Gregorian Elementary School's eNewspaper Club with Vartan Gregorian.

school's traditional "clap-out ceremony," in which the younger grades and their teachers, and President Gregorian, lined the corridors to applaud as fifth-graders walked to the auditorium for their graduation ceremony. Also on the agenda was a visit with the school's eNewspaper Club (in the photo above), where his message was "Nobody like you is going to come again," so students must do justice to their intellect and "learn, learn, learn."

100Kin10 Applauded at CGI America

In June 2013, Michele Cahill, Vice President, National Program and Program Director, Urban Education, and Talia Milgrom-Elcott, Program Officer, Senior Manager STEM Teacher Initiatives, took part in the Clinton Global Initiative America meeting in Chicago.

There they reported on the progress of the 100Kin10 commitment—specifically the closing of the second fund at \$28.6 million, which pushes the total amount of dollars pledged by 100Kin10 funding partners above \$50 million.

They joined President Clinton and 100Kin10 partners on stage during the final plenary session. President Clinton praised the work of the 100Kin10 network, which aims to meet the country's need for 100,000 excellent STEM teachers by 2021, stating, "Never think, 'I can't do this because I haven't solved the whole problem;' ...none of us can solve the whole problem, but together, we can move the world."

For a complete list of partners and to learn more about the initiative, go to <http://www.100Kin10.org>



2012 I Love My Librarian winners at their award ceremony.



PHOTO: CGI AMERICA

Talia Milgrom-Elcott (fourth from left) and Michele Cahill (fifth from left) on stage with 100Kin10 partners and President Bill Clinton at the Clinton Global Initiative America.

Mentoring *for the* 21st Century

Vartan Gregorian—continued from inside front cover

who have the great moral responsibility to draw out of students the talents and curiosity and desire to be educated that was born within them. In other words, for Plato, the role of a teacher is not to assume that their students are empty vessels that need to be filled but rather to work with young people to help them learn to think deeply and in an organized way, so that ideas can turn into knowledge and knowledge become wisdom. Indeed, that is one of the most important qualities of a good teacher: to help a student uncover the abilities that he or she doesn't even know they possess. Perhaps even more important is the fact that, as I have always believed, students don't fail—teachers fail. If you are a teacher, there is no way to give up on a student; he may give up on himself but you cannot give up because there is always a spark of interest and you have to be able to catch that spark and connect with it, engage with it and inspire the student.

All of this is equally true of mentors, whose critical role is provide guidance, counsel, and solidarity for those who need it, to serve as role models, to serve as facilitators or knowledge and as teachers themselves. In these capacities, mentors help to build bridges between the past and the future. They are being good ancestors, namely, people who bequeath to those who will follow after us a legacy not only of our worldly goods and earthly kingdoms, such as they are, but also the seeking heart and restless, soaring spirit that is the true essence of man and woman alike. Perhaps no other field of human endeavor serves as directly and forcefully as a “flight school” for the human spirit as teaching and learning.

Along with great teachers and mentors, however, there is more we, as a society, need to be providing to today's students. Better literacy skills are certainly near the top of the list. Recently, the Associated Press reported that “United States students are continuing to trail behind their peers in a pack of higher performing nations, according to results from a key international assessment. Scores from the 2009 Programme for International Student Assessment (the most recent such report*) show 15-year-old students in the U.S. performing about average in reading and science, and below average in math. Out of 34 countries, the U.S. ranked 14th in reading, 17th in science and 25th in math.” The current lack of high-level math and science skills, inarguable prerequisites for most 21st century careers, are a particular concern

when it comes to today's American student. Our nation's well-traveled path of excellence in science, technology, engineering, and math—which put a man on the moon, led the biotechnology revolution, and transformed the way the world connects and communicates—is no longer leading us where we need to go. Education in these fields, known collectively as the STEM subjects, is not adequately preparing today's students to solve our most pressing challenges and extend our rich history of global leadership.

For these and other related reasons, including economic and social pressures on today's families, mentors are even more desperately needed these days to help young people find their way through their school years with success and fulfillment. Ultimately, the goal of this kind of excellent education is to lead students not just to jobs but to careers that will enrich them both in their personal and professional lives. As MENTOR reports, “currently, 18 million children in the United States want and need a mentor, and [only] three million have one.” That is a mentoring gap that has to change if our nation is going to live up to its promise of equality and opportunity by helping all students go forward into the future not only with the hope of success but also a real chance to excel.

As President of Carnegie Corporation, the philanthropic foundation created by Andrew Carnegie over a century ago to promote “the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding,” I think it is appropriate that I conclude with a nod in Mr. Carnegie's direction because I would like to suggest that he was a kind of great American mentor. After all, he had an extraordinary vision for our society: he believed that with the rights provided to us by the United States comes the obligation to be caring and engaged citizens and to return to the nation even more than we are given. That means, as citizens, we have to become deeply knowledgeable about the problems and issues facing the men, women and children of the U.S. and to do whatever we can to contribute not only to finding solutions but also to creating inspiration. There is, I think, no greater gift that a mentor can provide to those who come under his or her good and gentle wing: helping to share the joy of new ideas. Even if we all live forever, we will never have enough of them! ■

* The next PISA results, for 2012, are due to be released in December 2013.

Foundation **Roundup**

FUNDACIÓN

Carlos Slim

Carlos Slim Foundation to Contribute \$100 Million to Help Global Initiative End Polio Forever

The Carlos Slim Foundation has made a donation of \$100 million to help end polio. The contribution will go towards funding the Global Polio Eradication Initiative's (GPEI) new Polio Eradication and Endgame Strategic Plan (2013-2018), a comprehensive six-year plan that was developed to capitalize on the unprecedented opportunity to eradicate polio.

"It has been more than 20 years since children and parents in Mexico and all of Latin America have worried about polio. It is my hope that this donation will help improve the life of children and parents, no matter where they live, by fostering a polio-free world," said Slim. "We are excited to join the Gates Foundation and other partners in the effort to end this disease once and for all.

Slim's donation was announced at the Global Vaccine Summit held in Abu Dhabi. The Summit, held during World Immunization Week (April 24-30), was organized to continue the momentum of the Decade of Vaccines—a vision and commitment to reach all people with the vaccines they need. Critical to this vision is polio eradication, along with the development of affordable new vaccines and the ability for every country in the world to deliver vaccines to every child.

Bill Gates, co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and a co-host of the Summit, recognized Slim in opening remarks at the event, noting that Slim is an important new donor in the fight against polio. Later,

Gates announced his foundation's support to help fund the GPEI polio eradication plan over the next six years.

Global leaders joined Gates and Slim in announcing their support for the new GPEI polio eradication plan, which outlines all the steps needed to achieve eradication by 2018. Slim's and Gates' contributions supplemented a commitment by global leaders and other philanthropists to back the GPEI plan, with a total of \$4B toward the plan's estimated \$5.5B budget over six years.

The six-year GPEI plan simultaneously addresses the need to interrupt transmission of the wild poliovirus by the end of 2014, strengthen routine immunization, and lay the groundwork for securing a lasting polio-free world. It is estimated that GPEI could deliver net benefits of US\$40-50 billion by 2035.

For more information on the Carlos Slim Foundation, please visit: www.fundacioncarlosslim.org

For more information on the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, please visit: gatesfoundation.org

For more information about The Global Polio Eradication Initiative (GPEI), please visit: www.polioeradication.org



The Broad Foundation Invests Additional \$20 Million in Personalized Learning Technologies

The Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation has awarded nearly \$20 million over the past year to organizations nationwide working to provide teachers, parents, and students with access to personalized-learning technologies.

The grants represent a significant increase in the founda-

tion's investment in such technologies, which enable public school teachers and parents to adapt instruction to meet the personal needs of each student. Grant recipients include the Michigan Education Excellence Foundation, which was awarded \$10 million for the Education Achievement Authority of Michigan, a new system serving more than ten thousand students in some of the state's lowest performing schools; New Classrooms Innovation Partners, which was awarded \$1.35 million to conduct research on the use of student data to better adapt teacher-led instruction and improve computer-based approaches. Khan Academy received \$4 million to determine which of its free educational materials are most effective and to use that data to personalize learning based on optimized algorithms, work with schools to help teachers optimize instruction by using its materials in their classrooms, develop workshops and free online resources for teachers, and encourage more people to take advantage of its online offerings.

Other grant recipients include Rocketship Education, a national network of blended learning schools working to eliminate the achievement gap in low-income neighborhoods, and PowerMyLearning.com, which provides students, teachers, parents, and school leaders with free online access to pre-screened digital learning activities produced by third parties.

"Although technology should never replace teachers, when used correctly, it can empower teachers and parents to personalize education in a scalable way that is not otherwise possible," said Broad Foundation senior director Luis de la Fuente. "We know of no better way to amplify the effects of great teachers

and engage students and parents to become active partners in their own school experience. These organizations we are supporting are among those demonstrating the most promising results."

This recent set of grants brings The Broad Foundation's total investments to date in personalized learning to nearly \$23 million.

For more information on these grants or The Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation please visit: www.broadeducation.org



Knight, Gates Foundations Support Media Impact Project

The Norman Lear Center at the University of Southern California's Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism has received grants totaling \$3.25 million from the John S. and James L. Knight and Bill & Melinda Gates foundations in support of its Media Impact Project.

Despite advances in "big data," relatively primitive metrics still are used to assess audience engagement with media content and its effects on individual perceptions and behaviors. The project, which aims to help media organizations, journalists, and social change-makers expand their use of storytelling through data and impact measurement, will use the grant funds to develop metrics that are more robust than TV ratings, page views, retweets, and the like to determine how media influences people's awareness and actions—a particular challenge for organizations look-

ing to connect audiences with important social issues and support long-term change.

To that end, social and behavioral scientists, journalists, analytics experts, and other specialists affiliated with the center will work to test and create new ways to measure the impact of media. Content creators, distributors, and media funders will then be invited to apply these techniques to improve their work and strengthen audience engagement.

"We're delighted that Gates and Knight have recognized the Lear Center as a leader, and the Annenberg School as a center of excellence, in measuring media engagement and impact," said USC Annenberg dean Ernest L. Wilson.



Robert Wood Johnson
Foundation

10 Nonprofits Building Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to Help Transform Health Care through Nursing

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF) has launched a new \$3 million initiative to help states prepare the nursing profession to address our nation's most pressing health care challenges—access, quality, and cost.

The *Future of Nursing State Implementation Program* will bolster efforts already underway in 50 states and the District of Columbia to transform health care through nursing and meet the challenges stemming from an aging and more diverse population. A joint initiative of AARP and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the *Future of Nursing: Campaign for Action* is working to implement the Institute of Medicine's (IOM) evidence-based recommendations

on the future of nursing. The *Campaign* provides a voice and a vehicle for nurses at all levels to lead system change to improve health outcomes for patients and families by collaborating with business, consumer, and other health professional organizations.

"This program is designed to spur progress by supporting Action Coalitions, most of which are led by volunteers, that are doing promising work to implement the IOM recommendations," said RWJF senior adviser for nursing and *Campaign* director Susan B. Hassmiller, PhD, RN, FAAN. "The Foundation is committed to providing states with the support they need to build a more highly educated, diverse nursing workforce that will improve health outcomes for patients, families, and communities."

The program will provide two-year grants of up to \$150,000 to 20 state-based Action Coalitions that have made substantial progress toward implementing the IOM recommendations. The grants call for states to obtain matching funds. The Center to Champion Nursing in America, an initiative of AARP, the AARP Foundation and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, serves as the national program office for the *Future of Nursing State Implementation Program*.

Grant recipients will work to implement programs that prepare nurses to lead system change, strengthen nursing education, expand access to care by ensuring that nurses practice to the full extent of their training and education, recruit and train a more diverse nursing workforce, and improve quality and coordination of health care.

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation focuses on the pressing health and health care issues facing our country. As the nation's largest philanthropy devoted exclusively to health

and health care, the Foundation works with a diverse group of organizations and individuals to identify solutions and achieve comprehensive, measurable and timely change. For more than 40 years, the Foundation has brought experience, commitment and a rigorous, balanced approach to the problems that affect the health and health care of those it serves. For more information, visit www.rwjf.org. Follow the Foundation on Twitter www.rwjf.org/twitter or Facebook www.rwjf.org/facebook.

Guttman Foundation Awards \$25 Million to City University of New York

The City University of New York has received a \$25 million gift from the Stella and Charles Guttman Foundation to support of the New Community College at CUNY and two other initiatives designed to boost student retention and graduation rates.

The gift includes \$15 million to establish an endowment for NCC in support of its efforts to improve historically low graduation rates at community colleges and provide paid internships, scholarships, and emergency funds for low-income students. NCC opened last August with a goal of graduating at least half its students within three years based on CUNY's Accelerated Study in Associate Programs (ASAP) model, which uses block-scheduled courses, cohorts by major, small classes, a full-time study requirement, and comprehensive advisement and career development services to help motivated community college students earn their degrees quickly. In recognition of the largest gift ever made to a community college in New York State, NCC will be renamed the Stella and Charles Guttman Community College.

In addition, CUNY will use \$9 million of the gift to establish the Guttman Transfer Scholarship Fund, which will work to boost the number of academically qualified low-income CUNY community college students who continue their education at senior colleges in the CUNY system. Selected from among students at all seven community colleges in the CUNY system, scholarship recipients will receive \$2,000 a year for two years to complete a bachelor's degree. It is expected that the endowment will be able to fund more than two hundred scholarships annually within five years. The final \$1 million of the gift will be used to expand the ASAP initiative—which has produced three-year graduation rates of 55 percent, compared with 23 percent for similar community college initiatives—to more than 4,050 students in 2014.

With the gift, the Guttman Foundation is directing half its current assets to the goal of improving the college success of New York City public school graduates. "The CUNY grant is the result of several years of research into how the foundation could best advance the cause of making a college education available to the largest possible number of highly motivated low-income public school graduates," said foundation president Ernest Rubenstein. "The foundation's board and staff are convinced that achieving that goal is critical to the future of our city, state and nation—and best honors the aspirations, values and memory of Charles and Stella Guttman."

For more information on the Stella and Charles Guttman Foundation please visit: <http://www.guttmanfoundation.org>

For more information on the award and the City University of New York, please visit: <http://www1.cuny.edu>

THE BackPage

Deana Arsenian, Carnegie Corporation Vice President, International Program and Program Director, Russia and Eurasia, wrote the following open letter to Vladimir Putin, President of Russia. It originally appeared in The Chronicle of Philanthropy (Jan. 11, 2013) and seems particularly relevant at this time of flux in U.S.-Russia relations.

Dear Mr. Putin,

You don't know me, but we have met. For the past nine years, you have generously hosted the Valdai International Discussion

Since you took over Russia's leadership in 2000, at a time of tremendous challenges, Russia's political, economic, and social stability has been largely restored. The policies of your government have put Russia on the path to recovery.

But the Russian leadership was not alone in pulling Russia back from the brink of an abyss. Government and private entities around the world have been part of this process, devoting time, energy, and capital to help Russia shed the inefficiencies of Soviet-era structures and



President Putin: **Restore Openness to Nonprofit Involvement**

by DEANA ARSENIAN

Club in Russia, giving time and attention to this international group of Russia experts.

Few, if any, world leaders engage in such interactions. Your willingness to do so suggests an openness to an exchange of perspectives about the vast country you lead.

This is the spirit in which I write this open letter. As someone who deeply cares about Russia, I am perplexed, disappointed, and alarmed about your government's recent approaches to Russian noncommercial institutions with foreign ties and foreign organizations operating in Russia. While I can only speak for myself, I believe that many others share this sentiment.

move toward a society based on the principles of democracy, the rule of law, and a market economy.

This work was done not with the sinister intent of undermining Russia's prospects but with the aim of seeing it transformed into a stable, prosperous, and globally engaged nation.

The actions of outsiders have been based on concerns about Russia and its citizens as much as on a fundamental belief that what is good for Russia is good for the world at large. And these were not new sentiments.

Some of our institutions date back to the previous century and have guided Russia-relevant programs for decades of both turbulent and promising times.

Among the organizations that have invested their precious resources in Russia's future are American philanthropic institutions, including Carnegie Corporation of New York, the foundation for which I work.

Responding to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the economic hardships that followed, American foundations supported crumbling Russian universities, enabling them to regain pride and rebuild academic programs, from curricular development to teaching to Internet connectivity.

They gave lifelines to thousands of Russian scholars, academics, and scientists so they could contribute to Russia's transformation rather than be


part of the brain drain out of academe or out of the country.

They connected Russian intellectuals to the outside world through research and travel grants, offering the kinds of linkages that are critical to modern scholarly communities.

They worked with Russian civil-society leaders to strengthen the country's nonprofits, which are a basic element of a functioning democracy.

And they supported programs that have generated ideas and helped carry out policies to secure Russia's vast nuclear arsenal at a time when your country's ability to do so was dangerously eroded.

These are but a few examples of how American founda-



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tions, along with other Western donors, have worked together with Russian institutions and ministries to smooth Russia's painful and consequential post-Soviet transition.

We did not come to Russia with our own agendas. We responded to Russia's needs as defined by Russian citizens and leadership. We viewed ourselves as partners in Russia's recovery.

This legacy of U.S. public and private involvement with Russia and our vast investments in Russia's future lead to puzzlement about your government's position on foreign support in Russia.

The closure of the Russian office of the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Russian Duma legislation on registering Russian institutions financed by foreign sources as "foreign agents," the ter-

mination of the Nunn-Lugar Cooperative Threat Reduction Program without acknowledging its contributions to Russian nuclear security, and the harassment of foreign civic and philanthropic entities working in Russia, undermine the very essence of what has been built over decades through U.S.-Russian partnerships.

Many of us outside of Russia are comforted to know that Russia does not need foreign aid and can now support the communities that have relied on our resources. This is a welcome development and a relief, given the philanthropic needs in the United States and other parts of the world.

But the policies of your government, and the ways they are being executed, do not do justice to Russia's past, present, or future. They degrade the recent accomplishments, negate suc-

cessful partnerships, and shut the door to international collaborations of benefit to Russia and the world.

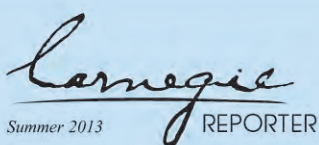
As an avid student of history, you must see that it is time for Russia to be viewed as a positive force. Having presided over your country for over a decade, you are in a unique position to achieve what none of the Russian leaders before you have accomplished—to make Russia part of the solution to global challenges rather

than be viewed as part of the problem.

A self-reliant, self-confident, transparent, strong, and engaged Russia is what many of us remain committed to. This Russia is in your vision as much as it is in our interest. And it is this Russia that is under siege with your government's punitive measures toward the community that deeply cares about your country. Please put an end to actions that run so contrary to our mutual interests. ■

An op-ed version of this open letter to Russia's president, Vladimir Putin, also appeared in the Moscow Times. These were some of the online comments about the article:

- "I would not have changed a single word."
- "Right on the mark in content and tone."
- "Your letter reminds me now is not the time to be silent."
- "This letter is a piece of the history of the post-Soviet period."
- "You have particular justification...for you and Carnegie have done so much."



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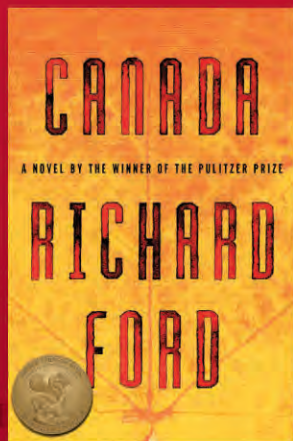
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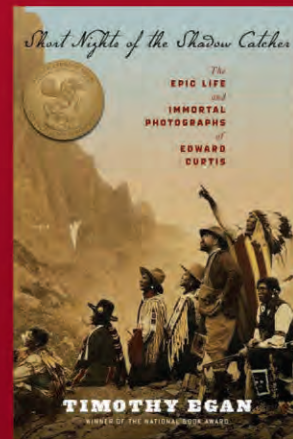
The 2013 winners are:

Canada
by Richard Ford
Published by Ecco, an imprint of HarperCollins Publishers

“First, I’ll tell you about the robbery our parents committed.” So begins Ford’s riveting novel, an atmospheric and haunting tale of family, folly, exile, and endurance told in the precise and searching voice of Dell Parsons, a young man forced to navigate a harsh world.

Short Nights of the Shadow Catcher: The Epic Life and Immortal Photographs of Edward Curtis
by Timothy Egan
Published by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt

Popular historian Egan turns the life and work of master photographer Edward Curtis into a gripping and heroic story of one man’s commitment to the three-decade project that ultimately resulted in *The North American Indian*, a 20-volume collection of words and pictures documenting the Native American peoples of the American West.



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