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CARNEGIE Reporter

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For Public Media?**

**The Impact of
Data on Education**

Peace in Our Time?

*From the
Congregation to
the Corporation:* **African
AMERICAN**
Philanthropy on the Rise

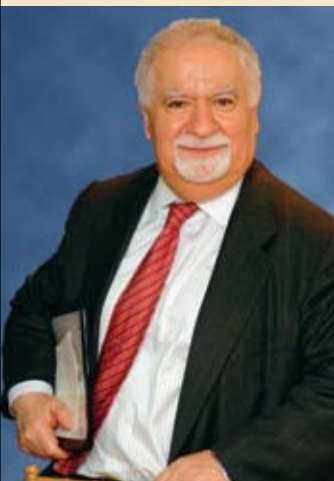


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A Letter from the PRESIDENT

In January 2007 and more recently, January 2008, four prominent and experienced statesmen—Henry Kissinger, former National Security Advisor and Secretary of State under Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford; William J. Perry, former Secretary of Defense under President Bill Clinton; George P. Schultz, former Secretary of the Treasury and Secretary of State under Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan; and former Senator Sam Nunn who served as Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, a bipartisan quartet of individuals with impeccable and impressive credentials as “Cold Warriors”—wrote two extraordinary essays for *The Wall Street Journal** that called for immediate and urgent attention to be paid to the fact that, as they noted, “the world is now on the precipice of a new and dangerous nuclear era.”

Summing up how we had come to this tipping point, Kissinger, Perry, Schultz and Nunn wrote, in 2007, “Nuclear weapons were essential to maintaining international security during the Cold War because they were a means of deterrence...But reliance on nuclear weapons for this purpose is becoming increasingly hazardous and decreasingly effective.” In 2008, expounding on the global spread of nuclear weapons, a force no longer restrained by the boundaries of the mutually assured destruction doctrine, they wrote that today, “We face a very real possibility that the deadliest weapons ever invented could fall into dangerous hands.” In that connection, it is sobering to think that in the more than sixty years since the first nuclear weapon was exploded (an occasion that moved one of its developers, Robert Oppenheimer, to famously admit that the sight made him think of the lines from the *Bhagavad-Gita*, ““Now I am become death, the destroyer of worlds”), the threat to humanity from nuclear weapons has not only resisted containment but rather morphed into new forms. Indeed, the list of those whose nuclear capabilities we must now be concerned about includes more than the traditional “nuclear weapons states” comprising the U.S., Russia, the United Kingdom, China, and France, along with India, Pakistan and North Korea, which have conducted nuclear weapons tests—as well as Israel, which is widely presumed to have nuclear weapons—but those with more recent local, regional or even international nuclear ambitions such as “non-state actors,” most alarmingly, terrorists; potential “rogue states”; and messianic groups expecting the end of the world (and perhaps not opposed to hastening it). There is also continuing concern on the part of the U.S., the European Union, China and Russia about Iran’s intentions and progress toward building a nuclear weapon.

Nuclear dangers abound on many fronts. Some quick snapshots: all told, there are currently nuclear weapons materials in more than 40 countries, some, as Sam Nunn noted in a 2007 speech, “secured by nothing more than a chain link fence.” In the U.S., there have been incidents such as one where nuclear warheads were mistakenly loaded onto an airplane and not reported missing for many hours; in Russia, weapons- and reactor-grade nuclear materials have disappeared from the country’s atomic facilities; and Abdul Qadeer Khan, the father of Pakistan’s nuclear bomb, is reported to have sold his country’s nuclear secrets, helping to increase the proliferation of nuclear technology on a wide scale.

These and other related issues were the focus of a February 2008 international conference in Oslo on “Achieving the Vision of a

World Free of Nuclear Weapons.” The gathering was convened by the Government of Norway in cooperation with the Nuclear Threat Initiative (a nonprofit organization focused on “developing and implementing projects...to reduce the dangers from nuclear, biological and chemical weapons,” which is co-chaired by Sam Nunn and philanthropist Ted Turner and is a Corporation grantee) and Stanford University’s Hoover Institution and attended by over 100 international representatives. Much discussion centered on what is one of the most basic conundrums of the nuclear age: despite the many treaties aimed at limiting—and even reducing—the world’s stockpile of nuclear weapons including the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, SALT I and II, and START I and II, progress toward this end has been disappointing, a conclusion shared by the foreign ministers of Australia, Chile, Indonesia, Norway, Romania, South Africa and the United Kingdom who, just a few years ago, issued a declaration calling for strengthening adherence to nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament agreements. Nevertheless, roughly 27,000 nuclear warheads remain in the arsenals of the nine states that are known to have produced weapons-grade fissile materials (with 95 percent of this material controlled by the U.S. and the Russian Federation). These stockpiles do not seem to prevent the nuclear powers from admonishing the rest of the world to refrain from joining the nuclear club—or be subject to possible sanctions—a situation that Sam Nunn has described as telling people not to smoke while you have a cigarette dangling from your mouth. This is a policy that has already failed, in part because the nuclear powers have reneged on the promise of their various treaties which, after all, were supposed to be temporary measures, meant to keep the genie in the bottle while complete disarmament was the goal down the road. If we are still journeying toward that goal, it only seems to be getting further and further away.

An additional problem is the question of nuclear fuel. In a world hungry for energy, nuclear fuel may be a necessity, but there is always the danger that the technology for creating nuclear fuel will be channeled into weapons development. One solution that has been proposed—prompted, in part, by Iran’s insistence on its right to enrich uranium as part of its plan to develop a nuclear fuel program—is the creation of an international “nuclear fuel bank,” run by the International Atomic Energy Commission, that countries could draw from rather than setting up their own program. Through the Nuclear Threat Initiative, billionaire investor and philanthropist Warren Buffett has pledged \$50 million to the effort; the U.S. has contributed \$50 million and Norway, which gave \$5 million, plans to lead the effort to raise the rest of the funding needed.

In 1986, President Ronald Reagan—who said that he wanted to make nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete”—and Soviet Union leader Mikhail Gorbachev met in Reykjavik, Iceland, to discuss the elimination of ballistic missiles and, to the surprise of their aides, the possibility of banning nuclear weapons. It was a summit that failed in the short term but one that many believe still serves as a shining, symbolic moment in time when the leaders of the world’s two greatest nuclear powers nearly agreed on the complete elimination of nuclear weapons. It took great courage to even approach such a pivot point, and I believe the fact that it almost happened means that it *can* happen, but it will take men and women of vision and commitment to release the world from its nuclear chains. In 2008, in Oslo, there was urgency in the air and hope in every handshake that the shining moment will come again and this time, we must be ready to turn that opportunity into the reality of a world free of nuclear weapons.

Vartan Gregorian

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President*

* “A World Free of Nuclear Weapons,” *The Wall Street Journal*, January 4, 2007 and “Toward a Nuclear-Free World,” *The Wall Street Journal*, January 15, 2008.

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A Note About the *Carnegie Reporter*

When we created the Carnegie Reporter in 2000, a follow up to the much-respected Carnegie Quarterly, which was begun in 1953, we wanted it to be a magazine that was a hub for ideas. It was not planned as a public relations vehicle for Carnegie Corporation grantees, or as a magazine that would tout the Corporation's story. It was, however, a place where foundations, nonprofit leaders, scholars and journalists would find philanthropic strategies examined and shared.

I think this current edition features both ideas and strategies that are hard to find elsewhere. For example, after years of supporting academic research focused on states at risk, the outcome and testing of that research is revealed in Karen Theroux's story on the Peacebuilding Commission: "Peace in Our Time?" A UN agency that steps in when the troops leave, it is an institution with promise but with no easy path ahead. Data-driven decision making is one of the levers of change for the Corporation's National Program and in Lucy Hood's story on "The Impact of Data on Education," she reveals, dramatically, how data can bring about real change in education. PBS celebrated its 40th anniversary in 2007 and the Corporation convened national and local leaders to assess the challenges and opportunities that the digital world poses for public broadcasting. ideastream, a nonprofit, multiple media organization based in Cleveland and its public broadcasting outlets, have been experimenting with the future and in his story, "ideastream and Public Media," writer Michael Zuckerman takes us there! Since the Corporation created the Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy in 2001, we have been exploring new trends in philanthropy in the U.S. and abroad. Veteran journalist Ponchita Pierce examines the growth of African American philanthropy in her story, "African American Philanthropy: A Deep-Rooted Tradition Continues to Grow" and Judith Dobrzynski follows up her story on international philanthropy in the Fall 2007 issue of the Reporter with an article focusing on the fast-growing world of giving in China. Our "Back Page" essay is by Admiral William A. Owens, who is just retiring from the Corporation's Board of Trustees and now works and lives in China; he brings us a unique view of the U.S.-China relationship in a piece he calls "The New Commons."

Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, always says that needs don't attract philanthropic support—ideas do. We want to share with you the ideas that have excited us: ideas that have real impact.

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



ideastream:

The New “Public Media”

by M.J. ZUCKERMAN

In Cleveland, a partnership between a public radio and public television station may be one model for the future of American public media.

A short walk from the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and not far from “The Jake,” home of the Cleveland Indians, there’s a curious 95-year-old seven-story building—originally a fashionable furniture showroom—which, recently renovated, is the home of ideastream, a re-invention of public broadcasting that is generating a digital pulse of media excitement in the surrounding communities while, nationally, attracting curiosity and some downright envious stares.

An engagingly open structure, with more than 80 feet of windows on the avenue enticing passersby to peer in on live broadcast operations and dance studio rehearsals, the building is the physi-

cal manifestation of an elegantly simple concept. This is the vision of two media veterans who placed the mission ahead of all other interests to create an organization whose work is rippling outward into the education community, rejuvenating real estate development, bringing at least a thousand jobs to downtown, increasing public access to government and the arts, providing a center for performing artists to train and exchange ideas, giving rise to a hip tech neighborhood and convening public debate about American ideals.

And those are just the bonuses, the add-on benefits. Originally, when this all began about 10 years ago, the goal was



Jerry Wareham and Kit Jensen
of ideastream

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to define a sustaining purpose for public broadcasting in Cleveland. The underlying concept was to merge the resources of public television and public radio. And then things kept percolating. By most accounts, ideastream has not only succeeded in defining a sustaining purpose for public broadcasting in Cleveland, but also demonstrated enduring potential as a hybrid: public media.

Along the way, ideastream's founders struck upon what more than a few leaders in the industry see as one of the most robust models for the future: A multiple media public service organization operating on broadband and built on two critical principles: 1) a commitment to the mission of "strengthening our communities," which is realized by 2) placing the values of partnership ahead of any desire for control.

If this sounds simple, it isn't. Even if you are deeply versed in the pervasive challenges facing public radio and public television, there is likely to be an "Aha!" moment as you come to understand that Jerry Wareham and Kit Jensen—respectively, the CEO and COO of ideastream—have established a *raison d'être* for public television and public radio that transcends traditional notions of broadcast and simultaneously offers a model that could, in time, remedy what some have called "the flawed business model" of public broadcasting.

Wareham, formerly CEO of television station WVIZ, acknowledges that his "midwestern modesty" is an essential asset, keeping ideastream's partnerships free of control issues and, yet, it is also a quality that innately limits his ability to openly tout the accomplishments he has realized in concert with Jensen. He is the genial host and deal maker, she is the firewall and executor of planning.

Jensen, the former CEO at radio station WCPN, is a serious woman who chooses her words carefully and whose frontier, can-do spirit (she spent nearly

20 years in Alaska, building the state's first National Public Radio station, which for years broadcast the only statewide news content) has been instrumental in shaping ideastream. Jensen recalls arriving in Alaska in 1968 as a period ripe with potential, a time when the federal government was anxious to see Alaska's social, cultural and economic infrastructure developed in support of the oil pipeline to Prudhoe Bay. But she says it took "intentionality" to make the government's interests dovetail with the community's need for honest, broadcast information.

"I had this incredible opportunity to be there and be part of it, so my background is predisposed to possibilities and a little broader view of what broadcast could be and mean to a community," she says. "It was an exciting, and heady time."

She speaks similarly of her work with Wareham in creating ideastream and later overseeing the renovations of the building at 1375 Euclid Avenue, now known as the Idea Center. Though Jensen sees the development of ideastream as mostly the product of "really hard work," she also says, "I think a lot of it is making your own luck. Seeing things as they might be and asking: Why not? I think it's a matter of will, willing it to be and using every asset you can find to bring it about."

Initially, what Wareham and Jensen sought to accomplish, the merger of WVIZ and WCPN, was by itself no small management task. While each organization had outgrown its facilities and recognized the benefits of convergence, both in terms of technology and reducing costs through shared infrastructure and operations, they faced an uphill struggle in making their boards and staffs understand the value of surrendering separate, time-tested identities as traditional programmers and broadcasters to become a single, multiple-media

public service organization.

And, as they began to wrap their minds around the challenges inherent in such a merger, the tougher, bedrock issues emerged: lingering 20th century questions facing public broadcasting, made more critical by the digital era's costly rules of engagement:

■ Is public television still relevant in an era when 90 percent of American households are wired to receive 500 television channels, which in many cases deliver the type of content formerly available only from the Public Broadcasting System (PBS)?

■ How are PBS, NPR, their affiliates and sister organizations to produce competitive, quality programming when the business model for financing public broadcasting—dependence upon the whims of federal, corporate and philanthropic sponsors, supplemented by mind-numbing on-air fund drives—is showing signs of new structural defects and losses in audience?

The answer, in Cleveland, was to create a multiple-media center that is not only about more or better-targeted programming but also about becoming a resource for community interaction, providing a variety of traditional broadcast and extraordinary broadband-related services.

David Giovannoni, whose market analysis of public radio over the past 20 years is widely credited with shaping today's success at NPR, insists that it's a mistake to lump radio and television together. They are separate entities with their own strengths and failures. "There is no such thing as 'public broadcasting,'" he says. "There is public radio and there is public television, and then,

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arguably, there is something you could call public media.”

From the consumer’s perspective the merger is seamless. WCPN is still public radio and WVIZ is still public television. *Morning Edition* is there when folks awake and *All Things Considered* brings them home at night; *Sesame Street* inspires children’s learning and *The NewsHour* informs adults’ ideas. But when you talk to those who have worked with ideastream, they will tell you, again and again, that together, the two stations are doing much more than they could ever have done separately to serve their communities.

The media and technology here runs the gamut: obviously there is television and radio and, certainly, Internet, but also broadband delivering on-demand, digitally stored lesson plans, live accounts from the state legislature and the state supreme court, hi-tech classrooms to help educators learn cutting-edge software to engage their students and a truly stunning state-of-the-art theater adaptable for live performance and/or broadcast. They have done away with separate TV and radio staffs; there is no “newsroom.” Instead, they have merged into a single “content staff,” charged with finding new ways to embrace and engage various communities—defined with a broad brush as regions, ethnic groups, political interests, technologies, educators, health matters, families, children, religions, and so on—with a digital presence. That’s how you compete and remain relevant in a 500-channel environment.

Think of ideastream as a digital community center or a virtual YMCA, seeking to draw together the resources of “heritage institutions” (museums, theaters, colleges, libraries, medical centers, government agencies, etc.) and make them digitally available on-demand to patrons, clients and students. For these and other services

they develop, ideastream and its partners receive grants or are paid an operating fee by school districts, government agencies or philanthropies. This is still a not-for-profit organization, but one financed, sometimes directly, by the communities it serves. They call it a “sustainable service model.” Skeptics have called it “pay to play.”

Ideastream is certainly not the only PBS or NPR affiliate attempting these kinds of initiatives. Wareham and Jensen rattle off the call letters of many affiliates in cities large and small that have inspired, influenced and informed ideastream’s efforts. Many of the 355 PBS and 860 NPR stations are examining the benefits of mergers or partnerships, experimenting with new media, working with new ways to produce and distribute content, and becoming more interactive with their communities. Yet ideastream, for now, seems to be ahead of the crowd.

“What Jerry and Kit are doing in Cleveland may well be the model for what other stations should be doing,” says David Liroff, a widely recognized visionary of public media. “And they are not alone in this. They just have focused more clearly as a locus and catalyst and convener of civic discussion. And what is truly radical about them is that they mark such a departure from the traditional expectations of what the traditional public television and public radio model should be.”

Origins of Public Broadcasting

There seems little doubt that the original lofty goals set out for public broadcasting remain deeply woven into the character of the organization and the aspirations of its leaders. “On a sustaining basis no one is in the space that we’re in,” says Paula Kerger, President of the Public Broadcasting System. “At the end of the day, the commercial marketplace simply is not fulfilling what pub-

lic television originally set out to do, which was to use the power of media to entertain, educate and inspire. They [cable] sometimes entertain pretty well but they don’t always hit that educate and inspire part.”

While several of the 500 channels—“the vast wasteland” as former FCC Commissioner Newton Minow famously labeled television in 1961—have sought to produce high-minded programming, it rarely survives Wall Street’s demands for ever-increasing profits, which require large and loyal audiences, typically built on a formulaic “lowest common denominator” of public interests. Thus, A&E has lowered its once PBS-like standards and now provides prime-time staples such as *CSI Miami* while Bravo touts its lineup as: “Fashion, Comedy, Celebrity and Real Estate.”

Although commercial attempts at playing in the PBS marketplace have frequently fallen short, PBS itself, while true to its calling, struggles to maintain its viewership, with the commensurate loss of pledges those viewers provide. Add to that erosion in the financial support it previously enjoyed from business, foundations, governments and universities.

The New York Times wasn’t the first to question PBS’ future this past February, when it wrote a biting analysis beneath the headline “Is PBS Still Necessary?” According to the article, “Lately, the audience for public TV has been shrinking faster than the audience for commercial networks. The average PBS show on prime time now scores about a 1.4 Nielsen rating, or roughly what the wrestling show ‘Friday Night Smackdown’ gets.” Acknowledging the occasional “huge splash” from a Ken Burns special, the *Times* uses the term “mustiness” to describe PBS’s prime-time lineup, noting, “The *NewsHour*, *Nova*, *Nature*, *Masterpiece* [Theatre] are

into their third or fourth decade, and they look it.”

While PBS viewership has slipped from 5.1 million members in 1990 to 3.7 million in 2005, public radio scored dramatic gains in weekly audience, up from about 2 million in 1980 to

ence. And because the federal side of the ledger is light in a good year, the bulk of funding comes from subscribers, corporate sponsors, foundations and state and local government, with the balance coming from colleges, universities, auctions and other activities.

For 2005, the last year for which the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) has reported data, statistics reflect a one-year loss of 6.7 percent in business sponsorships, a 7.1 percent decrease in foundation support, a 3.9 percent cut by states, a 3.7 percent loss in federal grants and contracts, and a meager 0.3 percent rise in subscriber support.

Adding to the difficulty, each year since taking office, the Bush administration has sought to slash spending for public broadcasting operations, most recently seeking

a \$200 million slice of the \$400 million Congress approved for the FY2009 budget. Each year the faithful have rallied, successfully preserving the 10-to-20 percent federal share of the PBS and NPR budgets.

This financial dilemma is as old as public radio and public broadcasting in the U.S.. In January 1967, the landmark Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, created by Carnegie Corporation of New York, completed a two-year study, providing the blueprint for creating public television—to which Congress added, over some objections, public radio—and enacted the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967, creating CPB as the oversight mechanism which, in turn, created PBS in 1969, and NPR in 1970, as the national content producers and parent organizations for stations throughout the nation. Congress rejected the

Carnegie Commission’s proposal for a 2-to-5 percent excise tax on the sale of television sets—modeled on the British system for funding the BBC—to guarantee the unfettered, financial health of public broadcasting.

Ten years later, a second Carnegie Commission, often called Carnegie II, issued *A Public Trust: The Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting*, which sought, once again, to secure financial independence for media technology and a more forward looking purpose for public broadcasting.

Carnegie II recognized that new technologies were affecting the media and reinforcing the deeper questions, raised by visionaries such as Marshall McLuhan, regarding media’s influence on society, cultural values and democracy. Said the report, “This institution [public broadcasting], singularly positioned within the public debate, the creative and journalistic communities, and a technological horizon of uncertain consequences, is an absolutely indispensable tool for our people and our democracy.” Thus, Carnegie II sought to keep the door propped open to future technologies through a strong, independent financing mechanism, noting, “We conclude that it is unwise for us to attempt to chart the future course of public broadcasting as it continues to interact with new technologies. We are convinced, however, that it is essential for public broadcasting to have both the money and flexibility necessary to enable it to chart its own course as it responds to the future.”

That idea, too, went nowhere. Not surprising, suggest Liroff, a 28-year veteran of WGBH in Boston and currently Senior Vice President, System Development and Media Strategy at CPB. He says, “It was, to paraphrase McLuhan, as though we were speeding into the future at 90 miles per hour



GETTY IMAGES

Paula Kerger, President and CEO of PBS

nearly 30 million today. But NPR, too, is realizing significant losses, according to Giovannoni, whose market research is the gold standard of public radio.

There was a 6 percent decline in listeners to *All Things Considered* and *Morning Edition* between 2004 and 2005, Giovannoni’s research found. His most recent report, *Audience 2010*, which “set out to identify what is causing public radio’s loss of momentum” found that “our listeners are still listening to radio [but] increasingly not listening to us.”

Losses in popularity translate into lost revenues. While listeners and viewers who remain loyal have been willing to pay more in annual subscriptions or membership fees—on the PBS side, an average of \$55.04 per subscriber in 1990 rose to \$99.84 in 2005—the loss in market share has taken its toll as corporate sponsors follow the audi-

with our eyes firmly fixed on the rear-view mirror. The idea of public broadcasting pre-Internet, pre- any of these technologies, was going to be a manifestation of the broadcasting system they knew at the time, dominated, of course, by commercial broadcast.” He continues, “This question of what is the role of public broadcasting in the media environment is as relevant today as it was back then except that the answers have to be very different. This is hardly the environment in which this system [of media distribution] was first envisioned.”

Increasingly, there is appeal for public broadcasting to expand its traditional role, to grow their portfolios as ideastream has done in order “to provide new

the community,” he says.

Ward and others argue that public broadcasting has followed a flawed trickle-up business model: local public broadcasting stations must raise funds which they pay to NPR or PBS to produce programming. This has created enormous challenges, primarily for television where production costs are huge and viewership is decaying.

“The problem with the PBS stations is that they’ve never been able to contribute enough for PBS to not be almost totally dependent upon sponsorships, which they have been unable to keep up,” says Somerset-Ward. “What you need to do is to increase the amount of funding the stations put in and that means optimizing the health of the stations. That doesn’t mean an entirely new business plan [for the stations], just augmenting the present one. And the way is open to do that because of digital and all that implies. And Cleveland is the best example of how that can be done.”

However that requires an attitude adjustment on the part of broadcasters accustomed to an “I-produce, you-view” model, in which con-

tent is tightly control by producers and “pushed” to consumers, says Liroff.

Larry Grossman, the former PBS president, highly regarded as a visionary in public broadcasting, began talking in the 1980s about the need to create “a grand alliance” of “heritage institutions,” bringing together public broadcasters, universities, libraries and museums. Today, Grossman remains committed to a top-down approach in which PBS and NPR lead and the

stations follow. What is lacking, he says, “is a blueprint and anybody articulating the dream: what is the role of public broadcasting, what should it be going forward?”

Yet, Grossman’s vision in the 1980s remains vital today. Explains Liroff, “What Grossman saw more clearly than the rest of us is that public broadcasters and universities and libraries and all the rest are all in the same business and the old business model that makes them look so different is being compromised—in the best sense of that word—in terms of their separate identities by digital technologies, which they all share. So it is just as likely...that digital technologies allow these heritage institutions, among others, to begin to extend their services... on the Internet in ways, which at least in form, will be indistinguishable one from the other.”

Or, put another way, Internet consumers tend to be agnostic about the sources of data; they don’t necessarily know or care which museum or library provided the recording of, say, Robert Frost reading “The Road Not Taken”—just that they can access it. Add to that the current steep declines in the cost of digital storage and you have “extraordinary consequences for any individual’s ability to call up what they want when they want it,” says Liroff.

What all this means is that broadcasters and journalists, who have been trained by competition and regulators, most notably the FCC, to fiercely protect and keep tight reign over their turf, to serve as gatekeepers, must learn to loosen the controls, become more interactive and accepting of “pull” technologies.

But that raises an important question: if traditional broadcasters are expanding their roles to serve as content developers and data distributors on platforms other than broadcast, does the mean that five or ten years from



Television Control Room at ideastream

services in new, non-broadcast ways,” explains Richard Somerset-Ward, an expert on public media and senior fellow at the Benton Foundation, which promotes digital media in communications. “This includes distributing other people’s content as well as its own; to open up the possibility of new revenue streams and to become, in general, a community enabler, a go-to organization at the heart of the community, one whose identity is bound up in that of

now their primary function could be something other than delivering programming by radio and television?

That seems a distinct possibility, say many observers, including Liroff, Grossman and Somerset-Ward. Yet industry leaders, including Wareham, Kerger and others, are quick to disagree.

"Everyone is quick to write off traditional broadcasting, but it's been around a long time and survived all sorts of predictions of early demise," says Ken Stern, former CEO of NPR. "So I don't think that's going to change."

Stern resigned his post as CEO this March after only 18 months, reportedly in a dispute with his board over NPR's digital future, which he saw combining a strong video presence on the web with Public Radio's traditional radio journalism. "I absolutely agree that the audience is being fragmented and it's important for public broadcasters to meet the audience where it is, so things like podcasting and moving to multiple platforms is the reality," he says. "But the need is to meet the audience across many platforms and not to give up the broadcast platform."

Creating ideastream

Wareham and Jensen are absolutely sure that they can't recall the first time they discussed merging WCPN and WVIZ. That's probably because they tried dating for a while before contemplating marriage—that is, the broadcast operations, not Wareham and Jensen.

In 1997, the stations joined forces to do a series of stories on "urban sprawl," and despite a rough start it pointed the way towards greater cooperation. "It was a really miserable experience," says Wareham, laughing. "The computer systems didn't talk to one another. The radio people thought the TV people were shallow. The TV people thought the radio people were weird. But a funny thing happened. We started getting these

phone calls from viewers and listeners: 'Didn't I see or hear something about how to get involved in my community?' And, in spite of ourselves, we had made an impact and that got the attention of our boards." They continued to look for joint projects and, with Wareham and Jensen in the lead, by the fall of 1999 the planning committees of the two boards were in meetings discussing merger.

While Cleveland's economy was and continues to be distressed, the financial motivations for merger related to increased efficiencies realized in staffing, marketing, fundraising and grant seeking. Both were also desperate to replace dilapidated facilities.

"But this did not start out with something being broken. Both broadcast stations were in good shape. Except for their physical location," says Susan Eagan, then with the Cleveland Foundation, which served as a neutral moderator to the discussions. "It was mostly Kit and Jerry looking out ahead and seeing a lot of unrealized opportunities...and knowing that if public broadcasting was not repositioned and aligned with what was going on in the larger marketplace, at some point down the road there could be some significant issues."

Wareham and Jensen argued that the emerging reality, the shift in the marketplace, meant, "Access to programming through broadcast distribution is becoming relatively less valuable than content creation, packaging, marketing and control of intellectual property." In other words, having control of the media delivery system is no longer sufficient to remain a player in the community; content development is of greater importance.

While much of this may seem self-evident today, it wasn't all so clear in 1999 to members of the two boards. To make their case, Wareham and Jensen turned first to Chicago and then to Cinderella.

Network Chicago, a multiple media public service organization operated by Chicago's WTTW was a model very similar to what Wareham and Jensen wanted to create in Cleveland. A 1999 promotional video, which they brought to a meeting of the Cleveland boards, explains, "We can create alliances with cultural, educational and business institutions...We can leap beyond the television screen and carry our quality content to radio, print, and the Internet...[create] strategic alliances... driven by our values." (Unfortunately for WTTW, Network Chicago's business model relied heavily on advertising in a print publication, which did not succeed.)

But the "Aha!" moment in the negotiations, the inspiration that enabled people to understand how this worked, they say, came when Jensen posed the question, *What is Cinderella?* To illustrate the point, she passed around several props including a Disney DVD, an illustrated story book, a Cinderella Barbie, and a volume of the original French fairy tale. Which one of these various media forms is Cinderella? "The right answer was really intellectual property," she says. "We needed an object to illustrate that platforms do not define content, content just exists. Cinderella had presented itself in all these different media in all these periods of time. And now we were facing the need to reinvent how we present our stories. This really worked for people."

From that point forward, parties to the talks say, there was only one essential sticking point: who's in charge? And this provided a defining moment in ideastream's reinvention of public broadcasting.

"When it came to the CEO question it all fell apart because people had their loyalties," says Eagan. The WVIZ board pressed for Wareham; the radio side wanted Jensen. But what hap-

The Idea Center

It was here, at 1375 Euclid Avenue, back in the 1950s, in the studios of WJW, that disc jockey Alan Freed coined the phrase “Rock & Roll.” Well, Cleveland still rocks!

All the proof you need is a visit to The Idea Center, home of ideastream, where you will experience a symbiosis of community-based arts and media raised to the highest level of quality. For example: one afternoon last December, Alice Walker and Marsha Norman sat facing each other on the stage of the black box theatre that occupies a three-story space in the center of the building.

This was an event that served multiple purposes. Walker, author of *The Color Purple*, was in Cleveland to promote the Oprah Winfrey musical based on her book, due to open in the spring of 2008. Norman, author of the play *‘night Mother*, wrote the libretto for the Winfrey musical.

Walker made a little news by saying this would be her final appearance on behalf of the book, the movie or the musical. But the real show was listening to these two sophisticated ladies light up a corner of downtown Cleveland.

Filling the 300-seat bleachers rising up two stories in front of the floor-level stage were college and high school students as well as several local arts dignitaries, who took turns lining up at the microphones to ask questions. Meanwhile, at a half-dozen schools throughout northeast Ohio, another hundred-plus students watched the event live via broadband and they, too, lined up for a chance to interact with the two Pulitzer Prize-winning writers. Currently, ideastream is linked via broadband to 115 public schools and 190 private schools, reaching a potential audience of 500,000 students.

On any given day, the black box theater does double duty, serving primarily as a theater for the performing arts sponsored by the Playhouse Square Foundation and also as a live TV studio for WVIZ and PBS. So, on this occasion, the two-hour event was also taped for local broadcast in the spring, when *The Color Purple* is presented at one of the major theatrical stages at Playhouse Square and is being offered to PBS affiliates as one in a series of artist appearances at the Idea Center.

These presentations, and the resulting TV productions, are called “Master Moments,” where famous performers speak candidly about their work. Some other recent visitors to the “Master Moments” stage include composer Marvin Hamlisch, actress Chita Rivera and composer/lyricist Adam Guettel.

Many of the student-questions Walker fielded related to fame—How has it changed her life? Does it make writing easier or more difficult?—and with each answer she seemed to become more succinct and focused until, towards the end of the two-hour session, she offered in reply a poem she said she wrote some time ago:

*Expect nothing,
Live frugally
On surprise.*



pened next was iconic in terms of the ideastream partnership model: Wareham and Jensen wrote a memo saying, if the boards agreed, they would resolve the leadership issue on their own. But until the discussions moved off this point neither of them would have anything further to do with the proposed merger. They took their egos off the table.

“That was a very, very critical moment,” says Eagan. “And it set a standard that said, this is not about us, this is what the community is entrusting to us.”

The boards bought it. Weeks later, on a Sunday, Wareham and Jensen met over coffee. Each made a long list of what they liked most and least about their jobs. They exchanged documents. They agreed he would be CEO and she COO. The same procedure was followed with other managers at the two stations.

Somerset-Ward and others credit this enduring, almost stubborn, spirit of cooperation as the primary reason for ideastream’s success, stemming from the Wareham-Jensen leadership model. “They don’t take credit for anything and that, of course, is one of the main reasons why it works,” he says. “Everywhere else, public broadcasting stations that I know of, would leap at the opportunity to grab credit. Jerry and Kit understood from the beginning that you couldn’t do that, not if you want to be a partner. That is why they have been successful.”

On July 1, 2001 ideastream became a reality.

The Listening Project

Wareham is fond of noting how clearly the current mission and approach of ideastream mirrors a key statement of the 1967 Carnegie Commission report, which contends that the underlying purpose of public media is not about technology or distribution: “It is not the location of the studio or transmit-

ter that is most relevant. Rather, what is critical is the degree to which those operating the facilities relate to those they seek to serve."

Toward that goal, Jensen created The Listening Project, which has informed ideastream's programming, content and partnerships since its inception. Every year since 2001, ideastream goes out into the communities it serves, drawing leaders and citizens into a discussion of what matters most to them, how they see their lives, what assets they see in their communities and what public services they see a need for. Ideastream was overwhelmed when nearly 10,000 people took part in 2001. Since then, the number has been held to a more manageable level—1,410 in 2007—who respond to on-air, in-print and online solicitations to fill out a questionnaire. There are also live town meeting discussions open to the public.

This is not the usual market research approach: what do you think of our product and how can we make you use it more? Instead, the key proposition is how to connect to communities in ways that are deemed useful by those in the communities.

Four standard questions are asked each year are: 1) What are the most important assets of the community? 2) What are the most important challenges? 3) Who strengthens those assets and challenges? 4) What could multi-media do to strengthen those assets and [address those] challenges?

What they have heard clearly is that citizens want public media to look into problems and then stay on the topic long enough to lead the way towards some resolution. That means, unlike the normal modus operandi of media, not merely shining a bright light on an issue. Such an approach, The Listening Project finds, only serves to increase public anxiety.

"What the community was really

asking us to do was to do the partnership, but then hang in there and be consistent about addressing these challenges and assets," says Wareham. "They wanted us to create community connection and participation. They wanted us to facilitate the process of community members talking with one another." That has given rise to a community advisory board and two new programs, *Sound of Ideas* a daily radio show and *Ideas* a weekly television program, which extend the community dialogue.

In 2001, Doug Clifton, the editor of *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, asked ideastream to join the newspaper in a project ideal for the new organization. Clifton wanted to do a series of stories, editorials, town meetings and panel discussions examining the departure from Cleveland and the surrounding area of Fortune 500 companies. Wareham and Jensen jumped at the opportunity.

During the next few years, the organizations shared resources and promoted one another's efforts in what was called "the Quiet Crisis," which rapidly became the shorthand by which everyone in the region referred to the economic downturn affecting northeastern Ohio. "It was an effort to document the depth of the decline, assess what the future might hold and look at some solutions," says Clifton. "Although the *Plain Dealer* penetrated the home market very deeply some people would turn to public radio and public TV and that was the audience we were looking for."

Both organizations saw the effort as a success. "The sum of it was greater than its individual parts because it brought together three of the serious institutions in the region who were speaking with one voice," Clifton says.

In addition to anecdotal evidence of success, ideastream can point to:

■ Combined 2007 radio and television fund raising campaigns that brought in \$1,999,653, up from

\$1,419,530 in FY 2006, \$1,425,575 in FY 2005, \$1,632,609 in FY 2004 and \$1,490,434 in FY 2003.

■ Weekly cumulative audience for the spring Arbitron ratings found WCPN audience increased 32 percent between 2001 and 2005. During the same period, the national audience increased 11.5 percent.

■ Weekly cumulative audience for the February Nielsen ratings period found the WVIZ audience declined 6.25 percent between 2001 and 2005 compared with a 13.5 percent downturn regionally.

■ In the past five years, public radio and public television stations throughout the U.S. have sought guidance from ideastream; they have taken their story on the road to public broadcast operations in at least nine states.

Partnerships: Inside ideastream Playhouse Square Foundation Provides a Home

Among the partnerships fostered by ideastream, the most evident is The Idea Center, at 1375 Euclid Avenue, from which all else emanates.

One of Wareham's and Jensen's earliest ambitions for the WVIZ-WCPN merger was to combine their infrastructure operations and develop a new headquarters. After contemplating a number of locations and partnerships, they became enamored with a proposal from Art Falco, Executive Director of Cleveland's Playhouse Square Foundation, which, with 10,000 seats, is the second largest center for the performing arts in the U.S., after New York's Lincoln Center.

Over the past 20 years, Playhouse Square has invested \$55 million to obtain and renovate almost one million square feet of commercial real estate in downtown Cleveland in an effort to restore the once-thriving theater district, says Falco. According to one economic

impact study, the commercial and theatrical programs enabled by Playhouse Square generate \$43 million a year for the local economy.

The building on Euclid Avenue was seedy, run down, and only about 10 percent occupied when the mortgage holder agreed to donate it to the foundation, which hoped to turn it into auxiliary work space for its performing arts operations. “We needed to create an arts education space,” says Falco. “We had these wonderful theaters but we didn’t have classrooms and we didn’t have a dance studio, we didn’t have a...theater, we didn’t have gallery space.”

Knowing that ideastream was in the market, he approached Wareham and Jensen and after some design work the two organizations realized they could realize some big savings by sharing their most costly facility needs: Falco wanted a “black box theater” (unadorned performance space) and ideastream needed a second television studio, but neither needed to have access to it on a daily basis. “We knew that we could build a great education and arts center and they could build a great tech and broadcast facility, but we knew it wouldn’t be as good as it would be if we did it together,” says Falco.

By sharing their space needs, the two groups reduced their total footprint from 120,000 square feet down to 90,000, and saved \$7 million. It also meant that a greater portion of the four upper floors would be available to rent, creating revenue flow to defray their annual operating costs. “It has turned out to be a building that not only served our purposes, but has been characterized as a ‘cool’ building, where other commercial tenants who have connections with technology and architecture and design want to be located,” says Falco. “It’s surpassed my expectations.”

As has proven true with many of its

partnerships, the ideastream-Playhouse Square partnership is a wondrous symbiosis. Their combined capital campaign exceeded its goal, bringing in \$30 million. They began moving into the facility in fall of 2005 with the last wave in February 2006. The upper floors are 90 percent occupied, well ahead of schedule.

OneCommunity Provides Reach

The grand symbiotic relationship ideastream has embarked upon, which has drawn national attention—including a Harvard Business School study—and opened vast opportunities for Cleveland, is with OneCommunity.

OneCommunity—formerly OneCleveland—was the vision of Lev Gonick, who became CIO and Vice President, Information Services at Case Western Reserve University in 2001, just as ideastream came into being and the Cleveland community was coming to know about the Quiet Crisis. Essentially, what Gonick sought was to build a regional broadband network at relatively little cost to serve the educational, health and nonprofit communities of northeast Ohio. What he didn’t have in mind, until he was approached by Wareham, was someone to provide content to that network and, perhaps more importantly, someone with the community connections to bring together the nonprofit community in Cleveland in support of Gonick’s vision.

Toward the end of the 20th century, an estimated \$3 trillion-plus was sunk into the streets of the U.S. in the form of fiber optic cable in anticipation of the explosion in broadband digital service, which halted abruptly when the e-commerce bubble burst. Gonick understood that this fortune in so-called “dark fiber” (unused cable), was everywhere in the country. In 2003, Gonick convinced City Signal Corp. to donate several strands of dark fiber to his nonprofit organization,

for which the corporation got a substantial tax write-off. In September of that year, OneCleveland was incorporated and Scot Rourke, a former venture capitalist and Cleveland native, became its first executive.

If Gonick is the visionary, Rourke is the master builder. Rourke’s plan for the nonprofit was to expand the broadband connection well beyond the city of Cleveland. What he proposed was

*It’s a tough challenge
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and journalists.*

that the corporations donating some portion of their dark fiber would not only get a healthy tax write-off, but also, said Rourke, “We are going to build the market for you. We will expose the community to the value of [broadband], we’ll do the missionary work and build a market demand for the rest of your fiber.”

“Scot has a wonderful concept,” says Wareham. “He refers to ‘Liberating content held captive by various community institutions, universities, foundations, and nonprofit organizations.’”

Adds Rourke: "It's not that they are trying to imprison it, it's that they don't know how to let it out."

Some of the programs enabled by the ideastream-OneCommunity partnership:

Distance Learning enables schools, which pay an annual fee, to have interactive access to live shows and instructional classes presented at the Idea Center.

Voices and Choices enables anyone interested in the economic issues of the region to log into a dedicated web site, study the issues, make choices and contribute to an ongoing dialogue, including community town meetings.

One Classroom is the outgrowth of a \$2 million grant from the Cleveland Clinic connecting 1,500 area schools to the OneCommunity network, making rich media content created by ideastream, including lesson plans and other educational content, available on-demand. In time, this is expected to include digitized content from the many museums and cultural institutions in the region.

Wireless Mesh Network is a work in progress, building on ideastream's FCC licenses to develop a citywide wi-fi network with OneCommunity, Case Western Reserve University, the city of Cleveland and area schools.

Rural Health Network, when completed, would create a broadband network for participating medical institutions in Northeastern Ohio to exchange medical data ranging from paper records and MRIs to televised medical exams.

Somerset-Ward says of ideastream and its partnerships: "They are becoming much more than just community broadcasters, they are becoming community enablers. And they are doing that by forming partnerships with community institutions. Jerry and ideastream are in a class of their own...But it's a model of what communities can do when institu-

tions like schools, universities, and health authorities create partnerships."

Harsh Realities

Perhaps the toughest part of using ideastream as a model is broadband access. Rourke, however, insists that should not be a problem. Dark fiber exists throughout the nation and large telecommunication companies are anxious to build a market for broadband by getting the attention of consumers—and one way to do that is to donate a couple of strands of fiber to a local nonprofit, with the added benefit of a tax break. "We know we can repeat this pretty much anywhere in the United States by promising that we are going to create the market and we aren't going to touch the residential customer," says Rourke.

Some observers say that an equally tough challenge is finding people willing to cede control, both in terms of the traditional gatekeeper role played by broadcasters/journalists and a willingness to enter into partnerships in which the traditional objectivity of the broadcaster/journalist might be questioned. Other skeptics have challenged ideastream's partnerships with regional institutions that are sometimes subjects of media scrutiny, such as the Cleveland Clinic, the second-largest employer in the state, which has provided grants to OneCommunity and ideastream.

Unquestionably, partnerships can create the appearance of conflicts of interest for journalists whose stock in trade is perceived objectivity. But the same can be said with respect to advertisers: does *The New York Times*, for example, have a problem covering a scandal at General Motors because it accepts ads from GM?

David Molpus, a veteran reporter with NPR and Executive Editor at ideastream since March 2006, says that there are some legitimate issues to be addressed when working with another

organization on content creation. "What are the rules of the game? We've started to work that out and codify it," he explains. "We obviously see that there is one level of cooperation with another news organization like the *Plain Dealer*. But then there are degrees of variation: What could you do with the university? What could you do with the city library? What could you do with other nonprofits? What could you do with a government agency?"

There was an early dust-up over a perceived conflict of interest, concerning a grant provided to ideastream to do stories about affordable housing by an organization that also provided affordable housing. "There was concern in the newsroom, at that time, that this organization was setting some agenda," says Mark Smukler, ideastream's Senior Director of Content. "But they never did get involved, there was no direct conversation, no proposals, no story ideas. At one point they did place a call to the reporter that was working on it and I told them not do that and they said fine and that was the end of it."

And, as with any merger or change in corporate identity, there were myriad management issues, including heightened staff distress and brain drain. "I have a great deal of admiration for the model and for the people who put it in place," says Mark Fuerst of the Integrated Media Association. "Merging any two organizations is a particularly hard undertaking. There are fears, anxieties and big concessions that have to be made. Kit and Jerry deserve great credit for what they've done."

Neither Wareham nor Jensen is recommending others follow ideastream's lead. "I don't know if our model can be or should be replicated elsewhere," says Jensen. "But the key has to be to work within the resources that the communities provide and with full recognition of the communities' needs." ■

by
PONCHITTA
PIERCE

African American Philanthr

A DEEP-ROOTED TRADITION CONTINUES TO

From time to time, the Carnegie Reporter explores issues relating to philanthropy. In this essay, noted broadcast and print journalist Ponchitta Pierce takes a personal look at how a group of prominent African Americans view philanthropic giving and examines the relationship of philanthropy and the black community in the United States.

At a time when African-American philanthropy proudly bears the distinctive stamp of its origins—notably, the key role traditionally played by black churches—it is also being transformed by a new class of ultra-wealthy donors. “We’re about to see an enormous breakthrough in philanthropic institutions being created by African Americans,” predicts Dr. Emmett D. Carson. “We may not be there yet, but we are poised,” says Carson, who heads the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, which has \$1.9 billion in assets and a mission to “strengthen the common good, improve quality of life and address the most challenging problems” throughout California’s San Mateo and Santa Clara counties.

Pioneering industrialists John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and Henry Ford made a dynamic difference while they were alive, Carson observes, yet their posthumous impact, particularly through the foundations and other institutions they created, including Carnegie Corporation of New York, has been even more dramatic.

Ponchitta Pierce is a journalist, television host and producer, writer, and editor who has been a special correspondent for CBS News, reporting for CBS Morning News and CBS Evening News. At WNBC-TV she co-hosted a Sunday morning magazine series, The Prime of Your Life. She also hosted and co-produced WNBC TV’s Today in New York. In addition, she has written about politics, social issues, health and finance for national publications such as Modern Maturity, Family Circle, Newsday, Ladies Home Journal, Ebony, Reader’s Digest, Parade and McCall’s.



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Carson singles out Oprah Winfrey, Bill Cosby, and a host of athletes, and entertainers as the first generation of what he calls “African-American affluents.”

Carson has been especially taken with money manager and chair of Fletcher Asset Management Alphonse Fletcher, who operated below the publicity radar until 2004, on the 50th anniversary of the Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, when he gave \$50 million, to be awarded over a number of years, to endow scholarships that will advance the ideals of the decision. Fletcher has formed a committee, which includes Henry Louis Gates, Jr., director of the W. E. B. Du Bois Institute for African and African American Research at Harvard, to help him decide on the most effective ways to disburse the funds. Fletcher intends for a portion of the money to support established institutions such as the Howard University School of Law, the NAACP and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, but individuals doing innovative and committee work on improving race relations and related issues will likely benefit, as well. “Fletcher is the future,” says Carson, and he should know: when it comes to research on African-American philanthropy, Dr. Emmett Carson is the gold standard.

For African Americans, Carson explained during the course of a conversation with this reporter, philanthropy has been “a survival mechanism” almost from the beginning. At first, African-American philanthropy was characterized by aid from friends and neighbors during periods of crisis: a house that burned down, a passenger seeking safe haven on the Underground Railroad, a school or bank hungry for seed money. “These direct services were often channeled through the churches,” Carson notes. “At many points in our history we lacked access to the capital of main-

stream society, so we have had to cultivate our own charitable resources to fuel our civic efforts. We have really had to do things on our own.”

Carson defines the second stage in the evolution of African-American philanthropy as taking shape in the late 1960s and 70s as represented by the National Black United Fund, which was founded in 1972 “to provide a viable, systematic, and cost efficient mechanism for black Americans to make charitable contributions to black American organizations engaged in social change, development, and human services.” For the first time, people were systematically donating money to causes and institutions that were not necessarily known to them personally, but that they believed would benefit the African American community as a whole.

“Now fast-forward to the year 2000 or 2001,” Carson continues, “and you see the third stage in the evolution, where wealthy African Americans are beginning to serve as donor advisors through community foundations—or even setting up philanthropic foundations of their own. Now consider what a difference it would make if only a fraction of wealthy African-Americans were to ask in the course of their estate planning, ‘How do I want to continue to be generous when I’m no longer here?’” Carson notes that since “wealthy people share an information network that differs from that of others” and have more access to financial advisors, it may be that today, distinctions among groups of people are based much more on class, than race, which may also be a contributing factor in planning for a philanthropic legacy.

Assessing the trends he sees emerging in African American philanthropy, Carson is thoughtful, suggesting that, “We have not used black philanthropy in the modern period to support social change nearly to the extent that we

did in our earlier years.” Why is that? Carson suggests that perhaps it’s because in the past, blacks in America saw themselves as an oppressed community, and so their philanthropy reflected that sense—but today, successful Americans of every race have benefited from the nation’s economic progress and so, in many cases, seem less focused on systemic reform.

When asked if the problem, then, is that African Americans aren’t giving enough, Carson says, “I tell charitable organizations, ‘If people aren’t giving to you, it’s not because of them—it’s because of you.’ People today are generous, but charities must be more accountable: for instance, does your staff reflect the diversity of the broader community?” Citing specific examples, Carson points to a study of teen pregnancy in Newark, New Jersey that showed, despite the high teen pregnancy rates, Planned Parenthood lacked an office in that city. “How can you mount a campaign when you’re absent from the community?” he asks. And, “Heart disease is a leading cause of death for black men,” he notes, “but how many times have you seen an African American talking about heart disease on a billboard or a TV commercial?”

When asked about his own clear-eyed view of charitable giving, Carson, who has urged black philanthropists not to limit themselves exclusively to supporting black organizations or causes, explains, “My father always said, ‘You’ve got to rake the neighbors’ leaves, you’ve got to shovel their snow.’ By his own actions—helping the elderly neighbors on both sides—he demonstrated that voluntarism is just as sturdy a pillar of African-American philanthropy as giving money. Although I started working in philanthropy only later in my life, my father showed me that I had been a philanthropist all my life.”

How does it feel for someone so

BUILDING BLOCKS OF Black Philanthropy

Among the keystone organizations that aim to institutionalize Black philanthropy, these are a few of the notables that have either emerged in recent years or endured for decades:

■ Association of Black Foundation Executives, founded in 1971, focuses on promoting “effective and responsive philanthropy in Black communities.” The organization supports initiatives aimed at strengthening “the effectiveness of philanthropic professionals and institutions whose priorities include addressing issues facing communities of the Black diaspora.”

■ The Twenty-First Century Foundation was created in 1971 as an endowed, national philanthropic institution that supports the civil rights, economic empowerment, and grassroots leadership of the African American community in the United States through its grantmaking and donor services. Its mission is to facilitate “strategic giving for black community change. Specifically, 21CF works with donors to invest in institutions and leaders that solve problems within black communities nationally.”

■ The National Black United Fund was founded in 1972 with a focus on the areas of “health, education, children, criminal justice, economic development, discrimination, and other systemic needs that shaped the quality of life for Black Americans.” Among its current concerns: “A restoration of philanthropic values must be introduced to a young Black American wealthy and affluent class, and systematic models and channels for philanthropic giving must be created for both traditional and new generations of Black American philanthropists.”

■ National Center for Black Philanthropy “conducts National Conferences on Black Philanthropy, which began in Philadelphia in 1997.” Today, the conferences feature “on average, over forty workshops, panels and plenary sessions exploring black participation in grant making, fundraising, individual giving, and faith-based philanthropy through the Historically Black Church.”

thoroughly steeped in the psychology of philanthropy to donate money from his own pocket? “It gives me a sense of satisfaction,” Carson replied without hesitation. “It’s comforting to think that a kid from the South Side of Chicago could become secure enough in his professional development—and in his family’s financial future—to support a cause he cares about without having to worry about eating the next day.”

Of Social Networking and Net Worth

The setting was casual yet elegant: a summer dinner party in upscale Sag Harbor, on the shores of New York’s Long Island Sound. Japanese lanterns lit the garden and threw soft highlights on a pair of handsome Vietnamese vases while jazz played in the background and hot food beckoned from the buffet table. Many of the guests that evening were

African Americans of achievement who knew one another from Manhattan. Eager to trade the hustle and bustle of the city for a weekend in the Hamptons, the partygoers seemed intent on relaxing and enjoying themselves.

I was among the partygoers. As I stood talking to friends, I heard someone ask, “Are you coming to my benefit?” The speaker was Reggie Van Lee, senior vice president in the New York office of Booz Allen Hamilton, and he was referring to the Evidence Dance Company, which holds two benefits—one in Bridgehampton and the other in New York City—each year. The next event, which was to be held in a week’s time, would feature a special program: a fusion of ballet, contemporary and African dance performed by Evidence’s eight-member dance troupe. Van Lee confided his hope that the benefit performance would raise \$250,000 to \$300,000—nearly quadruple the \$80,000 the benefit had netted five years previously. He was expecting 400 benefit-goers, up from 75 just four years ago.

“In truth,” Van Lee told me, “I use every opportunity I get to plug my favorite cause.”

He wasn’t alone. Earlier that evening, I had heard Charlynn Goins reminding guests that her New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation theater benefit would be held later in the fall. Starring Sarah Jones, who took home a Tony for her one-woman Bridge and Tunnel show, the benefit had an ambitious fundraising goal of \$300,000. Sponsors aimed to get there by charging \$100 to \$125 for the performance only, and a lofty \$600 for cocktails, dinner, and the show. To anyone expressing interest in the event, Goins handed an envelope containing more details.

“I’m no fundraiser,” Goins told me, laughing. “I’m chairing this benefit because I couldn’t get anybody else to do it.”

Her words were an apt précis of what I was about to discover in the course of investigating the dynamics—and mechanics—of African-American philanthropy (or any other type of giving, for that matter): Whether you're trying to get people to donate their money or their time, persuading them to step up to the plate can be a difficult task indeed.

During a weekend that summer in which cultural events competed with political fundraisers for African American support, I also visited the East Hampton home of well-connected Carl and Barbaralee Diamonstein, who were raising money for Congressman Charles B. Rangel (D-Harlem) and his political action committee. Still several months in the future was the Democratic groundswell that would sweep the Democrats back into power in Congress and hand Representative Rangel the reins of the House Ways and Means Committee, making him the most powerful African American on the national political scene. Even so, I was surprised at the sparse African American turnout at the fundraiser—and disappointed by the low percentage of black attendees who actually broke out their checkbooks.

I had come to the Hamptons as the weekend guest of Loida Nicolas Lewis, widow of Reginald Lewis, the financial guru whose nearly \$1 billion leveraged buyout of TLC Beatrice had galvanized Wall Street in 1987. Not long after that coup, Lewis was being hailed as the wealthiest black man in America. It was a wealth tempered by generosity: among the many educational efforts Reginald Lewis undertook during his lifetime was to provide a \$3 million endowment to the Harvard Law School, which named its international law center after him.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

When allegations of abuse were levelled at an Leadership Academy for Girls in South Africa, which South Africa and dealing with the problem directly. “is that those girls [will have an] idea of what a

When a brain tumor felled Lewis prematurely at age 50, American finance and philanthropy lost a role model for African Americans all across the socioeconomic spectrum. The torch then passed to Philippine-born Loida Nicolas Lewis, who had married Reginald Lewis in 1968. It was time for Mrs. Lewis to make her own mark in the field.

Determined to keep her husband's memory alive, Loida and her two daughters, Leslie Lewis Sword and Christina S. N. Lewis, pledged \$5 million to the Museum of Maryland African American History and Culture in Baltimore, where Reginald Lewis had been born; it was renamed the Reginald F. Lewis Museum. The \$5 million in private seed money donated by the Reginald F. Lewis Foundation ultimately helped to lever-

age \$30 million in public funds from the state of Maryland. Indeed, since its doors opened in 2005, the museum has become a signature destination for city visitors—and an archetype of African American philanthropy.

“My husband taught me how to give,” Loida Lewis told me in the magnificent Fifth Avenue apartment she once shared with Reginald Lewis. There wasn't much money in the early years of their marriage, Lewis recalled, but even then her husband insisted on sending Harvard an annual check for \$10. As the Lewises prospered, those contributions—not only to Harvard, but to other institutions as well—steadily grew.

Today, Loida Lewis continues on as a philanthropist in her own right. One fundraiser she attended, a gala to benefit

the Studio Museum in Harlem, brought out what Lewis dubs the “crème de la crème” of African American society. Thanks largely (but hardly exclusively) to the patronage of America’s black corporate elite—among them, American Express chairman and chief executive officer Kenneth Chennault; former chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Merrill Lynch, E. Stanley O’Neal; and Richard Parsons, chairman of the board and former CEO of Time-Warner—the benefit raised more than \$1.5 million in the course of a single evening. “Wow, it broke a record!” she said, her pride and sense of achievement shining through. “That kind of thing is going to happen more and more,” she told me,

told me with a shy smile. “I think I would have preferred for that gift to remain anonymous.” On the other hand, there is pride in the fact that this stellar building—a new city landmark—stands as a reminder to all city residents, minority children among them, of just how much a black man can achieve.

The source of that symbolism is Eddie Brown, a modest man who began his career as a portfolio manager and vice president at T. Rowe Price Associates in 1973. Nine years later, he launched his eponymous investment company. Today, Brown handles investments with a minimum entry of \$20 million—all this accomplished by a man born to an unwed mother 66 years

another Tanner, *The Three Wise Men*, alongside an arresting sculpture by Edmonia Lewis, *Rebecca at the Well*, Edward Bannister’s *Woodland Interior* and Jacob Lawrence’s *Genesis Series*.

Oprah and Others

An African American donor particularly distinguished by both her wealth and her generosity is Oprah Winfrey, the television host who once famously opined that “The benefit of making money is to give it away.” When Winfrey traveled to South Africa in 2002 to deliver gifts to 50,000 children, she wound up adopting 10 children, ages 7 to 17, who had no parents or family. She placed them in private boarding schools and told readers she had hired caretakers to look after them.

Then she went to visit them—unannounced.

As Oprah related the scene in the December 2006 edition of her namesake magazine, she was shocked by what she saw of their newly adopted lifestyles: “When I

sat them down in the living room for a conversation, everyone’s cell phone kept going off—the latest ‘razr’ model that costs about \$500. That inner spark I was used to seeing in their eyes was gone, replaced by their delight in rooms full of things.”

Immediately, Oprah said, she realized she had given them too much. And she had not helped to instill the proper values to help them appreciate those gifts. “What I now know for sure,” she revealed in the pages of her magazine, “is that a gift isn’t a gift unless it has meaning. Just giving things to people, especially children, creates the expectation of more things.”

That disappointment didn’t prevent Winfrey from traveling to South Africa in January 2007 to open the \$40 million

administrator of the \$40 million Oprah Winfrey Winfrey had created, she was praised for flying to “The good coming out of this...” wrote one reporter, powerful woman looks like and what she stands for.”

noting that the audience was more than 90 percent African American.

From Citrus Grove to Capital Management

In Baltimore, I met another African-American philanthropist, investor Eddie C. Brown, and his wife, Sylvia. My visit to the elegant row house that holds the offices of Brown Capital Management told a tale of understated financial success. Peering out through one window, I caught a glimpse of the ultramodern Brown Center, the beneficiary of a \$6 million contribution the Browns made to the Maryland Institute College of Art (MICA) in 2003. The college contributed the remaining \$14 million in costs.

“We don’t believe in buildings so much as in education,” Sylvia Brown

ago, then raised by his grandparents in a Florida farmhouse with no hot water or plumbing. Although Brown helped his grandfather pick oranges and grapefruits on the farm, his grandmother correctly sensed that better days lay ahead for her sharp young grandson. On a trip to Orlando, she pointed out to young Eddie every man she saw wearing a suit and tie. Education, she told him, was the ticket that would take him from the citrus groves to an office job.

The Browns’ business success has enabled them to establish a considerable art collection, with a primary focus on African American artists. In 2002, for example, they gave a partial gift of Henry Ossawa Tanner’s *Bishop Benjamin Tanner* to the Baltimore Museum of Art. In Brown’s office hangs

Oprah Winfrey Leadership Academy for Girls in the hamlet of Henley-on-Klip, south of Johannesburg. The school received 3,500 applications for the 152 spaces available, but will eventually make room for 450 girls. Later in the year, Winfrey was reportedly devastated by the news that a dorm matron at the school had been arrested for abusing some of the students. Winfrey flew to South Africa to meet with school officials and parents, and many praised her for directly confronting the problem. Writing in the *Lexington Herald-Leader*, columnist Merlene Davis said, “The good coming out of this...is that those girls, who all have come from extreme poverty, have some idea of what a powerful woman looks like and what she stands for. So do those who no longer work at the academy.”

Another prominent African American donor is music impresario and entrepreneur Russell Simmons, who has contributed more than \$10 million to various charities. He tells family and friends that he hopes his tombstone will say, “Here lies a philanthropist.” Yet another noted figure in the African American community, Tiger Woods, receives countless requests to donate his golf earnings to worthy causes, but he has opted to focus on building a learning center in California and another in Washington, D.C. where young people will find tools to further their education.

Magnanimity Enshrined in Arts and Culture

On September 26, 2007, the Smithsonian Institution, partnering with IBM, announced the opening of the National Museum of African American History and Culture, the Smithsonian’s 19th and newest museum. Perhaps the most interesting thing about the museum—in its current incarnation—is that it’s a virtual institution, existing at the moment

only online, at <http://nmaahc.si.edu>. The physical museum—created by an Act of Congress in 2003—will be built on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. and is scheduled for completion in 2014. Its collections and educational programming will focus on slavery, post-Civil War Reconstruction, the Harlem Renaissance, and the Civil Rights movement, among other issues and events.

Historian, author, curator and educator, Lonnie G. Bunch, III is the founding director of the museum, and is deeply involved in developing the museum’s mission, coordinating its fundraising and membership campaigns, and establishing its collections and cultural partnerships. If Bunch feels burdened by that responsibility, he doesn’t let on in person. On a balmy September morning not too long ago, I walked across the Mall in Washington, D.C., the gravel of the wide walkways crunching noisily beneath my feet, to visit Bunch in his office near the museum. Bunch’s ever-present smile and spontaneous bear hug embodied his contagious determination. He feels confident, for example, that in support of the museum, he is about to tap into a new, younger source of African American philanthropy. “If my parents gave to the church,” he told me, “and my wife and I give to education, then my daughters—following their own interests—will cast their net even wider.”

If that’s the case, it may signal a marked departure from the experience, for example, that independent producer Margo Lion had fifteen years ago when she tried to raise money for “Jelly’s Last Jam,” starring Gregory Hines and directed by George Wolfe of the Joseph Papp Public Theater/New York Shakespeare Festival. The musical brought to life the controversial turn-of-the-century New Orleans jazz musician Ferdinand “Jelly Roll” Morton, yet

Lion was able to attract very few African American investors. Seeing investment in the theater as a barometer for raising money, she told me, “I’m interested in where African American philanthropists—or perhaps I should say those in a position to be philanthropic—feel their money could best be applied. What projects are they most interested in supporting?”

We were speaking in Lion’s cozy office at the St. James Theater on New York’s Theater Row. The office overflowed with mementos of her many stage successes, among them “Hairspray,” “Elaine Stritch at Liberty,” “Angels in America,” and “The Crucible.” In her latest coup, Lion brought the August Wilson play “Radio Golf” to Broadway in May 2007.

For all her obvious *éclat*, Lion has found it challenging to raise large contributions from African American donors. “Broadway is always risky,” she muses, “but August Wilson was a great figure in the history of dramatic literature, and ‘Radio Golf’ had received great reviews all over the country. Wilson was writing for all America, but the fact remains that this is a play about black Americans, and I was frustrated by the lack of support for it.” Lion acknowledges that there might not be a rich history of theater-going among African Americans—the 2002 National Endowment for the Arts Survey of Public Participation in the Arts reported African American attendance at non-musical plays at under seven percent—but she feels that the financial barriers to that particular cultural tradition are falling. “Surely there are many African Americans who have the money, no?”

Grassroots Giving

Does all this high-profile activity mean that only well-known players are making an impact in the world of African American philanthropy? Far



Loida Lewis (right) with Kweisi Mfume, then-president of the NAACP, signing documents establishing a \$1 million endowment for the NAACP Reginald F. Lewis Youth Entrepreneurial at Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland.

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advancing human welfare; or the National Council of Negro Women, “a voluntary nonprofit membership organization helping women of African descent to improve the quality of life for themselves, their families and communities.”

As Emmett Carson likes to point out, “It’s not the amount you have—it’s focusing that resource on what you care about.”

Numerous studies seem to back up that notion: low-income people tend to give a larger percentage of their disposable income to charitable organizations than do the rich. America, in particular, seems to have developed what Carnegie Corporation

of New York president Vartan Gregorian has termed “a culture of giving.” A recent study by the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University adds more evidence, reporting that the average American donates 2.6 percent of his or her income. When it comes to giving by blacks specifically, a *Chronicle of Philanthropy* report reveals that blacks give 25 percent more of their discretionary income to charity than do whites. For instance, blacks who make between \$30,000 and \$50,000 give an average of \$528 annually, compared with \$462 donated by whites in the same income range.

That model of grassroots generosity is one familiar to many African Americans. It certainly underlies the story Charlynn Goins, chairperson of the board of directors for the New York City Health and Hospitals Corporation, told me about her husband’s dream of attending medical school. After confiding those hopes to his own physician, Dr. Aurelious King, Warren Goins was admitted to Howard University

Medical School in 1959. Goins worked his way through all four years on what he thought were academic scholarships. In his second year of medical school he found out through documents the school had sent him that Dr. King was paying those tuition bills.

That story is readily understood by Loida Lewis, who remarks that the “subrosa generosity” of African-Americans often renders it invisible to larger or different communities. For example, “The white community probably did not—could not—fully understand the community where my husband grew up,” she observes. “African Americans have always been giving—but not necessarily in a very public manner. They’ve sent their nieces or nephews to school, or they’ve paid the overdue rent for an uncle or aunt or best friend. There’s a similar dynamic at work in the Philippine-American community, where philanthropy is spontaneous, small-scale, and not splashily publicized. Because it takes place beneath the radar, the philanthropic associations tend to discount it. But the fact of the matter is that giving is going on in the African American community.”

Charity Begins at...College?

A more typical historical target of African-American fundraising has been the educational institution, often singled out by individual donors. At board meetings for Xavier University of Louisiana in New Orleans—which, among other accomplishments, is distinguished by its high number of outstanding pharmacy graduates—I listened as the college’s development officer described Xavier’s struggle to raise enough money to cover its annual budget of around \$90 million. In 1999-2000, the university received major grants from the Kresge and the Southern Education foundations to enhance their development program.

from it. Individual donors—including those with modest lifetime earnings—can make a difference, and often a disproportionate one. For example, there is Oseola McCarty, the 87-year-old laundress, who gave her life savings of \$150,000 to the University of Mississippi for scholarships. She said of her gift, “I’m giving it away so the children won’t have to work so hard, like I did.” In many ways, McCarty reflects the bedrock role that African American women have long played in philanthropy, whether it was enacted by the Links, a membership organization of 12,000 professional women of color that also supports programs and services aimed at improving the quality of life for African Americans; the Delta Sigma Theta sorority, founded in 1913 by twenty-two collegiate women at Howard University to promote academic excellence and to provide assistance to persons in need, and which, with a current membership of over 200,000, continues to work toward

In 2006, Xavier received a \$4 million grant from Carnegie Corporation of New York to help revitalize higher education in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina. (Tulane and Dillard universities received Corporation funding for the same purpose.)

In December 2006, the Presidential Medal of Freedom—the nation’s highest civilian award—was conferred on Dr. Norman C. Francis, who has served as president of Xavier for more than 40 years, for his “steadfast dedication to education, equality, and service to others,” and in recognition of his work as Chairman of the Louisiana Recovery Authority, in which he played “a vital role in helping the people of the Gulf Coast rebuild their lives in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina.”

In a wide-ranging conversation, Dr. Francis constantly touched on the moral responsibility of raising money to help the university achieve its educational mission. His face lit up as he retraced the last half-decade—banner years for Xavier University in terms of alumni giving. “My parents and the families around us had to focus their time and resources on raising children and holding down jobs,” Dr. Francis remarked. “Today’s college graduates have different priorities. A crucial dimension of their lives is to give back to the institutions that played a significant part in their growth and development. I’m thrilled to see Xavier graduates responding to our needs; [their contributions] tell me black philanthropy is flourishing.”

Making a Leap of Faith

Although a handful of naysayers continued to contend that philanthropy has yet to gain serious traction within the black community, it’s a matter of historical record that African Americans have always generously supported



Lonnie Bunch, left, director of the National Museum of African American History and Culture, navigates through the museum’s new web site.

their churches, their schools, and their families.

“When I was growing up,” Norman Francis recalls, “I watched people with very small incomes give to their churches. Religion was close to them. If there was one sustainable part of their lives, they knew it had to be their church. ‘God will take care of you in times of need,’ they believed. ‘The bread you give up today will come back to you tomorrow.’ My Neighbor is not just that person next door—he is any human being in need.”

Indeed, writes LaTasha Chaffin in “Philanthropy and the Black Church,”* “Historically, the Black church has been a core institution for African-American philanthropy. The Black church does not only serve as a faith-based house of worship, but it facilitates organized philanthropic efforts including meeting spiritual, psychological, financial, educational and basic humanitarian needs such as food, housing, and shelter. Black churches are also involved in organizing and providing volunteers to the community and in civil and human rights activism.”

If the black church has not his-

torically matched the endowment and special-giving levels of other faiths, Reverend Tom Watson, pastor of the Greater New Orleans Council of Black Ministers, suggests that it is only because the members of its congregations have lagged commensurately in individual wealth. “We still have a long way to go,” he notes, in terms of overall economic disparity.

Reviewing the keystone role played by black churches, Reverend Watson also notes how it has served as a path to leadership for many notable African Americans, including, of course, Dr. Martin Luther King. “We didn’t own a lot of businesses,” says Watson, “except, perhaps, for the occasional franchise, so the institution we relied on as our wedge into large-scale political participation was the black church.”

As African Americans do, increasingly, join the ranks of the American middle and upper class, the role of the black church in terms of charity and philanthropy seems to be changing as well. “The strongest black churches,” notes Watson, “are led by the black middle and

* See: <http://www.learningtogive.org/papers/index.asp?bpid=47>

upper classes, which have become larger and more educated. These institutions have strong constituencies, and their congregations understand the role played by philanthropy because the economy has allowed them to participate in it.”

Should African Americans Give More?

Dr. Alvin F. Poussaint, the civil rights champion-turned-Harvard-academic (he is professor of psychiatry and faculty associate dean for student affairs at Harvard Medical School, as well as director of the Media Center of the Judge Baker Children’s Center in Boston) told me about a fundraiser given in his honor and chaired by Bill Cosby. It netted about \$170,000—a tidy sum considering that the donors were far from wealthy, and that their average gift was \$1,000. This was certainly an example of generous giving—but at the same time, Dr. Poussaint said that he felt torn. In his mind, at least, African Americans can and should be doing much more on the front lines of philanthropic giving.

Dr. Poussaint says he sometimes thinks that “African Americans don’t have enough commitment to charitable giving, even though it works in their behalf. There’s also a trace of suspicion: ‘Will my money be used right?’ And then there’s the reluctance to hand over money that might be better used for something else.”

When I asked Dr. Poussaint to diagnose the current state of African American philanthropy in America, he said, “It has to improve, because right now, it’s not sufficient to support our organizations. We can do much, much better. Indeed, it’s crucial for African Americans to give more.” In his opinion, many programs meant to benefit blacks show an over-reliance on corporate support, as opposed to the sort of grassroots funds that might be raised

from the black community. He draws an analogy to black businesses that fail in the black community because the latter neglects to support the former.

Especially damaging, said Poussaint, is when scandals enter the picture—when some major religious figure gets convicted for embezzling funds from his own church, for example. “People read about scandals like that and worry about whether their money was simply paying that official’s fat salary.”

“People like to see results,” Poussaint continues. “What did you accomplish? What victories have you had? What are you going to use this money for in the future? Some people prefer programs in which their money funds ‘general operating expenses,’ but that sounds just unacceptably vague to me.” Where should African Americans concentrate their giving, then? “The needs in the black community are so great,” Poussaint answers, “that in the beginning you should help take care of your own.”

Poussaint’s detractors might well disagree, pointing out that giving takes many forms within the African American community. Though some are perhaps not nearly generous enough—a charge often leveled at black athletes and entertainers raking in millions of dollars—others are generous to a fault. And, as noted earlier in this article, many blacks whose income is hardly even near the “wealthy” range tend to be steady and dedicated givers.

Generation Next: The Future of Philanthropy

Mention the name “Vernon Jordan” and not everyone will call to mind his wife, Ann Dibble Jordan. Yet she is a powerhouse in her own right, chairing or sitting on the boards of corporations and nonprofits alike—among them, the National Symphony Orchestra, public television station WETA (Washington D.C.’s PBS affiliate), the Washington

Area Women’s Foundation, Sasha Bruce Youthwork, and Catalyst. This year, Jordan retired from the boards of Citigroup, Johnson & Johnson, and ADP, after long years of service.

Some observers see Ann Jordan as a “philanthropic influential”—someone who can wield her fiscal expertise to benefit select worthy causes; a person strategically positioned to broker connections between donors and recipients. She doesn’t deny it. “You have to use what resources you can,” she said to me, laughing. “We all reach out to our friends, who we think can help us or introduce us to other people in pursuit of a worthwhile cause.”

Corporate America has become a stakeholder in African American philanthropy, Jordan believes, but at the same time “we always want to see more.” Looking forward ten years, she sees African-American philanthropy as part of the mainstream. “All of these young people you see doing so well have sound philanthropic instincts,” she notes. “Young people focus on their return on investment, which is a smart way to do it. They want to know what percentage of funds raised go directly to the cause versus what percentage goes to administrative costs. When I think about the intelligence they are applying to the process, I feel optimistic about the future of charitable support for community organizations.”

Why Tavis is Smiling

One recent event not to miss for those interested in African American giving was the Sixth National Conference on Black Philanthropy, held in Washington, D.C. over three days in July 2007 and sponsored by the National Center for Black Philanthropy. The symposium explored how African American philanthropy in particular can help solve the problems facing many black Americans.

The touchstone throughout the conference was Tavis Smiley's searingly honest essay collection, *The Covenant with Black America* (Third World Press, 2006), which takes a hard look at the array of social and economic circumstances confronting African Americans. Attendees were challenged to come up with new ways of identifying potential donors, as well as new ways of welcoming young people into the philanthropic fold.

The first thing you notice about Tavis Smiley is, in fact, his smile. Perhaps it's the occupational legacy of

neighborhood. "Many young black men around the country face that challenge," Smiley says. The mother asked Tavis if her son could shadow him for a day, and Tavis decided to extend their time together to a week. For a while, the boy traveled everywhere Smiley's work took him, including on a business trip to Canada. Smiley described their growing bond of trust during one of his commentaries on the nationally syndicated radio program, *The Tom Joyner Morning Show*.

That's when the floodgates opened up. "Every mother in the country,

■ When a grant comes in, you can't simply spend what has been given to you.

■ Backers need to know what you've done with their money.

■ Reports not filed on time can cause problems.

■ Someone who is an ace at programming can make a lousy bookkeeper. You need someone strong in that position so you don't find yourself spending money you don't have.

■ It's never a good idea to blow the deadline on submitting the results of an internal audit.

"What truly lives on is the work you do for young people, because they're going to pass it on to other young people, in turn," says Tavis Smiley. He adds, "I never realized that giving could feel so good."

the countless television shows on which he has appeared, including his current platform: a late-night television talk show, as well as his radio program, *The Tavis Smiley Show*, which is distributed by Public Radio International (PRI). Smiley has also written an autobiography, *What I Know for Sure: My Story of Growing Up in America* (Doubleday, 2006).

What people may not know for sure is that Smiley directs one of the most successful charitable foundations around. The mission of the Tavis Smiley Foundation is to "enlighten, encourage and empower youth by providing leadership skills that will promote the quality of life for themselves, their communities and the world." It all began when Smiley became the mentor of a young boy whose mother was seeking influences that would shield her son from gang recruitment in their Atlanta

it seemed, wanted me to do this," Smiley explains. He also received—and answered—an avalanche of mail from young people seeking his advice about some fairly profound intersections in their lives. So dynamic was this feedback—and so dramatic was Smiley's positive effect on his "mentee"—that in 1999 he created his eponymous foundation to try to continue the work on a wider basis.

In forming the foundation, Smiley sought out a council of experts who had trod these paths before. They advised him how to set up the foundation, how to manage the finances, and how to be crystal-clear about the mission. "From the very beginning," Smiley recalls, "we knew exactly what we wanted—and that's half the battle right there." Still, Smiley doesn't hesitate to admit to mistakes. Among the early painful lessons Smiley and his team had to learn were these:

Because Smiley's name was on the foundation, he wanted to be intimately involved in every aspect of its work. That commitment has enabled him to engage with young people, which in turn has made him increasingly hopeful about the future. Each year he spends time speaking with students at the foundation's annual Leadership Institute, a five-day conference held during the summer on a college campus. Since its inception, more than 6,000 youths ages 13 to 18 have participated in the foundation's Youth 2 Leaders program. "A lot of bright, talented, ambitious young people out there want to make a meaningful contribution to their community and country," Smiley says.

Blinkered by the intensity of his drive to reach the pinnacle of his profession, Smiley explains that he had no clue his one-on-one work with kids would emerge as the most rewarding

aspect of his work with the foundation. “That’s going to be my focus going forward,” he says, “and I hope it will be my lifetime legacy, as well. The TV show, the radio show, a book in print after I’m gone—none of that matters. What truly lives on is the work you do for young people, because they’re going to pass it on to other young people, in turn.” He adds, “I never realized that giving could feel so good.”

A Last Word

Clearly, African Americans have a long tradition of philanthropy, giving not only their money but also their time and other personal resources to a variety of organizations and causes, which are by no means confined to the black community. They have proven time and time again that they are committed and consistent givers in a wide range of areas such as humanitarian causes, institutional development—including schools and churches—and they give to advance social issues, education, political causes and to promote the arts and cultural enrichment. The habit of being philanthropic may, in fact, be so deeply ingrained in the African American community that many don’t even regard themselves as being particularly generous, even when they have to stretch their own resources to assist others. For many, that’s just the way they were brought up. The new crop of wealthy black Americans, it seems, are therefore simply carrying on the traditions passed on to them down the generations—but each, in his or her own way, has found an individual philanthropic path for addressing the issues they care about. That’s a form of personal expression that is surely satisfying to the giver, but the benefits to society are potentially, limitless. ■

A Gallery of AFRICAN AMERICAN PHILANTHROPISTS AND PHILANTHROPY ADVOCATES



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Russell Simmons



PHOTO BY EVERETT NELSON

Charlynn Goins



Reggie Van Lee

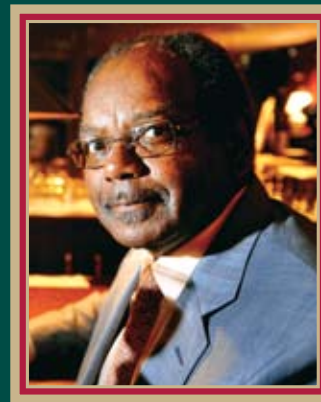


Emmett Carson



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Ann Dibble Jordan



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Eddie C. Brown

by
JUDITH H.
DOBRYNSKI

Philanthropy IN CHINA



This overview of the development of philanthropy in China—a relatively new phenomenon—is part of Carnegie Corporation’s occasional series of articles examining issues relating to philanthropy in the U.S. and internationally.

In a survey of the history of modern China, the names Deng Xiaoping and Li Ka-shing may not immediately seem linked. But think again. Deng, China’s de facto leader for over a decade, unleashed the Chinese economy with a series of reforms begun in 1978 that opened it to global markets and turned a drab, centrally controlled, impoverished country into a dynamic, economic powerhouse. And Li, who benefited from those reforms to become Asia’s richest self-made man, may well do something similar with Chinese philanthropy.

In 2006, Li, who is chairman of Hutchison Whampoa Ltd. and Cheung Kong Holdings in Hong Kong, announced that he would donate a third of his fortune, now estimated as \$32 billion by *Forbes* magazine, to his philanthropic foundations, which support Chinese universities and various other projects around the world. He likened his foundation to his “third son.” Then, last fall, he told the *Wall Street Journal* that he wanted to set an example of public giving, mimicking the American model, in hopes of prompting other Chinese entrepreneurs to follow suit.

China certainly has the necessary conditions. Now the world’s fourth-largest economy, it boasts a GDP approaching \$2.7 trillion, about one-fifth the size of the U.S. economy. It’s growing at the red-hot rate of around 10 percent a year and creating unprecedented personal wealth. China, including Hong Kong (which is administered separately), has more than 100 billionaires, according to *Forbes*, which pegs the total net worth of the 400 richest people in China and the 40 rich-

est in Hong Kong at \$467 billion. In 2006, the number of Chinese worth more than \$1 million grew by nearly 8 percent to 345,000 people—more than the totals of India, Russia and Brazil combined—according to the 11th annual wealth report published last June by Merrill Lynch and Capgemini, a global consulting firm. China, the report says, is also home to about one-third of the Asia-Pacific region’s “super-rich”—those with \$30 million or more in assets.

Can philanthropy—which John Peralta, managing director of Global Philanthropic, a Hong Kong consulting firm, calls “the ultimate expression of wealth”—be far behind?

Various news organizations, including the *Journal*, Reuters, and the *Hurun Report*, have reported several mega-gifts and pledges: a talk-show host named Yang Lan placed some \$72 million into a foundation devoted to education, environmental causes and cultural exchanges; a hotelier-and-trading company chief named Yu Pengnian contributed an estimated \$270 million to health care—including a pledge to provide free operations for 100,000 to 150,000 cataract sufferers in depressed areas over a five-year period—and higher education; a dairy mogul named Niu Gensheng put stock worth \$600 million into a foundation that will focus on agriculture, education and health and so far has given away \$85 million of it; a property developer named Zhu Mengyi has given \$140 million; a real-estate developer named Huang Rulun has several times been named the most generous individual in mainland China, giving more

than \$350 million for health care and fighting poverty. And last December, the Swiss banking giant UBS said that donations from the top 50 publicly disclosed philanthropists in China had risen eightfold in three years to \$11 billion in 2007.

But by tradition, rich Chinese keep their wealth within the family and make their donations privately, exhibiting benevolence without self-aggrandizement in the Confucian tradition. The money is meted out by the oldest generation and generally goes to sating immediate and, frequently, local needs—paying for hospitals, relief efforts, basic education and the like—and rarely to more strategic, long-range goals. It is charity as opposed to philanthropy, in American parlance. It is a pittance in the context of both overall wealth in China and government spending on social programs. And since the Communist revolution—until Deng came to power—philanthropy has been unnecessary in the Chinese ken, because the state took care of everything.

So when Li told the *Wall Street Journal* that “In the U.S., philanthropic support from entrepreneurs is tightly integrated into the fabric of society, whether it’s health care, medical research or education. Now, slowly, China will know this,” he took up a heroic challenge. To make that happen, both the entrepreneurs and the fabric of society will have to change.

Students of philanthropy around the world have found that a country’s legal environment is critical to the health of the philanthropic sector—and in China that milieu is decidedly mixed. As in Russia, Chinese authorities have

always distrusted private philanthropy, viewing philanthropists as a threat to their power and as potential agents of conflict and instability. “In all important government, economic, and cultural institutions in China,” the U.S. State Department advises, “party committees work to see that party and state policy guidance is followed and that non-party members do not create autonomous organizations that could challenge party rule.”

Lately, as private enterprise has grown without causing too much disorder, the Chinese government has slowly begun to loosen its rein, granting approval to an increasing number of charities and nongovernmental organizations, although many have government roots and continuing connections. But at the same time, some of the more independent-minded or controversial NGOs have actually been shut down.

Meanwhile, authorities have signaled that the government cannot pay for all the social services needed by China’s 1.3 billion people. Since 2001, the Ministry of Civil Affairs has supervised the publication of the *China Philanthropy Times*, a newspaper that promotes the concept of both individual and corporate philanthropy and bestows philanthropy awards. Recently, at the opening of the 17th Central Committee of the Communist Party National Congress, General Secretary Hu Jintao not only encouraged “private sectors to operate educational undertakings” but also said the country’s social security system should provide for basic allowances to be “supplemented by charity and commercial insurance.” In a nod to civil-society groups willing to fill the gaps, Hu also said the government would accelerate the separation of “governmental and nongovernmental functions.”

The government has also discussed what many say is a necessary next step to encourage philanthropy: passage of a law that would require charities to disclose and provide an audited accounting of how they spend their donations. But last year’s measure was shelved and nothing has yet happened to revive it.

Another issue is China’s tax regime, which provides little incentive to give. Neither mainland China nor Hong Kong has an estate tax, so families may preserve their wealth from generation to generation. Neither has a capital gains tax for individuals. Instead of an income tax, the mainland government taxes the salaries of top earners, obligating about 30 percent of the working population to pay (vs. about 50 percent in years past); it allows tax-



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Talk show host Yang Lan (above)
Business leader Li Ka-shing (left)

payers to deduct 2 percent of their salaries for charity and there is talk of raising that to 12 percent, according to Reuters. In Hong Kong, individuals can deduct up to 25 percent of their salaries for charitable contributions. But few people pay income taxes anyway, and as in many fast-developing countries there has been little enforcement.

What has prompted the Chinese to give is worldliness. Hong Kong is the base of most of China’s big philanthropists, including Li. “The wealth here is older and more sophisticated,” Peralta says, thanks to Hong Kong’s long stretch as a British Crown Colony. Many wealthy Hong Kong Chinese—not just Li—have been giving for years. And they haven’t been shy about taking credit: Their names adorn buildings and colleges at several universities in Hong Kong, for example.

Peralta says that philanthropy is “catching on” in mainland China, but that the amounts involved remain tiny. “The gifts are more high-profile there because it’s new, but until recently they had to be careful not to attract investigations about corruption,” he says. “Philanthropy had an association with corruption in the past.” Now, experts say, being successful is starting to be defined in a way that includes philanthropy as well as the right clothes, car, and social activities.

That’s not to say that the dynamic of giving in China, Hong Kong included, is the same as in the U.S. Generally, for example, the receiver announces the gift, because the giver must seem altruistic and humble.

Nor will “competitive philanthropy” take root in China the way it has in America—with rich individuals vying to top one another with gifts. In China, a wealthy family would never vastly overstep its position with an outsized donation: Stanley Ho, worth an estimated \$9 billion, would not out-give Li Ka-shing.

Another distinction is that while philanthropy in America is frequently aimed at fostering social change, the Chinese prize social harmony and stability, and the bulk of their

gifts go to safe, non-controversial areas like education, poverty alleviation and basic health care. Global warming would be out, as would AIDS and women’s causes.

Here, too, Li seems to be leading Chinese philanthropy. His gifts, an estimated \$1 billion to date, have created Shantou University near his hometown in rural China, established health research centers, and set up medical clinics for China’s poor and disabled, and for cancer victims, according to the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*. He has also given money to an oncology research program at the University of Cambridge in the United Kingdom, supported controversial health measures like the use of palliative pain relief medicines, and donated to charities in Australia, Europe, North America, and Singapore.

Seeing how philanthropy develops in China won’t be easy, though. Charitable foundations created by Chinese philanthropists are completely opaque, with few reporting or auditing requirements and no requirements to give money away. “They are black boxes,” says Peralta. “You have no idea about the sources of the money or how it’s doled out. It becomes a multipurpose vehicle—they commingle business, charity, and personal aims.” Indeed, in January, the National Basketball Association formed a Chinese entity with the Li Ka-shing Foundation as an investment partner alongside the Walt Disney Company, the Bank of China, and two other business groups.

So the big-givers lists and the numbers collected by publications and consultants may be a tad less revealing than perceived. Certainly, there are many wealthy Chinese who have yet to join the new philanthropic class. Still, as the consumer society grows, when a history of this period is written Li may not only be linked with Deng Xiaoping but also compared to Andrew Carnegie. ■

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Bosnia, Somalia, East Timor... Haiti, Liberia, Nepal... Point almost anywhere on the world map and you won't be far from an area of conflict—past, present or on the brink. As of this writing, Pakistan is still reeling from a recent assassination and a post-election meltdown is taking place in Kenya, while ongoing efforts to stop the violence in Sudan continue to come up short. With so many countries coming

apart, can we count on an unproven United Nations Peacebuilding Commission to stave off disaster? Maybe...if this fresh approach performs as anticipated. It's way too soon to say. Even so, there's a compelling story behind how the UN's newest idea for attaining a more secure world came about.

After decades of costly attempts, the international community's record on building sustainable peace has attracted considerable criticism. Yet foreign policy scholars say things are not as bleak as they appear. According to Stephen Del Rosso, director of Carnegie Corporation's International Peace and Security Program, more wars have ended than have started since the mid 1980s and the number of armed conflicts in the world has fallen roughly by half. "Rather than one side defeating the other, most conflicts have been concluded through negotiation or by winding down," Del Rosso

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by
KAREN THEROUX

Peace In

Shaped by Carnegie Corporation funding, the United strives to bring security to a conflict-ridden world.

ASSOCIATED PRESS





In Burundi, war refugees wait at a border town before returning home from a decade in Tanzanian camps.
 Inset: In strife-torn Guinea-Bissau, voters last cast ballots in 2005; new elections are planned for 2008.
 Left: Miners pan for diamonds in Sierra Leone, now relatively stable after a 10-year civil war that displaced millions. These three countries are the first to come under consideration by the UN Peacebuilding Commission.

Our Time?

Nations' start-up Peacebuilding Commission

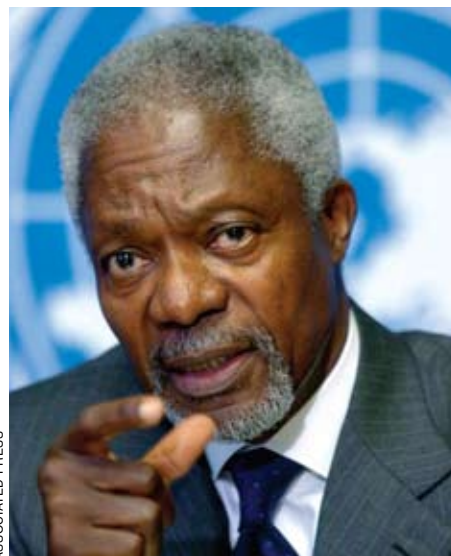
says, “in many instances thanks to international peace efforts.” There have been gaps in the process that have hampered its success, he admits, but that record should improve once the UN Peacebuilding Commission is fully up and running. At least that’s what he and other experts in the global security field hope will happen.

By some measures, more than a quarter of the world’s states are considered at risk of instability and collapse, Del Rosso explains, and such states—particularly in regions of the developing world where national borders are porous and under constant stress—not only imperil lives at the local level, but also threaten security, stability and prosperity around the world. The ability of developed countries to come up with a coherent approach to this growing problem is one of the most urgent security challenges of the 21st century, he argues.

Significant research in this area is funded by Carnegie Corporation’s International Peace and Security Program, and has been for years. To support the new generation of experts attempting to deal with this daunting issue, in addition to funding research on states at risk of instability or collapse, the Corporation supports dissemination of grantees’ findings and best practices to practitioners and policymakers. The goal is to smooth the path between scholarship and consumers in foreign policymaking circles and in the field.

The subject of global security has become a “boom area of the political science field, resulting in an impressive body of knowledge,” says Michael Doyle, Columbia University Harold Brown Professor of Law and International Affairs and previously vice president of the International Peace Academy as well as assistant secretary general and special adviser to Secretary-General Kofi Annan. “People are very engaged,” he adds, “which is important. There is gen-

uine scholarship and debate, similar to the attention given to the issue of arms control in the 1970’s.” The pipeline between world-class scholars like Doyle and the international policy community encourages an active exchange of information that influences many of the positive steps being taken to improve the world’s chances for peace.



“While many parts of the United Nations have been involved in the peacebuilding process, the system has lacked a dedicated entity to oversee the process, ensure its coherence or sustain it through the long haul. This resulted in fractured peacebuilding operations with no single forum for all the relevant actors to come together, share information and develop a common strategy. Too often a fragile peace has been allowed to crumble into renewed conflict.”

—Former Secretary-General Kofi Annan

To many in the field, one highly positive step is the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission, which represents the outcome of “outside-inside collaboration requiring intellectual heft from outside scholarship the UN couldn’t produce in-house,” Del Rosso says. He sees this new addition to the world body as an example of true synergy between it and the academic community. “That’s where foundations can

play a role in helping to support and facilitate, not just to conceptualize. With 72 countries potentially sliding into the abyss, it’s important to close the gap between knowledge creation and practice on the ground, and to do it without delay,” he stresses, citing grantees working to replace the usual UN practice of trial and error with more sophisticated contextualized intervention. “The last ten years taught us many lessons, but

“No part of the United Nations challenge of helping lasting peace. I think they create an inter-

some were poorly learned or ignored,” he adds. “Unfortunately, just as generals always fight the last war, official policy in this area always lags behind developments on the ground.”

As a global peace broker, the UN has, over the past twenty years, played a role in ending wars in Cambodia, Southern Africa, Central America, the Balkans, West Africa, Afghanistan and elsewhere, according to a report by the International Peace Academy, an independent institution dedicated to promoting the prevention and settlement of armed conflicts through policy research and development. A long-time grantee of Carnegie Corporation, this organization—in partnership with the Center on International Cooperation at New York University, also a grantee known for its agenda-setting work on post-conflict peacebuilding and global peace operations—has contributed extensively to the body of scholarship on conflict

resolution as well as the United Nations capacity and reform efforts.

Such expertise has been sorely needed to help the UN find out why, for all it has accomplished, its efforts have too often failed to stop violent conflict in countries such as Angola and Rwanda, for instance, where the cost is measured in millions of lives. The world body has also been unable to reverse the pattern of fragile peace

shows that their effects spread far beyond that state's borders. Internal wars target civilians, displace populations and destabilize entire regions; they are difficult to stop and, once stopped, can easily start up again. "People do horrible things to each other in a civil war," Doyle says. "What gets them to stop? The UN can do it, but we need to improve their percentage. Nearly half of all peace operations fail." Doyle considers the current international

tion of outside troops between sides in a conflict, is a longstanding instrument of the UN. Peacebuilding goes beyond the UN's established role in peacekeeping operations, enabling a country to move to a point where risks of relapse into conflict are reduced, violence is no longer used to promote political objectives and new engines are in place for economic growth.

Peacebuilding comes with a formidable to-do list: providing transitional security; maintaining public order; supporting the political process; saving lives with humanitarian assistance; creating a framework for economic recovery and rebuilding state institutions. Experience and research have made it clear that the scope of the process is more than any single organization can manage; it calls for a collective or integrated approach. A growing awareness of this fact on the part of UN officials resulted in a serious drive to improve international peacebuilding through the late 1990s, culminating in former Secretary-General Kofi Annan's 2003 formation of the High-level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. Declaring that the UN had reached a fork in the road, he set the Panel to work "examining the major threats and challenges the world faces in the broad field of peace and security, including economic and social issues insofar as they relate to peace and security, and making recommendations for the elements of a collective response."

In November 2003 Annan named Anand Panyarachun, former Prime Minister of Thailand, to chair the High-Level Panel on global security threats and reform of the international system, and he appointed fifteen Panel members:

■ ROBERT BADINTER (France), Member of the French Senate and former Minister of Justice of France;

■ JOÃO CLEMENTE BAENA SOARES (Brazil), former Secretary-General of

Nations system effectively addresses the countries with the transition from war to therefore propose to member states that governmental Peacebuilding commission."

followed by a relapse into violence that threatens large swaths of the world's most under-resourced areas. Violence most frequently recurs in cases of civil war, this century's most menacing and fastest growing type of conflict. Already poor, civil war-torn countries rapidly become increasingly impoverished and susceptible to crime, disease, terrorism and drug trafficking, to name just a few grim possibilities. It's mainly the recognition that civil wars must end—and that the UN still represents the world's best hope of doing so—that has led to the formation of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission.

Shoring Up the Peace Process

"Stopping civil wars has never been more important," says Michael Doyle. Since the end of the Cold War period, almost all new armed conflicts have occurred *within* the territories of sovereign states, he points out, yet research

approach uncoordinated and too short: NATO and the UN leave one crisis and head off for another too quickly, he contends. "To achieve a sustainable peace after civil war there has to be more coordination and longer engagement—not troops but international commitment. That's what the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission must provide."

A relatively new concept, the term peacebuilding was coined by former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his 1992 report, *An Agenda for Peace*. He defined it as "rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war." Since then, the meaning of peacebuilding has grown to encompass a range of approaches used at various points in the conflict cycle—from conflict prevention to post-conflict reconstruction. Peacekeeping, which involves imposi-

the Organization of American States;

■ GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND (Norway), former Prime Minister of Norway and former Director-General of the World Health Organization;

■ MARY CHINERY-HESSE (Ghana), Vice-Chairman, National Development Planning Commission of Ghana and former Deputy Director-General, International Labour Organization;

■ GARETH EVANS (Australia), President of the International Crisis Group and former Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia;

■ DAVID HANNAY (United Kingdom), former Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations and United Kingdom Special Envoy to Cyprus;

■ ENRIQUE IGLESIAS (Uruguay), President of the Inter-American Development Bank;

■ AMRE MOUSSA (Egypt), Secretary-General of the League of Arab States;

■ SATISH NAMBIAR (India), former Lt. General in the Indian Army and Force Commander of the United Nations Protective Force (UNPROFOR);

■ SADAKO OGATA (Japan), former United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees;

■ YEVGENY PRIMAKOV (Russia), former Prime Minister of the Russian Federation;

■ QIAN QICHEN (China), former Vice Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China;

■ NAFIS SADIK (Pakistan), former Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund;

■ SALIM AHMED SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania), former Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity; and

■ BRENT SCOWCROFT (United States), former Lt. General in the United States Air Force and United States National Security Adviser.

"The Panel was made up of former heads of state, foreign ministers, military and diplomatic officials," Del Rosso says, "but behind the scenes a great deal of important work was done by staff." Two key staff positions were held by Carnegie Corporation grantees on temporary assignment: Bruce Jones served first as deputy research director, then as deputy to the special advisor to the secretary-general, supporting the assistant-secretary-general for strategic planning on negotiations on security issues as well as acting secretary of the secretary-general's policy committee. Stephen Stedman was the research director of the High-Level Panel and stayed on at the UN as a special advisor with the rank of assistant secretary-general to help gain worldwide support in implementing the panel's recommendations. During the High Level Panel process, scores of outside experts were brought in to consult and provide analysis, which the UN was unable to do on its own, in order to come up with actionable recommendations, says Del Rosso. As a result, two scholars represented the most direct link between the Corporation's International Peace and Security Program and the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission, while the work of a number of other individual grantees and organizations influenced the Panel as well.

"The High-Level Panel was where the first proposal for a Peacebuilding Commission emerged," Stephen Stedman recalls, "but getting there required an enormous number of policy decisions." One of the UN's major shortcomings is that it was designed for the world of 1945," he explains, "and the member states have a hard time agreeing on what its present-day role should be." Stedman is troubled by the UN's traditional lack of commitment to sustained conflict resolution and he points to some pressing needs—first of all for paying attention. "Once a con-

flict falls off the docket of the Security Council no one pays attention after the peacekeepers leave, even when there are serious signs of danger," he says. "There's also a dearth of good strategies, which is why the statistics are so grim.... What struck us was how difficult it is to get anyone to say what their long-term strategy is, which explains why so many peace agreements fail to take hold. There are a lot of tasks, but no sense of what anyone's doing about sustaining peace over time."

A Threat to One Is a Threat to All

The High-Level Panel spent a year reviewing virtually every aspect of international security and, in December 2004, officially announced 100-plus recommendations for change, urging the adoption of new, far-reaching ground rules to help the world face evolving security threats and to shore up the United Nations. The Panel's report, *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*, argued that "a threat to any nation or people is a threat to all," and that "nations must work together to maintain their security." Their recommendations ranged from new guidelines on the acceptable use of force to detailed proposals for strengthening the nuclear and nonproliferation regime; from elements of counterterrorism strategy to renewed approaches to human rights.

Peacebuilding stood out among the Panel's many recommendations because it pulled together a range of related concerns and, notably, urged the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission—a new entity to identify countries at risk of violent conflict, organize prevention efforts and marshal and sustain the international community's ongoing post-conflict peacebuilding. The panel urged more effective peacekeeping efforts overall, requiring greater human and financial resources, and enhanced development as

CARNEGIE CORPORATION

States-At-Risk Grantees

- **Brookings Institution:** Research on global poverty, weak states and national security.
- **University of California, San Diego:** Research, analysis and dissemination on international policy toward states at risk.
- **University of Cambridge:** A project to apply lessons of recent power-sharing settlements to emerging and unresolved self-determination disputes.
- **East-West Center:** A project on state-building challenges in Asia.
- **Center for Global Development:** Research on transnational threats posed by states at risk.
- **Center for Strategic and International Studies:** A project on reforming U.S. and international post-conflict reconstruction efforts.
- **City University of New York:** Research, analysis, dialogue and dissemination on states at risk.
- **University of Colorado, Boulder:** Research partnership on postwar state-building.
- **Council on Foreign Relations:** Research and outreach on new security threats.
- **Dayton Peace Accords Project:** State-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
- **Duke University:** Managing external interventions after September 11th.
- **Emory University:** Examination of the models of states at regional risk.
- **Fund for Peace:** A project to provide early warning of states at risk.
- **Future Generations:** Research and policy development on the role of community participation in states at risk.
- **International Crisis Group:** Research, analysis, dialogue and dissemination on preventing state collapse.
- **International Peace Academy:** A project to assist the development of the United Nation's Peacebuilding Commission.
- **New York University Center on International Cooperation:** Research, analysis, dialogue and dissemination on legal aspects of states at risk.
- **Princeton University:** Analysis of post-conflict Afghanistan and its future.
- **Public International Law and Policy Group:** A project to provide pro bono legal assistance and policy advice to states at risk.
- **RAND Corporation:** Research and policy outreach on national and international decision-making structures addressing states at risk.
- **Henry L. Stimson Center:** A project on enhancing public security and the rule of law in post-conflict reconstruction.
- **Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars:** Research, analysis, dialogue and dissemination on states at risk.

“the first line of response” against threats to human security. Stressing the critical need for reform, the report noted that although the UN “has been much more effective in addressing the major threats to peace and security than it is given credit for,” serious changes would be needed to make it “effective, efficient and equitable in providing collective security for all.”

Successful peacebuilding requires the deployment of peacekeepers, the report said, with the right mandates and sufficient capacity to deter would-be spoilers (who have their own reasons for wanting the conflict to continue); funds for demobilization and disarmament built into peacekeeping budgets; a new trust fund to fill critical gaps in rehabilitation and reintegration of combatants, as well as other early reconstruction tasks; and a focus on building state institutions and capacity, especially in the rule of law sector. Doing this job successfully should be a core function of the United Nations, the panel insisted, but the UN often devoted too little attention and too few resources to this critical challenge.

Handing over the report to the UN General Assembly for consideration and action, Secretary-General Annan wrote in his accompanying letter that it “offers the United Nations a unique opportunity to refashion and renew our institutions,” highlighting its call for a “broader, more comprehensive system of collective security: one that tackles both new and old threats, and addresses the security concerns of all states—rich and poor, weak and strong.” He applauded the Panel’s consensus on the need for collective action, recognizing that “we cannot treat issues such as terrorism or civil wars or extreme poverty in isolation.”

In March 2005, Annan delivered his own report to the UN General Assembly, *In Larger Freedom: Towards Development, Security and Human Rights for All*, to restate his support for the High

Level Panel's finding and spur the UN to action. "I believe this concept can bridge the gap between divergent views of security and give us the guidance we need to face today's dilemmas," he wrote. "Yet, at this very point there is a gaping hole in the United Nations institutional machinery: no part of the United Nations system effectively addresses the challenge of helping countries with the transition from war to lasting peace. I therefore propose to member states that they create an intergovernmental Peacebuilding Commission, as well as a Peacebuilding Support Office, within the United Nations Secretariat, to achieve this end."

In September 2005 a World Summit at UN headquarters in New York—billed as the largest gathering of world leaders in history—brought together 170 heads of state dedicated to making "bold decisions in the areas of development, security, human rights and reform." During the summit the UN member states agreed to the creation of the Peacebuilding Commission by the end of that year. They also agreed to create a Peacebuilding Support Office to set objectives, handle strategy and provide guidance, as well as a Peacebuilding Fund to guarantee resources between the end of conflict and resumption of longer-term development assistance.

The following December the General Assembly endorsed the Commission, defining it as an advisory body to help strengthen and support countries so they can endure the very difficult post-conflict years when, even if fighting has stopped, the economy, rule of law and institutions of governance may be extremely weak. It is the Peacebuilding Commission's job to bring all stakeholders to the table: International financial institutions, including the World Bank, nongovernmental organizations, governments, donor countries, representatives of civil society and the private sector and others to facilitate collaboration among

political, military, humanitarian and development activities. Its intention is to offer countries emerging from conflict informed advice on strategies for recovery, including reconstruction, institution building and sustainable development, and to help provide financing for early post-conflict activities as well as investment for the longer term, focusing the international community's attention on all these issues for an extended period of time.

The Commission is made up of a 31-member organizational committee

as well as country-specific committees, including country representatives and regional organizations, whose participation will be tailored to the specific case. As an advisory body, the Commission lacks an enforcement mechanism, but its recommendations are expected to carry weight because of the diversity and relevance of the participants: members of the Security Council, top troop contributors (who have direct experience with the challenges of achieving sustainable peace and security), top financial donors and key institutional

UNITED NATIONS *Peacebuilding Commission*

CHAIRMAN:

Yukio Takaso (*Japan*)

VICE-CHAIRPERSONS:

Carmen Maria Gallardo Hernandez (*El Salvador*)

Leslie Kojo Christian (*Ghana*)

MEMBERS:

Seven members selected by the Security Council

Belgium, China, France, the Russian Federation, South Africa, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America.

Seven members elected by the Economic and Social Council

Angola, Brazil, the Czech Republic, Guinea-Bissau, Luxembourg, Indonesia and Sri Lanka.

Five top providers of assessed contributions to United Nations budgets and of voluntary contributions to the United Nations funds, programs and agencies,

including a standing peacebuilding fund

Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Norway.

Five top providers of military personnel and civilian police to United Nations missions

Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Nigeria and Pakistan.

Seven members elected by the General Assembly

Burundi, Chile, Egypt, El Salvador, Fiji, Georgia, and Jamaica

players. Countries may ask for advice from the Commission directly or requests may be made on their behalf by the Secretary-General and major UN bodies. The UN requires that the peacebuilding process involve officials from the country in conflict, and take place only with that country's full participation. The Commission will not intervene in a country unless requested, and will do so only with the approval of the organizational committee. The plan is to deal with countries after the establishment of a peace accord and cessation of violence with the aim of keeping the international community engaged even after the peacekeepers have gone.

Let the Peacebuilding Begin—Soon

No undertaking of the UN is without its complications, and the start-up of the Peacebuilding Commission has run true to form. "Although it was approved in December 2005, it took over a year to get underway," Del Rosso says. "There were a lot of procedural problems relating to longstanding UN bureaucratic issues before the Commission finally became operational in 2006. During this initial period Corporation grantees, again, provided analytical support for the fledgling organization and served as convener for lots of 'unofficial, official' meetings."

On board throughout the launching process, Stephen Stedman expresses frustration with the fact that "what got through negotiations did not match the original proposal," faulting the member states' political maneuvering and the U.S. government's apparent lack of engagement. The Commission was made larger than the Panel recommended and there was too much squabbling over the minutia of how things would run, he says. As a result, the Commission has gotten off to an "incredibly slow start."

But "love it or hate it, the UN is the only body that covers the whole world,"

says Carolyn McAskie, assistant secretary-general for peacebuilding support. "Only the Peacebuilding Commission brings all the relevant actors together and leaves no one out, which means all walks of life and all parts of the globe." McAskie confirms that the current peacebuilding entities have been set up based on the recognition that the international community in the late 1990s and early 2000s was getting better at solving conflict, but not fast enough. "Now we've reached a critical phase," she says, "and keeping on track means bringing all aspects together into a north-south, east-west, rich-poor coalition where we target a number of fragile countries falling off the edge, and talk about them from a global security point of view."

McAskie, a foreign policy veteran, was most recently the special representative of the Secretary General and head of the peacekeeping operation in Burundi, having come to the UN after 30 years with the Canadian International Development Agency. She acknowledges the existence of past peacekeeping disasters such as Somalia but argues that critics of the UN aren't looking at what's happening right now, or how much has been learned through dealing with chronic problems in countries like Sierra Leone and Côte D'Ivoire. "Maybe the Security Council doesn't agree on Darfur and Kosovo," she says, "but it has put more money into peacekeeping than ever before. As a result, even though Africa still has huge problems, it's not like back in 1999 when we were talking about World War III starting there."

Research on global security continues to inform McAskie's view of today's danger zones and what to do about them. Development holds the key, she says. "There's a recognized correlation between neglect and conflict, with the most at-risk places not on anybody's donor list." Political exclusion, economic frustration and despair are dangerous

because "where there's little hope, the seeds of conflict will find fertile ground," she points out, citing Paul Collier's book *The Bottom Billion*, which demonstrates that 73 percent of the world's poorest billion inhabitants live in conflict-ridden societies. These facts reinforce the core rationale behind the Peacebuilding Commission, she says, which is helping the international community bridge the crucial conflict-development gap.

How to achieve coherence, to bring it all together—peacebuilding, politics, development—and get countries up and running is the question facing McAskie and the Commission members. "After a war, how can you support a country sufficiently to reach the level of being a valid partner in the process? This is our chief mandate," she stresses, "helping countries past the period when their economy and infrastructure are devastated, when there's no tax base and therefore no public services. It's essential to start capacity building and relaunch all the public functions: police to provide basic security and disarm the populace, for instance. All relevant actions have to be taken together. We're the only organization that has the convening power to get everyone to the table to figure out how we can help the country define what the minimum is, when everything is a priority. Our job is to all agree on a strategy and mobilize the resources."

The process begins by getting all the players together, McAskie explains, which means representatives fly into New York while the UN Mission makes a shadow Peacebuilding Commission on the ground, within the post-conflict country. Members of both groups fly back and forth, and videoconferencing is used extensively, she says, with everyone pooling their knowledge to avoid having to start from scratch. Among the participants in these country-specific meetings are members of the Peacebuilding Commission's central organizational

committee and the senior UN representative in the field as well as representatives of the following: the country under consideration; engaged countries in the region; other engaged countries (including donors such as the Scandinavian countries); civil society including relevant regional and sub-regional non-governmental organizations; troop and civilian police contributors as well as relevant regional and international financial institutions. A representative of the Secretary-General and representatives from the World Bank, the IMF and other institutional donors are invited to participate in all meetings.

“Out of all we learn, we ask ‘what are the half-dozen priorities that must be addressed? What are members and the government going to do to make it happen?’” Meanwhile, “can we raise the money?” is a continuing challenge, she says. The UN Peacebuilding Fund, which supports the Commission, has a small budget and received an initial allocation of \$250 million as a one-time commitment. According to a United Nations report, the Fund has been able to rely on a broad base of donors from the United Nations membership, a number of whom agreed on multiyear commitments. Norway and Sweden made the largest initial contributions, followed by Denmark, the United Kingdom, Canada and Japan.

The purpose of the Fund is to get things off the ground, providing critical support during the early stages of the peace process immediately following the conclusion of a peace agreement. A country is eligible to receive funding once the Commission takes it under consideration. In Sierra Leone, for

example (which, along with Burundi, is one of the Commission’s first advisees) these funds were used to close the gap in election funding, keep the police on board and trained, put the soldiers in upgraded barracks and set up a Human Rights Commission. “Very practical stuff,” says McAskie. Sierra Leone’s election results were excellent, she reports. The population accepted the outcome and the outgoing government accepted



“The success of the Peacebuilding Commission will be measured in individual countries by the transformation of sustained international attention into concrete action from the subject governments, regional neighbors, and the international community in support of the development process that ultimately will help prevent a return to violence.”—Carolyn McAskie, United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Peacebuilding Support

that they’d lost. There was already a duly elected government in Burundi, but because of the Commission there are new donors participating, such as Norway, who wouldn’t have been there otherwise. As these signs of progress indicate, in choosing Sierra Leone and Burundi the Commission is seeking start-up projects with a relatively good chance of success. Unlike Nigeria or Iraq, where the need is so great the Commission would undoubtedly be overwhelmed, it is hoped these two small African countries will act as a model for future operations and will build confidence in the UN’s capacity for peacebuilding.

Yet money issues seem destined to plague the Commission. From the start there’s been an \$8 million gap between the Peacebuilding Fund’s allocation and donor contributions—in UN terms a lot of money—and no guarantee of renewed funding, according to McAskie. While there has been discussion of some donors pledging more money, there are no official commitments in place. “Will we get the big-ticket donations? It’s dicey yet, but I’m encouraged because members are discussing new

*“We’re the only
get everyone to the
define what the*

sources of funding. It’s a difficult challenge, the right kind of funding within the right security framework, because there’s a risk of failure whatever you do.”

While some at the UN are asking “now what?” and wondering whether peacebuilding will take off, “a good bureaucrat will use the process itself to make things happen,” McAskie maintains, “engaging with government, reminding them the world is watching and getting them on track. Then the bank starts giving money and, slowly but surely, we start seeing benefits.” She’s highly optimistic about what the Commission can accomplish and, while she concentrates on raising the level of public awareness and keeping key people thinking strategically about Burundi and Sierra Leone, at the same time she is getting the process started for Guinea-Bissau (a small West-African

country on Senegal's southern border, with a population under 1.5 million) which last December became the third country on the Commission's agenda, and considering what countries to assist next. The plan is for the Commission to deal, eventually, with four to five countries annually.

To those who complain that it's too slow a process she suggests, "Try it yourself!"

Success Has 1000 Fathers...

But failure is an orphan, the expres-

sion goes. In this case, dozens of Carnegie grantees and other organizations have, over time, contributed to the nascent Peacebuilding Commission, and many could rightfully claim credit at the first signs of good results. While hopes remain high, Del Rosso and other observers offer serious caveats about the relatively untested process. As he explains, "After the High Level Panel and the launching phase, the third phase, which we are now in, involves building the Commission's competence and capacity. In these early days many questions remain: How will the Commission get things done with so many representatives at the table—each with his own agenda? When local voices are included, who are they? Elites? Warlords? Legitimate representatives of civil society? How do you keep collaboration from turning into the lowest common denominator?"

"The Commission is facing a host

of challenges internally," he continues, "some budgetary but most political. And during this phase, Corporation grantees continue to provide essential support." On several occasions, for instance, members of the Peacebuilding Commission and other representatives of the UN and of post-conflict countries have come together for strategy-building seminars with scholars and other experts in the field, organized by long-time grantees the International Peace Academy and the Center on International Cooperation. Attendees reflected on past experi-

ences, highlighted challenges and shared lessons learned in the field about how to best integrate the development, political and security elements of peacebuilding into a common strategy while plotting next steps.

As a result of these convenings, consensus was reached on a number of key objectives, which may someday serve as a measure of how successful the Commission has been, for example:

- Tangible delivery is what counts. It's vital to make a difference in the lives of the populations in question rather than acting as a "Peace Debating Commission."

- Benchmarks for success need to be clarified in order to track progress, and strategies should be judged by results on the ground.

- The Commission must "learn by doing," taking on a small number of cases at first to maximize chances of success and establish credibility. (This is the

rationale behind the limiting of initial projects to Sierra Leone and Burundi.)

- Implementation is a two-way street: the Commission should rally participants around an agreed-upon strategy in cooperation with local authorities.

- Clear individualized priorities must be set, not laundry-list approaches and one-size-fits-all solutions.

- Regular reviews must be conducted to be sure that all participants live up to their obligations.

Given such hurdles, what, realistically, are the chances for eventual success? The Peacebuilding Commission, created in response to a problem, has yet to offer a cohesive long-term solution. Yet it's important to remember that in the context of the United Nations, reforms typically take years rather than months to progress from the proposal and debate stage to implementation and evaluation. According to that timeframe, it's too early to say the latest attempt at peacebuilding won't work...but it's also too soon to call it a success. Still, Stephen Stedman, an insider who has been outspoken about his doubts regarding the process, says, "it seems to be getting better...this is no time to give up!"

"Peacebuilding is not just about 'bricks and mortar'—it is a transformative process involving changing attitudes about how to manage conflict," Secretary-General, Ban-Ki Moon has said. "While we haven't yet determined how to measure the Commission's accomplishments, I am confident that the people of Burundi and Sierra Leone will soon affirm its positive impact on their lives." The creation of the Peacebuilding Commission has taken place amid high expectations and international good will but, ultimately, must be judged on the quality of the results it delivers over the long haul. Whether it will turn out to be an orphan, or the child of many fathers, remains to be seen. ■

organization that has the convening power to table to figure out how we can help the country minimum is, when everything is a priority."



The Impact of **D** *on* Educ



Tim Sass
Professor of Economics
Florida State University

focus to education, and that, he said, is because Florida has an unprecedented wealth of publicly available data about each of its 168,000-plus teachers and nearly 2.7 million students.

He calls the availability of data “revolutionary.” Researchers can now access the kind of detailed information that has been commonplace in other sectors—the business world, for example—where split-second, data-driven ATM transactions and nationwide inventory decisions are made at the press of a button.

Tim Sass is an economics professor at Florida State University who, for most of the past 17 years, has been conducting in-depth research on issues related to municipal governance, electoral procedures, minority representation and market trends. Recently, however, he switched his

For Sass, this means Florida has an abundance of data on its students and an identification code for each one; it also has an abundance of data on its teachers and an identification code for each one of them. And it has a longitudinal accumulation of this information dating back to the 1995-1996 school year.

One result, said Sass, is that it is possible to track the academic performance of any given student as he or she goes through school, and that’s vastly different from comparing one year’s class of students in a particular grade to subsequent years of students in that grade. Therefore, he adds, you are controlling for a lot of things that can’t be measured, and in the process, eliminating the impact of outside factors such as race, ethnicity or socioeconomic status.

Sass’ first foray into education research focused on Florida’s

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Data-driven decisions about student progress and teacher effectiveness may not be embraced by all across the educational spectrum, but those who do think they are leading the way to improving educational achievement across the board.

ATA ation

by
LUCY HOOD

charter schools. After sorting through the academic records of 53,000 students enrolled in the state's 258 charter schools, he found that student performance on standardized tests was typically lower during the first few years of a charter school's existence, but by the fifth year, it was on par with public schools in math and slightly ahead of them in reading.

Sass has since added teacher data to his research on education. In one study he is looking at the correlation between the educational background of teachers—e.g., the college they attended and their ACT or SAT scores—and student test scores. In another he's asking, "Does it matter if all the kids in your class are bright, high achieving students? Or is it better to have a mix?"

"Economists are fairly new to this game, according to Sass. "It's been in the last dozen years or so that economists have gotten involved in education research [and that's because] it's become more quantitative. It's been a sea change in terms of education."

Driven in part by technology and in part by requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), the sea change is having an impact at every level of the educational spectrum. Some are embracing the opportunities afforded by the availability of measurements that allow for tracking the cumulative achievement of individual students and the performance of specific teachers. Some are not. And those that are moving forward are doing so with varying degrees of speed and enthusiasm. The result of these various efforts is a patchwork of progress.

Implementing the infrastructure to slice and dice the academic success of school children in every conceivable way is not an easy task. It requires



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developing information technology systems that can make this data available accurately and in a timely way, and building capacity at every level of schooling to use data well."

Above all else, it requires the political will to deal with what the numbers might expose. Teacher and student identification codes, for example, allow researchers like Sass to hone in on the impact any given teacher has on his or her students. Modern day numbers crunching allows for administrators to determine with more clarity than ever before which teachers are doing well and which ones are not.

Student IDs also allow schools to track students with greater precision through to graduation, thereby making it ever more possible to come up with reliable graduation and dropout rates.

*Using data to inform decision-making at every
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funding, qualified personnel, and leadership. "Using data to inform decision-making at every level changes how institutions have to function," said Michele Cahill, Vice President for National Program Coordination and Director of Urban Education for Carnegie Corporation of New York. "It requires changing expectations, changing the thinking of management at the leadership level, developing assessments that accurately measure learning gains,

But not everyone either agrees that the data is measuring well what children are learning or how to use the data appropriately, especially if more accurate measures are used in a punitive way.

"There are schools that are using data as a liberator and as a catalyst for change," said Timothy J. Magner, who directs the Office of Educational Technology at the U.S. Department of Education. "And there are other places that are using data simply as a sledgehammer to beat people

harder, and you can see where that would be a huge disincentive for people to want to buy into those systems. Nobody likes to get beat with a bigger stick or a more accurate stick.”

That’s why it’s important for there to be transparency about what the data is capturing so the numbers do not become misleading shorthand for success or failure. For example, is success or failure for a school determined by the proportion of students achieving at or above state standards for their grade in school or by how well and how quickly students are progressing academically in that school?

In the first instance, schools in which large numbers of the students enter the school with educational advantages will likely do very well and schools where the majority of entering students are far from academically

makes the challenges and gains more transparent and can expose important policy choices, such as where resources should be targeted. Without this level of sophistication, the emphasis on data and accountability tends to generate a tremendous amount of confusion, mistrust and cynicism about the use of data.

The impetus behind the current momentum in education data collection is twofold: the rapid pace of technological developments coupled with the onset of the standards and accountability movement, most notably the implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2002. With NCLB, “The federal government created a huge expectation for data,” said Deborah Newby, Director of Data quality for the Council of Chief State School Officers.

really become much more a part of the conversation.”

Magner works with Ross C. Santy, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Data and Information. The Department of Education duo are now part of the policy and planning division and that, in and of itself, is indicative of the new status bestowed upon education data. “More and more folks are realizing this isn’t just an IT project,” Santy said, referring not only to the federal level but the state level as well.

“The states,” he said, “have really put a great amount of effort into improving their own data capacities in the past couple of years and are really moving fast.”

Some states like Florida and Texas started holding schools accountable for their performance on standardized tests long before it was mandated by NCLB. For years, they’ve been keeping track of student test scores on a systematic basis and shining the spotlight on various racial, ethnic and other subgroups. But for many states, these tabulations are relatively new.

A recently formed group called the Data Quality Campaign monitors each state’s ability to collect education data. Formed in 2005 and housed out of the National Center for Educational Accountability in Austin, Texas, it has a checklist of ten things each state should do if it wants to collect the kind of information that is needed to improve instruction at the classroom level and keep kids in school.

The Data Quality Campaign calls them the ten essential elements of a longitudinal data system, and they include a student ID; a teacher identification system that allows teachers to be matched with individual students; and student-level information that includes enrollment, demographics, performance on state assessments and college enrollment tests, graduation data, dropout data, courses taken and grades.

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—MICHELE CAHILL, VICE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL PROGRAM COORDINATION
AND DIRECTOR OF URBAN EDUCATION, CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK.

proficient will do poorly. Measuring progress, as in the second example, will allow the school with substantial academic progress to show this. This dilemma is at the heart of using data for accountability purposes. Schools must bring all students to standards of achievement if the students are to have the opportunity for success in life, so transparency about how far the school is from this achievement is essential. However, measuring progress both

It also shifted the focus from compliance, or simply making sure all the data cells were filled with the right information, to performance, meaning making sure that all students from every level—state, district, school and classroom—were meeting academic requirements. “Now performance and differentiating performance,” Magner said, “and bringing kids up who are falling behind as well as making sure that other kids can move ahead have

Educators often compare this trend to the kind of data collection that's been taking place in the business world for years. "Wal-Mart makes decisions about what needs to be shipped to a store instantaneously," Santy said, "and they're basing that on a huge number of sales and inventory figures. So systems know how to do this." Health care, a field more similar to education, is also being transformed by the use of data on mortality, survival and treatments in evaluating the results of drugs and other therapies as well as the performance of hospitals and doctors.

When it comes to technology, the education world is no different. The hardware and the software exist that would allow administrators, principals and teachers to look at test scores, attendance rates, graduation rates and other information at the click of a mouse. However, the IT systems are not yet in place nor the human capacity developed to make accurate data available and usable throughout school systems.

"We are just at the beginning of that transformation," Magner said. "The availability of information systems, the availability of data, and the ubiquity of technology are creating the opportunity and also the challenge of entirely different modes of interaction—and the data system is a necessary foundation for that."

The availability of data and the myriad possibilities it creates also comes with the need to build an entirely new value system around the data, Magner said, and that doesn't happen overnight. "In our microwave society," he said, "we expect that after firing up the software and dumping some data in it, the light is just going to come right out of the computer, fully formed from the head of Zeus or something."

Once all the hard work of getting the data into the system is done, he said, "the even harder work is to understand

what comes out of it, and whether we are really collecting the right stuff. And if we're not, then we need to retool our system so that we are."

Among the states, Florida is leading the way in terms of collecting education data. It is one of four that have completed all ten essential elements required by the Data Quality Campaign. And relatively speaking, it's been in the data collection business for a very long time. It started putting a sophisticated system in place at least twenty years ago, long before it became a priority in most other states.

Among the districts, the New York City Department of Education is leading the way in terms of collecting and analyzing data on graduation and dropout rates that is more detailed, nuanced and revealing than in most other school systems around the country. In 2006, it conducted a thorough and unflinching probe of its dropout problem. With support from the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, New York City worked with the Parthenon Group, a consulting company with extensive quantitative capacity, to analyze the data on the hundreds of thousands of students who attended a New York City high school between 1999 and 2005.

Among the schools, Ware Elementary in western Kansas is one of many that have taken the lead in adopting diagnostic tests, or formative assessments, to gauge what their students are learning. At Ware, the principal implemented the tests on a routine basis well before the state adopted formative assessments as a standard practice.

Each of these places—Florida, New York City and Ware Elementary School—is a microcosm of what's happening all around the country at the state and local level. At the national level, various governmental and non-governmental efforts are underway to assist state and local school systems.

The resulting progress is a wide range of advances, some taking place smoothly and some in fits and starts.

Florida

Panama City, Florida, is located in the state's panhandle, far removed from the glamour of South Beach and the life-size mice at Disneyworld. Known for its white sand beaches and the emerald hues of its Gulf Coast waters, Panama City is a popular vacation destination that is equidistant—in miles and in spirit—from New Orleans to the west and Orlando to the east.

Panama City is located in Bay County, which is home to 26,500 public school children. That number, which has dropped slightly due to ripple effects from Hurricane Katrina, is one of many that Technology and Information Services Director David Smith watches very closely.

"We look at that every week. We run reports that tell everybody what our demographics look like. We do it by school, by grade level, by student population. I send it to these guys every Thursday," he said, referring to four other people who were seated around a meeting table at the district's administrative building in Panama City.

Those four people are in charge of curriculum and instruction for Bay County schools. And those four, Smith said, "are asking me questions now that they wouldn't have thought of asking five, six, ten years ago," probably because they have a combination of information and technology that allows them to keep much closer tabs on what is working and what is not.

"We're looking at things now that we've never looked at before," said Lendy Willis, Executive Director of Curriculum and Instructional Services for the Bay County school district. One example, he said, is a recent study of two different math programs used in

the district, one from Harcourt and the other from Saxon Publishers.

"We got data today," he said, "that compares last year's math scores to this year's math scores and tells us which series they're using, so we can begin to look at where we are getting the bang for our buck with purchasing curriculum materials."

Based on a preliminary review of the results there was no rhyme or reason, Willis said, as to why one grade did better with Saxon and another did better with Harcourt. It would seem, he said, that in this case it simply depended on the teacher, not the program itself.

Smith has also devised a way of electronically red-flagging potential problems for principals. It's called the Principals' Dashboard, and it provides a detailed snapshot of student performance on the Florida Comprehensive Assessment Test (FCAT). If, for example, there are ten students in grade nine who scored at the lowest level, all the principal has to do is click on that number, and it gives him or her the list of students in that group. In addition, Smith said, the system highlights in red any data that is out of kilter.

The idea is similar to one developed by school officials four years ago to flag potential dropouts. That program looks at 17 different indicators, including test data, attendance and disciplinary actions. If any three of the 17 indicators are "turned on," meaning they reach a certain, unacceptable threshold, then teachers know the student is in trouble and needs additional help.

In short, the district is doing everything it possibly can with the information at hand. "We assign reading coaches according to data," Willis said. "We assign mentors for teachers, financial resources—I mean everything—according to what the data is telling us about schools and kids."

Some of what is being done on the data front in Bay County schools

is the result of local innovations—the Principals' Dashboard, for example, and the at-risk indicators. But the data collection mindset in Bay County has its roots in Tallahassee, where state education officials started putting one of the nation's most sophisticated data collection systems in place long before anyone else.

Florida is the one place, above all others, where data collection has become the norm. It is the only state that has completed all ten essential elements required by the Data Quality Campaign. And it started in the 1980s, when pen and paper—not automation—were still being used to record information.

"We produced the paper forms," said Lavan Dukes, Director of Education Information and Accountability Services for the Florida Department of Education. "We mailed the paper forms to school districts, they hand-entered the stuff, sent it back to us, we key-entered the stuff and then produced summary reports."

As is commonly the case, much of the data—whether it related to vocational ed, special ed or English language learners—was being collected separately in what are commonly known as "silos."

Early on, Dukes and his colleagues wondered "if we could find a better way to build this mousetrap." Policymakers also determined that the state needed to keep better track of its students, and to do that they needed to have individually identifiable data for each one. By the early 1990s, they had decided that state funds would be contingent on each school submitting the required information.

"All of the systems that we have," said Jay Pfeiffer, Deputy Commissioner,

Division of Accountability, Research and Measurement at the Florida Department of Education, "basically began around funding issues."

Before the systems were put in place, however, Dukes and his colleagues con-

ducted a thorough review of the information that was being collected, of the overlap that existed, and how they could get everyone on the same page.

The next step was to centralize the collection process, Dukes said, and that wasn't always easy. Not everyone was willing to relinquish control over their slice of the data pie. In fact, it took several years to accomplish, but it ultimately led to a culture of trust that has been crucial to the success of Florida's data collection process ever since.

To get where it is today, Florida addressed two other controversial issues early on, and their experience with both has helped create a solid foundation for the quality of data the state now has.

One deals with the use of Social Security numbers in the student and teacher identification process. While the Social Security number is not part of the ID itself, it is part of the information collected for teachers and students, and certain "crosswalk" technologies can be used to access it. In recent years, the use of Social Security numbers has become controversial and most states are not using them. But their embedded existence in Florida's data allows the state to cross-reference individual student and teacher information with college enrollment and employment data.

"If a student leaves high school and goes into the labor force," Pfeiffer said, "we know about that. If they go into postsecondary, we know about that."

The other potential landmine is privacy. Florida goes to great lengths to preserve the privacy of individual students and teachers. "That's why there are no issues," Duke said. "We are not babes in the woods when it comes to FERPA (the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act)."

All of these measures have had a positive effect. So much so that in Florida, Dukes said, most people no longer question the education data because they know

that it's collected consistently and reliably "across years and across programs."

Formative Assessments

The vast majority of students at Ware Elementary School in Fort Riley, Kansas, are different from those at most other elementary schools in one tragically fundamental way. Anywhere from 70 to 75 percent of the nearly 600 youngsters who attend the school have at least one parent at war either in Afghanistan or Iraq.

Fort Riley, located in western Kansas, is home to the U.S. Army's 1st Infantry Division. Even during the best of times, it has a high mobility rate, and seven years ago, before the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, before the invasion of Afghanistan later that year, and before the invasion of Iraq in 2003, Ware Elementary School was one of the worst performers in the state. Now it's one of the best, and Deb Gustafson, who took over as principal

adopted by the state as a standard practice for monitoring student progress, and the ones used at Ware were home-grown, paper-and-pencil tests developed on site by reading and math teachers at each grade level.

Within a year's time, Ware had become a school of excellence, and today, anywhere from 97 to 100 percent of the students are either meeting or exceeding state proficiency levels. Never mind that most come from the mili-

assessment with questions of their own.

The tests, Gustafson said, help the school provide individual academic plans for each student. They are first administered on the second full day of school in math and reading, immediately telling teachers where the students should be placed in the school's Success for All reading program.

The students at Ware, Gustafson said, come from all over the world. They speak 27 languages. "We have to assess what



Deb Gustafson, principal of Ware Elementary School, talks with teachers and staff during a lunch break.



Teacher Cynthia Rasmussen works with students at Ware Elementary School.

in the 2001-2002 school year, credits the use of formative assessments with the school's turnaround.

At the time, formative assessments were much more of an anomaly than they are today. They had not yet been

tary's "blue collar" ranks and 82 percent qualify for free and reduced lunch.

Ware used its own assessments for five years, and last year it switched to an online version provided by the state, but teachers still supplement the state

they know and then make a plan to get them caught up with Kansas standards."

The assessment is then given every quarter, or nine weeks. And in the spring, the third, fourth and fifth graders take the state-mandated, end-of-the-year test, the Kansas Computerized Assessment. By then, Gustafson said, "We can predict very well how many will be successful."

Formative assessments are very different from end-of-the-year tests, or summative assessments, which are good at distinguishing between students who are proficient and those who are not. Summative assessments have a lot of questions clustered around the line that distinguishes those who are proficient from those who are not, said Ross Wiener,

Policy Director for the Education Trust.

In contrast, formative assessments are a diagnostic tool. “Even if it’s multiple choice,” Wiener explained, “the wrong answers are arrayed in such a way that you learn something....They don’t just break out which students got this question right, which ones got it wrong. Of the students who got it wrong, which ones answered C, which ones answered D? Because if they answered C, it’s likely that they are misunderstanding the question in some way.”

Another key to formative assessments and what distinguishes them from the regular quiz, test or homework assignment is that there is no grade. They are not a high-stakes test. “The minute you call it a quiz and put it in your grade book,” said John Poggio of the University of Kansas, “everyone has a different relationship with that exam.”

Poggio is the Director of the Center for Educational Testing and Evaluation at the university, which has been running the state’s educational testing program since 1980.

In the spring of 1980, he said, “We started out building tests in reading and math.” The center created three generations of tests, which evolved into “really tough and challenging” exams in the 90s. Since the implementation of the No Child Left Behind Act, he said, “there’s been a peeling back of those extraordinarily challenging tests.”

But there’s also been an exponential increase in the use of formative assessments, and that’s also due, at least in part, to an aspect of NCLB that Poggio applauds. It mandated testing all kids at several grade levels and holding schools accountable for the performance of all students regardless of race, special education status or English proficiency.

“It placed accountability at the building level. A lot of states...thought the student was responsible,” Poggio recalls. “If the pass rates are shoddy, it’s

the school that’s messing up...Blame the principal. Blame the superintendent.”

Formative assessments are rapidly becoming the norm for another reason as well—technology. They were first used in the late 1960s and educators became increasingly aware of their effectiveness, Poggio said, but “the problem with formative testing is you could never turn tests around fast enough.” Not until the advent of online testing. Then they began to emerge as a viable diagnostic tool.

Poggio’s office started to administer formative assessments in the 2002-2003 school year on a limited basis. About 45 school districts made use of a seventh grade math assessment. The tests went online in 2004-2005, and by last year most of the state’s 1,700 schools administered a total of 2.5 million formative tests at various grade levels and in an array of subject areas.

“Just about every school district in the state is using them now,” he said.

And they have the option of using them as often as they like—weekly, bi-weekly, monthly, whatever suits their instructional needs.

Two perks to the process are the price (it’s free) and the freedom (it’s not mandatory). Another is speed. The University of Kansas posts the results of each test online by 6 a.m. the following morning. They’re usually ready within 20 minutes, he said, but just to make sure they’re delivered on time, no promises are made until first thing the following day.

Amidst all the good news, there is a downside, Poggio said. “Educators get fooled by the test. They think somehow the test is instruction, that by taking the tests repeatedly, kids will do well. That’s wrong.”

“Children are going to do better when you teach them the content,” he said. “What I’m learning, painfully, is that...too many kids are simply taking these tests and not getting enough

formal instruction.”

To fix the problem, the center has taken formative assessments a step farther. Poggio and his staff are providing instructional materials with a smaller version of the formative assessments so that teachers place the focus back on instruction. Poggio calls them formative lessons, and they provide educators with the exact materials they need to teach a given lesson.

The formative lessons are one way the state is addressing an ever-present risk of testing programs—the inevitable hope that the tests alone will be a cure-all of sorts. But in successful schools, that is not the case. Effective schools are known for constantly monitoring where their students stand, but they also have myriad programs in place to help their students excel.

At Ware Elementary School, the tests are an integral part, but only one part, of an overall strategy to provide each student with a great deal of support and individualized attention. Before the school year even begins, teachers visit each of their students, take them a small gift and visit their parents or caretakers. “Our school is a very positive school,” said fourth grade teacher Lisa Akard. “The kids come first.”

Throughout the year, grade level teachers, along with instructors in special education and English as a second language, hold weekly focus meetings to discuss their students, their teaching strategies and any other course of action—after-school tutoring, for example—that may help a given student. “Nobody’s lost at Ware,” Akard said.

In addition to the academic focus, students receive enthusiastic support for their work, including their progress on formative assessments. “We make a big deal of it,” Akard said. “We keep things positive and exciting.” One way they do that is by encouraging students to celebrate, to beat on their desks, to cheer and

make noise both before and after the test.

One year, as Akard's students walked from their classroom to a computer room to take the test, she led her students in a military style chant. It went like this:

"I don't know but I've been told, Ware Bears are as good as gold. While we're working on this test, we promise to give it our personal best."

It can get loud, Akard said, but "we don't scare them off with the test. By the time they take it, they're saying 'bring it on. I'm ready.'"

Dropouts

Brooklyn Bridge Academy (BBA) is one of 30 transfer schools in New York City's public school system. Transfer schools are by definition small, they cater to youngsters who have previously dropped out of school or who are older and have a history of school failure and poor attendance. The expansion of the number of these schools, along with broader reforms in the entire high school system, is to a great extent the result of an unusually exhaustive dropout study the city's department of education conducted.

BBA is located in a circular, third floor wing of South Shore Educational Complex, a sprawling high school with over 1,000 students. As of mid-January 2008, BBA had 144 students, all of them between the ages of 16 and 20. Many of them, although they had been in high school for more than two years, had yet to gain the 11 credits typical of completing freshman year. Some of them had none.

There are certain parameters for each transfer school. In general, they enroll students who have either dropped out or are at least two years behind in their academic work; they work with community-based organizations to provide an extensive array of counseling and support services; they hold to the same standards and offer the same Regents diploma as regular New York

City public high schools but organize the curriculum to fit the needs of their students; and many of them also offer connections to the real world through Learning to Work programs.

BBA has joined forces with FECS Health and Human Services System, a large New York City-based nonprofit. FECS has seven staff members at BBA and is helping to run the school along with staff from the New York City Department of Education, including Principal Adele Fabrikant, nine teachers and four support staff.

Much of what the school has done so far and much of what it will do in the future is based on combing through vast amounts of detailed data about each of its students. For example, course offerings do not fall into the typical grade-level pattern—9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th—found at most high schools. Instead, the staff carefully examined the courses needed by each of the school's students and designed the class schedule to meet their needs.

In addition, students attend an advisory session twice a week with someone from the FECS staff, and every two weeks they receive a progress report assessing their academic progress. If need be, advisors will also meet one-on-one with individual students to help them sort out the myriad nonacademic difficulties that often make school a challenge for at-risk students.

"There is a lot of adult-student contact," Fabrikant said. "Students will have an adviser, beginning to end, and they will support students and hold them accountable for their decisions."

In the large-scale dropout study, New York City found that already existing transfer schools had the greatest impact on graduation rates for these highly at-risk students. Their overall graduation rate was 56 percent. For the same category that the study focused on—overage and under-credited stu-

dents (meaning the students were at least two years behind in terms of age and accumulated credits)—large comprehensive high schools had a graduation rate of 19 percent.

The study was conducted in partnership with the New York City Department of Education by the Boston-based Parthenon Group. Teams from the Department of Education and the Parthenon Group looked at every student who entered high school during the 1999-2000 school year and tracked their progress for seven years through the 2005-2006 school year.

"We had a lot of questions to start off with," said JoEllen Lynch, CEO of the Partnership Support Office for New York City schools. "How big a factor is literacy? Is numeracy a factor? Is the type of school a factor? Is the size of the school a factor? What happens to the students who fall behind at what year? Do they do better in the new small schools or not?"

What they found was that the sheer number of highly at-risk students was enormous. There were a total of 138,000 young people ages 16-21 who were either already out of school without a diploma or more than two years behind in credits. That number is larger than the entire student population in Alaska, Delaware, North Dakota, South Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming. Of New York City's total overage, under-credited population, 68,000 had dropped out.

The study also found that 48 percent of entering freshman ultimately fall behind, and almost all of them, or 93 percent, begin the downward spiral in the 9th and 10th grades; 78 percent were retained as freshman and 15 percent as sophomores; and once they did start to fall behind, they left school at a rapid pace.

A determining factor for the ultimate success—or failure—of at-risk students was a combination of school size and the concentration of

low-performing students. A worst case scenario was a school with 1,000 students or more and a high percentage who had not done well on their 8th grade English assessment. In these settings, three-out-of-every-five students fell behind by at least two years. But by making adjustments, the study indicated, graduation rates would go up.

The data also revealed at least one unexpected surprise—the discovery of nearly 5,000 young people between the ages of 17 and 21 who dropped out even though they were close to achieving the 44 credits and passing the five Regents exams they needed to graduate. In order to make sure that they stay in school and make it through to graduation Lynch is concerned that they be given the kind of support they need. She says, “If we don’t [do] something for them at that point, we’ll lose them. We could see it in the data now. We never could see that before.”

In fact, “seeing it in the data” has been what took the dropout problem in New York City to a whole new level, what allowed school officials to abandon theories and speculation and determine exactly what the problem was so they could put very specific plans in place to address it.

The findings from the Parthenon study have led New York City schools to expand an already existing plan to close some of its large, low-performing, comprehensive high schools and create additional smaller schools designed to meet the needs of at-risk students. The effort began in 2003 and included the creation of 200 new small schools. By fall of 2007, the total had reached 231, including Brooklyn Bridge Academy.

Few school districts, however, have the data systems in place that allow for the kind of analysis done by the Parthenon Group. And even though New York had the data and the commitment and expertise within its leader-

ships and staff to use data for planning reform, the Department did not have sufficient staff with the analytical expertise to conduct such large-scale analysis. “School districts don’t have these kinds of numbers crunchers,” Lynch said. “It’s a big issue. You don’t have on-staff strategic planning experts to really do this kind of work.” If, however, “we did this across the country,” she said, “we’d finally have a real understanding of how many students we actually lose, where we lose them from and why.”

The New York study is, indeed, an anomaly. “From our point of view, when this was done, frankly it was unprecedented,” said Adam Tucker, a Senior Program Officer with the Gates Foundation, which funded the study. “It had not been done previously, not in

ter serve those who were at risk of never graduating from high school. “There have been a variety of dropout studies, but what made this piece of work special and unique,” Tucker said, “was the depth and comprehensiveness of the analysis coupled with the school district having a strategic operating plan to help mitigate the challenge.”

When it comes to education data, both graduation and dropout rates make for the most problematic terrain, which is due in part to the reluctance of school leaders to truly scrutinize their dropout rates. “In many ways, it’s in peoples’ best interest along the food chain not to have good data,” Ross Santy notes, “because you can say, ‘They didn’t drop out, they transferred, and they don’t count against me as a dropout.’”



**Adele Fabrikant, Principal
Brooklyn Bridge Academy**

the depth and the specificity that New York City was able to do it.”

He applauded not only its analysis of the “dropout pipeline” but also the inclusion of a concrete plan for building schools and programs to bet-

And it’s also due to the nature of the problem itself. It’s much harder to keep track of students, especially those in highly mobile communities, than it is to measure their test scores, and it’s close to impossible to follow them across state lines. When it comes to dropouts, “what you’re asking schools to do... is to track down the student who isn’t around anymore,” said Chris Swanson, director of the Research Center for Editorial Projects in Education (EPE), which publishes Education Week.

Previously, Swanson was at the Urban Institute, where he conducted numerous studies on graduation rates and ultimately developed his own—one that made people realize that the percentage of students getting a high school diploma was much lower than the 85 percent most often gleaned from U.S. Census data.

Instead, Swanson’s calculations put the number at what is considered to be a much more realistic 70 percent

nationwide. Swanson uses the best available national data—the Common Core of Data collected by the National Center for Education Statistics—to come up with his rate, but that still falls short of what individual states could do if they wanted to.

Once they had certain things in place, such as an individual student identification code, they could track each student who entered high school to find exactly which ones graduated and which ones did not. They could keep track of these students over time, not just year to year, so that they would know how many entering 9th graders in a given year finished school four years later.

All 50 states had at one time agreed to do just that. In 2005, they backed a four-year longitudinal graduation rate designed by the National Governors Association (NGA). Since then, policymakers in North Dakota have changed their minds, but all other states are still committed to the NGA rate, which is similar in concept to reporting requirements under NCLB. Federal law, however, allows for substantial leeway, Swanson said, and the result has been a hodgepodge of often misleading graduation rates.

But the outlook is not as grim, he said, as it was in 2004 when graduation rates were “relegated to a dark, dusty corner of the educational statistics enterprise.” That is changing, he explained. “It’s maybe not where we want it to be... but there has been more attention paid, which is certainly good.”

Swanson predicted that within five years or more, nearly all 50 states will be able to come up with a longitudinal graduation rate. A dozen states, he said, have the technical ability to come up with one now; 35 other states have implemented the required tracking system but have not had it in place long enough to come up with longitudinal data.

Conclusion

The dropout/graduation issue alone provides a good snapshot of current trends in the collection of education data. It illustrates the ability of data to lead to effective change; it illustrates the need for adequate IT systems, trained personnel and visionary leadership to translate data into action; and shows to what extent educators are beginning to adapt to data-driven decision making throughout the country.

The same could be said of formative assessments, teacher quality or the various data collection systems that have been adopted by each of the 50 states. Where there’s little dispute, said Michele Cahill of Carnegie Corporation, is with the ability of education data to inform decisions made at both the administrative level and the classroom level. Collecting and analyzing data has become the new mantra in education circles, she said.

She compared the current interest in data to what corporations have been doing for years. Businesses study their markets, she noted. If they had customers, for example, that bought their products for a while and then stopped, they would want to know why and what they could do to get them back. In the same way, schools need to find out who is learning, who is not, and how to change instructional methods to keep students in school and give them the academic skills they’ll need in college and the workplace.

In the New York City dropout study, school leaders found that there were students who entered high school far behind academically, showed up for a while, failed and then stopped going to school. There were also those who entered with good skills and did quite well academically, but they had no attachment to school and they also dropped out. “We had to segment the problem,” Cahill said, “and we couldn’t

do that without different kinds of data.” With that data, school administrators were then able to address the needs of the dropout population.

Tucker put it this way: “It’s not just the school district having the data. It’s actually having the capacity, the time and the resources to use the data effectively.”

The purpose of looking at data, Cahill said, is to ensure practices are put in place to achieve a specific goal, whether it’s dropout prevention or something else. “If you’re improving practices toward the goal of doing better on a test,” she said, “that may or may not be an improvement in achievement. It depends on the quality of the test.”

It depends on whether it’s a formative assessment, if it’s an end-of-the-year statewide assessment, if it’s the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the SAT, the ACT, or any number of other tests.

“If we think writing is really critical,” she said, “and everyone should be able to write this kind of piece—certain kinds of nonfiction, for example—by fourth grade, sixth grade and eighth grade, and all of the tests throughout are multiple choice, then you don’t have any data that’s helping you understand how your kids write. You’ve got to square these things.”

In other words, what matters is how learning and progress in school is assessed. It matters just as much as having the right hardware and software, properly trained personnel and strong leadership. The nuances of what’s being measured, how it’s being measured and how those measurements are being used make a tremendous difference, and it’s paramount, Cahill said, that everyone understands what they are. It’s key to ensuring that data is used to hold everyone accountable and to improve the status quo. ■

In Memoriam

William T. Golden – October 25, 1909 to October 7, 2007

Joshua Lederberg – May 23, 1925 to February 2, 2008

Carnegie Corporation gratefully acknowledges the contributions of William T. Golden, a business leader considered the principle architect of American science policy in the 20th century, who passed away in October, 2007; and Joshua Lederberg, Nobel laureate microbiologist and one of the century's premier scientists, who passed away on February 2, 2008.

Golden and Lederberg shared a close association with Carnegie Corporation, formed when they were appointed co-chairs of the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology, and Government in 1988. Then Corporation president David Hamburg established this group of high-level science and policy experts to recommend ways that government at all levels could make more effective use of science and technology in their deliberations and policymaking. The credentials of the two co-chairs were impressive: Lederberg, president of Rockefeller University, was one of the youngest Nobelists ever, a founder of the field of microbiology who had advised nine White House administrations; Golden was chair of the American Museum of Natural History and perhaps best known for establishing the post of Science Advisor to the President, and the related Office of Science and Technology in the Executive Office of the President, in 1950 as advisor to President Harry S. Truman.

Of the twenty-two Carnegie Commission members, half were scientists and engineers with governmental experience, and half were nonscientists with particular knowledge and experience in public affairs and science policy. They and the participants in the Commission's task forces included many distinguished names in science, technology and government—former President Jimmy Carter, physician Jonas Salk and former Secretary of State George Schultz among them. At its initial meeting the Commission decided, in light of a new administration's coming into the White House in January 1989, that the first topic for analysis would be the role of science and technology as it affected the President of the United States. The resulting report was approved at the next meeting, the first of more than twenty such publications released over the course of five years.

In time, beyond recommending best practices for integrating science and technology into the work of the President, the Commission's expert guidance was offered to Congress and the judiciary, as well as departments of defense, education, the environment and international affairs. In 2000 the first Science and Technology Adviser to the Secretary of State was appointed to enhance the role of science and technology within the U.S. State Department, an appointment that fulfilled a concept proposed in the Commission's concluding report.

In 1991, at Golden's suggestion, the Commission convened the informal Carnegie Group of Science Advisors to Presidents and Prime Ministers to provide guidance to leaders of G8 countries (initially the G7 plus the Soviet Union) and the European Union. At the time, this new group was perceived as necessary to overcome communication blocks among the senior science and technology advisors of the major countries, who generally met only at formal sessions with rigid agendas and large numbers of staff. Golden's



William T. Golden (left) and Joshua Lederberg, 1991

idea was to stage a totally different kind of meeting at an isolated location without staff present and with no formal agenda, no notes taken and no publicity.

Organized by Golden, this small group met semiannually to discuss and debate science policy in an unofficial capacity and promote international communication among high-level officials. The casual, private environment was intended to facilitate friendly interaction among attendees who would come to know each other well enough to communicate directly and share ideas from then on. By all accounts, the strategy worked, the Carnegie Group flourished and 34 highly productive meetings eventually took place, most recently in December 2007.

Representatives from Canada, the European Union, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States regularly attend the meetings, which are conducted in English and held in locations that rotate among all the member countries. While its membership has changed through the years as governments have changed, the Carnegie Group has continued to operate on a small scale and in accordance with its original rules, with the addition of non-attending expert committees who provide background briefings to help members manage the information glut stemming from the rapid and relentless expansion of the scientific field.

The topics under discussion, chosen in advance by the group itself, form a comprehensive list of hot button issues in the field: climate change, stem cell research, the human genome, intellectual property, sustainable development, science and technology in Africa, water management, technology transfer, bioethics, international cooperation and many others. More than a debate society, the Group is an internationally recognized network for dialogue on specific global issues requiring collective understanding. The meetings will continue as a uniquely effective catalyst for triggering informed, high-level action on issues of global significance, and a fitting legacy for William Golden. ■

For more details about the Carnegie Group, go to www.carnegie.org/sub/pubs/science_tech/brom1.htm. The reports of the Carnegie Commission on Science, Technology and Government are available at www.carnegie.org/sub/pubs/ccstfrep.htm.

RecentEvents



Carnegie Forum on Iraq Explores the Costs of War

In October 2007, the Corporation and the John F. Kennedy Library Foundation, in conjunction with the *Boston Review*, co-hosted a Carnegie Forum on Iraq at Corporation headquarters. The first ever Kennedy Library Foundation event to take place in New York, it was the second in a two-part series on "The Challenges in Iraq," and featured presentations by four recognized experts in the field: Rajan Menon, Professor of International Relations at Lehigh University, a 2002 Carnegie Scholar; Eric Davis, professor of political science at Rutgers University and the author of *Memories of State: Politics, History and Collective Identity in Modern Iraq*, a 2007 Carnegie Scholar; Yitzhak Nakash, author of *Reaching for Power: The Shia in the Modern Arab World* and *Shias in Iraq*, a 2006 Carnegie Scholar and Helena Cobban, Middle East specialist and columnist for the *Christian Science Monitor*.

In his introduction, John Shattuck, chief executive officer of the Foundation offered a quote from John F. Kennedy's 1961 speech before Congress: "Experience has taught us that no one nation has the power or the

wisdom to solve all the problems of the world or manage its revolutionary tides; that extending our commitments does not always increase our security; that any initiative carries with it the risk of defeat and that no people can be made free without a will and energy of their own." The purpose of the forum was to explore the costs and challenges of four and a half years of war in Iraq, trying to understand the real forces propelling the conflict and reviewing the debate over withdrawal. The discussion also aimed to uncover the meaning of sectarianism in Iraq, to address the basic question of whether there is or can be an Iraqi state, and how the interests of other countries in the area influence what the real policy choices might be regarding changing the situation on the ground.



Carol Bellamy, president, World Learning

(Left to Right) Rajan Menon, Eric Davis, Yitzhak Nakash, Vartan Gregorian, Caroline Kennedy, John Shattuck and Helena Cobban

Carol Bellamy Speaks on Global Education's Benefits

In October 2007, Carol Bellamy, president of World Learning and former executive director of UNICEF, addressed the Women's Forum at a well-attended breakfast hosted by Carnegie Corporation. Bellamy, who in 1993 was the first former volunteer to become director of the Peace Corps, spoke passionately about the value of a truly global education for students in the 21st century. She believes learning to live as a responsible citizen of a globalizing world is one of the key challenges facing today's young people, and that studying outside of the United States as part of their formal education is the best way to meet this challenge. Not simply a matter of sightseeing and acquiring language skills, study abroad programs give students the power to internalize a different cultural viewpoint—the true hallmark of a global citizen, according to Bellamy. Pointing out that only about one percent of U.S. students currently study abroad, and that most tend to come from elite schools, she urges the higher education community to make it possible for many more young people to become global citizens by increasing the number of high quality programs, providing more funding and including less-traveled destinations

Public Television Takes on the Digital Future

Forty years after the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television helped to shape the philosophical and structural foundations for the Public



Ernest Wilson, Dean, Annenberg School for Communications, USC and Paula Kerger, president, PBS

Broadcasting Act of 1967, a meeting was held at the Corporation in November 2007 to take stock of public TV today. Some serious issues face this trusted medium of education, information, democracy and journalism as it prepares to go completely digital in early 2009. Many in the industry believe public television has the potential to do and to be much more—increasing its outreach, creativity and effectiveness—by capitalizing on the promise of digital technologies.

To explore this theme, the Corporation held a half-day meeting organized and moderated by Susan King, Corporation Vice President, External Affairs and Program Director, Journalism Initiative, Special Initiatives and Strategy. Attendees included national public broadcasting leaders such as Paula Kerger, President of Public Broadcasting System and Patricia Harrison, Chair of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and others with a deep interest in the issues such as Alberto Ibarguen, President of the Knight Foundation and partner in the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on the Future of Journalism Education as well as Ernest Wilson, Dean of the Annenberg School for Communications, University of Southern California. Local station managers also took part in the conversation, focusing on the way digi-



**Alberto Ibarguen
and Vartan Gregorian**

Force's report on integration and featured comments by Task Force co-chair Farooq Kathwari, CEO of Ethan Allen; Chicago Council President, Marshall Bouton and Salam Al-Marayati leader of the Muslim Public Affairs Council. The panelists discussed a range of subjects including the importance of accelerating Muslim American engagement in civic affairs and U.S. political life; U.S. security and better relations with the Muslim world. According to the report, although Muslim Americans are a well-educated, diverse group that can make even greater contributions to the nation, they lack strong institutions and sufficient public or political voices needed to gain regular access to government and media circles.

tal opportunities open the door to innovation, inviting communities to become more involved with local resources such as universities and museums while revitalizing local media. According to Kerger, public television's future, its reach, its programming and its funding potential all depend on finding the financial model to sustain the system and harnessing digital technology to its needs and purposes; it also means being willing to take risks and to occasionally fail.

A Closer Look at Muslim Civic Engagement

In December 2007, in partnership with the Open Society Institute and the Rockefeller Family Fund, the Corporation hosted a panel discussion with members of the Chicago Council on Global Affairs' Task Force on Muslim American Civic Engagement. The discussion followed the publication of the Task



**Hillary Wiesner, Program
Director, Carnegie
Corporation Islam Initiative
and Marshall Bouton,
president, Chicago
Council on Global Affairs**



Farooq Kathwari and Salam Al-Marayati



(left to right) David Doss, Anderson Cooper 360; John Alpert, DCTV; Pat Mitchell, the Paley Center; Paul Steiger, Pro Publica; Steve Grove, YouTube; Susan King, Carnegie Corporation; Christof Putzel, Current TV

Summit on Journalism in the Service of Democracy Draws Hundreds

Prominent editors and practitioners of both traditional and new forms of journalism sat down with more than 150 professors, journalism students and deans from a dozen journalism schools at the Summit on Journalism in the Service of Democracy hosted by Carnegie Corporation and The Paley Center for Media in New York City in January 2008. They discussed challenges confronting both newspapers and the broadcast television networks as they lose readers, viewers and advertisers, but also heard some refreshingly upbeat views on the talents, skill and enthusiasm the new generation of journalists is bringing to the profession, plus applause for what is taught in the nation's leading journalism schools.



**Vartan Gregorian,
Carnegie Corporation**

In his welcoming remarks, Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian praised the students as well as the faculty and deans "for being in the truth business, for being in the democracy business, for being in the citizen business, for being in the business—not just the business of making money." Bill Keller, editor of *The New York Times*, admitted to being "a convert to the cause of journalism schools," as a place where aspiring reporters can get the preparation they need, noting that more than half of those the *Times* hires have journalism degrees as well as experience at other newspapers. Asked by Geoffrey Sands, a McKinsey & Co. director, if there are any signs of the talent pool drying up, Jim Willse, editor of the *Star-Ledger* of Newark, New Jersey, spoke of the amazing talents of the students applying for internships. "Their resumes are astounding," he said.

(Continued on page 51)



Ian V. Rowe, MTV

Foundation Round up



New Nonprofit Newsroom Seeks to Fill the Gap in Investigative Journalism

ProPublica, a nonpartisan, newsroom producing journalism in the public interest, was launched in January, 2008. The new nonprofit is headed by Paul Steiger, former managing editor of the Wall Street Journal. ProPublica will be nonpartisan and non-ideological, adhering to the strictest standards of journalistic impartiality and fairness, according to Steiger.

When fully staffed, ProPublica will employ about 25 full-time reporters and editors devoted solely to investigative reporting. That would be the largest staff in American journalism devoted solely to investigating cases of exploitation; ProPublica will provide articles free of charge to leading news organizations and will publish directly through its website platform.

Roughly 60 percent of the annual operating budget of ProPublica will be devoted to the news, compared with 15 percent at a typical leading newspaper or news magazine. At a time when investigative journalism is increasingly seen as a luxury, ProPublica will seek to counter that trend through engaging original and in-depth reporting.

Funding for the organization comes entirely from the philanthropic community. Supporters include the Sandler Foundation, Atlantic Philanthropies, the JEHT Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

“ProPublica may lead the way to crafting new approaches, addressing the market failure that seems to be taking hold in some segments of publishing and that threatens a real loss to the health of our democracy,” said Rebecca Rimel, President and CEO of the Pew Charitable Trusts and a member of ProPublica’s Board of Directors.

For more information on this organization, please visit: <http://propublica.org>



IFC Report Indicates Growing Demand for Investment in African Health Care Over the Next Decade

A new report from the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a member of the World Bank Group, says spending on health care in Sub-Saharan Africa will double over the next ten years. According to “The Business of Health in Africa: Partnering with the Private Sector to Improve People’s Lives,” the private sector already plays a significant role in delivering and financing health care throughout the region. On average, the private sector delivers 50 percent of health care goods and services, with 60 percent of financing for those goods and services coming from private sources.

The report prompted the IFC to announce a new strategy for addressing Africa’s health challenges, which contribute significantly to the region’s poverty. IFC and its partners will mobilize up to \$1 billion of investment and advisory services over the next five years to boost socially responsible health care in the region. Of the \$1 billion, \$850 million will go towards creating an equity vehicle

to invest in health care businesses as well as provide long-term debt relief through local financial intermediaries. The remaining \$150 million will be used to provide advisory services to local financial institutions and to work with governments to reform private health care regulation and expand formal public-private partnerships.

“If we can get all the critical players—government, donors, investors, and providers—to leverage the private health sector and integrate it effectively with public systems, we can also greatly improve the quality of care,” stated Lars Thunell, IFC executive vice president and CEO.

The report, which emphasizes the importance of the public sector’s contribution, stresses that the private sector is only part of the solution. It has the potential to bring significant improvements, such as expanding access to health services for the poorest people and reducing the financial burden on governments. The report had input from a wide range of stakeholders, including governments, private investors, and civil society, and was partially funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. For more information on this report and the IFC please visit www.ifc.org



Personal and Local Contacts Mobilize Minority Voters, Irvine Foundation Finds

A new study released by the James Irvine Foundation found door-to-door canvassing and phone banks to be more effective at increasing voter turnout than automated phone messaging, direct mail and door hangers. The study, “New Experiments in Minority Voter Mobilization,”

was commissioned by the Foundation as part of its California Votes Initiative—a multi-year effort to increase voter turnout, particularly in low income and ethnic communities. Researchers found that low income residents are less likely to vote than their wealthier peers, according to Amy Dominguez-Arms, program director of the Foundation’s California Perspectives program. “California’s electorate does not reflect the state’s diversity,” she commented.

Beginning in 2006, nine community organizations contacted over 80,000 minority and low income voters to encourage participation in election and assess best practices to improve turnout. They found the most effective way to reach more diverse voters was through personal contact, local volunteers, information-rich interaction, improved phone bank efforts and timely outreach. Efforts to adopt some of these best practices for voter outreach encourage participation in traditionally underrepresented communities, where the potential exists to narrow the voting gap, they concluded.

The nine community organizations that participated in the study were: Asian Pacific American Legal Center, California Public Interest Research Group Education Fund, Center for Community Action and Environmental Justice, Central American Resource Center, National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials Educational Fund, Orange County Asian and Pacific Islander Community Alliance, Pacific Institute for Community Organization, Southwest Voter Registration Education Project and Strategic Concepts in Organizing and Policy Education.

To find out more about this project and the James Irvine Foundation, please visit: www.irvine.org



Report Raises Concerns and Optimism about Digital Media Targeting Children

The Joan Ganz Cooney Center at Sesame Workshop, a production and research institute studying digital media's educational potential, released the "D is for Digital" report, which analyzed the current interactive media environment for preschool- and elementary school-age children. The report, released at the Sandbox Summit of the International Consumer Electronics Show, examined more than 300 educational products—most of which,

it found, do not take advantage of available research regarding children's educational needs, particularly in a global economy where literacy and learning requirements are fast-evolving.

The study's conclusions were derived from a review of mass market learning products for children ages 3-11. Among its recommendations to industry and policy makers were building partnerships between research and the digital industry to leverage knowledge; developing more educational videogames; encouraging multigenerational interaction and eliminating undocumented educational claims on products.

"The study's findings are cause for both concern and optimism. While kids today are totally immersed in media, most of the new digital products are not informed by research. Producers and investors are missing a giant opportunity—to promote the literacy, creativity and problem-solving skills children will need

to cooperate and compete in a global economy," said Michael Levine, Executive Director of the Joan Ganz Cooney Center.

The full report and executive summary are available at www.joanganzcooneycenter.org/publications.

THE KRESGE FOUNDATION

Kresge Foundation Expands its Mission to Community Colleges

For the first time in its 84-year history, the Kresge Foundation has extended eligibility requirements for its Challenge Grant Program to include community colleges. The addition to the program is the result of a 2007 expansion of the foundation's grantmaking efforts to address some of society's pressing needs, such as creating better educational opportunities for low-income people.

"Obtaining a college degree has long been a path out of poverty

and into the middle class, and it is even more important in this era of globalization," said William F.L. Moses, senior program officer and head of the Education team at the Kresge Foundation. "What has become an increasingly important first step on this path is the community college."

The expansion of eligibility standards recognizes the pivotal role community colleges play in educating low-income and non-traditional students. Historically, the Kresge Foundation's challenge grants have supported universities, liberal arts colleges, and special mission and faith-based institutions to build or renovate facilities. Proposals from accredited associates-degree granting institutions are now also welcome.

The challenge grant, the Kresge Foundation's signature grant-making tool, awards a nonprofit organization a financial grant if it raises an agreed upon amount of funds from private sources.

RecentEvents... *Continued from page 49*



International Education Report Raises Tough Questions

In January 2008, Carnegie Corporation's Education Program hosted a presentation by Andreas Schleicher, head of education research for the international Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) on the latest report of their Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). This in-depth report, presented at the request of Michele Cahill, vice-president, national program coordination and director of

Andreas Schleicher reports on international education data

urban education, compares the reading, mathematical and scientific progress of 400,000 15-year-olds in the 30 OECD countries and 27 others, covering 87 percent of the world economy. After investigating reading and math achievement in 2000 and 2003, the 2006 survey looked at science scores.

In general, Schleicher reported, average student achievement was flat, with Finland showing the highest rankings in overall excellence, then South Korea (highest in reading) followed by Hong Kong, Canada, Taiwan, Australia and Japan, down to lowest performing Mexico. Poland showed the greatest improvements due to increased investment as well as

eliminating their dual (vocational versus university prep) tracking system. Average performance in the United States was poor by world standards.

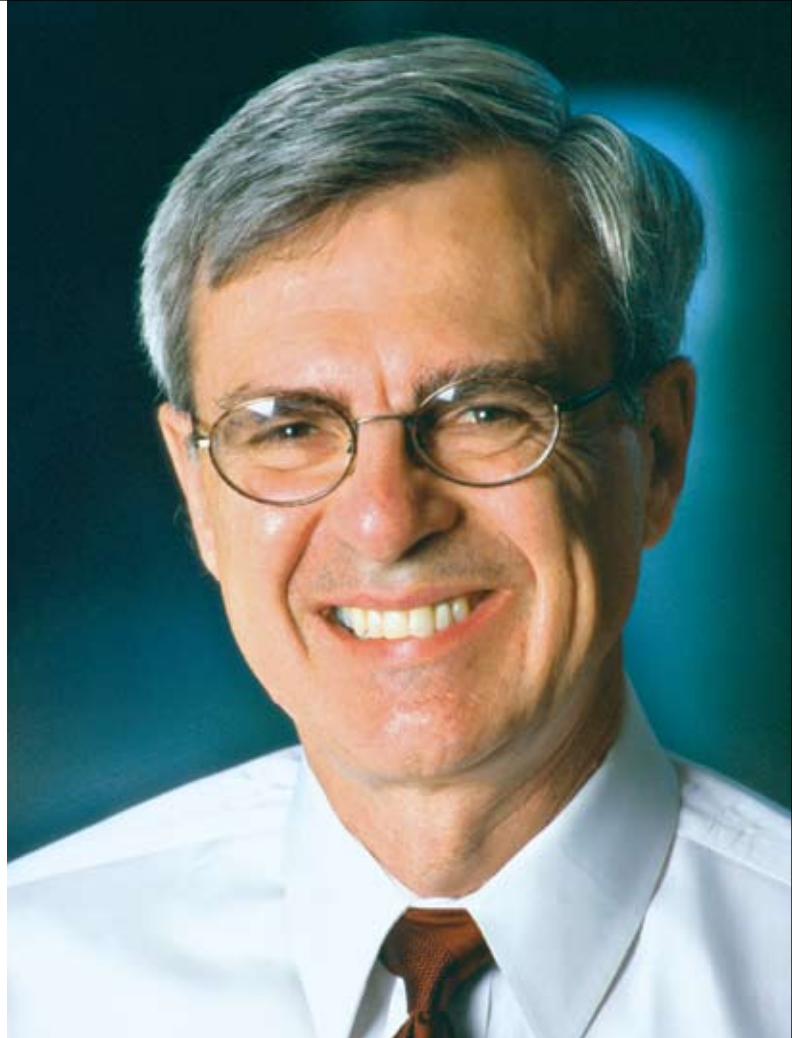
The study revealed that about 25 percent of U.S. 15-year-olds do not reach basic scientific competence (against a world average of 20 percent). Looking for common factors among the top performing countries, PISA research showed high national standards coupled with school autonomy—simply put, letting principals control budgets, pay scales and hiring of teachers—along with publicizing of school results make a difference.

THE BackPage

*William A. Owens, a recently retired Trustee of Carnegie Corporation of New York and Chairman and CEO of AEA Holdings in Hong Kong, previously served as Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the nation's second-ranking military officer. He was responsible for reorganizing and restructuring the armed forces in the post-Cold War era. He has also served as the Commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet in Europe and as deputy chief of Naval Operations for Resources, Warfare Requirements and Assessments. Additionally, he served as the senior military assistant to Secretaries of Defense Frank Carlucci and Dick Cheney. Prior to that, Owens served as Director of the Office of Program Appraisal for the Secretary of the Navy, and as Commander of Submarine Group Six, the Navy's largest submarine group. Earlier in his career, he commanded Submarine Squadron Four, and the submarines USS Sam Houston, and USS City of Corpus Christi. A prolific author—his most recent book is *Lifting the Fog of War* (Farrar Straus Giroux, 2000)—who has written extensively about national security, he comments here on potential developments in the relationship between the United States and China.*

The United States and China are entering a “tipping period.” It’s not really a “tipping point”—far too complicated for a single event to determine the future. But, it’s increasingly clear that the next

several years—as the new leadership in both countries takes hold—are likely to set the basic direction of U.S.-China relationships toward either greater competition or collaboration. It is not hard to list factors pushing in either direction. Americans have concerns with Chinese military spending, and the Chinese concerns about U.S. military support to Taiwan. These factors push us towards competition. But there are also points for collaboration. For example, stopping North Korea’s nuclear weapons development and the growing bilateral trade are viable points of cooperation. But the most important aspect of all this is the context in



The New Commons

by ADMIRAL WILLIAM A. OWENS

which the balance between competition and collaboration will emerge and how the new leaders of both countries think about the choice.

The context is the “new commons”—global areas and phenomena that all nations share, use, and are becoming increasingly dependent upon. Open seas were the first, emerging a millennia or more ago in a dual orientation to collaboration and competition. The seas offered both the mutual benefit of expanded

trade as well as routes to and an arena of winner-take-all conflict. Around 100 years ago the air above the seas became the same kind of commons. Fifty years ago exospheric space joined. Twenty-five years later cyberspace entered. About a decade ago, arguably, a new global economy, driven by what cyberspace enabled and what the collapse of the Soviet Union facilitated, completed what is now the new commons. As with its original sea component, the new

commons can be either an arena of competition—up to and involving modern, deadly military forces—or collaboration. It currently has aspects of both. The new commons is where China and the United States will forge the relationship about how we lead the direction for a peaceful world. A balance favoring competition promises undesirable costs for each and perhaps another cold war or worse. A balance favoring collaboration offers new opportunities for each...

and for the rest of the world.

It is of the greatest importance that China and the United States opt to emphasize collaboration and the opportunities it opens. Competition can only reduce the opportunities and mutual benefits of the commons to all. Collaboration results in direct benefits to both countries and the world; expanded peace, wealth, health, and happiness for our children and grandchildren.

Here, perhaps, are some new ways of adding collaborative weight to the balance:

■ **A no-first-use agreement on cyber attack.**

Cyberspace offers prosperity to those who use it because it spreads knowledge, transactions, commerce, and synergy at the speed of light. But it can also spread viruses, bots, and other destructive information artifacts that can bring modern societies to a standstill, shutting down electrical grids, pipelines, and untying the other sinews that now knit nations and the world together. The notion of cyberwar is no longer science fiction. An agreement not to be the first to employ a cyber attack does not eliminate the capability to do it. But it adds inhibitions, and in the process expands the basis for discussion.

■ **Collaborative anti-piracy operations on the high seas.**

The United States and China both oppose piracy, but do not coordinate their opposition. They could drive

the coordination into real solutions, from database and information exchanges to combined exercises, patrols, and counter-piracy operations.

■ **A collaborative, space-based information umbrella for global military transparency.**

The notion of collaborative information gathering and exchanges regarding piracy need not end there. Why couldn't the collaboration extend, literally, much higher? China and the United States could jointly establish and make globally available the information generated from a space-based, global surveillance system capable of near-real-time tracking of major military operations anywhere on the surface of the earth. They could, in effect, provide the world with an information umbrella of global military transparency. Why would they even consider this kind of collaboration (which is already technically and financially feasible)? Because it would be the sort of breakthrough collaboration that would not only establish a qualitatively new U.S.-China international relationship, and because it would accelerate the obsolescence and abolishment of the industrial age militaries that make indiscriminate mass destruction feasible and likely. Military cooperation could also allow both countries to gradually reduce their defense budgets and commit the funds to long-term initiatives focused on global engagement in education, health, and

environmental preservation. If both militaries become locked in competition, these opportunities disappear.

■ **Collaborative pollution reduction of coal power generation.**

China and the United States together burn over half the coal the world uses to generate heat and electricity. Both have extensive reserves of coal, and, along with the rest of the world will draw on coal as the primary source of energy for at least the next fifteen years. Coal combustion produces most of the man-made carbon dioxide and sulfur dioxide that the overwhelming number of scientists believe is driving global warming. Together, China and the United States have the scientific and engineering base to resolve what may be the major environmental threat facing mankind, and, in the process, alter the goading competitive role petroleum production, access, and demand play in international security. If the United States and China were to announce the establishment of a ten billion dollar clean coal research fund, it is feasible to estimate that oil prices might drop as much as thirty percent—regaining the billions invested in a single day. If there is a single issue in which significantly resourced, dedicated U.S.-China collaboration could make an historic difference in world affairs and establish a collaborative relationship in to the future, it lies in the close mutual effort to reduce coal-generated pollution.

■ **Commitment to no weapons in space and the reduction and eventual elimination of nuclear weapons.**

China's recent space exploration is both exciting and important, but it is equally important that it not spark a new arms race. By committing to a weapons-free space, China and the United States can work to ensure a peaceful and stable exploration of this new commons. China and the United States can also lead the world in reducing the number of nuclear weapons. This not only precludes the launch of another arms race, but helps prevent existing nuclear weapons from falling into the hands of terrorist organizations, which have grown increasingly fragmented and dispersed in the past six years. By taking a firm, proactive stand and leading by example, we can reduce the threat these weapons create. Should this prove successful, China and the United States could conceivably lead by example and commit to a program that safely eliminates both countries' nuclear weapons and gives other nations incentives to follow suit.

None of these potential collaborative efforts are beyond the reach of China-United States collaboration. They are all technically and financially feasible. They would tip the U.S.-China relationship toward collaboration, and save future generations from the very real potential horrors and cataclysms of a slide into competition. ■

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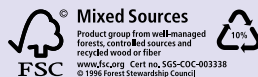
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2007 Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy WINNERS



(Left to right): Carnegie medalists Eli Broad, Teresa Heinz, Jay Mellon and Ratan Tata with Vartan Gregorian, president, Carnegie Corporation and William Thompson, great-grandson of Andrew Carnegie and honorary president, Carnegie UK Trust.

Philanthropic leaders whose long-term support has brought beneficial change to millions of people in communities in the United States, India and worldwide were named winners of the 2007 Andrew Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy. The medalists, Eli Broad, the Heinz family and the Mellon family, all from the United States, and the Tata family of India, were recognized at a celebration on October 17, 2007, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where Carnegie began his career and forged his business success. The 2007 events were hosted by The Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Museums of Pittsburgh, the Carnegie Hero Fund Commission and Carnegie Mellon University—the Pittsburgh institutions Andrew Carnegie founded.

“The impact this year’s Laureates have had on the well-being of families around the world has taken philanthropy to new heights for commitment, daring and vision,” said Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York and chair of the executive selection committee. “These philanthropists have used far more than their collective wealth to introduce change. They have put their conviction and courage to work embracing seemingly impossible challenges that many others have avoided.”

The Andrew Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy was first awarded in 2001 at the centennial observance of Andrew Carnegie’s official career as a philanthropist. Subsequently, the medals have been given every two years to honor families and individuals from around the world who, like Andrew Carnegie, have dedicated their private wealth to the public good and who have sustained their philanthropic activities. Criteria for selection include the medalist’s contributions to a field, the nation or internationally, a track record of philanthropic giving and a vision of philanthropy that reflects Carnegie’s ideals. The Andrew Carnegie Medal of Philanthropy winners are selected by an international jury comprising the leaders of six of the more than 20 Carnegie institutions around the world endowed by Andrew Carnegie during his lifetime. The next Medals will be awarded in October of 2009 in New York City.

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