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CARNEGIE REPORTER



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پیار است حسین برین
نخیز از این کنگرگ بر
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اگر گشت در بوی گشاده
بزرگت و چکسین چون
دگر گشته با شکرت و
ازین زخم شکی گشودم
دختر که گشت با نور و ما
بزرگت و چکسین چون
دگر گشته با شکرت و
ازین زخم شکی گشودم
دختر که گشت با نور و ما

WELCOME TO THE **CARNEGIE REPORTER**

Fostering a Culture of Knowledge

At the end of the Cold War, the promises of globalization seemed to offer a rosy picture of the near future. The actual lifting of borders (in Europe) and the virtual lifting of borders (via the Internet) would usher in a new period of free trade, open-source technology, unrestricted movement of peoples, economic prosperity, and the spread of democratic ideals worldwide. A quarter century later, though, some hard realities have emerged to challenge many aspects of this bold scenario.

Today economic growth primarily benefits a small minority of the uber-wealthy, technology has facilitated the rise of hyper-individualism and extremism, and our politics are increasingly populist in nature. We live now in the era of Brexit, border walls, and, according to the founder of Twitter, an Internet that is “broken.” As Michael Ignatieff observes in these pages, what’s unfolding today is a “ferocious national and local and regional defense of particularity—language, culture, religion, faith—against the forces of globalization.” Can this reactionary impulse be reversed?

Carnegie Corporation of New York is known largely for its support of research around education, democracy, and international peace and security, but a culture of knowledge cannot be built on facts alone. This core belief—that the advancement of understanding comes from deliberate scientific and critically humanistic endeavors—has historically been a linchpin of work supported by the Corporation. Perhaps a willingness to explore the world we live in more carefully (not to mention our own perceptions of that world) could provide an antidote to our age of anxiety and alienation?

And so we dedicate this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter* to the goal of fostering a culture of knowledge in the Carnegie tradition. As Vartan Gregorian writes in his letter from the president, “No single culture is universal—but cultures open up universes.”

At the heart of the magazine is “Virtual Treasures,” a stunning visual timeline of Afghan culture and history, culled from the collections of the Library of Congress, recently digitized and presented—in digital format—to the Afghan government with support from Carnegie Corporation of New York. This is, as President Gregorian has put it, “a virtual repatriation of Afghanistan’s cultural patrimony.”

In “Sovereign Virtues,” Carnegie visiting media fellow Scott Malcomson profiles two leading thinkers—Michael Ignatieff and Aziz Al-Azmeh—about life on the margins of political culture in Europe and the Middle East from the vantage point of Central European University in Budapest, Hungary, where (at least for the time being) they both teach. Elsewhere, Gail Robinson takes a look at attempts to advance a culture of education among hard-working families in New Orleans, while visiting media fellow Gail Ablow delves into the role of culture in mobilizing young people to play a greater civic role in our democracy.

You can learn more about these initiatives, and much more, in these pages.

Robert Nolan

Director of Communications and Content Strategy, Carnegie Corporation of New York

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

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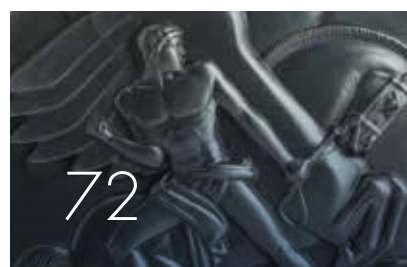
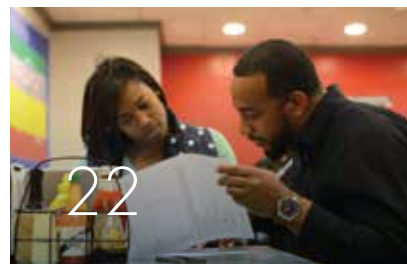
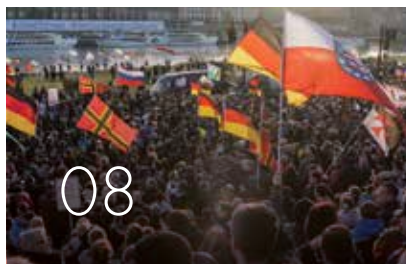


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On the Cover

The great Sasanian king Bahram Gur and his entourage on the hunt, an episode drawn from Nizāmī Ganjavī's *Khamsah*. Illuminated manuscript (detail), Persia, 16th century. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, AFRICAN AND MIDDLE EASTERN DIVISION

See **Virtual Treasures** (the magazine's "Center Point" section) inside for more highlights from the Library of Congress Afghanistan Project.



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Against Fragmentation

The Case for Intellectual Wandering

We live in exciting, exacting, dizzying times. Science has expanded the horizons of our knowledge of nature, while the limits of our physical world are no more the boundaries of our earth. Outer space is merely one of many frontiers that beckon the human imagination. We have sped from the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century straight on to the much-vaunted Information Age, only to plunge headlong into the ocean of social media and the Internet of Things.

What's in store next? Could it be the "quantum leap" in computing, whose applications are set to revolutionize cryptography, chemistry, biology, pharmacology, nanoscience, artificial intelligence, material science, and more? The great physicist and Nobel laureate Niels Bohr cautioned: "Those who are not shocked when they first come across quantum theory cannot possibly have understood it." Should we be alarmed at the pace of change, at the inexorable, massive growth of knowledge and facts, at the speed with which our tools to manage and process all of that become obsolete?

Years ago, I read the text of Professor Wayne Booth's Ryerson Lecture, given at the University of Chicago in 1987, in which he explored the fragmentation of knowledge. His words left a great impression on me, and since then I have followed the debate surrounding the information explosion. Indeed, many great minds—poets, scientists, social scientists, humanists, and more—have confronted the topic, this dilemma of our age: how to reconcile the fragmentation of knowledge while ensuring that the elements of our culture remain intact.

Today, we face a fundamental challenge: how can we resolve complex problems that cut across the artificial barriers between the disciplines without opportunities for creative discourse among educated men and women, without the broad understanding of the premises and assumptions of various academic disciplines?

Albert Einstein, in his inimitable fashion, went right to the heart of the matter, asserting that materialists try to explain all phenomena by cause and effect. But, he added, "This way of looking at things always answers only the question 'Why?' but never the question, 'To what end?'" In our daily pursuit of "facts," are we—scientifically—obscuring the greater picture from our vision? I would argue that the deep-seated yearning for knowledge and understanding is endemic to human beings and that it cannot be fulfilled by science alone. To search for even a glimpse of the answers to the timeless philosophical conundrums one needs more than Mr. Gradgrind's "nothing but Facts!" Of course one must also learn how to think for oneself, for each of us has it within us—potentially—to be our own Library of Alexandria. But the seeming insignificance of individual human lives can terrify (a terror that Pascal, the philosopher and scientist, knew and described in his theological work *Pensées*). Indeed, each of us is but a small corner of the universe. To approach an answer to Einstein's question—"To what end?"—or to confront Pascal's fright at the infinities that surround all of us, one must turn to the humanities. To philosophy, religion, poetry, even to mythology.

The truth is that at present there are too many facts, theories, subjects, specializations to permit the arrangement of all knowledge into an acceptable hierarchy. Can there be *too* much knowledge? It has been claimed, for example, that more information was created in the last 30 years than in the previous 5,000. And that claim was made in 1984. What might those figures be today? Given this amount of ever-amassing information, Sir Martin Rees, the distinguished astronomer and past president of the Royal Society, observed, "It's embarrassing that 90 percent of the universe is unaccounted for."

Yet T. S. Eliot's challenge remains: "Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?"

Gutenberg's Triumph

Comprising nearly 1,300 pages in two volumes, the famous Bible of Johann Gutenberg (ca. 1390s–1468) is the first substantial book printed from moveable metal type in the West. Probably completed between March 1455 and November of that year, Gutenberg's Bible is arguably the greatest achievement of the second millennium. In this mural by the American artist Edward Laning (1906–1981), Gutenberg shows a proof to the Elector of Mainz. The Gutenberg panel is part of Laning's mural cycle depicting "The Story of the Recorded Word," painted under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) for The New York Public Library's landmark building at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street.

PHOTO: © STEVEN BROOKE STUDIOS



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One must underscore the importance of academic freedom in the cultural life of America, providing as it does a venue for students, scholars, and researchers of all stripes to be wildly creative in their intellectual journeys, to investigate anything that interests them without being constrained by marketplace pressures.
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So, what can be done? What *must* be done?

Especially today, in the age of information, when we are bombarded from all sides, every minute, every hour of the day and night, it can seem that we are living in the least analytical, the least insightful of times. How to transform raw information into useful, structured knowledge remains a great challenge.

And it is important to note that this “infoglut” is not a new phenomenon, as the media theorist and cultural critic Neil Postman reminded us in “Informing Ourselves to Death” (1990). Postman explained that the Information Age began when the goldsmith Johann Gutenberg created a printing machine from an old wine press, beginning a veritable information explosion. Fifty years after the machine’s invention, more than eight million books had been printed, spreading information that had previously been unavailable to most of society.

So, the explosion of information begets specialization, which in turn leads to fragmentation. However, our age of specialization and the attendant (often excessive) fragmentation of knowledge does not require us to abandon

specializations or even subspecializations. As José Ortega y Gasset put it, complexity by its very nature requires specialization. In his seminal 1930 study, *The Revolt of the Masses*, he observed:

In order to progress, science demanded specialisation, not in herself, but in men of science. Science is not specialist. If it were, it would *ipso facto* cease to be true. Not even empirical science, taken in its integrity, can be true if separated from mathematics, from logic, from philosophy. But scientific work does, necessarily, require to be specialised.

Each generation has its spokesman who grapples with these tensions. Thomas S. Kuhn, the philosopher of science and author of the now classic *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962), once raised an interesting and important point:

Though the increasing specialization that often accompanies professionalization may be deplorable, I take it to be as unavoidable in cognitive development as in biological science. Both necessarily produce branching trees, and intercourse between branches can at best be partial. In this respect professionalism in science and in the humanities are alike.

We cannot and must not castigate those humanists and social scientists who avail themselves of scientific methods and attempt to provide rigid analysis of literary texts, social trends, and historical facts. To condemn science as purely quantitative, while reserving for the humanities the sole jurisdiction of qualitiveness is to indulge in unwarranted snobbishness. To scorn sociology for its jargon, while exonerating philosophy, philology, aesthetics, and literary criticism from that “sin” is equally unwarranted. The scientific passion for verifiability, the habit of testing and correcting the concept by its consequences in experience, is just as firmly rooted in the humanities and social sciences as it is in the sciences.

Nor should we castigate some knowledge and some scholarly disciplines as useless.

In this connection, one must underscore the importance of academic freedom in the cultural life of America, providing as it does a venue for students, scholars, and researchers of all stripes to be wildly creative in their intellectual journeys, to investigate anything that interests them without being constrained by marketplace pressures. This is essential. After all, developing theory is as important as developing practical knowledge. And big ideas generally evolve from small ideas, and small ideas, from smaller ones, still. So there really is no such thing as useless knowledge, as the legendary educator Abraham Flexner argued in his timeless essay “The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge” (1939). He also noted the paradox that we must live with: namely, that human curiosity—and



Hungarian legislator Ágnes Kunhalmi displays an EU flag at a window in the parliament building in Budapest as protesters supporting the English-language Central European University (CEU) gathered below, on April 4, 2017. Set up in 1991 after the fall of communism, CEU has long been seen as a hostile bastion of liberalism by the government of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán. PHOTO: ATTILA KISBENEDEK/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

Americans need to know more about diversity than uniformity; more about centrifugal forces than centrality; and more about other people’s aspirations, ideals, and anxieties in order to understand the rest of the world. True globalization must involve the universalization of particulars and not just the particularization of universals.

not societal need—has been the driving force behind most of scientific progress. The truly great and ultimately beneficial discoveries of science, said Flexner, were those made by scientists “who were driven not by the desire to be useful, but merely by the desire to satisfy their curiosity.”* In our time the theoretical physicist Freeman Dyson has echoed this by writing that “unfashionable people and unfashionable ideas” have often been of decisive importance to the progress of science.

The challenge facing all of us—from Virginia Woolf’s “common reader” to the futurists of Silicon Valley, from pre-K teachers to the scholars and researchers of higher education who explore all aspects of human knowledge—is the difficulty of achieving the unity of knowledge and the reconciliation of the universal validity of reason and our understanding of the diversity of social and cultural experiences. The challenge calls for integrating and resynthesizing the compartmentalized knowledge of disparate fields: the ability to make connections among seemingly different disciplines, discoveries, events, and trends and to integrate them in ways that benefit the commonwealth of learning.

A little more than a year after September 11, 2001, in reply to an interviewer’s question, I noted how critical it is that Americans become more knowledgeable about the complex world beyond our borders, and how we must strive to acquire a better understanding as to how our national interests fit, or don’t fit, with the national interests of others. These important issues, though certainly deepened and given greater urgency by the events of 9/11, have always been central to much of the work of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

It is apparent that, more than ever, in this age of globalization, Americans need to know more about diversity than uniformity; more about centrifugal forces than centrality; and more about other people’s aspirations, ideals, and anxieties in order to understand the rest of the world. True globalization must involve the universalization of particulars and not just the particularization of universals.

No single culture is universal—but cultures open up universes.

These issues have preoccupied me for decades. More than twenty years ago I gave a lecture to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, titled “Education and Our Divided Knowledge.” In it, I observed that, while it is true that attention to detail is the hallmark of professional excellence, it is also true that an overload of undigested facts is a recipe for mental gridlock. Not only

* In 2017 Princeton University Press published *The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge*, a reissue of Flexner’s classic essay alongside a new companion essay by Robbert Dijkgraaf.

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If the new information technologies themselves seem fragmenting, they are also profoundly integrative. Social media is not the enemy—ignorance is.

do undigested facts not constitute structured knowledge, but, unfortunately, the explosion of information is also accompanied by its corollary pitfalls, such as inflation, obsolescence, and counterfeit information.

“Counterfeit information” (aka, “alternative facts”) indeed! Truly, as Ecclesiastes has it, “There is nothing new under the sun.” Or, to quote the more elegant King James version of the Bible: “The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done is that which shall be done: and there is no new thing under the sun.”

In 2004, these concerns led me to approach a colleague of mine from Brown University, Stephen Graubard, the former editor of *Daedalus*, the official publication of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. I asked him to write an essay as an accompaniment to Carnegie Corporation of New York’s Carnegie Scholars program. Entitled *Public Scholarship: A New Perspective for the 21st Century*, the piece conjures up the “ghost” of Alfred North Whitehead, paying tribute to the philosopher’s *Science and the Modern World*:

That impressive tract included the important idea that “Modern science has imposed on humanity the necessity for wandering. . . . The very benefit of wandering is that it is dangerous, and needs skills to avert evils.” Arguing that the “spirit of change” was as necessary to intellectual inquiry as the “spirit of conservation,” Whitehead suggested that “mere change without conservation is a passage from nothing to nothing.” . . . [T]he imperative to be critical of today’s interpretations may be Whitehead’s most important intellectual legacy to a world as different from his own as his was from that of the 19th century.

Can we today—not only scholars, but all of us—show, in Graubard’s words, “greater tolerance for the values and concerns of other societies, emphasizing those elements that make societies distinctive”? That is, can we reject the 19th century’s “Culture of Uniformity”?

Professor Graubard does not stop there: “We live in a new world, made so not by Islamic terrorists, but by the incomparable scientific and technological knowledge created in the last century. It behooves us to understand that world in all its diversity, seen as something other than a new political and economic creation that has eradicated all previous historical roots.”

As Graubard notes, thanks to technology, never has the world been more accessible to scholars—to all of us—willing to master the skills and languages to allow for the inquiry into societies only superficially resembling our own culture (American, or whatever it may be). Access to knowledge is no longer an obstacle. If we hunger for it, we can find it.

Paradoxically, the same information technologies that have been the driving force behind the explosion of information, the growth of knowledge, and its fragmentation also present us with the best opportunity and tools for meeting the challenge of that fragmentation. If the new information technologies themselves seem fragmenting, they are also profoundly integrative. Social media is not the enemy—ignorance is.

At the start of the Roaring Twenties, J. Alfred Prufrock asked, “Do I dare to eat a peach?”

Nearly a century later, I ask: Do *we* dare to wander? ■

Vartan Gregorian

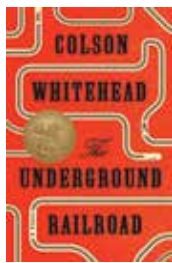
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

CONGRATULATIONS

to the winners of the
2017 Andrew Carnegie Medals for Excellence in Fiction and Nonfiction

The Andrew Carnegie Medals for Excellence in Fiction and Nonfiction recognize the best books for adult readers published in the United States the previous year. Established in 2012, the awards are funded through a grant from **Carnegie Corporation of New York** in recognition of Andrew Carnegie's deep belief in the power of books and learning to change the world. The awards are cosponsored by the American Library Association's Booklist and the Reference and User Services Association. Find out more at ala.org/carnegieadult.

FICTION



The Underground Railroad

by Colson Whitehead
Published by Doubleday,
Penguin Random
House LLC

Whitehead tells the story of smart and resilient Cora, a slave who runs away from a Georgia cotton plantation and travels on a vividly imagined

Underground Railroad. Each stop reveals another shocking example of a country riven by catastrophic conflicts and diabolical violence. Hard-driving, laser-sharp, artistically superlative, and deeply compassionate, Whitehead's unforgettable odyssey adds a clarion new facet to the literature of racial tyranny and liberation.

NONFICTION



Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City

by Matthew Desmond
Published by Crown, Penguin Random
House LLC

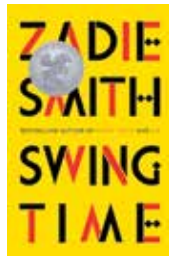
Desmond does a marvelous job exposing the harrowing stories of people who find themselves in bad situations, shining a light on how eviction sets people up to

fail. He also makes the case that eviction disproportionately affects women (and, worse, their children). This is essential reading for anyone interested in social justice, poverty, and feminist issues, but its narrative nonfiction style will also draw general readers—and will hopefully spark national discussion.

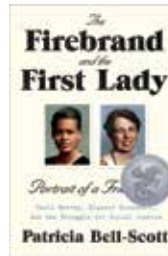


FINALISTS

Moonglow
by Michael Chabon



Swing Time
by Zadie Smith



FINALISTS

The Firebrand and the First Lady: Portrait of a Friendship: Pauli Murray, Eleanor Roosevelt, and the Struggle for Social Justice
by Patricia Bell-Scott



Blood at the Root: A Racial Cleansing in America
by Patrick Phillips

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Sovereign Virtues

Aziz Al-Azmeh and Michael Ignatieff
on the failures of globalization

By **Scott Malcomson**



Supporters of PEGIDA (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the West) at a demonstration in the eastern German city of Dresden, on February 6, 2016. A smaller, pro-tolerance rally was held across the Elbe River. The Dresden protest was one of several PEGIDA rallies held across Europe that day. The anti-Islam, anti-immigration, anti-refugee PEGIDA group was started in Dresden in October 2014. PHOTO: MEHMET KAMAN/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

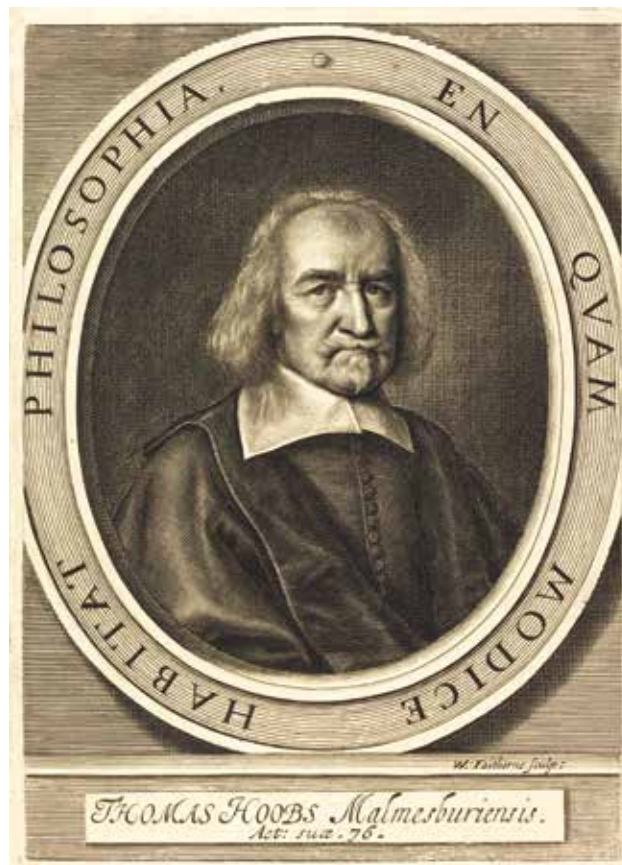
No one had told them modernity might end. Michael Ignatieff and Aziz Al-Azmeh, both born in 1947 and raised in the buzzing uplands of modernity's post-Fascist reconstruction—one in Toronto, the other in Damascus—were of a generation that expected to make good on modernity's second chance. If you think of the 19th century as globalization's first round, and the nationalist and romantic reactions against it as taking up the period from late in that century through 1945, then the postwar period was supposed to be a wisened-up reset. It could be guided by international developmentalism (often with a Marxist flavor) or liberal Western internationalism; in either case it would feature the spreading of the rule of law and global governance and the life-improving technologies of vaccination and birth control, electric washer and dryer, telephone and television, elevator and escalator, the automobile and the airplane.

And so it did continue, on through the Internet and the smartphone, and yet Ignatieff, Al-Azmeh, and their generation—and all of us—are also facing what looks less like a reset than a return of the repressed: a morbid, shape-shifting Islam and a revival of ethno-religious nationalism, both emphatically punctuated by violence and terror.

Striking from the Margins

Until recently, West and East seemed to be on divergent tracks. Both Ignatieff and Al-Azmeh now see them as coming together. Al-Azmeh identifies a pattern of “striking from the margins,” which is the title of a new project he is directing, with Carnegie Corporation of New York funding, at Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, Hungary. The margins can be political, economic, or spatial, and sometimes, as Al-Azmeh explained in an interview in Budapest, all three, as in Damascus’s “suburbs of misery.” What these margins have in common is that they provide recruits to social movements that are drawn to an unusual form of Islam. This is, Al-Azmeh stresses, not the Islam of their parents; rather it is an Islam refined by the Saudi Arabian movement called Wahhabism, a puritanical, ahistorical, and inherently apocalyptic Islam that acts as a stern counter to the realities of Muslim-majority countries. It is not a revival of Islam; it is a reconfiguration, one that constitutes “almost a new religion” that “is so alien as to require tremendous amounts of energy and violence in order to make itself stick.” While the Striking from the Margins project is focused on the Arab world and in particular on Iraq and Syria, Al-Azmeh sees parallels between the appeal of this reconfigured Islam and the appeal of ethno-religious nationalism to Westerners who believe they have been marginalized by globalization.

Ignatieff, who became rector of Central European University late last year, identifies the emergence of claims by citizens for state protection from the distant forces of



Thomas Hobbes

“People are turning back to the sovereign,” Michael Ignatieff says, “because it does what Hobbes said it would do, which is provide basic protection.” The English philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) is best known for his defense of absolute sovereignty: the people agree to a social contract that transfers all of their rights to the Leviathan, which represents the abstract notion of the state. Engraved portrait of Hobbes by William Faithorne, after 1664. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

globalization as a central geopolitical drama. Before joining CEU, Ignatieff had traveled the world—Los Angeles, Myanmar, Rio—as part of a Carnegie Centennial Project for the Carnegie Council on Ethics in International Affairs. The project aimed, as he puts it in the resulting book, *The Ordinary Virtues* (September 2017), “to investigate what globalization has done to moral behavior in our time.” One of the project’s main findings, Ignatieff emphasized in a recent conversation at CEU, was that nation-states “are reasserting their sovereignty and trying to get the control that citizens want, enough control over the economy so you’ve got a job tomorrow, enough control over debts so you can pay your mortgage tomorrow. The basic stuff. And crucially, control against terrorism. Globalization has brought international terror, and it’s frightening people. People are turning back to the sovereign because it does what Hobbes said it would do, which is provide basic protection.”

This reconfiguration of the sovereign, under pressure from citizens marginalized by globalization, is not temporary. Nor, Ignatieff writes in *The Ordinary Virtues*, will

Central European University was founded in 1991 at a time when revolutionary changes were throwing off the rigid orthodoxies long imposed on Central and Eastern Europe. CEU offers English-language master's and doctoral programs in the social sciences, the humanities, law, management, and public policy. Located in the heart of Central Europe—Budapest, Hungary—the university has developed a distinct academic and intellectual focus, combining the comparative study of the region's historical, cultural, and social diversity with a global perspective on good governance, sustainable development, and social transformation. This “cross-roads” university is one of the most densely international universities in the world, its rare mix of nationalities, ethnicities, and cultures creating an ideal environment for examining such “open society” subjects as emerging democracies, transitional economies, media freedom, nationalism, human rights, and the rule of law. In April 2017 Hungary's government passed a law that could lead to the closure or relocation of Central European University. Rector Michael Ignatieff pledged to keep the school open as tens of thousands rallied in Budapest and other cities in support of CEU. ceu.edu

The Ordinary Virtues Project was initiated by the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs to commemorate the Andrew Carnegie bequest creating the Council in February 1914. Embarking on a three-year, eight-nation journey in search of answers, project director Michael Ignatieff and his team undertook intensive “global ethical dialogues” with elite audiences (judges, journalists, academics, and politicians). These global dialogues were supplemented with “site visits” to reach out to non-elite audiences in favelas in Rio; in illegal settlements outside Pretoria; and community organizations in Mandalay, Queens (New York), south-central Los Angeles, and rural Bosnia. Ignatieff distills his discoveries in *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World* (2017), setting forth his interpretation of what globalization—and resistance to it—is doing to our conscience and our moral understanding.

carnegiecouncil.org

Striking from the Margins In 2017 Central European University's Center for Religious Studies and Institute for Advanced Study launched a project entitled “Striking from the Margins: Religion, State and Disintegration in the Middle East.” Its researchers illuminate transformations of religion in relation to state and social structures, most specifically in Syria and Iraq over the past thirty years. With leadership from professors Aziz Al-Azmeh and Nadia Al-Bagdadi (director of the Institute for Advanced Study at CEU), the project explores: the reconfiguration of religious authority and religious actors; the weakening and devolution of some state and security functions—reinvented as sectarian or tribal—to nonstate actors; the mechanisms of structural marginalization; and “the marshalling of the marginalized.” strikingmargins.com

globalization's challenges be resolved by more globalization: “In this battle for control, the most powerful languages of resistance are not global but local: national pride, local tradition, religious vernacular.”

CEU is peculiarly well placed for examining such questions. The current government of Viktor Orbán, which has shaped post-Cold War Hungary and faces a weak and divided opposition, has encouraged a fear of Islam (although Hungary is notably lacking in actual Muslims). It insists on Hungary's Christian identity and has pioneered a doctrine of “illiberal democracy” that embodies the return of the Hobbesian sovereign.

“Moral globalization is essentially not occurring,” Ignatieff said. “What's occurring instead is ferocious national and local and regional defense of particularity—language, culture, religion, faith—against the forces of globalization.”

The Violent Failure of Modernism

Aziz Al-Azmeh's considerable scholarly reputation is based on his insistence on multiplicity. His seminal book *Islams and Modernities* (1993) was built up from essays and lectures dating from the late 1980s. It was a time when Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) still sat at the center of the field, an irritant to some, a beacon to others; for everyone, unavoidable. Said's donnish demolition of the Western edifice of the Muslim Orient reoriented the discipline. *Islams and Modernities* helped shape the post-*Orientalism* milieu, leaving Said's anticolonial romanticism behind. While opposition to American militarism generally, and U.S. policy on Israel specifically, continued across generations, where Said would shake his fist at the English scholar W. Montgomery Watt or the American Bernard Lewis, Al-Azmeh was more apt to shake his at the Saudis, whose combining of oil money, a willingness to finance insurrectionaries in other people's countries, and religious purism were eating away at the multiplicity of Muslim life in a way that Western Orientalism never could.

The multiple-Islams argument was solidly won in the academy, but proved of limited interest elsewhere, certainly in the West, which in the 1990s was meant to be gliding forward into a post-ideological, post-religious, post-modern future of globalist rationality.

And then things changed. Osama bin Laden was, Al-Azmeh says, “the perfect product of Wahhabi institutions, dropping only the element that constitutes a difference between jihadism and Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia, namely, the need to obey those in power.”

Between *Orientalism* and 9/11, Saudi Arabia had been refining and exporting a Wahhabi version of Islam that, once the West regained interest in Islam following the September attacks, was right there both to inspire the beset Muslim margins and give the West the monolithic

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"This is not a revival of Islam but a reconfiguration. It is a very different perspective on things. In fact, these systemic changes are destructive of living traditions. They seek to substitute for them something which had once been very marginal. And to substitute it by force."

— Aziz Al-Azmeh

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Muslim enemy many seemed to need: "a total and totalizing culture which overrides the inconvenient complexity of economy, society and history . . . [an Islam] impermeable to all but its own unreason, utterly exotic, thoroughly exceptional, fully outside, frightfully different," as Al-Azmeh put it in a post-9/11 addition to *Islams and Modernities*.

As a Syrian and a Damascene, Al-Azmeh saw the rise of Wahhabism, and the concurrent decline of Arab modernism, in his own life. "If you talk of the Islamization of society," he said as we spoke in his CEU office, "and I can tell you as a witness, we have seen a very visible difference in the lifetime of one generation, in the way in which religion is conceived, and the way in which people carry this religiosity, in which people *announce* their religion. Because religion had not previously been something that one *announced*. There had been a consensus—with the exception of some social and political margins—that religion is *not* really part of public life. This actually has changed. Religion had been isolated. It had been marginalized. But from this position of marginality it became, and this is a crucial term, a 'stand-alone object.' Once religion became a stand-alone object, it could be reconfigured as a social alternative."

This reconfigured Islam, in essence Wahhabi Islam, became a rallying point and social alternative within Muslim societies themselves: "This is how Islamist ideologies appeared. What kind of an alternative is it? It requires a lot of violence, because this is quite an unusual form of rigorous piety, which had its origins in a part of the Arab world that for long had been marginal, specifically Saudi Arabia."

Al-Azmeh is a compact man, carefully dressed, with an air that somehow blends impatience and amusement, his round baritone voice suited to an intense yet courtly manner that helps distance the violent failure of modernism that has stretched from his youth until now. Wahhabism, he says, was "looked at in the beginning with quite a lot of bemusement," as Saudi clerics insisted that men had not actually landed on the moon and that in fact the sun did move around the earth. "Well into the 1930s and '40s there were raids by the religious authorities on telegraph stations in Saudi Arabia, trying to grab the *djinn*, you know, these demons that were operating the system. This was really the object of much merrymaking, right? There is a very interesting speech by Abdel Nasser. You can find it on YouTube. The leader of the Muslim Brotherhood suggested to Nasser that he should impose the veil on Egyptian women. Nasser replied, 'First of all, sir, your daughter is a medical student and she does not cover her head. If you can't keep your house in order, how am I to keep all Egypt in order? And secondly, who am I to impose the hijab on Egyptian women?' The audience thought it was hilarious. It was a subject of hilarity. Do look it up on YouTube."*

But Wahhabism had money, conviction, and, it now appears, time on its side. Gradually, this stand-alone Islam from the Arabian peninsula approached the center and Nasser began to look quaint. "This is not a revival of Islam but a reconfiguration," Al-Azmeh observes. "It is a very different perspective on things. In fact, these systemic changes are destructive of living traditions. They seek to substitute for them something which had once been very marginal. And to substitute it by force."

Al-Azmeh has seen this happen in his native Syria and sees something similar happening in his adopted Europe, where he has taught for most of his career. He noted that in the 1950s Muslim hardliners in the Wahhabi mode received very few votes in Syria. "But then you find, as in Europe, that the parties with programs of social transformation, communists and so forth, are now the natural constituency of the extreme right here and the Islamists where I come from. The dynamics are similar. The Trump victory also involved what was once marginal coming to the center. Much of the talk of the rise of the extreme right in Europe has also involved moving from the margins to the center, as the center is no longer able to hold its hegemony over the rest of society."

From Prison House to Creative Destruction

It is safe to say that Michael Ignatieff never set out to be a student of religion. His earliest work was on the Scottish Enlightenment, exploring in particular how Adam Smith and his generation in Edinburgh understood the morality

*"Gamal Abdel Nasser on the Muslim Brotherhood," a video clip from a 1966 speech in Cairo by Nasser, president of Egypt from 1956 to 1970, is available with English subtitles on YouTube.



Refugee Crisis in Greece

A woman walks past a colorful mural at the Oinofyta refugee camp, in Evvoia, Greece. As of March 2017, the camp was home to some 550 Afghan refugees, many of whom have been stuck there, under harsh conditions, after the closing of the borders. PHOTO: AYHAN MEHMET/ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES

of a market-based global economy. He studied at Oxford with the liberal philosopher Isaiah Berlin and embarked on a life of teaching and writing. Berlin was, however, a keen observer and historian of European nationalism, and a man of the world, and when ethnic nationalism surged in Europe immediately following the decline of Soviet Communism, his student Ignatieff went to see what was happening. He became a reporter, not least in *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (1993), which focused mainly on the Balkans. Ignatieff went on to combine journalism with more scholarly reflections; he wrote moral-political essays, somewhat in the Berlin mode (*The Needs of Strangers*, 1994), but often with a debater's urgency, and preoccupied specifically with human rights (*Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, 2011). He published three novels. He even entered politics, a sincere misadventure which he bookended, of course, with books: *True Patriot Love: Four Generations in Search of Canada* (2009) followed by *Fire and Ashes: Success and Failure in Politics* (2013).

"I've been on a continuous journey, from the end of the Cold War in '89, to understand how nations and communities maintain their identities and their cohesions in the storm of creative destruction we call globalization," Ignatieff said in his Budapest office. "First it was the post-'89 context, in which an empire disintegrates and nations that have been in the prison house of the Soviet system then set out to create new national identities. And so democracy comes to those places as a desire for ethnic majority rule; and when it becomes ethnic majority rule, then what do you do about the minorities? Very quickly that led to wars, majority-minority wars, and 20 years on we're still struggling to create a stable state order."

For the Ordinary Virtues project, Ignatieff returned to Bosnia. He found that "it's a frozen conflict, still unable to resolve the problems that defined it in the '90s and nearly tore it apart. The new project tries to widen out the frame and ask: What's happened to human rights? Because human rights, in many ways, was the driving ideology of the post-'89 era if you were a liberal internationalist like myself, or you were a cosmopolitan like myself. It was the idea that the right solution to this majority-minority thing was to protect minorities with human rights and create new political orders in which human rights would limit and control the competition between majority and minority. That way you'd have a kind of peace, you'd have stable social orders. Well, we now look at international human rights and it's in big trouble."

In the course of his travels for the Ordinary Virtues project, Ignatieff came to see human rights as being a bit like English: a global language that works best when it is localized, accepting that in this process it is no longer universal, and indeed that one local human-rights dialect, like local English, might not even be comprehensible somewhere else.

Human rights has also lost its great patron, the United States, "a country that since 1945 liked globalization because it thought it would dominate it, but has now got huge currents in domestic American politics saying: Protect us from it. That's a real change. And it has ripple effects across the globe. Because if the United States is not a confident entrepreneur of globalization it will also not be a confident entrepreneur of human rights. . . . Human rights was a vehicle for transnational and transborder moral scrutiny. And that's being pushed back everywhere."



Demonstrators supporting Central European University (CEU) are blocked by police officers in Budapest on April 9, 2017, near the headquarters of Fidesz, the party that has governed Hungary since 2010. The Fidesz government, led by Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, had just passed a law that could force the closure of CEU. Rallies in Hungary and elsewhere in Europe have continued as CEU, led by Rector Michael Ignatieff, negotiates with the government over the university's future. PHOTO: ATTILA KISBENEDEK/AFP/GETTY IMAGES

This twin disenchantment leaves states to turn in on themselves. But are the means even available for satisfying the economic demands of citizens marginalized by globalization? “We’re all in this balancing thing,” Ignatieff said, “of trying to have globalization without being destroyed by it, and defending identities while having the benefits of being able to join a global society. And nobody’s got a solution here.”

Getting Religion

The surge in a particular type of identity politics in Europe might provide solace but it is hard to see how it could provide resolution. One of the more aching paradoxes of this identity politics is that it increasingly involves religion, which as Ignatieff pointed out once produced “some of the most powerful agents of moral globalization.” Now European countries that once defined themselves as secular are getting religion. In 2016 French presidential candidate François Fillon released a book called *Vaincre le totalitarisme islamique* (Defeating Islamic Totalitarianism) while this year France’s former Europe minister Pierre Lellouche equates Islam with Nazism in *Une guerre sans fin* (War Without End).

“Suddenly,” Ignatieff said, “European societies that have been secular, and trying to push back the religious identity at the core of European identities, are suddenly reinventing themselves, reinventing their identities as Christian, faced with what they see as a Muslim threat. This seems a catastrophe to me. Not because Christian culture and Christian themes and Christian resonances aren’t central to European culture and aren’t a structuring element of our deepest moral beliefs and always will be. I don’t believe in the thesis of secularization; religion is going to be here forever, to give people belonging, meaning, and guidance. But it is simply false to say that the United States is a Christian country or that France is a Christian country. The Christian tradition is crucial in both countries, but these are now

secular republics founded by constitutional orders that very deliberately and self-consciously put religion in its place. And they do so not from lack of respect for religion, but out of fear that when religion controls the public sphere the result is intolerance, savagery, and war. And Europe has a lot of experience with that.”

Islamists and the European right are, in Aziz Al-Azmeh’s view, “two alternatives of polity” that are becoming twins. They are both “replacing civility with identity, replacing citizenship with identity based on blood or religious identification.” Islamist Wahhabism, it can be argued, had

very little to do with Europe or the West, but its effects—“I think we are landed with this for a generation,” Al-Azmeh said—might well include a reconfiguration of Christianity, which of all the possible scenarios for modernity must qualify as the least expected. And yet we have certain European leaders and an American president apparently convinced that their nations are Christian enough to justify making religious distinctions among who will be allowed in, and who won’t. This would constitute a Wahhabi victory of sorts, even as the West’s intentions might be entirely the opposite. ■

Further Reading

Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism

Michael Ignatieff
New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1994

Burning Country: Syrians in Revolution and War

Robin Yassin-Kassab and Leila al-Shami
London: Pluto Press, 2016

The Corpse Exhibition and Other Stories of Iraq

Hassan Blasim
New York: Penguin Books, 2014

Europa: An Illustrated Introduction to Europe for Migrants and Refugees

Alia Malek, ed.
Magnum Photos, Arab Fund for Arts and Culture (AFAC), et al., 2016
Free download of full PDF version (in four languages) available at: arabculturefund.org/europa.pdf

Exit West: A Novel

Mohsin Hamid
New York: Riverhead Books, 2017

Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry

Michael Ignatieff
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001

Islam in Europe: Diversity, Identity and Influence

Aziz Al-Azmeh and Effie Fokas, eds.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007

Islams and Modernities (3rd edition)

Aziz Al-Azmeh
London and New York: Verso, 2009

The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World

Michael Ignatieff
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017

Orientalism

Edward W. Said
New York: Pantheon Books, 1978

The Poisoned Well: Empire and Its Legacy in the Middle East

Roger Hardy
London: C. Hurst & Co., 2016

Populism: A Very Short Introduction

Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser
Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2017

The Road to Somewhere: The Populist Revolt and the Future of Politics

David Goodhart
London: C. Hurst & Co., 2017

What Is Populism?

Jan-Werner Müller
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016



THE BRAINY AWARDS

Illustrations by **Mitch Blunt**

Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program builds on Carnegie Corporation of New York's distinguished history of supporting scholars and important research

Launched in 2015, the Andrew Carnegie Fellowships recognize an exceptional group of both established and emerging scholars, journalists, and authors with the goal of strengthening U.S. democracy, driving technological and cultural creativity, exploring global connections and global ruptures, and improving both natural and human environments. A fitting continuation of Andrew Carnegie's lifelong dedication to the advancement of knowledge and understanding, the fellows program harnesses the power of humanistic and social science scholarship to address some of the most pressing issues of our times.

The 2017 "class" of Carnegie Fellows was recently announced, the 35 recipients each receiving up to

\$200,000 toward the funding of significant research and writing in the social sciences and humanities. The "Brainy Awards" (as they have come to be known) are the most generous stipend of its kind.

"The health of our democracy depends on an informed citizenry, and our universities, academies, and academic associations play an essential role in replenishing critical information and providing knowledge through scholarship," said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York. The fellows program supports scholarship that brings, as Gregorian put it, "fresh perspectives from the social sciences and humanities to the social, political, and economic problems facing the United States and the world today." ■



Meet the 2017 Carnegie Fellows

These scholars will tackle a range of dynamic issues, including: inequity in U.S. education; radicalization via social media; human trust and autonomous technology; engineering climate change via global governance of technology; voting and election processes in the U.S.; the legal limbo facing immigrants; the exacerbation of Europe's refugee crisis with misinformation; the global increase in violence against women in politics; W.E.B. Du Bois's democratic vision; and the political theories of Edmund Burke.



Daron Acemoglu
Massachusetts Institute of Technology



Christopher A. Bail
Duke University



David Bromwich
Yale University



David E. Campbell
University of Notre Dame



David Danks
Carnegie Mellon University



Melissa Dell
Harvard University

A Century of Scholarship

The Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program follows in the steps of decades of Carnegie Corporation of New York fellowships and grants, large and small, to individuals engaged in groundbreaking work in a wide range of fields. Some high points . . .

1913 | Foreign Exchange

The Corporation makes a grant of \$200,000 (equal to nearly \$5 million in today's dollars) to the **Chinese Educational Commission** to support Chinese students studying at U.S. colleges and universities.

1927 | New Ideas

Robert Somers Brookings receives a \$1 million grant to establish an economics institute, which would eventually become the nonpartisan **Brookings Institution**.

1928 | Crossing Boundaries

A travel grants program is established with the goal of extending the foundation's reach. In 1934 influential educator **John Dewey** uses his grant to meet with educators in Africa.

1933 | History Captured

Frances Benjamin Johnston spends seven years working on the **Carnegie Survey of the Architecture of the South**, producing vivid photographic portrayals of both vernacular and high style structures.

1934 | Colonial Reform

Sir Malcolm Hailey receives support over four years for his influential report and resulting book, **An African Survey: A Study of Problems Arising in Africa South of the Sahara** (1938).





Jared Farmer
Stony Brook University



Charlotte E. Gill
George Mason University



Cathleen M. Giustino
Auburn University



Stephen G. Gross
New York University



Daniel Immerwahr
Northwestern University



Sikina Jinnah
University of California,
Santa Cruz



Rucker C. Johnson
University of California,
Berkeley



Nathan J. Kelly
University of Tennessee,
Knoxville



Mona Lena Krook
Rutgers University



Katerina Linos
University of California,
Berkeley



1938 | The Negro Problem

Swedish economist **Gunnar Myrdal** is enlisted by the Corporation to undertake a landmark study of race relations in America; the resulting book, *An American Dilemma* (1944), is cited in *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the 1954 Supreme Court decision ending “separate but equal” education for black children.

1946 | “I won a Fulbright!”

Carnegie Corporation, along with the Rockefeller Foundation, helps launch the **Fulbright Scholar Program** by paying for its first six months of operation.

1954 | Global Affairs

Half a million dollars is provided over a five-year period to the **Council on Foreign Relations** for activities including fellowships for scholars and journalists.



“Solutions to the complex issues of today and tomorrow will not emerge simply through technology and science, but require humanistic and social science scholarship to use lessons of the past to devise paths to future peace and progress.”

— **Susan Hockfield, PhD**,
Chair, 2017 Andrew Carnegie
Fellows Program Jury



1957 | Going Nuclear

With the USSR’s launch of *Sputnik*, the Corporation reacts with more attention to national security, science, and technology. Support for his *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* boosts the reputation of **Henry Kissinger** as a leading expert in the field.

1960 | Cold War Exchanges

The American Council of Learned Societies and the USSR Academy of Sciences exchange scholars in the social sciences and humanities through the Corporation-supported **US-USSR Cultural Exchange Agreement**.



Lauren M. MacLean
Indiana University
Bloomington



Monica Muñoz Martinez
Brown University



Cecilia Menjivar
University of Kansas



Kristin Michelitch
Vanderbilt University



Gregg A. Mitman
University of Wisconsin
-Madison



**Ahmed Mushfiq
Mobarak**
Yale University



Diana C. Mutz
University of Pennsylvania



Philip M. Napoli
Duke University



Gregory F. Nemet
University of Wisconsin
-Madison



Richard A. Nielsen
Massachusetts Institute of
Technology

A Century of Scholarship (cont.)

1964 | Leaders Are Made

John W. Gardner, president of Carnegie Corporation, proposes the idea for a **White House Fellows Program**, an intensive year of work at the highest levels of government for young leaders, and President Lyndon B. Johnson signs on.

1966 | "Can You Tell Me How to Get to Sesame Street?"

Joan Ganz Cooney receives a grant for a feasibility study on whether TV could be used to teach preschool children. She forms the **Children's Television Workshop**—and the rest is history. Within two months, more than six million children are watching *Sesame Street*.

1967 | Power Biographer

Given one year's salary and an office, **Robert Caro** produces *The Power Broker*, his monumental, Pulitzer Prize-winning account of Robert Moses and the making of modern New York City.

1973 | Making Children's Lives Better

With a Corporation grant, Marian Wright Edelman launches the **Children's Defense Fund (CDF)**, which works to improve the lives of children, particularly poor and minority children and those with disabilities.



1982 | The Fight Against Apartheid

A leading white proponent of anti-apartheid activities, **Frederik van Zyl Slabbert** uses Corporation support to spend time in the U.S. meeting with groups across the country to discuss the situation in South Africa with the hope of identifying ways to achieve a peaceful resolution of the situation there.

1983 | Congress Goes to Aspen

Carnegie Corporation provides the startup grants and continues to fund two of the most influential programs of the **Aspen Institute Congressional Program**: U.S.-Russia and Education Reform.



Atalia Omer
University of Notre Dame



Polly J. Price
Emory University



Sean F. Reardon
Stanford University



Emily Ryo
University of Southern California



Lauret Savoy
Mount Holyoke College



Andrew D. Selee
Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars



Tommie Shelby
Harvard University



Charles Stewart III
Massachusetts Institute of Technology



Mila Versteeg
University of Virginia

1985 | Scientific Literacy

Noted scientist F. James Rutherford founds **Project 2061** with the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS); the project's landmark publication, *Science for All Americans*, lays the groundwork for the nationwide science standards movement of the 1990s.

1996 | The Hechinger Report

With the help of Corporation funding, Arthur Levine founds the **Hechinger Institute on Education and the Media**. Through its seminars, the institute equips journalists with the knowledge and skills to produce fair, accurate, and insightful reporting.

1998 | Rebuilding the Russian Intelligentsia

The **Higher Education in the Former Soviet Union** program funds research and writing fellowships for over 650 post-Soviet academics and close to 5,000 grants for individual social scientists, scientists, and university administrators.

2000 | Scholars of Vision

To extend the boundaries of the Corporation's grantmaking, the **Carnegie Scholars Program** is launched to support innovative public scholarship.

2005 | Islam Scholars

In **Scholars of Islam and the Modern World**, the second five-year phase of the Carnegie Scholars Program, a total of 101 scholars are funded to deepen, broaden, and bring to light new knowledge about Islam and Muslim societies worldwide.

2015 | Paths to Future Peace and Progress

Recognizing a dearth of opportunity for scholars doing relevant and cutting-edge work in the humanities and social sciences, the Corporation announces the creation of the **Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program**.

Learn more about the Andrew Carnegie Fellows Program at carnegie.io/acscholars.

Q&A with Vartan Gregorian • Meet the Jury
• FAQ • Fellows at Work • A Century of Scholarship: Complete Timeline • Application • Fellows by Year: 2015, 2016, 2017

Big Challenges in the Big Easy

EdNavigator goes to work as employers help families on the path from preschool to college and career

By **Gail Robinson** | Photography by **Jennifer S. Altman**





The Harrell family—left to right: Kenneth, Greta, Kenveon, and Kendrick—shares supper on a school night. The boys have already done their homework, so in keeping with the rules, they can look forward to playing video games after the meal. Kenveon, who has ADHD, has had academic struggles, but, with the help of EdNavigator, his parents feel that he is now on the right track.

All things considered, the day has not been a bad one for Jovon Melrose, a housekeeper and trainer at the New Orleans Marriott on the edge of the French Quarter. It is well past 1 p.m. and, so far, her son's school has not called to report a problem or an absence.

Melrose's 14-year-old son, Milton Marcelin, Jr., grapples with mental health issues and asthma, leading to absences and misbehavior in school. "I was having problems with my son that were making it hard for me to do my eight hours," she says. The school would call at 10 in the morning telling her to get there immediately. "It bothers my job and I've got bills to pay," she explains.

Lately, though, Melrose says, "I can work better. I can be at peace."

The source of that comfort is EdNavigator, a nonprofit that helps some New Orleans parents support and advocate for their children in school by assigning them an individual counselor—a "Navigator"—who works with them intensely to meet their children's needs.

Melrose's Navigator, Rameisha Johnson, is trying to find programs to help Milton, including possibly placing him in a new school. She talks to him about college and, says Melrose, "She'll pop up to school to see what he's doing. She saw him sleeping once and said, 'This is not the place for sleeping.'"

Reaching Working Parents at Work

While the extent of help Melrose receives is unusual, even more unusual is that she receives much of this counseling at her workplace—and her employer pays for it. EdNavigator recruits parents through their employers, meeting parents "on site" at work or wherever else is convenient for them. Employers pay a fee to EdNavigator for each employee who signs up. Grants, including from Carnegie Corporation of New York, provide additional funding.

Launched in August 2015, EdNavigator currently helps parents at 14 worksites in the New Orleans area. The program offers a new model for enabling and increasing parent engagement while addressing the barriers that keep well-intentioned parents from being as involved in their children's educations as they would like to be.

Although common sense and some research indicate that children do better when parents and schools work together, the relationship has often been a rocky one. "Families of modest economic means and who themselves have limited educational experience have found it terrifying to interact with school systems for decades," says Timothy Daly, a founding partner of EdNavigator. (See "Parent Engagement" sidebar, p. 31.)

Recent changes in schools and educational systems have placed even more demands on parents. New curricula and the introduction of Common Core learning standards have left parents struggling to help their kids with their homework and wondering what schools expect of children today. School choice has opened an array of possibilities—charters, vouchers, magnet schools, and special programs—to families across the country. But meaningful information on schools can be hard to come by. Which school will work for which child?

David Keeling, another founding partner of EdNavigator, began noticing that he and many of his friends, including education professionals, often found it difficult to select an appropriate school for their own children. They began to wonder, "If this is hard for us, what about a single mom making \$10 an hour? Families who are counting on schools to help their children make a better life for themselves—those families needed better support to do that."

Keeling, Daly, and Ariela Rozman began pondering this predicament. All three were veterans of TNTP (founded in 1997 as The New Teacher Project), which works to improve teacher quality and runs teaching fellows programs in a number of cities, including New Orleans.

The trio agreed that to be truly helpful, the program would have to include long-lasting relationships—hence the idea of providing every family with its own Navigator. That Navigator would have legal access to the child's school records and also be able to attend school conferences with—or in place of—the parent.

The team understood that parents must be actively involved *advocates* for their kids. "You don't get through 13 years of public education without having to push at some juncture," Daly says. But they also understood that there are obstacles that make it difficult for parents to speak up for and help their children. For Daly, it's clear: "The biggest reason that parents don't engage more at school is that they're working and they have to earn a living."

So, given that employers were part of the problem, could they also be part of the solution?

With Future Employees in Mind

Keeling, Daly, and Rozman started to consider an ongoing service, partly funded by employers—something resembling an employee benefit like health insurance. Like other workplace benefits, it could lead to more satisfied, less distracted employees. And, says Daly, there was an added incentive. Employers are concerned about education because "they are terrified about the future of the workforce."

Although the three TNTP veterans did not design EdNavigator specifically for New Orleans, parents there



“There isn’t a culture gap because we’re from the same city and we’re able to speak the same cultural language.”

— Gary Briggs, Lead Navigator, EdNavigator



definitely face a tough task negotiating the school system because, in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina and years of poor school performance, the city has moved to a virtually all-charter school system.

“It was difficult for parents to think about this new landscape,” says Patrick Dobard, until recently superintendent of the Recovery School District, which oversees 80 schools in Louisiana, 68 of them in New Orleans. Making informed choices about schools, he said, required parents “to do a number of things that many of them were not well-equipped to do.”

EdNavigator was still just an idea when it caught the attention of Sean Cummings, a New Orleans native, real estate entrepreneur, and owner of the International House, a boutique hotel located just a few blocks from the French Quarter. Cummings was interested in having someone help his employees deal with issues involving their children and thought that maybe his human relations manager could take on the challenge. But EdNavigator piqued his interest.

Amy Reimer, general manager of International House, says the program filled a need, even if it was one that had never been fully recognized. “A lot of our great room attendants would come in late or not show up or leave early. We knew there was an issue, but we didn’t think we could do anything about it.”

Superintendent Dobard also found the idea intriguing. When Timothy Daly approached him with the concept, Dobard was impressed. “I thought this was just such a well-developed idea. He wasn’t trying to do everything for everybody, but he definitely wanted to do something good for a focused group of parents.”

Building Relationships

In August 2015, EdNavigator came to International House. Since then, 16 families have signed up. They work with Gary Briggs, a New Orleans native and former teacher who—as Lead Navigator—now spends most of his days at the hotel, staying in almost constant contact with his parents.

Briggs himself went to public, Catholic, and charter schools before landing at a largely white private high school. He uses his own story when working with parents. “There isn’t a culture gap because we’re from the same city and we’re able to speak the same cultural language,” he says.

Since starting with International House and then other hotels, EdNavigator has expanded beyond the hospitality industry to Tulane University, Ochsner Health Systems, and Preservation Hall (where the organization works with teaching artists). More employer partners are on the way. This gives some 730 families access to EdNavigator. Twenty-two of those parents, including Jovon Melrose, work at New Orleans Marriott on Canal Street.

The Marriott employee cafeteria is situated in the hotel’s basement, at the end of halls lined with cleaning supplies and stripped bed linens. Amid the lunchtime banter, three women—Navigators—commandeer two tables and check in with several hotel staff members. (Navigators have been likened to “pediatricians for your educational health.”)

The conversations are warm but purposeful. Kent Jones speaks with Victoria Williams, his Navigator, who reminds him of the importance of reading to his young daughters. He says all is going well. “I went to parent-teacher conferences and they didn’t have anything but good things



“Everything starts at home. If kids get into a good school and stay there, that’s a big piece.”

— **Vanessa Jackson**, Manager, Residence Inn
New Orleans Downtown

to say.” Jones appreciates the Navigator’s help: “Getting another hand is always good.”

Kizzie Youngblood has concerns about her son, who is in 7th grade. Her daughter is about to graduate from Tuskegee University, but, she says, “with the boys, you’ve got to look out for them.”

Her Navigator, Rameisha Johnson, has reviewed her son’s report card, gone to school conferences, visited the school when Youngblood couldn’t get there, and helped her find him a mentor. “Some things they can do that I can’t do,” Youngblood says. “They help me a whole lot.”

Supporting working parents like this costs money. Employers pay a fee of \$5 and up per month for each employee participating in the program, with the exact amount depending partly on how the service is set up at a particular workplace. EdNavigator is also developing a mechanism that will allow individuals, not just employers, to pay for a family’s membership in EdNavigator, enabling many more families to avail themselves of the help. In the future some parents might have to pay a small fee, which cofounder David Keeling likens to an insurance co-pay, although EdNavigator emphasizes its services must remain “highly affordable.”

For International House’s Amy Reimer, EdNavigator seems to hit that sweet spot of enabling businesses to do well while doing good. Employees who work with Navigators are less distracted, their supervisors say. The program also helps hotels retain and perhaps even attract workers in New Orleans’ competitive employment market.

Vanessa Jackson, manager at the Residence Inn New Orleans, says she saw “some of my associates go through this crazy personal stuff,” including school issues and

concerns about after-school care. An Ontario native who has lived in New Orleans for 13 years and is now raising her own child there, Jackson is “passionate” about the city, which still faces many challenges, from the state of the school system to high crime rates. “Everything starts at home,” she asserts. “If kids get into a good school and stay there, that’s a big piece. I wanted to make sure my team was set for success so they could navigate that.”

For parents, joining EdNavigator requires commitment. They must grant the organization full access to their child’s records (EdNavigator never shares information with the parent’s employer). Once the Navigator gets that access, parents can be surprised at what they learn about their kids. Parent-teacher conferences and report cards can gloss over problems. A recent study by Learning Heroes found that 87 percent of Louisiana parents said they believed their child was reading at or above grade level, even though in fact only 40 percent were. “We help parents get the full picture,” says Gary Briggs. That, he adds, leaves “many of them in shock but not disheartened.”

The Navigators assist parents with a range of issues, from daunting challenges like those faced by Milton Marcelin, to coaching a mother on how to teach her pre-K daughter to tie her shoes. They translate for students who are not proficient in English, and they help parents set goals, most of which—but not all—are academic.

David Keeling recounts the story of one girl who habitually fell asleep when doing her reading homework, causing her to fall behind. The Navigator learned that the girl always read in bed. Once the mother, at the Navigator’s suggestion, set up a chair and a light for her daughter—and sat with her as she read—the girl’s performance at school improved.



Kent Jones, a father of two daughters who works at New Orleans Marriott, reviews school information with his Navigator, Victoria Williams. Everything is going well for his two girls at school. "I went to parent-teacher conferences," Jones beams, "and they didn't have anything but good things to say."



“We empower parents when we hear their voices, when we take what it is that they’re saying and investigate it and then use that feedback to improve the quality of education.”

— Patrick Dobard, Former Superintendent, Recovery School District

Flipping Their Lids

For parents, dealing with schools can be frustrating. Lead Navigator Briggs believes schools suffer from “a lack of understanding of the folks that they’re serving. They have good intentions, but they don’t understand the ins and outs,” such as what it’s like for a mother who is working two jobs.

Information can be difficult to come by. Parents who aren’t proficient in English have to deal with complicated issues in a language they have difficulty understanding. Even parents fluent in English can get lost in a maze of jargon. Schools schedule conferences at inconvenient times or demand parents drop everything to show up. Faced with this, says Rameisha Johnson, the Marriott Navigator, many parents “feel the only way they get a reaction is if they flip their lids.” But, she adds, “parents get a different answer when EdNavigator is in the room.”

Greta and Kenneth Harrell of Metairie, just outside the city, pride themselves on being involved parents. Natives of Chicago, both work for Marriott, Kenneth as chief engineer at the Residence Inn in Metairie, Greta as a cook at the Residence Inn New Orleans Downtown. They have two sons, Kenveon, age 10, and Kendrick, two years younger.

Like most children in Jefferson Parish, Kenveon started school at his neighborhood elementary school. In kindergarten, he was diagnosed with ADHD. With special help he was able to do well, but the services did not continue.

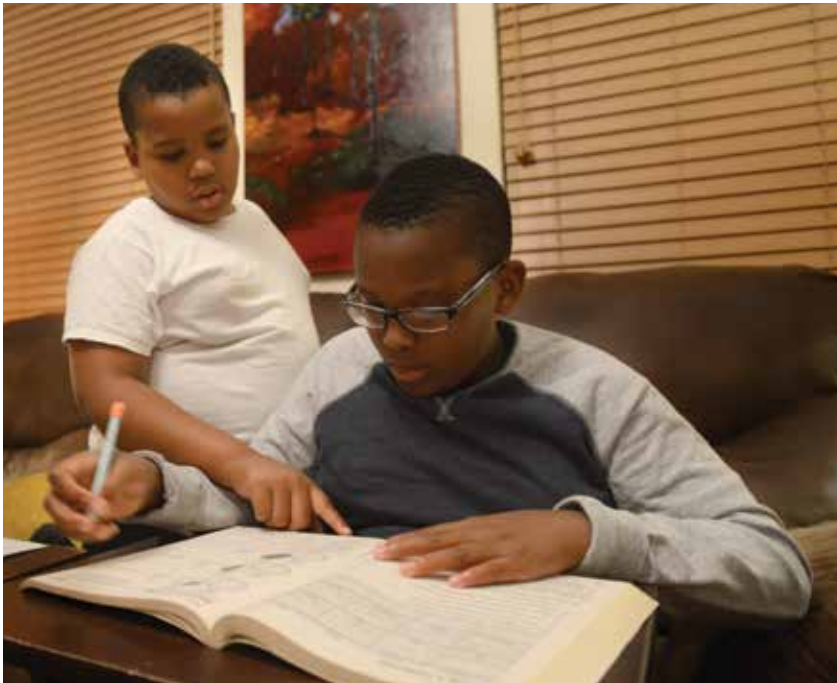
Frustrated at the prospect of having to go to the school board every year to make sure Kenveon got the help he needed, Kenneth and Greta transferred Kenveon to a KIPP school in the city. His brother joined him there.

At first, that school seemed to do “everything right,” Kenneth says. But staff turnover exacted a toll. Kenveon’s grades took another downturn in 4th grade, and Greta and Kenneth sent their son to private tutoring services. It looked like it was time to change schools again.

Greta’s employer offered EdNavigator (Vanessa Jackson is her supervisor), so Greta began talking with Timothy Daly about where the boys might go. “Tim was awesome. He did everything,” says Greta. “He stayed on top of it like they were his own kids.”

As the Harrells and Daly reviewed the options, it became clear that the best choice might be to go back to their old neighborhood school. It seemed that staff changes had fixed some of the problems that spurred them to leave in the first place.

About halfway through 5th grade, things seem to be going well for Kenveon. Greta says he has been working hard and she hopes that by the end of the year her son will be within six months of his reading level. For his part, Kenveon boasts that he recently finished a book with 32 chapters, although, he hastens to add, “not in one day. That would be impossible.”



Meetings between parents and EdNavigator counselors, most of whom are from New Orleans, are warm yet purposeful

TOP (L-R) Navigator Rameisha Johnson, Navigator Victoria Williams, parent Lucia Ferrara, and Assistant Navigator Ileana Ortiz gather in the New Orleans Marriott employee lunchroom. **LOWER LEFT** Kenveon Harrell works as his younger brother, Kendrick, looks on. The two boys used to attend a charter school in New Orleans but, after discussions with the family's Navigator, their parents moved them to the neighborhood school near their home in suburban Metairie. **LOWER RIGHT** Jovon Melrose's teenage son faces a variety of challenges at school, making it difficult for her to do her job. But EdNavigator has helped her. "I can work better," she says. "I can be at peace."

Small Wins and No Complaints

“Folks have seen the value of it,” Superintendent Dobard says, adding that he has had no complaints about EdNavigator. He points out that that’s a good sign, because “here in New Orleans, if you don’t hear criticism about something, then it’s going well.”

Gary Briggs says the victories are small in what he describes as “a day in, day out grind. If we can get a teacher to implement a system—on a consistent basis—that’s a small win. If we can encourage mom or dad to read to their kid every day and they’re tracking that, that’s a win.”

Kenneth Harrell sees the “wins” involving his family as anything but small. Knowing Kenveon is legally entitled to the services that make a big difference for him has changed his father’s overall perspective. Now when Kenneth is at his sons’ school, “I go into the meeting with a different attitude. I know what I’m supposed to get. It’s the law.”

That sense of power is important, says Briggs. “If the school isn’t working for your kids,” he explains, “then the school isn’t upholding their end of the bargain.”

That kind of attitude marks a change for many parents, particularly in New Orleans. As the city and state set out to rebuild the school system after Hurricane Katrina, Dobard says, “One of the criticisms we received—and I think rightfully so—is that a lot of different things were done to the community instead of *with* the community.” In the years since, he is confident the district has taken steps to address that miscalculation. While parent engagement looks different from school to school and from family to family, Dobard believes that school leaders must be receptive to parents: “We empower parents when we hear their voices, when we take what it is that they’re saying and investigate it and then use that feedback to improve the quality of education.”

At this point, EdNavigator does not yet have enough employers on board to make that empowering of parents happen throughout the city of New Orleans. It has, however, been expanding and is looking to launch the service to a second city later this year.

Cofounder David Keeling speculates about a time when parents in a wide range of jobs and living anywhere in the country will have access to the kind of support that Jovon Melrose and her son are getting in New Orleans, thanks to EdNavigator. With parents being given more and more choices about their children’s education, the stakes for families are high. But parents shouldn’t have to do it all alone. “This isn’t a service for people who—quote unquote—*need* it,” says Keeling. “Everyone needs it.” ■



Mohammad Judeh—with his son, Fethi Judeh, on his lap—meets with Lead Navigator Gary Briggs at Fethi’s pre-K school. EdNavigator can help parents like Judeh find an appropriate elementary school for their child, a sometimes challenging task in New Orleans.



Parent Engagement: What the Research Shows Us

Most parents want to help their children succeed in school. But a recent report indicates they may need a wake-up call first. The research backs up what Gary Briggs of EdNavigator has found in New Orleans: parents believe their child is doing better in school than he or she actually is.

Learning Heroes, which receives support from Carnegie Corporation of New York, among others, sponsored a national survey of more than 1,300 parents. The resulting report, *Parents 2016: Hearts & Minds of Parents in an Uncertain World*, notes that 90 percent of parents think their child is at or above grade level in both reading and math. In fact, Learning Heroes found, only 33 percent of eighth graders are proficient in math and 34 percent in reading. The gap between parental perception and actual achievement is, as the report states, “a direct obstacle for parents’ college aspirations for their children.” And for Hispanic and African-American students, the challenges are even greater:

... in 2015, 18% of African American 4th graders and 21% of Hispanic 4th graders were at or above *Proficient* in reading. Only 19% of African American 4th graders and 26% of Hispanic 4th graders were at or above *Proficient* in math.

The study also found that parents think their involvement is vital. In the survey, 87 percent said they believe that they make a difference in their child’s learning and academic progress. Forty-three percent said they had the greatest responsibility for their child’s success in schools, compared to 16 percent who thought that teachers did.

Academic research to support these beliefs is mixed, however. In *The Broken Compass: Parental Involvement with Children’s*

Education (Harvard University Press, 2014), researchers Keith Robinson of the University of Texas at Austin and Angel L. Harris of Duke University found that many standard types of parental involvement—helping with homework and volunteering with schools—have little effect on how a child performs in school and can even backfire.

But Anne T. Henderson, a senior consultant at the Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University, disputes the Robinson/Harris findings. As she told *neaToday.org* in 2014: “There is a large body of reliable research that shows well-designed family engagement practices are associated with higher grades, higher test scores, better attendance, more motivation, and the move to postsecondary education. The last thing parents should do is get off the stage.” Coauthor of *Beyond the Bake Sale: The Essential Guide to Family-School Partnerships* (The New Press, 2007), Henderson believes that Robinson and Harris focused too much on limited and—yes—often ineffective strategies, such as helping with homework.

In a 2012 study, William H. Jeynes of California State University at Long Beach looked at six distinct types of parental involvement and found that several—including shared reading and teacher-parent partnership—had a significant effect on student outcomes. In “A Meta-Analysis of the Efficacy of Different Types of Parental Involvement Programs for Urban Students” (published in the journal *Urban Education*), Jeynes stressed the importance of “cooperation and coordination between the home and the school.”

Visit Carnegie Corporation of New York on Medium, and check out the Education Program’s Parent Engagement channel: carnegie.io/parenteng.

VIRTUAL TREASURES

Bringing historical and cultural riches from Afghanistan—and beyond—“to all people, wherever in the world they might be”

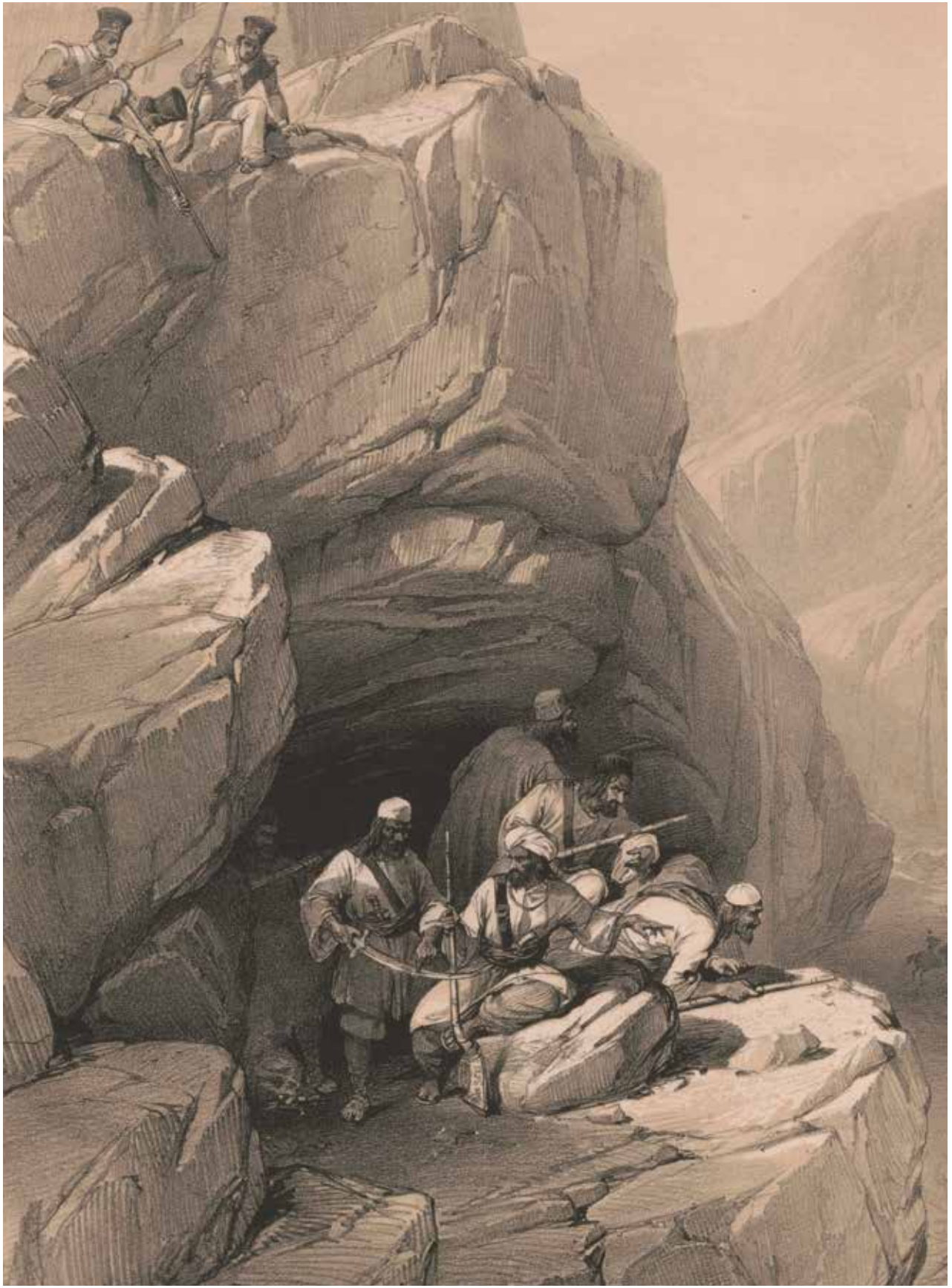


Gorgeously illuminated manuscripts, rare books, historical documents, sacred texts, photographic albums, vintage maps, architectural studies, lithographic books and prints, popular journals and magazines, and many other often unique materials (some never before published)—these have been drawn from the collections of the Library of Congress and other great world libraries for inclusion in the Afghanistan Project, a major initiative of the World Digital Library (WDL). Led by the Library of Congress and supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York with grants in honor of the foundation's 2011 Centennial, this project constitutes a major gesture and commitment to "virtually repatriating" Afghanistan's patrimony. But in fact the project includes not only items originating in Afghanistan proper, but also materials from the broader Islamic and Persianate cultural region of neighboring countries that share a common heritage and/or related language and ethnicity: Iran, Tajikistan,

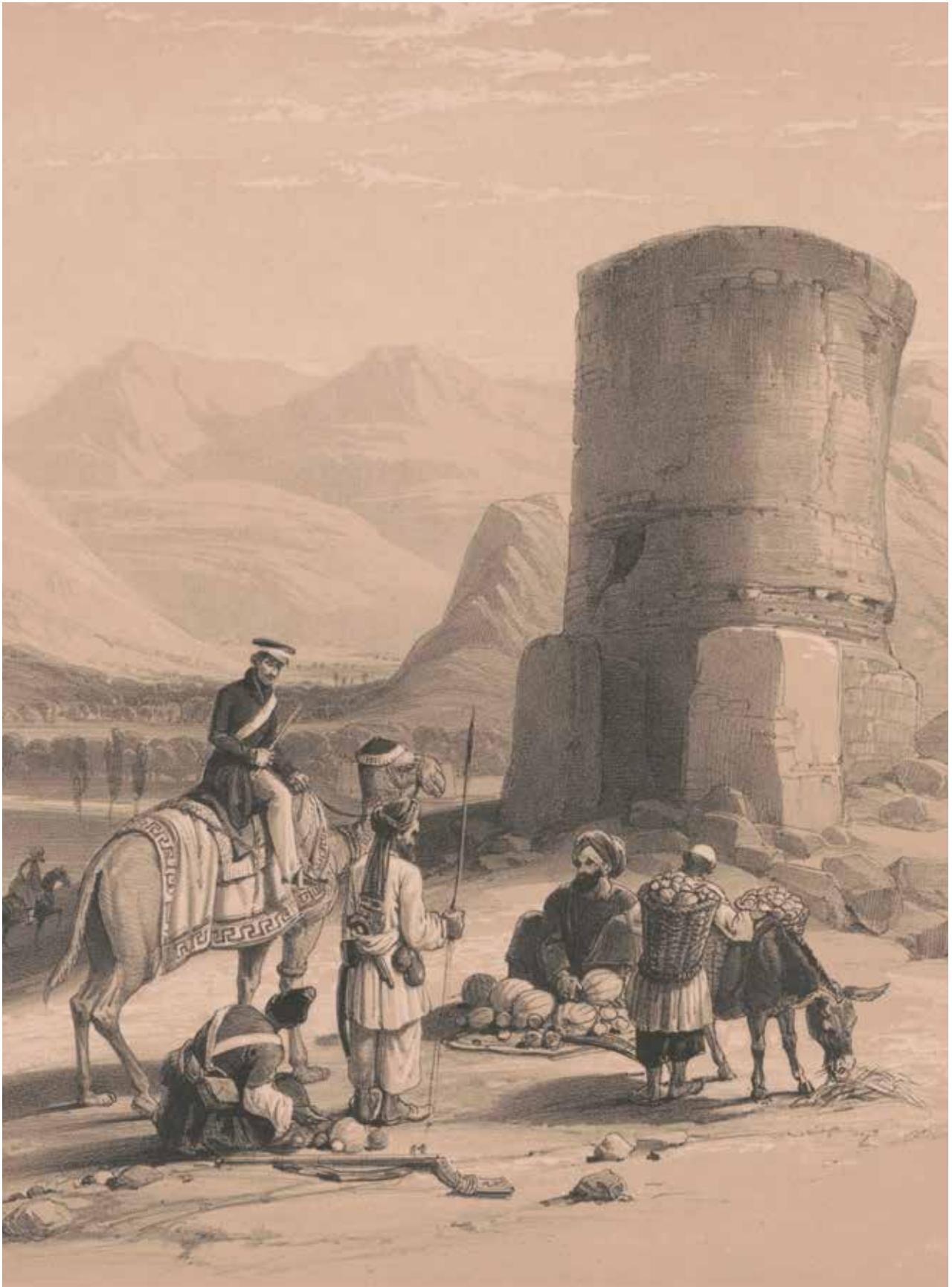
Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and others. With such massive (and culturally significant) endeavors, there is always the question of what should make it into the digitization pipeline. Fittingly, one "amazing source" in the selection process for the Afghanistan Project was the bibliography of *The Emergence of Modern Afghanistan: Politics of Reform and Modernization, 1880–1946*, the classic study by Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Librarian of Congress Carla Hayden has said that one of her goals as Librarian is "to open up the riches of the Library of Congress to all people, wherever in the world they might be." With the Afghanistan Project, the World Digital Library (wdl.org) has succeeded splendidly in that endeavor. Here follows a selection of treasures that capture the histories, achievements, and spirit of a people—or peoples—for future generations. ■

Surrender of Dost Mahomed Khan, to Sir William Hay Macnaghten, Baronet, at the Entrance into Caubul [Kabul] from Killa-Kazee [Qila-Qazi]—one of 25 lithographs from James Atkinson's *Sketches in Afghaunistan* (London, 1842)



The Wild Pass of Siri Kajoor (detail)—a lithograph from James Atkinson's *Sketches in Afghaunistan* (London, 1842). Baluchi snipers on a cliff observe the Army of the Indus going through the Bolan Pass in present-day Pakistan, en route to Afghanistan; sepoy above the Baluchis prepare to fire at them.



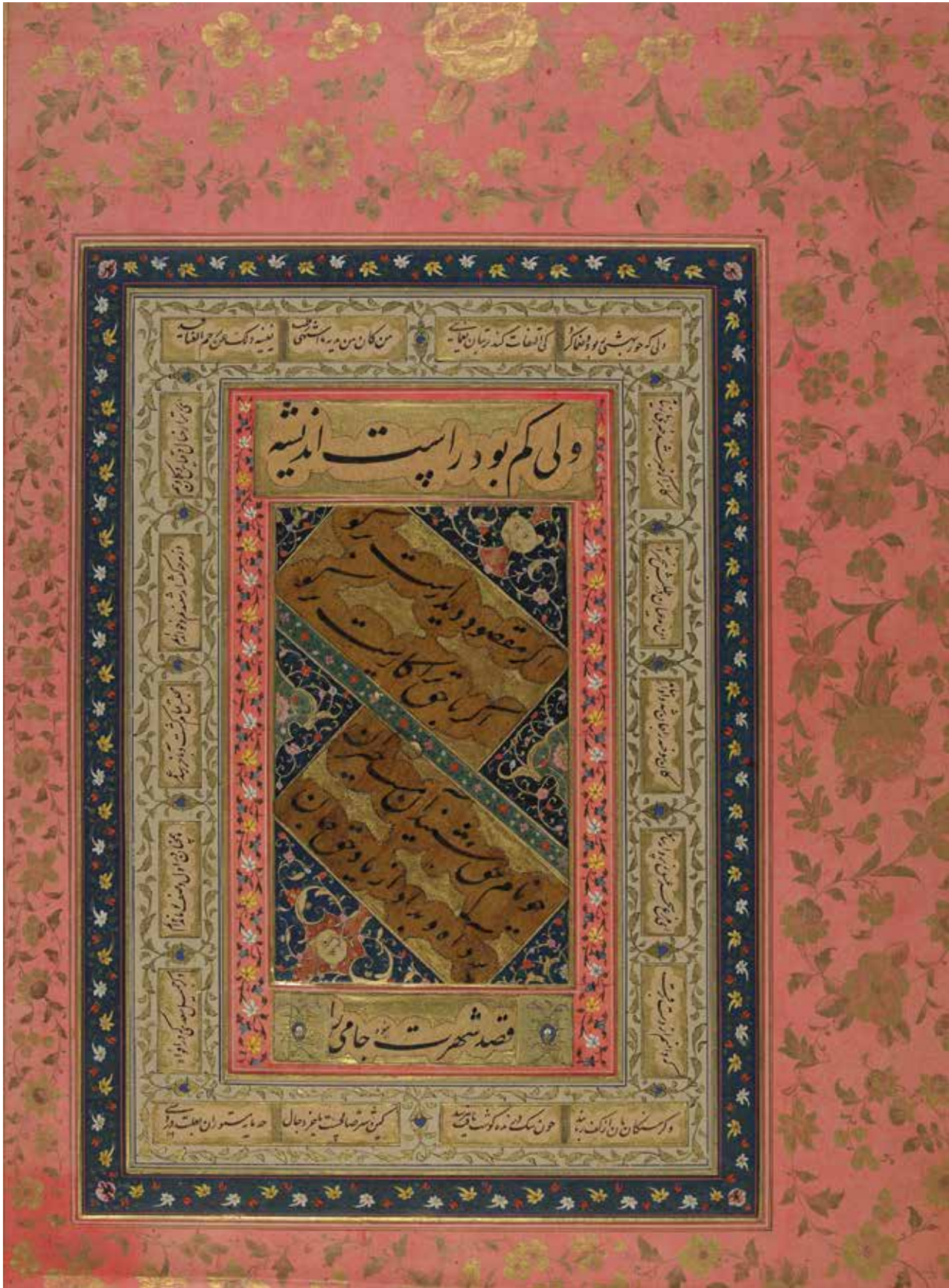
The Valley of Maidan (detail)—another scene from Atkinson's *Sketches in Afghanistan* (London, 1842). The artist depicts an Army of the Indus soldier on camelback meeting Afghan men near a watchtower.



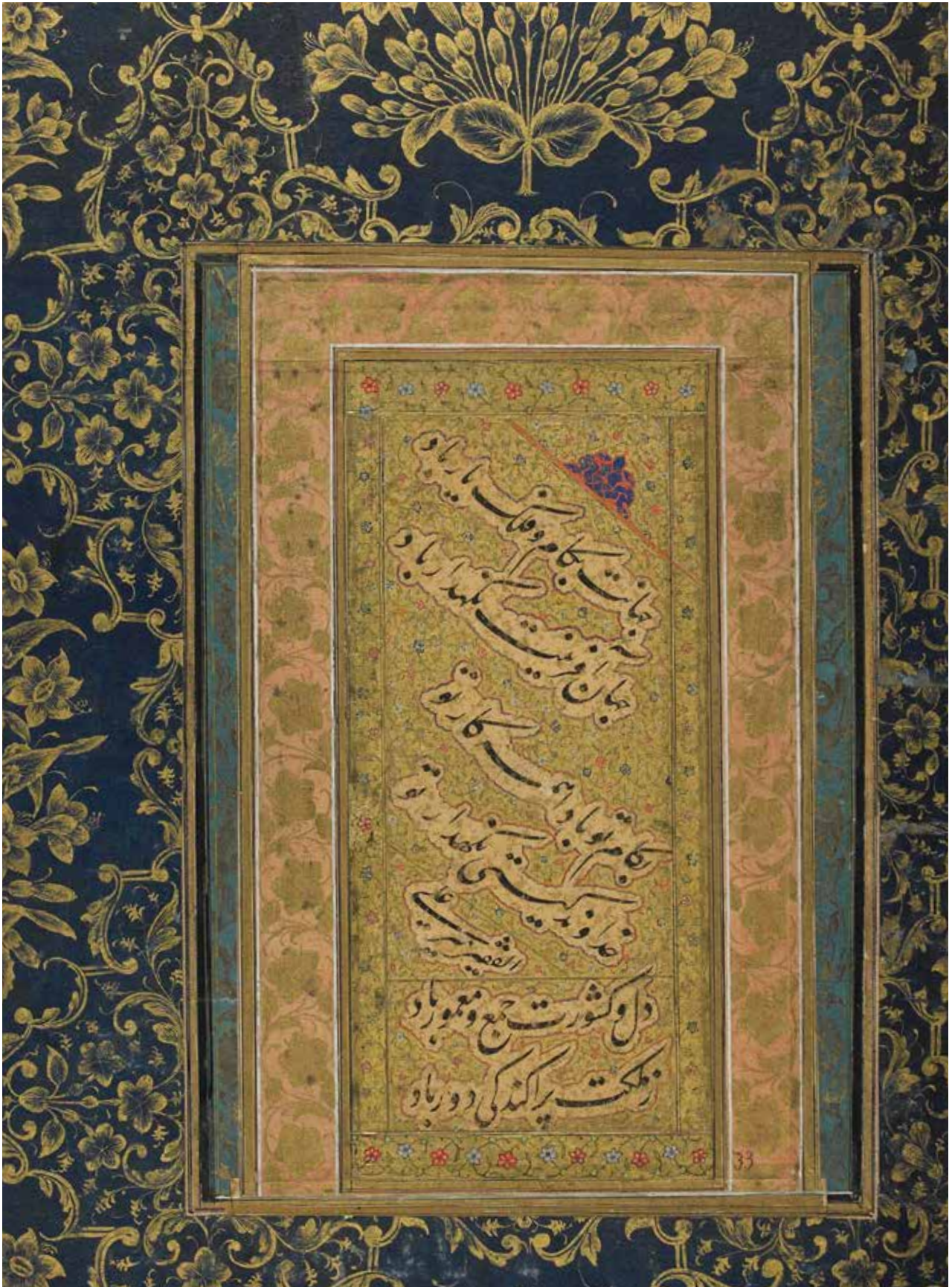
Afghanistan, 1879–80: A Photographic Album | **ABOVE** Major-General Robert Hume—at center, with a full beard and a sash across his chest—led the British withdrawal from Kandahar in April 1881. Hume is surrounded by staff members who assisted in the evacuation, along with two Baluch orderlies. **BELOW** In Kandahar, British Army artillery soldiers are encamped across the square, near their light and heavy field guns. A large citadel, possibly Kandahar Bala Hissar (High Fort), dominates the skyline at right, while the Kirka Sharif (Mosque of the Sacred Cloak) is visible in the left background.



Afghanistan, 1879–80: A Photographic Album | **ABOVE** Afridi tribesmen crouch with rifles at Jamrud Fort, which was strategically located at the eastern entrance to the Khyber Pass in present-day Pakistan. **BELOW** Elephant battery is on the march, with lead elephants in each team mounted by Indian mahouts and escorted by British cavalry and foot soldiers. An accompanying baggage train of mules and oxen is seen on the right.



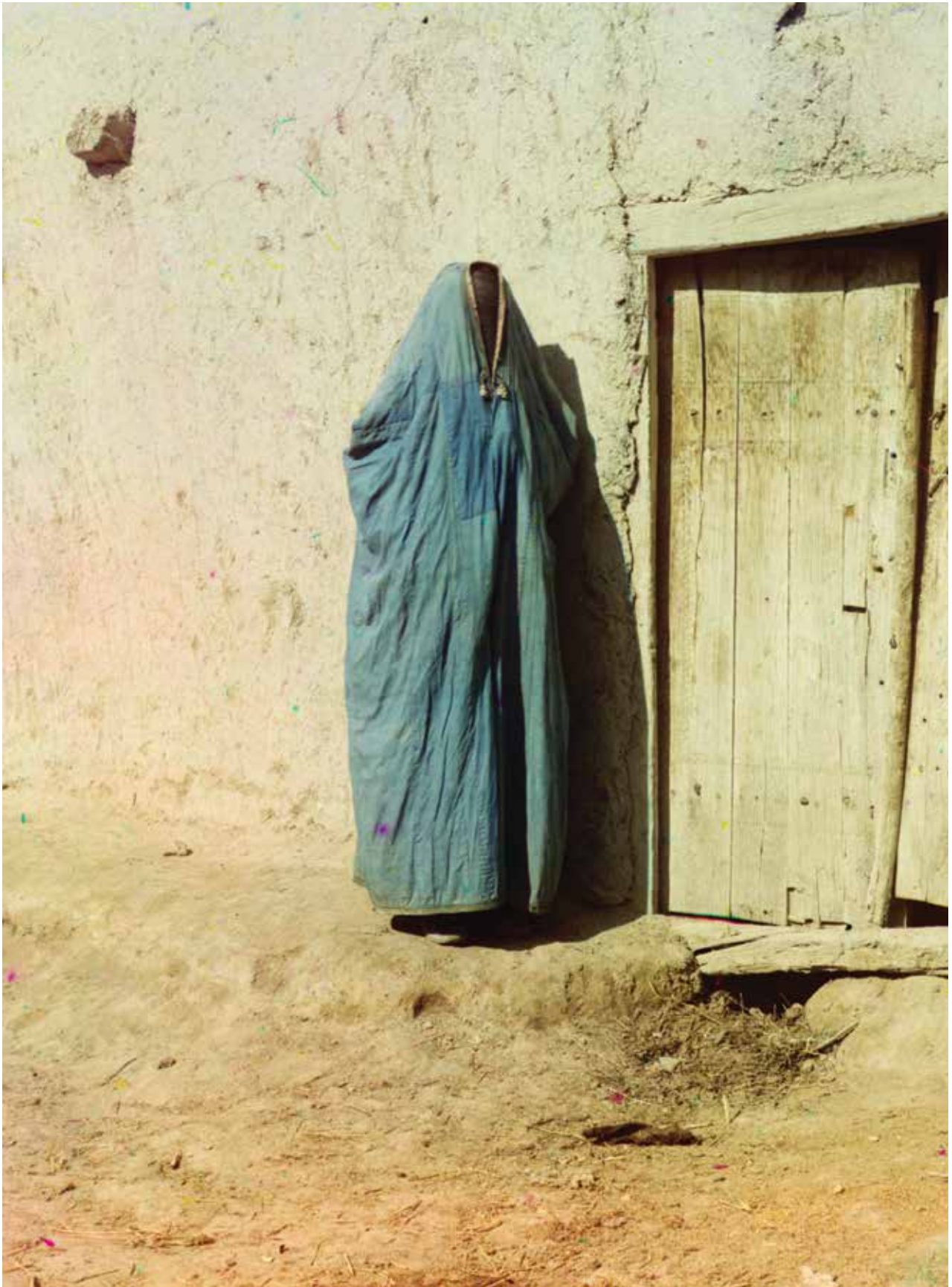
Verses by Jāmī This calligraphic fragment includes verses composed by the famous 15th-century Persian poet Jāmī, whose name appears in the lower horizontal panel inscribed with the verse: “Jāmī does not try to seek fame.” Neither dated nor signed, the fragment appears to have been produced in 16th- or 17th-century Iran and placed later into a *muraqqa’* (album) of calligraphies.



Prayers for Safety and Success This calligraphic fragment includes verses in Persian—framed by cloud bands and placed on a gold background decorated with vine motifs and blue flowers—praying for the patron’s personal well-being and the prosperity of his kingdom. The calligrapher, Mir ‘Ali Heravi (d. 1543), was active in the city of Herat, Afghanistan, until he was taken to Uzbekistan by the Shaybanid ruler ‘Ubaydallah Khan Uzbek.



Government Minister, Emirate of Bukhara, 1910–20 Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii photographed the emir's *kushbegi* (plenipotentiary) wearing a splendid silk robe decorated with Russian orders and a red sash; in his lap the minister holds a ceremonial saber with gilded scabbard.



Sart Woman, Standing at the Entrance of Her Dwelling, Samarkand Sergei Mikhailovich Prokudin-Gorskii was interested in recently acquired territories of the Russian Empire such as Turkestan (present-day Uzbekistan and neighboring states), which he visited on a number of occasions. Turkestan appealed to the photographer not only for its Islamic architecture but also for scenes of local life in places such as Samarkand.



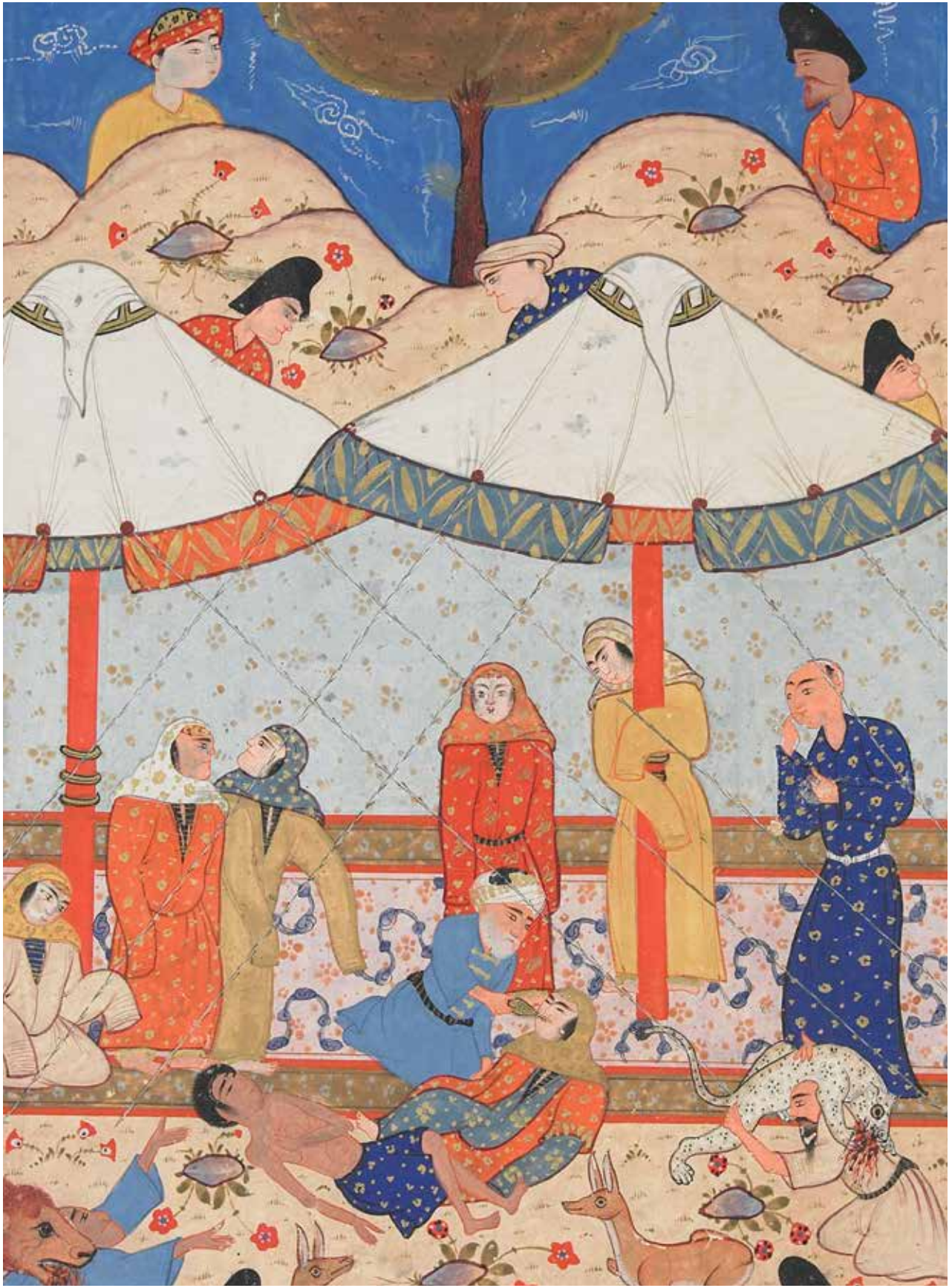
Prokudin-Gorskii's Eye for Color, 1905–15 CLOCKWISE FROM UPPER LEFT-HAND CORNER Fabric merchant, Samarkand (present-day Uzbekistan) | Woman of the Teke ethnic group standing at the entrance to a yurt, near the Murgab Oasis in the region of Baýramaly (present-day Turkmenistan) | Chaban (shepherd) in the hilly country near Samarkand | Young man with camel loaded with large sacks of cotton destined for the cotton gin, near the town of Baýramaly | Melon vendor, Samarkand | Portrait of Asfandiyar-khan, penultimate ruler of the Khanate of Khiva, 1910



Polychrome Abundance: Antiquities of Samarkand These original watercolor drawings by L. A. Shostak were included in the archaeological part of *Turkestan Album*, a six-volume survey (1871–72) produced under the patronage of the first governor-general of Turkestan, as the Russian Empire’s Central Asian territories were called. Although simplified, the drawings convey color information and details unavailable in the photography of the period. The album devotes special attention to the lavish and vibrant polychrome ceramic ornamentation of Samarkand’s Islamic architecture, such as 14th- and 15th-century monuments from the reign of Timur (Tamerlane) and his successors. Geometric, floral, and inscriptional patterns abound.



The Great Game: A Bird's-Eye View of the Approaches to India Produced probably in the 1920s, this map dramatizes the approaches to British India through Afghanistan by offering a panoramic view of the mountainous territory between the then-Soviet Union and the Indus River valley (present-day Pakistan). Produced by Letts, the famous London stationer and publisher of diaries, the map was clearly intended for hobbyists and armchair strategists who, as advertised, could buy for six pence a packet of flags for sticking into the map to plan or follow military movements. In the foreground two British soldiers in uniform overlook the Indus River. Geographic features seen in the distance below them include the Khyber Pass, the city of Jalālabād, the Amudar'ya River that formed part of the border between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the Murgab River in present-day Turkmenistan, and the disputed border between Russia (i.e., the Soviet Union) and Afghanistan.



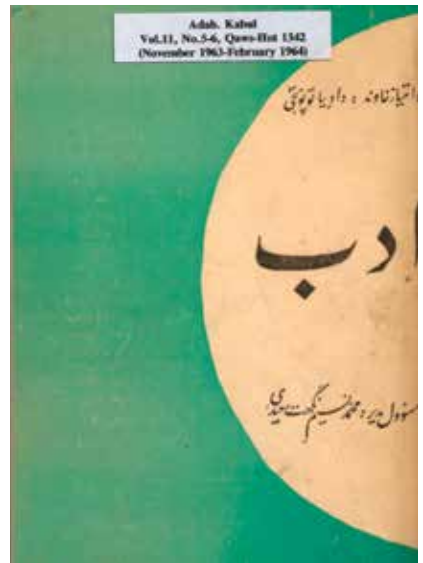


The Fainting of Laylah and Majnun

The painting depicts a well-known passage from the tragic story of Laylah and Majnun described in the third book of the *Khamseh* (Quintet) by the great 12th-century Persian poet Nizami Ganjavi.


Forcibly separated by the animosity of their respective tribes toward each other, forced marriages, and years of exile in the wilderness, the two ill-fated lovers meet again for the last time before each is to die, thanks to the intervention of Majnun's elderly messenger. Upon seeing each other in a palm grove outside of Laylah's camp, they faint from pain and extreme passion. The messenger tries to revive the lovers, while the wild animals, protective of Majnun ("king of the wilderness"), attack unwanted intruders.

The composition's style and hues are typical of Persian illuminations made in the city of Shiraz during the second half of the 16th century. The painting appears to have been executed at the same time as the text, which survives on the painting's verso (above).



Literary Reading | row 1 *Adab*, the literary magazine of the Faculty of Letters and Humanities, Kabul University, covers from the 1960s | rows 2 & 3 *Kābul*, the monthly periodical of the Kabul Literary Society, covers from the 1930s and 1950s

CARNEGIE RESULTS



Matt Singer, until recently executive director of the Bus Federation, helps out a voter (or potential voter) at Arizona State University in Tempe on Election Day, Tuesday, November 8, 2016.



MAKE IT WEIRD: GETTING THE YOUTH VOTE OUT

Fun, different, approachable.
An interview with the
Bus Federation's **Matt Singer**

By **Gail Ablow** | Photography by **David Jolkovski**

In the wake of the 2016 elections, analysts often zeroed in on voter registration and turnout (or lack thereof) as key to particular outcomes in races at every level—local, state, and national. Since 2011, Carnegie Corporation of New York grantee Matt Singer and his team at the Bus Federation, along with colleagues across the country, have successfully grown an unusual network of almost 4,000 nonprofit and corporate partners, as well as 10,000 volunteers, to register hundreds of thousands of previously disaffected Americans, engaging them in voting and other aspects of the political process. Their National Voter Registration Day (NVRD) is winning nationwide attention and support. Until recently Singer served as executive director of the Bus Federation.

Last November, Singer came to the Corporation's New York offices to discuss the Bus Federation (now known as the Alliance for Youth Action), the future of National Voter Registration Day, and his reasons for moving on to new challenges. Singer sat down with Gail Ablow, a writer and producer for Moyers & Co. and a Carnegie visiting media fellow. Here follow edited excerpts from that conversation.

GAIL ABLOW: So, what is the Bus Federation?

MATT SINGER: The Bus is a nonprofit that believes young people have the power to change the world. We try to make it a reality that young people can have their own political power. We support grassroots organizations around the country—we scale up their work, we fund it, we train them and help them while trusting them to make their own decisions in their own communities.

ABLOW: Why did you set up the Voter Registration Project?

SINGER: Much of the basic work of democracy is helping first-time folks through what a lot of us would think of as Democracy 101. We just had a presidential election, but we also voted for U.S. senators, for members of Congress, for governors, for sheriffs, for prosecutors, for county offices. In much of the country, we voted on ballot initiatives and referrals and constitutional amendments. And all of that means that the ballot can be complicated and overwhelming.

This is especially true now, with changes in the media landscape, in education, and with a huge number of immigrants who are new citizens and their children whose cultural education reflects a very different notion of democratic participation. And those different views come up as folks try to figure out the various ways they can have a voice.

Some people feel like the presidential race doesn't really affect them, or that the Electoral College means their vote

maybe doesn't count. People don't know where to vote, they don't know what to do with the mail ballot they got, or maybe they didn't return it. Does that stop them from being able to vote now? And what about their ID? They have one from out of state, or it's expired, or it's got the wrong address.

Much of this project is figuring out—in 50 states and over 3,000 counties—how to help each individual eligible voter change their perceptions of what voting actually is: from voting being a thing they can theoretically do—to voting being a thing that they are excited to do, that they are prepared to do, that they are informed about and confident about.

That happens best, generally, through a series of one-on-one conversations. And it's the same conversation over and over and over again. And at the end we have thousands more or millions more voters.

ABLOW: Is it only about national elections?

SINGER: No. In this last election, a lot of the hottest conversations in the country were about local prosecutors' races, about law enforcement questions, or governors or state legislatures, or even state Supreme Court members, and also ballot measures. People are figuring out what it is that they care most about. People have real power in local elections, and they can see it in action. We know that local elections don't see high turnout generally, but more and more young people are saying that's the place where you actually can make a difference.

ABLOW: Can you give some examples?

SINGER: We were working with a group in Chicago called Chicago Votes, one of a handful of youth-led organizations that were incredibly active. Two years ago, young black-led organizations started raising attention around Anita Alvarez, the prosecutor in Cook County, the second largest county in the United States. She was controversial because of her handling of police violence, juvenile justice, mass incarceration, and so on. So, two candidates filed to run against her, and the result was an incredibly high turnout in the Democratic primary. We were working with leaders on the ground who were registering and turning out voters. The conversation was, "Hey, have you encountered our justice system? Do you know people who have? Well, here's a way you can make a difference in that."

One of the conversations we were having in Colorado this year was on campus: "Do you care what your tuition is? Well, you get to vote for the Colorado University regent, one of five regents who set the tuition every year. That's within your power." And people's eyes would light up. "Oh, I didn't know I could do that."

“We’re still putting numbers together, but in 2016, on Twitter alone, we counted over 350 million tweets that referenced voter registration that day, September 27. And more than 770,000 people actually registered, including 125,000 who filled out paper forms with a volunteer. We had 10,000 volunteers around the country working with 3,500 nonprofit organizations to help voters register.”

— Matt Singer

So, yes, we find the local stuff often is more motivating. The issue is just finding the resources and time and energy to spread the word so people know it’s happening.

ABLOW: So does it take a lot of preparation?

SINGER: Our first real planning meeting for this election was, I think, New Year’s Eve 2014.

ABLOW: Describe how it worked.

SINGER: We set goals for how many folks we wanted to register to vote, how many we wanted to give information about where their polling places were, what sort of ID they need to bring, what’s on their ballot. We set those goals state by state with our local partners, through rounds of back and forth.

We set the big strategies: What is going to authentically connect with these young people? What is the conversation in our community? What are the issues people are feeling, and what do the people on the ballot have to do with those issues?

There’s often a desire to tell nonvoters, “You should vote because of Issue X.” But the reason that person’s not a voter, even if they care about Issue X, is they don’t understand the connection between this issue and the choices they have on the ballot. So our job is to help people navigate that so they can say, “I care about these issues and I’m now well-informed enough to make this decision.”

The goal is democracy. We help voters find their own self-interest and then help them pursue it, and all that gets added up in the election to show a collective decision. It’s not that we tell voters what they should be doing.

The second thing we do: just removing the barriers. Maybe you didn’t grow up in a family where your parents talked about voting, maybe they didn’t vote, maybe they couldn’t

vote, maybe they just didn’t ever talk to you about it. With civics education in decline in schools, where are you going to learn how to register to vote? Where are you going to learn that you even need to register? And why are you expected to know something that no one will ever tell you?

So we try to reach people with the basic message, “Yes, you need to register to vote. It’s simple, it’s easy, and—increasingly—it’s online. You can do it in several dozen states on the Internet now, and everywhere else you can find a place. You can print a form, or you can go to your county clerk’s office, or you can find one of our volunteers.”

And then, finally, young people are struggling at times with the notion of whether or not their votes make a difference, especially in these large presidential elections. So we’ve been finding and retelling recent examples where young people have registered and voted in large numbers and something has happened as a result—an election outcome has changed and the community has changed.

Like the way young people in Chicago protested, they also voted, and now they have a new prosecutor. The new prosecutor wants to focus on early interventions, programs that change the dynamics so that fewer people are being incarcerated. They’re not going to use criminalization as a response to acting up in school now. Sometimes students just do act up in school. That’s part of being a child. So they’re not going to punish that, or certainly not within our juvenile justice system. Someone’s going to get suspended for an hour, or have to go talk to the principal, or sit in the corner—it’s about appropriate responses. And if that is possible in Cook County, with millions of people, it’s possible for young people to affect the outcome anywhere in the country on any issue they care about.

ABLOW: Are there other examples?

SINGER: Yeah. Young voters in Boulder, Colorado, in 2011, kept saying to their energy utility, Xcel, “Hey, can we get



Voting Is Sexy
Staff and volunteers with the grassroots organizations the Bus Federation and Pizza to the Polls work to get the vote out at Arizona State University in Tempe on Election Day, November 8, 2016. They chat up voters and passersby alike, help people find their polling places, hand out voter guides, and even distribute "Voting Is Sexy" stickers.

most of our energy from clean sources?” A majority of their energy was coming from fossil fuels, specifically from coal. Xcel said, “We think that this is the right mix for our energy portfolio—so, no.”

The city council responded by putting two measures on the ballot to move the city off of coal entirely. Young people ended up running the campaign to pass that measure. They raised and spent about \$100,000 while Xcel Energy spent over a million dollars to oppose it. But the young people ended up winning by several hundred votes out of tens of thousands cast.

Xcel Energy came back to the issue in 2013 and tried to convince the voters to reverse their decision. Outspent the young people again, this time two to one. But young people ended up winning again. Then the city said, “Look, maybe some of us didn’t side with you the first time, but we made a decision, and it’s time for us to move on.” And so now Boulder is in the process of shifting to much cleaner energy.

There are other examples. In Seattle, Washington, and Phoenix, Arizona, voters recently passed very significant expansions of their transportation systems—new buses, new light rail. In Portland, Oregon, we just passed a new affordable housing measure, and we’re seeing these kinds of measures starting to move into major cities around the country where we have this problem of the influx of money from the outside. In Portland, it’s about San Francisco Bay Area money coming in. People are getting priced out of the housing market in the Bay Area, so that money is invading Portland, and people are getting priced out of their homes there.

How do we deal with that? One tangible thing we can do is to pass an affordable housing measure. By doing that, we engage new people in the process, which is great, and we win a policy victory. We also send a signal to political leaders that this is an issue that people care about, that they will show up for it, and that if they stand with us, we can stand with them.

When politicians are making decisions, they base them on assumptions about who the electorate is. So we have to build a younger, more diverse, more representative electorate so that politicians think about everyone they represent, not just the people they think are voting right now.

ABLOW: Does that mean young voters are much more inclined to get involved on tangible issues that affect them directly, and the presidential candidates just seemed too disconnected?

SINGER: There was definitely a lot of frustration about this presidential election among young folks. But once they showed up to cast a ballot for whatever reason, most

of them did vote in the presidential election. There were a lot of write-ins, a lot of folks left it blank, a lot voted third party, but the vast majority still chose a presidential candidate. That’s a reality that we sometimes overlook: voting is sometimes about enthusiasm, but if the enthusiasm can be found somewhere on the ballot, a voter will make a choice in every contest where they feel informed.

The question is: how do we help people feel well enough informed to make a choice? Even if in some cases that choice will be a protest vote or a write-in or a joke. Because once someone casts that ballot, the majority of contests are going to be filled in.

People generally feel they know enough about the presidential race. But how do we help people figure out what’s going on in a state treasurer’s race or in the local soil and water conservation district? I’ll be honest: I don’t really understand what those districts do either. But we hear from young people that they get the ballot, they see 40 contests on it, and they say, “I don’t know what all these things are.”

So I say, “I work in this full time and I don’t know what all of these are either, but that’s okay! Vote! Vote where you’re confident; don’t vote where you’re not. You’re not going to get in trouble for leaving a space blank. You can fill in one race. You can leave your whole ballot blank if you want to. That’s up to you. In fact, a blank ballot can be a message to the politicians about their constituency.”

ABLOW: Tell me about your most successful strategies.

SINGER: We realized six or eight years ago that the media landscape was changing radically: local newspapers, TV, radio declining, versus social media, national news sites, fake news sites—so much information crosses geographical boundaries in a way that it didn’t a generation ago. So on some things, we very much do not want to segment our messages city by city, even though so much of what’s interesting is often local.

One reason we started the National Voter Registration Day was that registration deadlines vary from state to state. Voter registration rules aren’t built for this new media environment that goes across state lines, so people get confused. But if we have a single national holiday, we can align a bunch of messages and maybe reach people who aren’t following these discussions all the time.

We’re still putting numbers together, but in 2016, on Twitter alone, we counted over 350 million tweets that referenced voter registration that day, September 27. And more than 770,000 people actually registered, including 125,000 who filled out paper forms with a volunteer. We had 10,000 volunteers around the country working with 3,500 nonprofit organizations to help voters register.

Now, how do we build this into a giant megaphone? We work directly with folks on the ground and we've built this network. Now we're in nine states, but we work with other organizations in all 50, and we try to help them do a better job talking to people in their communities. What is on our ballot this year, who are these people, what do they do, what is the office, and why does this vote matter? Those conversations are the modern equivalent of water-cooler conversations.

The final thing is making it weird. We've got to get people's attention. One of our favorite photos was in Colorado on election day, a young voter wearing a vote-bot costume, dressed up as a robot, dancing in the foreground while someone dressed up like Santa is talking to a voter. Food was being given away to get people to swing by the table, and there's a sign in the back that misspells the word "burritos." It looks like a mess, but that organization helped register 50,000 people to vote this year and turned out record numbers of young people in Colorado.

So, the lesson is we've got to be fun, we've got to be different, we've got to be approachable. People get so intimidated by our democratic systems that if we look, you know, professorial, they're not going to come talk to us. If we look goofy and dumb, then there's no way someone will feel like an idiot in conversation with us. So we do a lot to break down the barriers.

ABLOW: Now tell me about National Voter Registration Day itself. How did it start?

SINGER: This year, September 27, 2016, was the fifth National Voter Registration Day. It came out of a conversation in early 2011 with Andy Bernstein, who runs a great organization here in New York called HeadCount. He was working with Eddy Morales (who at the time was at Voto Latino), and we were looking at data that said six million people missed the 2008 election because they did not know how to register to vote or they missed a deadline. And that was the moment. We saw that we needed to make sure everyone knew how to do that for 2012, that everyone knew when the deadlines are, that people have that opportunity.

And when we looked at what it would cost—well, in an election year, partisan campaigns will spend \$10 billion. Only \$50–100 million gets spent in all 50 states on nonpartisan campaigns reminding people to register to vote. That may sound like a lot of money, but it's nothing more than a rounding error in something like Coca-Cola's marketing budget.

We also thought that we want to start a national thing, a unifying thing. After all, democracy is one of the things we should celebrate as a country. Even though election years are fraught and people are anxious and tense and families get in fights and Thanksgivings can be awkward for many

of us, it's still great that ultimately the choice is with us. Why don't we celebrate that in a unifying way?

Then we said, "Let's not start a new organization or try to do this through one vehicle. Let's mobilize the thousands of organizations and the thousands of people who already want to do stuff, partnering with as many people as possible."

So by the end of 2011, when we called ourselves the Bus Federation, because of how we mostly got around, we started recruiting partners, we set a date, and just started saying, "Hey, this is going to be National Voter Registration Day—can you do something?" We built the list and pretty soon we had a hundred partners, and we were feeling pretty good about that—some big organizations and some large networks. Then we went through this period where people start to naysay, and it feels like the momentum is gone, two or three months of just absolute slog. And then in early August, it was like a switch flipped.

All of a sudden, we started getting lots of sign-ups, and we ended up with over 1,200 partners and a bunch of activations that we didn't even know were going to happen. We ended up registering about 300,000 people to vote that year. That was about three times what we had hoped for.

So we came away from 2012 with a conversation of should we do this again? Should we wait until 2016? Should we do it in 2014? If we're going to do it in 2014, we're going to have to start in 2013 anyway, so why not make this an annual tradition? That would clarify that this isn't about any specific election, and it's not about any specific geography or any party or any one community. It's about all of us, and it's about every eligible voter getting this reminder every year. So I think the fact that we did these every year for the last four years has made a big difference.

For 2016 we started early and ended up with nearly 4,000 partners all over the country, and 10,000 volunteers. Google did their first-ever voter registration doodle on their home page the day before our day, and they drove an incredible amount of traffic. Tumblr integrated with over 100,000 blogs hosted on their site, all of them encouraging people to register to vote that day. Univision did a daylong takeover on air. MTV brought back the Total Request Live countdown, making it Total Registration Live, which was a dream come true for folks like me who are children of the '90s. Plus secretaries of state from all over the country came on board—Republicans, Democrats, with huge activations in their own states. For National Voter Registration Day 2016, we're looking at final numbers of more than 770,000 people who registered to vote that day.

And it all happened because each of these organizations really got to own it, got to take credit for their numbers, got to be an important thing in their community. Over time, we have learned that the key to building community

What Is National Voter Registration Day (NVRD)?

On the fourth Tuesday of every September (9/26 in 2017), thousands of participating corporate partners, secretaries of state, nongovernmental organizations, foundations, and individual volunteers celebrate American democracy by fanning out to engage voting-age Americans in personal conversations and online about their priceless right to vote.

"It's not about promoting any specific candidates or party or location," explains organizer Matt Singer. It's not even about any specific election. Says Singer, former executive director of the Bus Federation, "It's about all of us. And it's about every eligible voter getting this reminder every year." That's because not everyone realizes they have the potential power and the right to control what happens in their communities, their states, and nationwide—from elections for university governing boards and local water commissions through to senators and even the president. On last year's National Voter Registration Day, about 4,000 organizational partners and 10,000 volunteers persuaded more than 770,000 people to add their names to the voting rolls.

The Bus Federation recently delegated management of National Voter Registration Day to Nonprofit VOTE, which helps nonprofit organizations integrate voter engagement into their ongoing work. "Even though election years are fraught and families get in fights, it's still great that the choice is with us," says Singer. "Why don't we celebrate that in a unifying way?"



Why the "Bus Federation"?

The Bus Federation puts into practice their core belief that "Democracy works best when it is hands-on, driven by volunteers." And in fact their earliest efforts involved mobilizing young people and actually putting them on buses to go talk to voters, according to organizer Matt Singer. After local affiliates from various states joined in, the focus of the overall operation shifted to supporting grassroots work, helping local groups build their capacity, rather than branding a larger effort. But the name the "Bus Federation" (aka, "the Bus") stuck.

Singer stresses that the organization is "a true federation—structured so that these local organizations drive our governance and decision-making." Recently the group decided to go national with a communications and organizing strategy that spotlights its many stories of successful engagement and organizing, especially with young people. After more than a decade "pushing the envelope on voting rights," the Bus Federation realized that "the times certainly a'changed." It was time for a new name, a new identity—and the Alliance for Youth Action (and its c3 sister organization, the Alliance for Youth Organizing) was born, ready to "shine a beacon, for any group of young people organizing for progressive change anywhere in the country."

nationalvoterregistrationday.org
celebratenvrd.org

allianceforyouthaction.org

infrastructure around the country is to root it in place and also to tie it into a national conversation. And given the changes in the media landscape that we talked about, that's where the future of organizing is—taking a vibrant national conversation and making it relevant to each community.

ABLOW: What feedback did you get from your corporate partners?

SINGER: They were really excited for the election this year, thanks to the bipartisan involvement of the secretaries of state and the fact that National Voter Registration Day happened in all 50 states. The day wasn't about any one specific community. We produced material in five languages and offered online voter registration in 12 languages, and we also worked with home schooling associations. It's about making sure that every eligible voter is reached, and I think that message speaks to folks looking through a corporate social responsibility lens. They also want to reach every customer they can. So the feedback from businesses this year was incredible: they had a great experience and saw a positive response from their customers and from their communities.

We did some work with Facebook, but they mostly mobilized outside of us, and they registered over 625,000 people in the four days leading up to NVRD. Things like that are game-changing. And the flip side of this, which we heard explicitly from Google and Tumblr and Twitter and other partners, is that they love these hundreds and thousands of local community events happening all over the country. Even if they're not all explicitly tied together, there's this feeling that we are all in on this together, we're one nation and we're taking action together today.

ABLOW: And everybody's got the same goal, which is to register, versus actually voting on election day—when, naturally, people are more divided.

SINGER: Yeah. National Voter Registration Day this year fell on the day after the first presidential debate, when the entire country was realizing, "Oh, wow, there are two very different visions of this country." And then voters overall were saying, "We don't really like either of these candidates." Then to be able to pivot into a positive thing, a unifying thing, an inclusive thing was, I think, really healthy.

Now we're excited for the next four years about how do we build these institutions that help everyone come into the process and see that we are stronger when we all work together. We'll find stuff that cuts across party lines and says, "No matter what you believe, if you're eligible, you should get registered, you should turn out, write your letter to Congress, be an active citizen."

ABLOW: So back up and tell me how you got involved in this Bus Project and what lessons you're going to take with you now that you are leaving.

SINGER: I grew up in Montana, and my father used to manage congressional campaigns before I was born, so it was one of those families where people are active and discuss politics and current events around the dinner table. My parents brought me into the voting booth when I was a little kid, and I saw them cast ballots, and watched them disagree about who they were going to vote for. So, I got these ideas that: 1) we do all engage; 2) we sometimes disagree (and that's okay); and 3) we get to an outcome, and we move forward. And so I'll always have that.

In my late teens, I had to drop out of school for financial reasons and I worked as a short-order line cook for a summer. Then I volunteered at a civic organization, Montana Conservation Voters, and they hired me as an organizer. We were told young people don't vote so it's not worth our time to talk to them, but I kept seeing all of these young people with incredible energy and visions of the things they wanted to do in their city and in their state, but didn't have a vehicle for channeling that energy. So about a dozen of us in our early twenties started an organization called Forward Montana.

One of our friends had just come back from Iraq. We helped him run for the state legislature, and he defeated the chair of the county party in the primary, won the general election, and served two terms. We started building issue campaigns. We remade the State Board of Higher Ed. We passed a couple of bills fixing how minors were being treated when reporting sexual assaults (young women would no longer be penalized for underage drinking when they reported assaults). We figured out over time how to have employees and a real budget, and began working with folks in other states—the Bus Project in Oregon, the Washington Bus, and Numero in Colorado. After a few years, the four groups formed this network and I moved to Oregon to run it.

Now we're in nine states full time. We've launched National Voter Registration Day and have some other significant programs. We plan to expand to more states and help more youth organizations take root and build and prosper. So we changed our name to Alliance for Youth Action to reflect our new focus on young people. And the Nonprofit VOTE group will be managing the registration day from now on.

Anyway, it's been ten years for me, and new leaders should be given space. So I don't know what I'm doing next, but I'm excited for where this organization's going to go.

ABLOW: What's your advice to others who want to build a movement?

SINGER: Before I try to offer wisdom, I need to sit back and listen and learn, because young people know things that we don't. The people out there on the streets these days are about to teach us something and I want to see what it is.

ABLOW: Fair enough. What are some tools you might recommend to those people in the streets?

SINGER: Listening is a big one. The most important tools of organizing are really simple: a sheet of paper, a pen, get people's contact info, a cup of coffee or tea. Sit down, spend time together, learn about one another, build relationships. I have yet to see people who don't have deep relationships ever move anyone or change someone's mind or create an effective call to real action. If you want to do those things, find a way to build a relationship.

A lot of what we've done was built on Google Docs and on spreadsheets, or other essentially free technology. Text messaging and Gchat, Facebook Messenger, and Snapchat—just use the mechanisms you already use to communicate with your peers. Every two or three years, there's going to be a new social media mechanism and a new app for it. Then just think about how you would throw a party and that's how you organize an event. It's whatever works in your community.

Every year we get asked what is our favorite technology, and we say clipboards—because they allow you to write on a piece of paper when you're walking around. You can use a piece of cardboard with a rubber band at the top. You can make all this stuff so cheap, so easy, so accessible.

ABLOW: In the 2016 election you had hoped for a bigger youth turnout at the polls—or are you satisfied with what you saw?

SINGER: Well, we always want to see higher turnout. It goes up when people think politics and elections are relevant to their lives, when they have the time to focus on it and feel social pressure to do it. We won't be happy until it's a hundred percent! But I would say we are a little disappointed. We are frustrated that we continue to have a political system that is not figuring out how to engage everyone. So we have work to do. We've got to get better in engaging the folks in our communities, helping them learn how to run for office themselves and have the networks to be viable.

We've got to do better at finding ways to put things on ballots if politicians won't put the right bills up in legislatures. How do we tackle the issues we care about—housing and transportation and climate change and immigration? And what happens to our economy? If we don't have answers for people, then it's not insane that they don't vote. So don't be disappointed in the people. Try to figure out what we can do better. ■

National Voter Registration Day: What's Next?

An interview with Nonprofit VOTE's Brian Miller

Nonprofit VOTE, which provides resources to nonprofit organizations to help them integrate nonpartisan voter registration and participation efforts into their ongoing work, has now assumed management of the nonpartisan National Voter Registration Day (NVRD), which for 2017 is set for September 26. Nonprofit VOTE's executive director Brian Miller recently discussed this transition with Washington writer Joanne Omang.

JOANNE OMANG: What changes are you planning?

BRIAN MILLER: Nothing fundamental. We're organizing to position the day in a stronger and more self-sustaining place this year for the local elections, and then especially for the 2018 midterm races. Last year National Voter Registration Day registered more than 770,000 people and that's huge, but if we want a really inclusive democracy we have to make a special outreach and lay the groundwork for a big ramp-up in 2018—a civic holiday every year.

OMANG: Aren't online and automatic motor-voter registrations more or less taking over this work?

MILLER: It's true that online platforms have been great at getting large numbers of people registered inexpensively, but they still only reach folks who are already inclined to register and who need only a little nudge, a Facebook post, a Google Doodle—the low-hanging fruit, if you will. More than 30 states have online platforms now and it's likely that all of them will by 2020, and that's great.

But it's not a substitute for the field worker going out to look people in the eye—people who sat on the sidelines, who felt disempowered or were confused or discouraged about how to participate—and telling them, “Your opinion matters. You need to be engaged. Here's a registration form, here's where you can vote.” Particularly in lower-income and immigrant communities or where not everybody has computer access.

Even with automatic motor-voter registration, which is great and should be implemented more broadly, we still need face-to-face contact from trusted messengers to ensure people get involved in the voting process. We provide nonpartisan resources and how-to guides to help nonprofits serve as that trusted messenger, and it works. Our studies show that people who are registered to vote by nonprofits—these people vote at rates five to 15 points higher than comparable voters of the same demographic who registered other ways.

OMANG: Is that a lesson you learned from the poor turnout by young people last year?

MILLER: Actually, there wasn't a significant drop in youth turnout. Our report *America Goes to the Polls 2016* showed that 50 percent of the 18- to 29-year-olds in the voting-eligible population turned out in 2016. That's below the 66 percent turnout by people 30 or older who were eligible, but it's the third-highest youth rate since 1972, the first year that 18-year-olds were able to vote—and bigger than in 2012.

OMANG: So how can philanthropy help make an impact?

MILLER: That kind of person-to-person work costs money. First, funders can directly support voter engagement with a grant portfolio for the outreach workers' recruitment and training, for their clipboards and transportation and stipends—all the way through to get-out-the-vote efforts.

Then they can also look at their RFPs (Requests for Proposals) and their MOAs (Memorandums of Agreement) with the groups they fund, the ones we call the “trusted messengers”—the YWCA, Planned Parenthood, the other nonprofits people trust and go to for services or fun—and ask things like, “What will you do to engage the community you serve in the democratic process, in voting?”

They can rewrite the language in their grants to make it clear that nonpartisan voter engagement and advocacy are fine within the context of the law, and even encouraged. It's important for funders to point out that, for example, part of doing good environmental work or health care or whatever is getting voters engaged in the political process that affects all of those issues. The Council on Foundations has good model MOA language that foundations can follow.

And then of course any funder can become a partner with National Voter Registration Day, like many other nonprofits do. Distribute materials to their grantees, encourage them to sign on as partners, hold webinars, give resources to help, and so on. Just visit the websites:

nationalvoterregistrationday.org
celebratenvrd.org

And thanks!

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David Armitage

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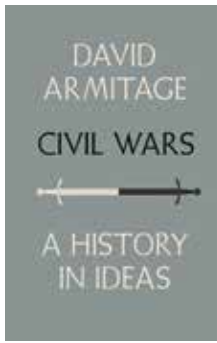
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Battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863

Based on the painting *Hancock at Gettysburg* by the Swedish-born American artist Thure de Thulstrup (1848–1930), this print shows the Union lines during the Confederate bombardment prior to Pickett's Charge. Chromolithograph published by L. Prang & Co. (Boston), 1887.

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**Civil Wars:
A History in Ideas**
David Armitage
Alfred A. Knopf. 349 pp. 2017.

Hell of a Book

Civil wars spring from deep and deadly divisions but they also expose identities and commonalities

by **Michael Moran**



The question of what constitutes a civil war—what separates it, say, from rebellion, insurrection, riot, genocide, or terrorism—has bedeviled political theorists, legal scholars, military commanders, and philosophers since the earliest days of civilization.



If Germany once again fell upon France, and the German army, the *Bundeswehr*, made a dash for the Channel, would that conflict be considered a civil war? In the context of the supranational European Union, or even the multinational North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the question cannot be dismissed out of hand, notwithstanding the reemergence of bullying nationalism across much of the Western democratic world.

Voltaire is routinely credited with the apothegm that “every European war is a civil war.”* Napoleon, anticipating the conceits of his compatriot Marine Le Pen, later sharpened the point further: “Turkey excepted, Europe is nothing more than a province of the world; when we battle, we engage in nothing more than a civil war.”

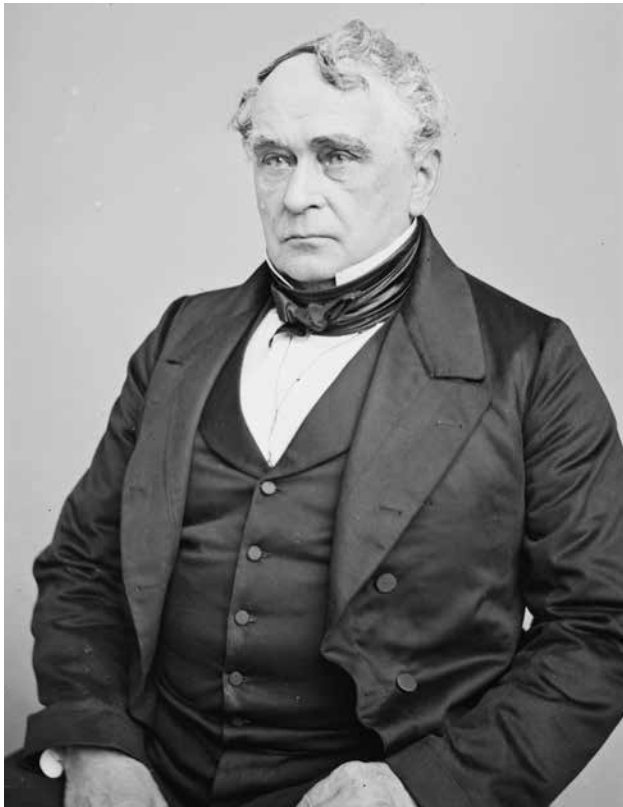
The question of what constitutes a civil war—what separates it, say, from rebellion, insurrection, riot, genocide, or terrorism—has bedeviled political theorists, legal scholars, military commanders, and philosophers since the earliest days of civilization. Modern conventional wisdom might define civil war as strife between internal factions, tribes, or ethnic groups. Viewed through an American filter, such conflicts carry the inheritance of misguided, ultimately futile interventions—Vietnam, Lebanon, Iraq, and Afghanistan—places to pity, perhaps even to douse with diplomatic retardant, but also places that hard-learned experience suggests are best left to native combatants. Despite centuries of efforts to define, refine, and tame—in fact, even to name—these conflicts, ambiguity remains.

For Harvard historian David Armitage, these issues go beyond legalities or semantics. In his new book, *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas*, Armitage delves into the history of what was once called “fraternal conflict,” not merely to dissect and categorize, but to explore broader territory.

[S]uch arguments reveal a great deal about the way we define our communities, how we identify our enemies, and how we encourage our allies. Words are the way we construct our world; they are not the only way, to be sure, but they are the means by which we build it in conversation with our fellow human beings as we try to persuade them of our own point of view, to justify our actions, and to sway outsiders or even posterity. But in speaking of wars, words themselves are wielded as weapons, whether the blood is hot or the battlefield has gone cold: “Words about war—even the names of war—can be contentious indeed.” And no form of war is more nominally contentious than civil war.

In fact, as Armitage stresses, the names of wars matter enormously, and he spends a full chapter exploring the genesis of what has become known as the U.S. Civil War.

*It was in fact Fénelon, the 17th-century French archbishop, theologian, and writer, who asserted that “All Wars are properly Civil Wars.”



Prof. Francis Lieber

Born in Germany, Lieber (1798–1872) taught history and political science at Columbia College (today Columbia University) and later had a position at Columbia Law School. He is famed as the author of the *General Orders No. 100* (1863), better known as the Lieber Code, the first attempt to codify the laws of war and the direct antecedent of the Geneva and Hague conventions. All three of Lieber's sons were in uniform during the Civil War, two on the Union side, and one on the Confederate side. (Oscar, the eldest, died fighting for the South.) "Behold in me the symbol of civil war," Lieber exclaimed in May 1861. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS DIVISION

Southerners referred to this watershed conflict variously as "the War for Independence" and even "the Revolution," constructions that stressed their view of the Confederate states as sovereign entities. Later adherents to the Lost Cause, seated back in the unified Congress in the early 20th century, continued to argue against the use of "civil war," instead proposing "the War Between the States." Northerners disagreed, of course, and, having won on the battlefield, would largely write the history of the war. Yet despite myriad contemporary descriptions of the conflict as a "civil war" even as the slaughter continued, including one in Lincoln's 1863 Gettysburg Address, it was only in 1907, during a U.S. Senate debate over pension benefits for veterans who had fought in the conflict, that the name "Civil War" was officially adopted. (To this day, some Southerners will relate stories, only half-jokingly, of their ancestors' exploits during "the War of Northern Aggression.")

Armitage, the author of previous works on the intellectual origins of British imperialism and a "global history" of the Declaration of Independence, begins his narrative in

ancient Greece, quickly proceeding to republican Rome, where, he asserts, civil war as we now know it was invented. The author's intent is to define "civil war" for us intellectually, advancing as much as is possible our ability to discern it, contain it, and—one hopes, someday—avoid it.

Civil war may be, as Armitage puts it, the "most characteristic form of organized human violence," but for the most part, it has remained unstudied and "undertheorized."

There is no great work titled On Civil War to stand alongside Carl von Clausewitz's On War or Hannah Arendt's On Revolution. . . . Clausewitz hardly discussed civil war at all, while Arendt herself dismissed it, along with war itself, as atavistic and antimodern. . . . It is not my aim to provide an overarching theory of civil war. Nor can I supply that missing treatise. What I can do as a historian is to uncover the origins of our present discontents, to explain just why we remain so confused about civil war and why we refuse to look it in the face.

The first part of *Civil Wars* focuses intensely on Rome. Armitage asserts that earlier societies, including the Greeks, have a much more limited relevance to the modern conception of civil war. On the other hand, "Romans were not the first to suffer internal conflict but they were the first to experience it as civil war." Rome's internal debates, the factionalism of its Senate, the internal allegiances and betrayals of Roman society, these are the foundation stones of our modern understanding of civil war.

For the Romans, civil war was the subversion of city-dwelling civilization. Yet there was also an enduring and disturbing strain of Roman history that suggested there was a tight relationship between civil war and civilization itself. These conflicts came back so often across the history of the republic and into the early empire that they appeared to be woven into the fabric of Roman public life.

The argument that follows is persuasive, although the Roman focal point exposes one of the book's rare weaknesses: the dearth of analysis of the non-European world.

To be sure, Armitage rightly stays within his area of expertise, writing compellingly and insightfully about the civil conflicts of—primarily—the Global North. But the civil wars of Asia, Africa, and Latin America appear almost entirely through the lens of anticolonial movements, the Cold War, or today's wars between the West and radical Islamic movements. The author points to the folly of U.S. policymakers who bumbled into civil wars in Vietnam and, more recently, Iraq, while deluding themselves into believing they were simply liberating a people from oppression. But the seminal civil wars of the developing world, from China to Colombia, from Cambodia to Nigeria, receive little attention. As the author himself notes, "Civil war



Grant Memorial, 1885

Portrait of Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) surrounded by nine scenes of his career (clockwise, from lower left-hand corner): Graduated at West Point 1843 / Gen. Scott presenting diplomas; In the tower at Chapultepec 1847; Drilling his Volunteers 1861; Fort Donelson 1862; The Battle of Shiloh 1862; The Siege of Vicksburg 1863; The Battle of Chattanooga 1863; Commander-in-Chief 1864; The Surrender of Gen. Lee 1865. Chromolithograph (after the painting by Thure de Thulstrup) published by L. Prang & Co. (Boston), 1885. THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, PRINT COLLECTION

“Civil wars are like a sickness of the body politic, destroying it from within.”

— David Armitage, *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas*

is no respecter of borders. Indeed, it often turns countries inside out.” *Civil Wars* definitely remains within its borders.

However, the territory covered more than makes up for this shortcoming. The book exhumes from obscurity (except to those already steeped in the history and philosophy of international law) influential thinkers like Hugo Grotius, the 16th-century Dutch jurist whose work underpins much of modern international law; Emer de Vattel, an 18th-century Swiss thinker whose *Law of Nations* marked the first attempt to codify the conduct of states; and the Roman historians Florus and Lucan, who, with Livy, Tacitus, and Cicero, chronicled much of what we know about the ancient republic’s history.

John Locke and Thomas Hobbes, of course, make their mark, as do Voltaire, Rousseau, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine. So, too, does Princeton political scientist John T. McAlister, whose verbal jousting with U.S. Senate Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman J. William Fulbright in the context of whether the Vietnam conflict was, in fact, a civil war, briefly revived the debate on the nature of the American Civil War. And there is Democratic representative John Murtha, a Vietnam veteran, who in January 2006 issued the unwelcome observation that “We’re fighting a civil war in Iraq.”

In many ways Armitage is at his best on this hallowed yet much trodden ground. As he tells it, this descent from more general western intellectual history into the darker realm of intra-communal slaughter was accidental. Researching his book *The Declaration of Independence:*

A Global History at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California, Armitage discovered that among its collections were the papers of Francis Lieber, a German-born jurist and scholar assigned by the Union army to define the concept of “civil war” even as the U.S. Civil War (or, as a Mississippi senator protested, the “war between sovereign States”) raged.

Lieber is one of those figures any reader should be thrilled to come across, and is by far the most compelling “discovery” resurfaced by Armitage’s scholarship. Left for dead at the Battle of Waterloo, Lieber emigrated to the U.S. and eventually joined the law faculty at Columbia University, where his lectures on the nature of war gained the attention of Henry Wager Halleck, general in chief of the Union army.

In 1862, President Lincoln, concerned about the legal basis for the conflict, tasked Halleck with aligning the Union army’s conduct of war with international legal norms. Halleck turned to Lieber, who had just learned of the death of one of his own sons fighting as a Confederate soldier in the Battle of Williamsburg in Virginia. Distraught but loyal to the Union, Lieber drafted what ultimately became the army’s *General Orders No. 100*, better known as the Lieber Code, still today the foundation of the U.S. Army’s doctrine on conduct in a civil war.

The past is unpredictable—Armitage opens his Afterword to *Civil Wars* with this “bitter” Russian saying. While poring over Lieber’s papers at the Huntington, he was struck by one of those coincidences that lucky historians can stumble upon, when the past illuminates the present, as “two battles over the meaning of civil war chimed across time.” It was late 2006:

As I worked through Lieber’s letters and the drafts, I found the past rhyming with the present in insistent and troubling ways around the challenge of civil war. Debate was beginning to flare in the United States, in Iraq, and beyond about the character of the contemporaneous conflict in Mesopotamia. Lieber’s perplexity in the mid-nineteenth century about defining civil war and the parallel complexity in the early twenty-first century of applying the term in Iraq struck me as two stops along a much longer historical journey that would go from ancient Rome via the early modern period right up to the present.

Armitage is a learned and winning tour guide, and *Civil Wars* a valuable mapping tool for that journey. ■



There Goes the Neighborhood: How Communities Overcome Prejudice and Meet the Challenge of American Immigration

Ali Noorani

Prometheus Books. 319 pp. 2017.

Bibles, Badges & Business

The immigration debate isn't about policy—it's about the culture and values that make America what it is

by **Adrienne Faraci**



“As we got closer to Election Day, I realized the cultural debate would not go away with one election. The emotions underlying these fears shift slowly, erratically, constantly reminding us of a past many hold dear.”

— **Ali Noorani**, *There Goes the Neighborhood*



Is the United States locked in a state of intractable political paralysis? It sure can seem that way, especially when it comes to talking about the 11 million undocumented immigrants that are—truth be told—part of the daily lives of almost every American. Immigration itself is a puzzlement. Give us your tired—or not? Roll out the welcome mat—or not? And who talks about immigration, when one can scream about it?

It is hard to imagine that a bright spot or two might exist somewhere in the vast cultural, political, and demographic landscapes of this country. Something that could reunite our disparate peoples around a common culture, a common identity, an all-encompassing embracing of what it means to be an American. Believe it or not, at one time, in the not too distant past, comprehensive immigration reform was one such vehicle, one such bright spot on the horizon.

In *There Goes the Neighborhood*, Ali Noorani, executive director of the National Immigration Forum, seeks out that bright spot, some common ground. On his journey, this seasoned immigration advocate brings together the unlikeliest of bedfellows. From the halls of Mormon Utah to police departments in Arizona to agricultural businesses in Kentucky and Montana, Noorani discovers the personal and economic reasons that are uniting community leaders across the country in their push for immigration reform. It's no longer a simple matter of “left versus right.” These are the people who are working on the ground in their communities, who see immigration reform as something that's not only beneficial to the “neighborhood,” but even mandatory if the country is to become truly competitive again in the global marketplace. And then there is the issue of compassion—or lack thereof—in the current environment. The author believes that “Americans are an exceptional people because we learn from our past.” But do we?

Noorani speaks candidly about the issues surrounding comprehensive immigration reform, most notably the schism over exactly what it means—culturally—to be an American. Prejudice cannot be ignored. There is the very real fear of the “other.” Noorani writes:

We do an awful job of seeing the human potential in one another. We are quicker to dwell on differences than capitalize on similarities. We treat relationships as negotiations instead of collaborations. We seem more concerned with individual liberties than the common good.

The 45th president of the United States will lead a nation divided by an entirely new set of political norms. Racism, xenophobia, and misogyny are no longer topics of discussion for dark corners of the Internet. They are out in the open.

Putting aside the fear-mongering headlines and cable news hysterics that seem to be driving the story today, Noorani speaks with the men and women who are being directly affected by the lack of working mechanisms for legal immigration. Everyone agrees that the current immigration system is broken. New ideas, new strategies are called for. So, Noorani and the National Immigration Forum brought together religious leaders, law enforcement officials, and business leaders—all committed to promoting immigration reform as the key to advancing all of society, fully supporting the idea that the American dream should be attainable by all. And with that, an informal coalition was born: “Bibles, Badges and Business for Immigration Reform.” As Noorani notes, anyone hearing that messaging doesn’t have to trust every member of the coalition, they just had to trust *one* of the three Bs.

Noorani points out—perhaps too sanguinely—that the “fear of the other wasn’t necessarily the immigrant next door. It was the immigrant they’d never seen.” The real challenge with immigration reform is to redefine American identity as more inclusive, humanizing immigrants as neighbors and community members who live nearby and whose children attend school with your children. But Cecilia Muñoz, a former top official in the Obama

administration, asked Noorani a question, and it nags: “[D]o we see each other as Americans?”

Through his illuminating conversations and interviews with nearly 50 local and national leaders, Noorani shows how some cities and regions have reached common ground on immigration issues, making their communities a welcoming place for long-standing citizens and new arrivals alike. Other “neighborhoods” struggle to find a balance. Can people adapt to changing demographics for the good of the country? There are obvious growing pains as communities grapple with this notion of inclusivity for immigrants, but the “Bibles, Badges, and Business” brigade is proof that shared values can get us past the charged and often vitriolic rhetoric surrounding immigration reform. Is the United States going through a “national identity crisis,” as Noorani writes, a political realignment all too easily mistaken for a sea-to-shining-sea nervous breakdown? Perhaps. But all is not doom and gloom, as *There Goes the Neighborhood* captivantly confirms.

Noorani often joked with friends that he didn’t want to write a “smart” book (data, policy, yadda yadda). But he did: his first book is not only smart, it is insightful, personal, heartfelt, and hopeful. ■



**Unequal Partners:
American Foundations
and Higher Education
Development in Africa**

Fabrice Jaumont

Palgrave Macmillan. 170 pp.
2016.

Foundations have long played a central role in the development and sustenance of the social sector.

Today, when federal budget cuts—and even a potential overhaul to the U.S. tax code—could put the work of nonprofit and educational institutions substantially at risk, many expect foundations to fill this widening funding gap.

How can foundations, which seek to resolve, or at least move the ball forward on some of the biggest challenges facing the world at a given moment, maximize their impact?

One answer: through strategic partnerships.

In his recent book, *Unequal Partners: American Foundations and Higher Education Development in Africa*, Fabrice Jaumont, the education attaché for the Embassy of France to the United States, offers an important case study of one of the most ambitious foundation collaborations ever undertaken, the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA). The brainchild of the presidents of five prestigious American foundations at the turn of the 21st century, the PHEA sought to support the “indispensable contribution of higher education to social and economic development” in Africa and accelerate the “processes of comprehensive modernization and strengthening of universities in selected countries.”

Spearheaded by the Ford Foundation, The Rockefeller Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur

Maximum Impact

Assessing global philanthropy—and strategic partnerships—in an age of funding gaps

by **Robert Nolan**

Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and Carnegie Corporation of New York (and later, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and The Kresge Foundation), the endeavor emerged amid a new global push for development in Africa. Through coordinated investment in higher education, the PHEA sought nothing less than to “unleash the talents of the continent for the well-being of its people and those beyond its borders.”

Over a decade, the Partnership injected nearly half a billion dollars into the sector.

Jaumont mostly approves of this collaborative initiative, citing many of the PHEA’s positive outcomes. For example, by subsidizing the laying of fiber optic cables, African universities were brought online, leading to greater collaboration among African research centers. Evaluation data also indicates that the \$10 million invested in academic scholarships for women was a worthy effort; this aspect of the Partnership resulted in more than 1,000 female students obtaining postgraduate degrees. Other investments pumped into the continent’s higher education system produced better-trained public servants, higher-quality talent in the fields of agriculture and public health, and a new generation of postdoctoral academics.

The Partnership also helped stimulate additional interest and—critically—funding from institutions like the United Nations, the African Union, and the World Bank, all of which now acknowledge the importance of higher education in their strategic manifestos for the continent’s development.

More intriguing, though, are Jaumont’s insights, gleaned from dozens of interviews with those tapped to operationalize and execute the PHEA, into the ways foundations collaborate. Herein lies the book’s real value to the philanthropic sector.

The author’s particular focus—on the institutional culture, leadership, and funding priorities of the various foundation partners—yields interesting results.

Although foundations are often viewed as monolithic, impersonal institutions, Jaumont writes that (thankfully!) philanthropic organizations are in fact “all made of flesh and bone, served by program officers, directors, staff, vice-presidents and presidents, board members, and grantees with different takes on how philanthropy should impact a given field.”

Think of the complex dynamics occurring within even a single organization. The Partnership was an unprecedented collaboration among *seven* major foundations. Factor in their “distinct, even contrasting, institutional cultures, missions, strategies, and philosophies of development.” This was no small order. Here, the study offers some valuable lessons.

The PHEA, Jaumont writes, was largely a presidential initiative, and the foundation grantmakers cited in *Unequal Partners* are candid about the many challenges they faced in executing the initiative’s goals among multiple, senior-level stakeholders. “The difficult role that the people who sat around the table had is that they were able to discuss ideas but often were not able to come to a decision at the table because they needed to go back to their foundations and check,” says Janice Petrovich, a program director at Ford Foundation during the PHEA collaboration. “And it took a long time for any kind of joint product to emerge, because the presidents had to be on board.” Petrovich’s sentiments about the efficiency of collaborative grantmaking are echoed by many of her colleagues interviewed by Jaumont.

On the plus side, the presidents of the partnering foundations brought with them an unprecedented amount of credibility in the field of higher education. At the time of its launch, each of the five partner foundations was led by a former university president. Foundation presidents, Jaumont writes, lent further credibility and expertise to the Partnership by hiring African higher education leaders to work as program directors and officers.

Nevertheless, Jaumont concludes, an overreliance on presidential leadership (alongside grant term limits and the global financial crisis of 2008) was a driving factor in the PHEA’s sunset in 2010. “The decision to terminate the Partnership became a reality when the boards of Ford Foundation and The Rockefeller Foundation changed their presidents,” he writes.

Jaumont seems overly concerned with the geographic preferences of the Partnership. A majority of grants went to universities in Anglophone African countries, but, as Jaumont himself acknowledges, it is not uncommon for American foundations to prioritize work in English-speaking countries. This inevitably leads to greater ties between donor and recipient countries—ties that could be viewed through a geostrategic lens, but more so as a historic trend than as a deliberate tool of American foreign policy. For example, some of the foundations involved, including Carnegie Corporation of New York, are by charter restricted to grantmaking in current or former countries of the British Commonwealth.

Despite this slight preoccupation, *Unequal Partners* does raise some important, if unresolved questions about the alignment of international grantmaking with American foreign policy priorities, perceived or actual. Jaumont looks at previous academic research on philanthropy and hegemony to better understand whether initiatives like the PHEA “help maintain an economic and political order, international in scope, which benefits the ruling-class interests of philanthropists” (as Robert Arnove has written), or are truly more benevolent in their motivations. Donors’ ability to shape the public agenda is a hot topic,

most recently explored in *The Givers: Wealth, Power, and Philanthropy in a New Gilded Age*, the new book from David Callahan, the founder and editor of the digital media site Inside Philanthropy.

Deciphering philanthropic intent is a complex task, but Jaumont believes that American foundations “have succeeded in increasing the visibility and importance of higher education on the African continent,” resulting in “larger investments from all stakeholders and a shift toward modernization, institutionalization, and internationalization.” The institutional beneficiaries of the PHEA may not see it that way, but even if they don’t, it’s a club they were probably happy to join.

“After their contribution, there is nothing that the foundations can do because they have contributed to raising the issue and focusing the minds of involved groups of people,” a vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town tells Jaumont. “Beyond that, it’s really up to the universities

involved and their respective governments to do something about it, and that is where the challenge still remains.”

Carnegie Corporation of New York’s Vartan Gregorian, who wrote the foreword to Jaumont’s study, cites Ghanaian Kofi Annan, former secretary-general of the United Nations and onetime member of the Corporation’s board of trustees, as “the primary source of inspiration” for the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa. The initiative, Gregorian continues, “should not be considered an end, but a beginning and, we hope, an inspiration to those in the philanthropy, education, and development fields.”

As cuts to federal funding for both education and international development are considered by elected officials in the U.S., philanthropic institutions, where the political will exists, may seek to partner in an effort of solidarity to fill potential funding gaps. Offering a timely case study into one such effort, *Unequal Partners* is worthy of consultation. ■



Everyone Loses: The Ukraine Crisis and the Ruinous Contest for Post-Soviet Eurasia

Samuel Charap and Timothy J. Colton

Routledge. 212 pp. 2017.

A Comedy of Errors, but Tragic

In post-Soviet Eurasia, zero-sum policies have produced—unsurprisingly—negative-sum results

by **Eugene Scherbakov**

In 2014, the year marking the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War, Russia invaded Ukraine, annexed the Crimean peninsula, and fueled an insurgency in the separatist republics of Donetsk and Lugansk. Since then, more than ten thousand lives have been lost in Ukraine, in a conflict for which there is no end in sight.

There have been no winners in this war: the liberal international order of which the U.S. is the greatest stakeholder has come under attack; sanctions and international opprobrium have isolated Russia and undermined its economy; and Ukraine is devastated—economically, socially, and politically. In capitals around the world, there is talk of a “second” Cold War. How did the era of promise ushered in by the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 curdle—only 25 years later—into a time of real global peril? Samuel Charap, senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation, and Timothy J. Colton, professor of government and Russian studies at Harvard University, attempt to answer that question in their new book, whose title reflects its core message: *Everyone Loses*.

Charap and Colton begin their study by noting that “Analysis done in the midst of a crisis generally tends to shed more heat than light.” And in this, “the Ukraine crisis is no exception.” Although all states party to the conflict are worse off than before the conflict began, all remain adamantly unmoved in their belief that they are in the right. There are as many fingers pointing blame as there are actors present on the stage. *Everyone Loses*

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The policies adopted in the aftermath of the Cold War did not do justice to the visions of hope that swept across the world following the collapse of the Soviet Union, but instead remained true—internally and mechanically—to those implemented during the Cold War.
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acknowledges the arguments from all sides: the neo-imperial ambitions of Russian president Vladimir Putin, the heedless blundering of the United States, and the microhistory of Ukraine and its regions. But while parsing these perspectives, the authors also engage with the dynamics that they see as undergirding all of them: the international policymaking process between the U.S., Europe, Russia, and the former Soviet states over the course of the past quarter century. By focusing on *how* the crisis occurred, instead of retrospectively fitting events into a predetermined explanation of *why* the crisis occurred, *Everyone Loses* offers a model approach to writing political history in contentious times.

In their examination of the political history leading up to the breakout of hostilities in Ukraine, the authors find that the stability of broader Europe was not so much undermined or sabotaged as it was squandered by missed opportunities and carelessness. They arrive at this central conclusion: “Russia and the West implemented policies toward the states of post-Soviet Eurasia that aimed to extract gains at the other side’s expense, without regard for overlapping or shared interests.” An outcome in which everyone loses is guaranteed by policies in which gains are achieved only at another’s expense. The policies adopted in the aftermath of the Cold War did not do justice to the visions of hope that swept across the world following the collapse of the Soviet Union, but instead remained true—internally and mechanically—to those implemented during the Cold War. Neither side had “invested serious effort in the task of outlining or even contemplating a cooperative

regional order that all parties could accept.” Indeed, “constructive, considered policy and actions in this region were the exception, not the norm, for all sides.”

Charap and Colton bring considerable expertise and historical scholarship to bear on the mechanics of policymaking in this period. In a fascinating section, *Everyone Loses* explores how European Union and NATO expansion unfolded on the basis of a “pre-fab” institutional logic. Instead of fundamentally rewriting the rules of membership to reflect a new era, the Europeanization of the states east of Germany continued apace using the very same political mechanisms put in place when the European Union project began. This rigid approach is just one of the many factors that would lead to incompatibility, tension, and ultimately crisis among the radically different states that emerged in the wake of the Cold War order.

The authors offer insightful analysis of a range of thorny issues, including the expansion of NATO, the lack of thinking about how Russia could be integrated into the Euro-Atlantic world, and Russia’s brusque and brutal treatment of the former Soviet states. Specific events and policies, such as the U.S. withdrawal from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) in 2001 and Russia’s invasion of Georgia in 2008, are treated with balance and care. This study takes the necessary step of dispassionately analyzing—while treading carefully—the history of the past twenty-five years to understand what went wrong. We should take heed of the lessons *Everyone Loses* provides. As the authors conclude, “One cold war was enough.” ■

NOTABLE EVENTS



At the Cultural Services of the French Embassy in New York City on February 9, French Legion of Honor recipient Vartan Gregorian is surrounded by admiring Carnegie Corporation colleagues (l-r) Celeste Ford, Jeanne D’Onofrio, Camilla Somers, and Greta Essig. PHOTO: JENNIFER S. ALTMAN



A white board shows the results from one of several brainstorming sessions conducted as part of a mid-March convening of 60 science and education professionals from across the U.S. The Corporation’s Education Program convened the meeting at the foundation’s headquarters in Manhattan where participants spent two days in workshops aimed at understanding how to accelerate the nationwide implementation of the Next Generation Science Standards (NGSS).

France Honors President Vartan Gregorian with Its Premier Award

On February 9, Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, was awarded the medal of Chevalier of the French Legion of Honor at a ceremony in New York City. The French ambassador to the United States, Gérard Araud, presented the insignia to Gregorian in recognition of his three-decade effort to strengthen Franco-American relations, advance links between French and American institutions of higher education, and promote the study of French culture and language. “Vartan Gregorian is a visionary and a living example of the modern man of letters, for whom education and knowledge is the key to opportunity and peace,” said Ambassador Araud. “It is through cultural exchanges and by opening new pathways of cooperation that we promote understanding in the world. Vartan Gregorian has been a true partner in our advancement of dual language education in public schools. His love for the French language and culture has been a pleasure to discover.”

“I owe much to France and to French culture because they provided the foundation for my formal education,” said Gregorian. “Throughout my youth and career, the ideals of the Enlightenment and the legacy of the French Revolution—liberté, égalité, fraternité—have been sources of inspiration for me.”

Leveraging All Expertise: NGSS at Carnegie

Next Generation Science Standards are in demand. As of spring 2017, 18 states plus the District of Columbia have adopted the NGSS, and 15 states have adapted their science standards to meet the expectations of the NGSS.

The result is a growing demand for high-quality instructional materials that are aligned with the standards and for professional learning opportunities to help teachers implement them successfully. These are two primary challenges that Carnegie Corporation of New York’s Education Program aimed to address through a two-day convening of science and education professionals on March 16–17.

Other goals range from the establishment of a baseline understanding of current efforts to support the NGSS, to the prioritization of opportunities for accelerating implementation of near-term and long-term actions and recommendations that could provide a road map for the future. Because the second day of the convening fell on St. Patrick’s Day, participants contributed limericks that helped sum up the work at hand, including this one:

*Our children are born with curiosity,
Their brains, they have porosity.
Now we endeavor
To work together,
So to reveal their precocity.*



The World Smarts STEM Challenge promotes student interest in science, technology, engineering, and math (aka STEM). Teams of teens in the Washington, D.C., area partnered with Ghanaian peers to solve real-world problems. Here, a member of Team McKWiny—the name combines McKinley Technology High School in D.C. and Winneba Senior High School in Ghana—addresses fellow finalists, teachers, staff, and guests at Carnegie Corporation of New York headquarters on March 20. PHOTO: CELESTE FORD



The Carnegie Forum panel on populism included (l–r) Pippa Norris, Roger Cohen, and moderator Michael Scherer. For Harvard’s Norris, today’s cultural shift echoes the conflicts of the 1960s when progressive attitudes began to impact affluent societies. Today’s populists are exploiting both a generation gap and an education gap, said Norris. “They appeal to this dissatisfaction with the amount of change, saying ‘We can take you back.’” PHOTO: ANDREW KIST

Science-Loving Teens from U.S. and Ghana Team Up, Geek Out

“We are all very thrilled to have you here and to learn more about all the truly innovative and highly collaborative projects you have been working on,” said Ambika Kapur, program officer for education at Carnegie Corporation of New York. Kapur was welcoming the three teams of finalists of the IREX World Smarts STEM Challenge to corporation headquarters on March 20.

Supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York, the World Smarts STEM Challenge is an exchange initiative that pairs high school students and teachers from Washington, D.C., and Ghana on collaborative teams tasked with creating STEM solutions to global problems. This year, teams addressed challenges of hazardous waste and energy use by combining STEM with “21st-century skills like problem solving, innovation, and cross-cultural communication.” The Grand Prize went to team Big Bang ... Brains of the World! NPR’s Goats and Soda described the winning device: “The students had filled ice trays with soil, added copper wire that was coiled around zinc-plated nails and then poured lemon juice on top. Their battery produced enough voltage to light an LED.” As one judge put it, “The winning soil battery demystifies energy production and storage at a time when battery storage is evolving faster than ever.”

Carnegie Forum: A Populist Revolt?

Donald Trump rode into the White House, in part, on a wave of populism—a political promise to represent the people against the elites. While populism hit American shores with a dramatic force that left many people stunned, it is a broader phenomenon—one that had already rocked Britain with the Brexit vote and continues to fuel far-right movements in other European countries. To begin grappling with these world-changing forces, Carnegie Corporation of New York and *Time* magazine hosted a forum—A Populist Revolt? The Transformation of the World Order in the Trump Era—on February 7 at the Corporation’s New York headquarters.

Michael Scherer, *Time*’s Washington bureau chief, moderated the panel, which included Ian Bremmer, founder of Eurasia Group, a global political risk research and consulting firm; Roger Cohen, an international affairs columnist for the *New York Times*; and Pippa Norris, a political scientist at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government. Discussion was lively, with Cohen asserting that “authoritarian systems and populism seem for the moment to have the upper hand.” Countering the general air of pessimism, Ian Bremmer maintained that “political institutions in the United States are strong enough to withstand the worst impulses of rising populism.” ■

FROM THE **ARCHIVES**



The Carnegie “Pegasus” Medal

“On December 19, 1933, the President of the Corporation was authorized to negotiate with Mr. Manship as to designing a medallion for presentation to individuals making significant contributions to the work of the Corporation outside of their own principal fields of interest.” The bronze medal has been enlarged here (the actual medal measures four inches in diameter and is about a quarter inch thick). It is signed “Manship 1934.” The reverse of the medal (right) is embossed with an open scroll above the lamp of knowledge; around the design in raised letters is the inscription, “Presented by the Carnegie Corporation.” The medals cost \$5.50 each, and the presentation cases (black with dark red lining) were \$1.95 each. There was an additional charge of 6¢ a letter for engraving the name of the recipient. Copyright was obtained on February 9, 1935. THE CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK RECORDS, RARE BOOK & MANUSCRIPT LIBRARY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY | PHOTOS: DOUG HOLT



Pegasus Takes Flight at Carnegie

Embracing Art Deco

Paulanship enjoyed a hugely successful career—and even designed a handsome ashtray for Carnegie Corporation

By **Lee Michael Katz**

Grab a visitors' guide at the Smithsonian American Art Museum in Washington, D.C., this spring and you will see a Paulanship statue gracing the cover. Inside, another reference ("from medals to Paulanship") points out Carnegie Corporation-commissioned designs and other works by the American sculptor in the museum, the nation's first collection of American art.

Born in Saint Paul, Minnesota, Manship (1885–1966) is considered the greatest American exponent of the Art Deco style, rising to prominence in the 1920s and '30s. A sculptor as well as an outstanding medalist, he designed two works for Carnegie Corporation of New York—a bronze "Pegasus" medallion and a bronze ashtray also featuring Pegasus. These works are held by the Smithsonian and other prominent museums (a "Pegasus" medal is part of the collections of the Victoria & Albert Museum in London). Manship's Pegasus design

has become so iconic at Carnegie that it was chosen as the seal—featuring the mythical winged horse and an inscription ("Knowledge & Understanding") highlighting the foundation's core values—for the Corporation's 2011 Centennial celebrations.

But in researching Manship's life, yet another Carnegie connection stands out. Although the artist built his fortune in creative work quite different from that of industrialist Andrew Carnegie, both men shared similar values—values that have preserved their legacies and guaranteed their lasting renown.

"They believed in the power of the arts to inspire and transform and lift people up," explains art historian Rebecca Reynolds, who leads a program to preserve Manship's legacy. "That was true of Carnegie. It was also true of Manship."

Vitality, Rhythm, Emotion

Like Andrew Carnegie, Paulanship rose from rather humble beginnings to great prominence in his field. He was so esteemed in the art world that the important French-born American sculptor Gaston Lachaise settled in New York to work as Manship's assistant. In his heyday "he was one of the best-known international artists in the early 20th century," declares Reynolds. "I mean really comparable to Picasso. Everyone knew him. He had studios in Paris, London, Naples, Milan, Tuscany, and New York."

Manship became known for his elegantly expressive figures and sleekly detailed forms. "I like to express movement in my figures. It's a fascinating problem which I'm always trying to solve," he said. However, Manship was not particularly interested in anatomy. He studied it, of course, but explained that "although I approve generally of normally correct proportions, what matters is the spirit which the artist puts into his creation—the vitality, the rhythm, the emotional effect."

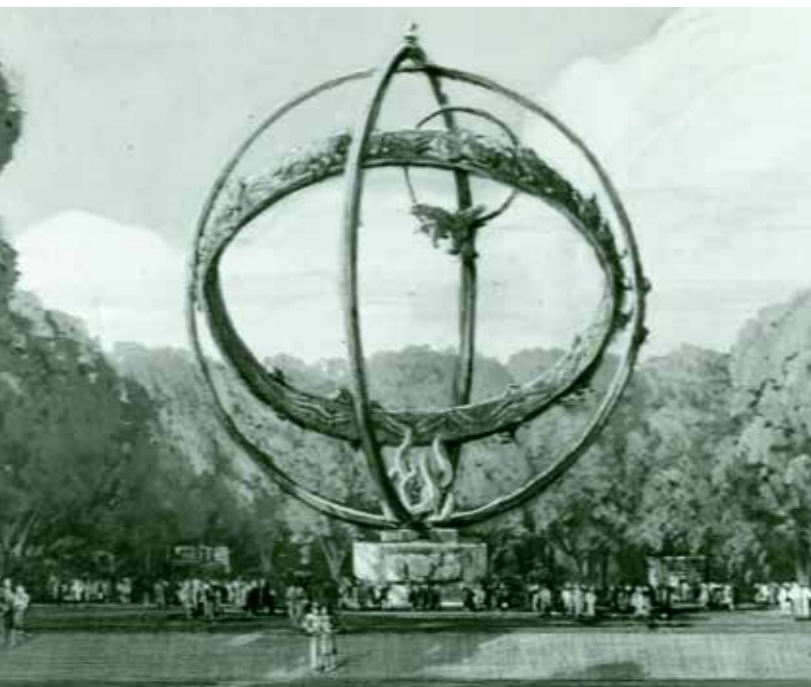
Manship won high-profile commissions from the early 1900s through the Art Deco era and well into the 1960s.

Today, Manship's graceful sculptures can be found in museums and public spaces throughout the world, from

the stylishly Art Deco bronzes, executed in 1923, of Diana and Actaeon held by the Carnegie Museum of Art in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to the monumental celestial sphere created as a memorial to Woodrow Wilson, which was installed in the park of the Palais des Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1939.

Manship's artistry is on view in museum galleries and the entrance halls of grand buildings and private residences. "He was prolific. He is all over New York and around the country," notes Reynolds. Manship's public work ranges from the ornate bronze gates of the Bronx Zoo to the signature sculpture on Theodore Roosevelt Island, a "living memorial" to America's 29th president situated in the Potomac River just outside of Washington, D.C. Interestingly, Manship's original proposal of an enormous armillary sphere as a central feature of the Roosevelt Island memorial plaza was not popular with critics or the public, so he reworked it to a large statue of the president. The larger-than-life-sized statue of Roosevelt with one arm raised in "characteristic speaking pose" was approved and forms part of the architectural memorial surrounded by a restored natural landscape—a fitting tribute to the man known as the "Great Conservationist."

Manship is also the creator of one of the world's most famous outdoor sculpture installations—happily only a



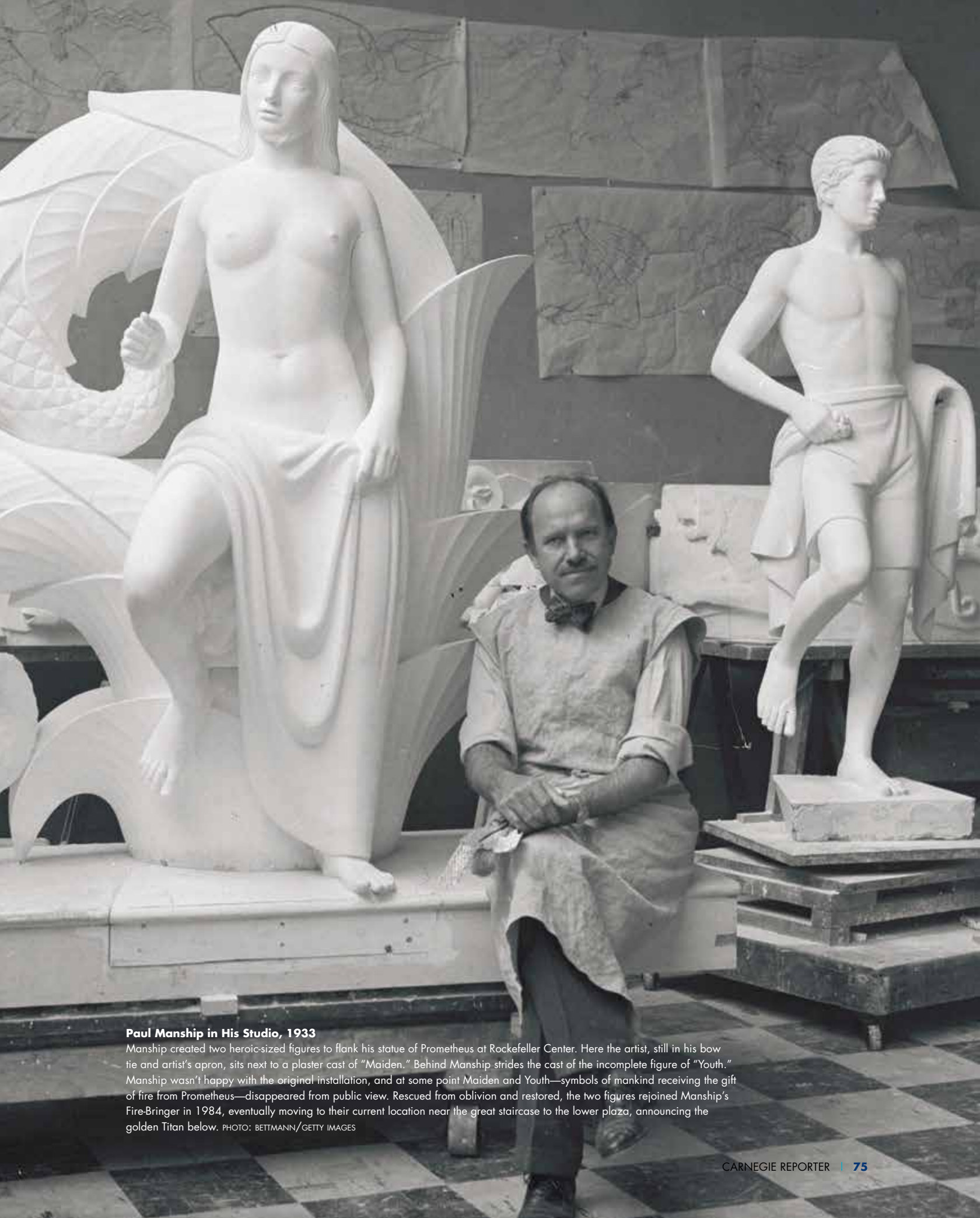
Proposal for Theodore Roosevelt Island

Paul Manship proposed an enormous armillary sphere as a central feature of the island's memorial plaza. It was not popular with critics or the public, and he changed his proposal to a large statue of Roosevelt. PHOTO: NATIONAL PARK SERVICE



Celestial Sphere: A Symbol of Hope and Hospitality

The gardens of the Palais des Nations in Geneva, Switzerland, contain a large collection of important sculptures, including Manship's huge celestial sphere, which was commissioned as a memorial to Woodrow Wilson, America's 28th president and the founding father of the League of Nations. Installed in 1939, the sphere was originally motorized, designed "so that it would rotate slowly," and it was intended to be illuminated at night. Today the Palais des Nations serves as the European headquarters of the United Nations. PHOTO: DE AGOSTINI/A. VERGANI/GETTY IMAGES



Paul Manship in His Studio, 1933

Manship created two heroic-sized figures to flank his statue of Prometheus at Rockefeller Center. Here the artist, still in his bow tie and artist's apron, sits next to a plaster cast of "Maiden." Behind Manship strides the cast of the incomplete figure of "Youth." Manship wasn't happy with the original installation, and at some point Maiden and Youth—symbols of mankind receiving the gift of fire from Prometheus—disappeared from public view. Rescued from oblivion and restored, the two figures rejoined Manship's Fire-Bringer in 1984, eventually moving to their current location near the great staircase to the lower plaza, announcing the golden Titan below. PHOTO: BETTMANN/GETTY IMAGES



Always the Height of Fashion

The taste for Art Deco style may wax and wane at the auction house, but the titanic Prometheus at Rockefeller Center has drawn photographers—from tourists snapping away to wedding photographers to (as here) great artists like George Hoyningen-Huene—from the moment Paul Manship's masterpiece was unveiled on the Lower Plaza in 1934. The Russian-born Hoyningen-Huene (1900–1968) began working for *Vogue* in 1925 and soon became their chief fashion photographer, active on both sides of the Atlantic. For this 1934 *Vogue* shoot, Hoyningen-Huene has captured his model in a classic ensemble of "swagger topcoat and sports frock." PHOTO: CONDÉ NAST VIA GETTY IMAGES

brief stroll from Carnegie Corporation's headquarters in New York City. Throughout the year, throngs of visitors from all over the world admire the famous Rockefeller Center fountain featuring Manship's Prometheus statue (in the winter season they ice skate beneath the glittering god's outstretched arms). One of many Manship works inspired by Greek mythology, the golden form of Prometheus is instantly recognizable. Manship's masterpiece is said to be the most-photographed monumental sculpture in all of New York City. The artist's theme is carved in the red granite wall behind Prometheus, taken from the ancient Greek dramatist Aeschylus: "Prometheus, Teacher in Every Art, Brought the Fire That Hath Proved to Mortals a Means to Mighty Ends."

"He's the kind of artist where you don't know his name, but you know his work," notes Thayer Tolles, Marica F. Vilcek Curator of American Paintings and Sculpture at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, where more than a dozen works by Manship are currently on display in the American Wing.

His influence extends well beyond the Metropolitan or Smithsonian museums, with expert Tolles "pretty sure Manship is represented in almost every major collection of American art."

Art Deco Meets Ancient Mythology

For many, the term Art Deco might conjure up pictures of historic buildings in Miami's colorful South Beach, and it often comes up in reference to Manship's work. However, Susan Rather, author of *Archaism, Modernism, and the Art of Paul Manship*, views him as a "precursor" to Art Deco. Manship's special genius? Adding a modern twist to ancient forms.

Manship's interest in mythology was fueled by his studies at the American Academy in Rome and also by an extended field trip to Greece. Rather explains: "What made Manship's sculpture stand out at the start of his professional career, after his return from the Academy in 1913, was the way he invigorated classical figurative traditions by drawing on the stylizations of archaic (pre-classical) Greek sculpture and vase painting."

According to Rebecca Reynolds, early in his career Manship submitted a proposal for a statue to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He was turned down, but still his work was considered impressive—so much so that he was sent \$100 and was encouraged to try again.

In 1927 Manship designed a bronze ashtray for Carnegie Corporation of New York, not that unusual a commission for an accomplished sculptor in a period when smoking was often depicted in popular culture as the height of sophistication. The dangers of smoking were not then

well known; this handsome example of utilitarian metalwork—Pegasus rearing in relief—bears the inscription: "For the Advancement and Diffusion of Knowledge and Understanding."

Pegasus, the winged horse of Greek mythology, was an important inspiration for Manship, as it has been for many modern artists, especially those steeped in the classical tradition, and it is central to the artist's work for Carnegie Corporation. For Manship expert Reynolds, "the basic message really has to do with imagination, inspiration, and fame. That's really what it is all about." With Pegasus, Manship's imagination took flight.

Art historians cite Manship's attention to detail in the Carnegie pieces. Even the treatment of the ashtray's inscription is distinctive in its hand lettering, according to Karen Lemmey, curator of sculpture at the Smithsonian American Art Museum. "In the word *Corporation*, the *C* embraces the *o*," Lemmey says. "That's his mastery." She elaborates: "What is remarkable is that Manship was able to hold himself to a standard of design no matter what he was making, whether it was something enormous," or something as small as a medal "designed to be held in your hand."

Seven years later, Corporation records reveal that Manship was paid an honorarium of \$1,500 for work on the bronze "Pegasus" medallion, a tidy sum during the Depression. Manship's commission was well earned; he utilized virtually the entire surface of the medal. Says Lemmey, "I just love the way the composition comes to the very edge of the field of the medal, the tips of the wings of Pegasus." This "compressed sculpture" almost seems to burst the boundaries of the medal itself.

While Manship's technical skills are manifest in the Carnegie pieces, a further message might be read into the Corporation medallion, which depicts the mastering of Pegasus by the Greek hero Bellerophon. "If you think just about Carnegie himself," says Rebecca Reynolds, "he was really somebody who achieved greatness and mastered so many things. I think the medal represents achievement and deserved fame." Both Carnegie and Manship enjoyed happier fates than did Bellerophon, the slayer of the Chimera, the mythical fire-eating monster. As Corporation records note, Bellerophon "later perished in an attempt to scale heaven on Pegasus."

The Carnegie medallion was to be given "to individuals making significant contributions to the work of the Corporation outside their own principal fields of interest." The dies for the medallions were cut by the Medallie Art Company, 210 East 51st Street, New York, at a cost of \$375.00. On May 20, 1936, approval was given for distribution of medals to 47 individuals, including Elihu Root, the distinguished American statesman, winner



Man's Fate

For the 1939 New York World's Fair, Paul Manship created a 50-foot sundial, "the largest in the world," furnishing "one of the principal artistic effects on the mile-long Central Mall." The entire ensemble was titled "Time and the Fates of Man." The sundial was supported by the trees of life in the shade of which the Three Fates worked out the destiny of mankind. The figure denoting The Future, on the right in this photograph, holds the distaff, and passes the Thread of Life to the woman portraying The Present behind her. The Present in turn shuffles the thread to The Past (not visible here), who is busily engaged in snipping off the thread while the crow looks on. Behind the silhouetted figures looms the Fair's famous Perisphere. PHOTO: © PETER CAMPBELL/CORBIS/CORBIS VIA GETTY IMAGES

of the Nobel Peace Prize (1912), and second president of Carnegie Corporation of New York (1919–20). The best-selling author and pioneering social activist Dorothy Canfield Fisher was one of the very few women honored with an example of Manship's superb medallic art.

Manship's Pegasus design lives on in the American Library Association's Andrew Carnegie Medals for Excellence in Fiction and Nonfiction, established in 2012 and supported by the Corporation. "It seems to fit thematically as well as being a striking medal," explains Bill Ott, an editor and publisher for the ALA. And even in the age of new media, Manship's craftsmanship remains relevant. "It looks great in digital form," notes Ott of Manship's dynamic composition.

Lasting Legacies

Both hailing from modest backgrounds, Andrew Carnegie and Paul Manship shared a number of traits, including a dedication to entrepreneurship, a solid work ethic, a sense of committed citizenship, and a devotion to philanthropic endeavors.

Like Carnegie (obviously), Manship had a head for business. Even when out of favor with the critics and as abstract art began to take hold, he won commissions. "Not only was he a good artist. He was a good businessman. Most of them are not," notes art historian Reynolds. And while Carnegie would have admired Manship the shrewd businessman, he would have been even more pleased that such a highly

regarded artist was chosen to design the Pegasus medal. “Carnegie would have cared very much for the cause for which the medal was awarded and he would have wanted the best artist to design it,” says Louise Lippincott, curator of fine arts at the Carnegie Museum of Art. “He did make it clear that American art was important.”

And like Carnegie, although on a much smaller scale, Manship gave back, donating both his time and his works. For one, he served as president of the National Sculpture Society, whose current executive director, Gwen Pier, terms Manship “a remarkable human being. He was so involved. It was a total immersion in the arts community.” Among his many other public efforts, Manship served on the board of the Smithsonian Institution’s Fine Arts Commission.

“There’s a certain part of him invested in service to public institutions, public life, protecting the arts,” notes the Smithsonian’s Lemmey. After the artist’s death, his estate donated large collections of his work to the Smithsonian American Art Museum and the Minnesota Museum of American Art in his home state (the Smithsonian alone holds nearly 500 objects related to Manship). “He had a different capacity to give than Carnegie, to be sure,” Lemmey observes. But “there is a shared sensibility. What is most valuable to an artist is his art work.” And Manship bequeathed his work to institutions that are open to the public.

The last major exhibition of Manship’s work at The Metropolitan Museum of Art was in 1991. Yet “there’s an enormous appetite for his work,” says Met curator Thayer Tolles. In fact, she believes that another Manship exhibition is a real possibility. “I certainly think his time is due.”

At Pittsburgh’s Carnegie museum, Manship’s work remains popular today. “People just love it,” reports Lippincott. But Manship’s public appeal can make a curator nervous. “Of course that means that they want to touch it a lot—because the surfaces are so lovely,” she points out. “We try to discourage that.”

In Gloucester, Massachusetts, Rebecca Reynolds is keeping the sculptor’s legacy alive with the Manship Artists Residency and Studios program, working with his heirs to bring promising artists to Cape Ann, where Manship had developed his own summer artist retreat on the 15-acre site of two former granite quarries.

The son of a clerk, Manship neglected his studies to practice his art, turning to sculpture upon discovering that he was colorblind. He landed in Italy after winning the prestigious Prix de Rome in his mid-20s, and would eventually rise to create inaugural medals for Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy. While Manship’s early years were by far more comfortable than Carnegie’s, both men soared to heights that could hardly have been imagined at their births.

“They’re both examples of the American dream, that’s for sure,” declares Reynolds. ■

When Cigarettes Were Sublime

In the public mind, “Art Deco” and “Paul Manship” are practically synonymous. But in fact throughout his long career, Manship was influenced by a rich and divergent array of artistic influences. This bronze ashtray, created by the dedicated cigar smoker for Carnegie Corporation in 1927, combines a dynamically streamlined modernism with hand-lettering that seems to harken back to the American Arts & Crafts movement, which would have been all the rage when Manship was a young man. His ashtrays, small sculptures really, have been described by one expert as “deftly modeled . . . created for the sheer joy of modeling.” Manship’s Zodiac Series of 12 ashtrays appeared in 1946. PHOTO: SMITHSONIAN AMERICAN ART MUSEUM, WASHINGTON, D.C.



Contributors

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CREDITS

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The views, conclusions, and interpretations expressed in the *Carnegie Reporter* are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of Carnegie Corporation of New York, or those of the Corporation's staff, officers, trustees, partner organizations, or grantees.



On November 8, 2016, Pizza to the Polls founder Scott Duncombe (on the right) fist bumps Paul Mongeau for having already done his civic duty (that is, voted). Duncombe was part of a team working to get the vote out at Arizona State University in Tempe on Election Day. See "Make It Weird" (pp. 50–59).

PHOTO: DAVID JOLKOVSKI

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Paul Manship's statue of Prometheus, Rockefeller Center, New York City

PHOTO: MYLOUPE/UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP VIA GETTY IMAGES

See "Embracing Art Deco: Pegasus Takes Flight at Carnegie" (pp. 72-79)

