

CARNEGIE Results

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Carnegie Results is a quarterly newsletter published by Carnegie Corporation of New York. It highlights Corporation-supported organizations and projects that have produced reports, results or information of special note.

Promoting Social Justice: A Vision of Philanthropic Activism

During the 1960s, civil unrest spilled into the streets of America as violence erupted in many urban areas across the nation. Under the direction of Alan Pifer, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1967-1982, the Corporation and other foundations initiated grantmaking that not only focused on studying a problem but also on supporting organizations that created agendas, organized for change, and actively pursued legal strategies to achieve both. This edition of Carnegie Results documents that social activist agenda and tells the story of the institutions and organizations whose work continues today.

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* ruled that racial segregation in schools was unequal. At the core of the determination was the question, “Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?” The unanimous statement of the Court, which was announced by Chief Justice Earl Warren, was, “We believe that it does...”

This case set the stage for a tumultuous time in recent American history. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks refused to yield her seat to a white person on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus; two years later Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, admitted its first African-American students (the “Little Rock Nine”), but not without a crisis situation that lasted for weeks and required the help of 1,000 members of the U.S. Army’s 101st Airborne Division. The next year, Alabama’s governor closed all Little Rock public schools; they were not reopened until four years later.

In the 1960s the arc of the struggle to attain equal rights and justice for all



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Americans changed when volunteers called Freedom Riders were organized by the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) to test mandated desegregation of interstate transportation by riding buses that crossed state lines. Trained to use nonviolent methods, the Freedom Riders encountered violence in their May 1961 journey from Washington, D.C., into the deep South. Their bus was firebombed and the volunteers beaten, but the group persisted, and they were joined by many other volunteers until there were hundreds of them. In Jackson, Mississippi, they were beaten back by a violent group of whites intent on maintaining segregation, but the Freedom Riders continued on and brought attention to the reality of segregation in the South. Their efforts challenged President John F. Kennedy, who put equal rights on the national agenda. One of the noteworthy accomplishments of his administration was the formation of the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, which grew out of a meeting of 244 lawyers, including 50 African Americans, that President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy convened at the White House in the summer of 1963. At the meeting, the president and leaders of his administration addressed the growing public unrest and demonstrations arising from the civil rights movement and urged legal action. Corporation support began with a \$50,000 grant in 1972 for the group's Community School System Project that focused on New York's school decentralization law and how local school boards could effectively exercise their rights under that law. Support continued over the decades, and in 2004, the Corporation awarded a two-year grant of \$200,000 to the Lawyers' Committee for a research and education effort on the reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Lawyers' Committee (www.lawyerscommittee.org) continues its pro bono work in civil rights, and in 2006 the group created the Disaster Victims Relief Legal Assistance Program to help meet

challenges posed by hurricanes Katrina and Rita.

Building on the promise of President Kennedy's support for civil rights, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited segregation in public places and created a Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity. Great civil unrest continued unabated and included the 1965 Watts riots in Los Angeles, the 1967 riots in many northern cities and the 1968 assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert F. Kennedy, which prompted even more widespread violence.

Concurrent with the events of the civil rights movement, in the early 1960s, the second wave of the feminist movement began, sparked in part by publication of *The Feminine Mystique* by Betty Friedan (W. W. Norton, 1963). Throughout this era of social change and upheaval, Carnegie Corporation responded with grantmaking aimed at contributing to the progress of American democracy.

Alan Pifer's Vision Shapes an Era of Grantmaking

Brown v. Board of Education signaled that one of the most effective ways to work toward the goal of social justice was to support public interest and minority rights litigation. It was against the backdrop of the events in the early 1960s that Carnegie Corporation of New York embraced philanthropic activism as a way to promote social and racial justice and to help under-represented people gain a voice. This approach was shaped by Alan Pifer, who joined Carnegie Corporation in 1953. Pifer headed the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, served as acting president of the Corporation beginning in 1965 and as president from 1967 until his retirement in 1982. Under

Pifer's leadership the Carnegie Corporation Task Force on the Disadvantaged, which was composed of five senior staff members, was formed in 1967 and recommended a multi-pronged strategy to address the needs of many groups, including African Americans, Mexican Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and women and children. At the core of this effort was Pifer's commitment "to involve the Corporation directly in policy-making and reform campaigns."¹

"Alan Pifer's experience with African students and African university leaders, both during his [years of administering the Fulbright Program] in London and in running the Corporation's Commonwealth Program at the time of transition from colonial rule to independence, gave him a different slant on issues of race and self-determination in this country," says Fritz Mosher, who was a program officer with Carnegie Corporation during the Pifer presidency. "He saw people [in Africa] who were fully capable of taking over and running their institutions and their countries. He and the Corporation supported their right to do that in Africa, sometimes in the face of lingering colonial resistance, and he was quick to apply the same principles and expectations to the rights of African Americans to represent their own interests and control their own destinies here." Under Pifer's direction Carnegie Corporation joined with the Ford, New World, Taconic and other foundations in supporting class action litigation by civil rights organizations for access to education and other rights and launched a multifaceted program to train black lawyers in the South for the practice of public interest law and to increase the legal representation of blacks.

"It was a big shift for the Corporation to move from support of academic work in the humanities and social sciences to a much more direct engagement in things that

were quite political," says Mosher.

During Pifer's tenure, the Corporation funded an array of projects, including those associated with legal rights, legal advocacy and other socially concerned efforts. The work involved significant collaborative undertakings. "None of this pioneering work could have been done by Carnegie Corporation or Ford—or other foundations—if the Johnson Administration's Justice Department had not been friendly to it," says Avery Russell, who joined Carnegie Corporation in 1970 and retired in 1999 as director of public affairs and program officer. "It was a true public-private collaboration."

Only some of the many groups that have been supported by Carnegie Corporation are discussed in this article, but those that are represent the many areas of social justice that were impacted and shaped by Pifer's vision for guiding the Corporation, which plays out today in Carnegie Corporation's commitment to such issues as advancing education and voting rights. Other examples include the Corporation's concern with promoting civic participation, which has included a wide range of projects to increase voter and civic engagement in the U.S., particularly efforts to assist immigrants through the various phases of the citizenship process, a continuum that includes naturalization, voter registration and voter education. The need for ongoing support of these efforts has been documented by many studies, such as the one conducted by MyVote1, a project of the Corporation-supported Fels Institute of Government at the University of Pennsylvania. The MyVote1 hotline took calls from voters across the nation in the 2004 election and from those in three states in the 2005 election. Results showed that the most frequent complaints of voters were lack of basic information about whether they were registered to vote and where they should go to cast their ballots on Election Day.

"The Corporation has had a long history in removing barriers to civic participation," says Geri

¹ Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge. The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy*, Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.

Mannion, who leads the Corporation's U.S. Democracy grantmaking. She adds, "Many of the grantees described in this report—for example, the legal defense funds—continue to work on these issues with Corporation funding, although some of the program directions and grantees have changed over the years. While much progress in voting and civil rights has been made since the Corporation's initial grantmaking in this area forty years ago, the 2000 and subsequent election cycles illustrate that the U.S. continues to be challenged in ensuring all citizens' votes are counted. The Corporation's recent focus on youth, immigrants and traditionally disenfranchised communities continues its commitment to encouraging the political and civic involvement of those most shut out or disillusioned by the current political system."

Committed to the belief that the United States also needed to focus on preparing its future leaders—and ensuring that they represented all segments of American society—Alan Pifer saw the education of the nation's children as central to this concern. That was among the reasons for Pifer's 1972 launch of the Carnegie Council on Children. Headed by noted author and social psychologist Kenneth Keniston, the panel of Carnegie Council leaders from across the nation included Marian Wright Edelman, who in 1973 founded the Children's Defense Fund, formerly the Washington Research Project; www.childrens-defense.org. Corporation support of the Washington Research Project began in 1969 and of the Children's Defense Fund in the early 1970s. Ellen Lagemann, author of a history of Carnegie Corporation of New York² writes, "Edelman enjoyed unusual respect within the Corporation and played an unusual role... they [Carnegie Corporation] invested a great deal of money in projects with which she was involved (more than \$3.2 million between 1970 and 1982), asked her to serve on the Carnegie Council on Children, and

² *ibid.*

generally listened with care to what she thought." Staffing the council was Hillary Rodham Clinton, who served as a research associate with the panel. The Council spent four years exploring the forces that shape children's lives from conception to age nine and, in 1977, published *All Our Children: The American Family Under Pressure* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977), which helped establish an agenda for high-quality programs for all children, with a special concern for disadvantaged youngsters.

Encouraging Black Lawyers

Looking back forty years, the need for black lawyers, particularly in the South, was acute. In Mississippi, in 1964, there were only "three black lawyers to serve a black population of about 800,000," as the Winter 1974 issue of the Corporation's newsletter, the *Carnegie Quarterly*, documents.³ The situation was not much better in other southern states, including Alabama and Georgia, which in 1969 had 20 and 34 black lawyers, respectively. The small number of African Americans practicing law in southern states stems from numerous factors, including a lack of black law schools as well as inadequate education and a lack of financial resources that prevented African Americans from entering and remaining in law school.

The *Carnegie Quarterly* article reviews a five-year period of Corporation funding totaling \$952,873 and additional funding from nearly 40 other foundations, including the Ford Foundation, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Field Foundation, Norman Fund, New World Foundation, Fleischmann Foundation and The Henry Ford II Fund that collectively addressed the need to recruit, retain

³ The *Carnegie Quarterly* was succeeded by the *Carnegie Reporter* in 2000.

and financially aid black students and their law schools. The programs that were supported included scholarship aid for students attending law school and summer institutes that provided the students with an opportunity to gain direct experience working with civil rights groups and civil rights lawyers. Specifically, foundation funding amounted to more than \$1.6 million to the Law Students Civil Rights Research Council (LSCRRU) and nearly \$3.8 million to the Legal Defense Fund (formerly the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund) and its affiliate, The Earl Warren Legal Training Program, Inc. Funding included scholarship support, and of the 13 blacks enrolled in the University of Virginia School of Law in 1969, all but one were on scholarships awarded by the Earl Warren Program. Many of the students struggled, and most of the members of the first cohort were on probation at one point in their studies. To address this situation, programs provided black tutors and role models to help students improve their study skills and stay in school. By the spring of 1974—a scant five years after funding had begun—nearly 300 black students had graduated from law schools in the South and another 170 black students were completing their first year at southern law schools.

Many problems remained after this initial funding period, including the need to help young black lawyers build self-confidence and hone skills that would enable them to litigate for school desegregation, fair employment and other civil rights as well as to serve as publicly elected officials.

“Comprehensive support for each and every step that allowed young black lawyers to succeed and brought legal representation to all these communities across the South was the key to the unusual funding strategy and its success,” says Eli N. Evans, president emeritus of The Charles H. Revson Foundation, who was a program officer of Carnegie Corporation from 1967 to 1977.

Registering the fact that progress was being made, the 1974 *Carnegie Quarterly* article, though concluding

with a warning, also sounded a hopeful note: “To underestimate the problems that lie ahead in assuring blacks access to justice in the South would be to deny history. Yet if the dedication and the ability of the black lawyer are any measure of what lies ahead, a new history is in the making.”

Many of the young lawyers supported by the programs meant to advance their chances of success went on to have distinguished careers, including current Congressmen Mel Watt (D-North Carolina) and Sanford D. Bishop (D-Georgia),⁴ who was profiled in the *Carnegie Quarterly* article. An Earl Warren fellow, Bishop opted to establish a law practice in Columbus, Georgia, because, as the article pointed out, “his commitment, combined with the experience of working with the day-to-day legal problems of poverty-stricken clients at a neighborhood law office while at Emory [University], made him realize that the [Legal Defense Fund]—and the South—needed black lawyers in areas where few or none had previously practiced to press home the civil rights victories of the 1960s.”

Remembering his early law experience as an Earl Warren fellow, Bishop says, “My role as an Earl Warren Fellow and cooperating attorney with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund thrust me into a role as attorney for a class of 6,000 black inmates for racial issues and 10,000 black and white inmates for non-racial issues at the Georgia State Prison at Reidsville. After I had been litigating for four years, a federal judge ordered the state to improve prison conditions at a cost of \$110 million. However, the state continued to offer the excuse that the legislature had not appropriated the money. I became so frustrated that I quit the case to run for the legislature. I realized that I could win a case on paper and maybe affect my clients,

⁴ From 1977 to 1990, Bishop served in the Georgia House of Representatives; from 1990-1992, he served in the Georgia State Senate and, since then, he has been serving in the U.S. House of Representatives. In January 2007 Bishop, who is a member of the House Committee on Appropriations, was appointed to three subcommittees: Defense; Agriculture and Military Construction/Veterans Affairs.

but if I could pass one good law in the legislature, I could affect the entire state. It was a great way to make Dr. King's dream a reality. And of course, as a member of Congress, one bill—an appropriations bill for example—can affect the nation or even the world. The Earl Warren experience definitely set the stage and prepared me for what has now been over 30 years of service in public office.”

Helping Mexican Americans Secure Rights

In the early 1800s, steady migration westward brought white settlers to a region that at the time was Northern Mexico, a place where the Nahuatl people had lived for centuries. In 1846, tensions between the two groups eventually led to the Mexican-American War. Two years later, the war was ended by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which awarded more than 500,000 square miles of land to the U.S. in return for a payment to Mexico of \$18 million. The agreement, which was described as a “treaty of peace, friendship, limits and settlement between the United States of America and the Mexican Republic” guaranteed the people of Mexican origin who were living in these areas all the rights of U.S. citizens. Instead, the Mexicans were poorly treated. Their land was taken from them in a system that taxed the land so highly that Mexican Americans could not afford to pay the taxes and were forced to sell. Mexican Americans were excluded from participation in the political process by patronage and gerrymandering. Many Mexican American children did not attend school, and those who did were sent to separate schools with shabby facilities and significantly underpaid teachers. In the workplace, discrimination was rampant: workers were poorly paid, and their families often lived on the lowest rung of the economic ladder. Chicanos were abused by

law enforcement officers, treated unjustly in the courts and brutally murdered by people who took the law into their own hands.

Details of this history are outlined in the 1978 annual report of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF; www.maldef.org), which describes how the situation slowly began to change for Chicanos in the mid-1940s. Later, in the early 1960s, during the civil rights movement, it became clear that a legal approach to the plight of Mexican Americans was needed, and in the spring of 1967, three lawyers, including Pete Tijerina, who had been working to help Chicanos gain rights and who became MALDEF's first executive director, met with representatives of the Ford Foundation. MALDEF grew out of that meeting, and a year later, Ford awarded the group a five-year grant of \$2.2 million, twice the amount that had been requested. In 1973, the Ford grant was renewed. The 1974 Carnegie Corporation annual report noted that MALDEF was the “only national organization concerned primarily with the civil rights of Mexican-Americans and the training of Chicano lawyers,” and announced a \$288,400 grant to help fund a MALDEF program in education litigation. By 1979, the Corporation had awarded a total of \$538,400 to MALDEF and announced an additional two-year grant of \$334,700.

Carnegie Corporation continued its support for MALDEF and its projects through 2003. In the nearly 40 years since its founding, MALDEF, which is headquartered in Los Angeles, has matured and grown as an organization and continues its efforts on behalf of Latinos, including litigation, advocacy and education. “We work through the legal system to advance the political and economic well-being of the Latino community,” says Nina Perales, Southwest regional counsel of MALDEF. “We pride ourselves on being the best lawyers that the Latino community could have.”

Perales was lead counsel in successfully arguing

a redistricting/voting rights case in which MALDEF represented the American GI Forum of Texas and individual voters before the U.S. Supreme Court. The case was heard on March 1, 2006, and on June 28, 2006, the Court announced its ruling against the Texas redistricting plan that moved 100,000 Latino voters out of Congressional District 23 in an attempt to control an election of an incumbent. The ruling has “very far-reaching implications for minority political rights,” Perales says.

MALDEF was also recently involved in *Padilla v. Lever*, a case that involves a section of the Voting Rights Act dealing with language assistance. The question being litigated was whether petitions initiated by private citizens with regard to an issue such as a recall election have to be translated. MALDEF argued before the Ninth Circuit Court that if the only way a recall election can be held is via petition, then the petition is part of the election process. On September 19, 2006, the Ninth Circuit Court decided that the language minority provisions of the Voting Rights Act do not require translation of recall petitions in Orange County.

“MALDEF is disappointed with the Ninth Circuit’s narrow reading of the Voting Rights Act’s language minority provisions,” said Perales. “Because petitions determine what issues will be put to the voters, petitions are a critical component of the electoral process. [This] ruling will chill language minorities’ participation during this important phase of the electoral process.”

Defending the Rights of Native Americans

L launched in 1970 with a grant from the Ford Foundation, the Native American Rights Fund (NARF; www.narf.org) was founded to provide legal assistance to Indian tribes who faced challenges that threatened their tribal existence and cultural foundations. Many of these challenges stemmed from

the U.S. termination policy passed by Congress in 1953 (House Concurrent Resolution 108). Explains John E. Echohawk, co-founder and, since 1977, executive director of NARF, “Basically, they were terminating these treaties without our consent, so they were breaking treaties, terminating tribal governments and selling their land, giving them a check and sending them to the cities. All of this was forced on us against our will. During the civil rights era, we started fighting back against that policy. A key strategy was legal enforcement of the treaties, which are the supreme law of the land.”

One of NARF’s earliest legal efforts was to assist the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, whose rights had been terminated by the federal government. Although members of the Menominee Tribe had been told that termination would benefit them, the tribe lost much of its land and many members endured economic and social hardships. “We took their story to the Congress and asked the members of Congress to reverse that termination and to restore the legal status of the Menominee nation,” Echohawk recalls. “To the credit of Congress, they listened, they understood and they passed the Menominee Restoration Act of 1973. That set the precedent for the eventual restoration of about 100 terminated tribes.”

Native Americans faced many other challenges that NARF has helped address through legal means, including issues involved with jurisdiction and taxation, economic development and the promotion of human rights such as religious freedom and education rights.

Key to success in all these areas was having Indian law information available to attorneys preparing cases. To help meet this essential need, in 1972 Carnegie Corporation awarded NARF a start-up grant of \$119,000 to establish the National Indian Law Library (NILL) as a “clearinghouse of Indian legal materials and resources,” with the hope that the service would “encourage more lawyers to undertake cases to help American Indians protect their rights.”

Today, the library has more than achieved that goal.

It is the largest repository of Native American law in the United States, and each month more than 150 calls pour into NILL. Requests come from lawyers who rely on NILL for vital information to develop court cases as well as from students, researchers and other libraries. Recent calls have come from a tribe member in Alaska involved with a constitution reform project, from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and from a documentary filmmaker researching American Indian civil rights. In July 2006, the American Association of Law Libraries presented its prestigious Public Access to Government Information Award to NILL librarians David Seldon and Monica Martens for their work in disseminating tribal law.

“The library familiarized everyone with the rights of Indian tribes and Indian people, so that they could work to protect those rights,” says Echohawk.

NILL resources include a comprehensive collection of proceedings from national Indian law conferences, reports from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian tribe constitutions, intergovernmental agreements and independent studies. The library’s collection includes a comprehensive group of tribal codes. Since only seven tribal codes had been published, NILL contacted the 562 federally recognized tribes and requested copies of their codes and constitutions. Tribes have concerns about this sensitive information being made available to the public, and the sense of trust that NARF has developed with them over the years helped gain their cooperation. About 70 percent of the tribes have supplied copies of their codes, and more than 100 of these have been digitized and are available on the NARF web site.

In the 1970s and early 1980s, Corporation grants established the Indian lawyer intern project that enabled NARF to hire young Native American lawyers as staff attorneys and provide them with the experience of working on Native issues of national importance. At the time there were few Native American attorneys.

Echohawk himself entered law school at the University of New Mexico as part of the first federally funded law scholarships for Native Americans and recalls that when he began practicing law there were only a dozen Native American attorneys in the entire country. The internship program helped remedy this situation by providing an opportunity for Native Americans to develop their own law specialty, and today there are more than 2,000 Native Americans practicing law.

Beginning almost from the time that the United States was founded, the federal government effectively stripped Indian tribes of control over the education of their children, establishing a boarding school system that removed many Indian children from their families and communities and contracting with Christian missionaries to educate and convert Indian children. Using education to force assimilation of Indians continued when the government replaced these two education systems with public schools established on or near reservations. In the 1980s and 1990s, Carnegie Corporation funding enabled NARF to help tribes address the failures of these education systems to honor and respect the culture and heritage of the Indian children. NARF worked closely with six tribal communities in Montana, North Dakota, New Mexico, Alaska and South Dakota to assist them in creating a foundation for working collaboratively with public school districts, states, and other parties. Partnerships were established; basic aggregate student data were gathered and analyzed; initial collaborative strategies were determined; and tribal education codes and policy were developed and adopted. This innovative approach established NARF’s client tribes on firm ground for equal partnerships with school districts and states in improving the education of tribal students.

NARF has also been the driving force in the formulation of the Tribal Education Departments National Assembly (TEDNA). NARF assisted tribes in estab-

lishing this new national organization for tribal education departments and to develop the new organization's web site: <http://www.tedna.org>. The purpose of TEDNA is to bring together tribal education directors, staff and policy-makers so that they can share information, develop strategies and problem solve on common issues of education governance, policy and advocacy at the tribal, regional and national levels.

Gaining Rights for Latinos

Even before we opened our doors in 1972, we were talking to the folks at Carnegie Corporation," said Cesar A. Perales, one of three attorneys who founded the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF; www.prldef.org), and the father of Nina Perales of MALDEF. "They were astute in recognizing that not all of the problems of Latinos in this country were the same, and were very, very encouraging in our development."

Soon after its founding, PRLDEF won a court case on behalf of Latino American citizens who encountered language barriers with regard to voting on ballot initiatives, referenda and other issues related to voting. *Lopez v. Dinkins* ("Dinkins" being David Dinkins, who was then in charge of the Board of Elections and who was later elected mayor of New York City) became the basis for PRLDEF cases in other states. Recognizing that the lack of English-language skills should not preclude voters from fully exercising their rights, in 1975 the U.S. Congress amended the Voting Rights Act to include the right to language assistance for voters. "So our lawsuit in New York became national law," says Perales, who is now president and general counsel of PRLDEF.

Another of PRLDEF's early efforts helped rectify the situation faced by non-English-speaking Latino students in New York City schools whose educational needs were not being fully addressed. PRLDEF brought a law-

suit on behalf of Aspira, a youth development organization (*Aspira v. New York City Board of Education*, 1974). While PRLDEF was in the courts arguing this case, the Supreme Court decided *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), which focused on the same type of cause on behalf of Chinese students. As a result of the decision in that case, the court hearing the Aspira case issued a consent decree mandating that New York City schools use bilingual methods as part of the strategy for educating Spanish students. "This sent a signal to many school districts throughout the nation that did not want to face the same cost of litigation as New York City and did not want to be seen as being forced into complying," said Perales.

Through the years, the group has fought against educational inequities in many states, including Delaware, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Illinois and Pennsylvania. In 2001, PRLDEF successfully brought a lawsuit against the City of New York's decision to double tuition for undocumented students.

As part of their education initiative, in 2005, PRLDEF organized a new initiative, LAWbound, which seeks to identify and support Latino students who wish to pursue a career in law. The program provides help for the students, linking them with mentors and providing networking opportunities with members of the law profession. PRLDEF seeks to help students overcome barriers that they encounter in the application process and throughout their years in law school.

As time has passed, PRLDEF has increasingly become Puerto Rican in name only and is metamorphosing into a pan-Latino group with regard to its board and staff. Today, the group is working to find ways to help relieve the isolation experienced by current immigrants and to bring them into the civic life of America. A recent focus was in Mamaroneck, New York, where in November 2006 a judge found in favor of six anonymous plaintiffs represented by PRLDEF in a discrimination suit. In the 70-page decision, federal district Judge Colleen McMahon wrote that, "The campaign of

aggressive law enforcement instigated by the village police...was aimed at and disproportionately affected Latino day laborers and the contractors who sought to hire them.”

Advancing Women's Rights

As work with legal defense and education funds continued, the scope of Corporation support for social justice widened to include equal rights for women, especially their educational rights. This concern, wrote Pifer in the Corporation's 1973 annual report, “grew naturally out of an earlier program at the foundation involving the continuing education of women.”

The Center for American Women in Politics (CAWP, www.cawp.rutgers.edu), which was founded in 1971 and is part of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, celebrated its 35th anniversary in 2006. Through studies, conferences, workshops and publications CAWP seeks to develop a broader base of knowledge about women in politics and government and to strengthen their leadership role in those areas. “When we began there wasn't even a subject called women in politics to study,” says Debbie Walsh, director of CAWP, adding that in 1972, with Carnegie Corporation support, the center called its first conference of women legislators to ask, “Who are these women and how did they get there?” This first Conference for Women State Legislators was attended by 47 women. At the time, there were only 344 women (4.5 percent) nationwide serving as state legislators. In 2006, there were 1,685 women state legislators (22.8 percent), a figure that has remained essentially the same since 1999. CAWP commissioned Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, who later served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, to write *Political Woman* (Basic Books, 1974), which was based on the conference. Later, another major focus of CAWP that was funded by Carnegie Corporation

involved developing programs for college women; this led to the formation of the Public Leadership Education Network (PLEN; www.plen.org). The organization, which is based in Washington, D.C., grants internships to college-age women that provide them with opportunities for hands-on work with public policy groups.

In 1974, a Corporation award of \$195,000 was announced to establish the new Center for the Study of Women in Higher Education and the Professions (now the Wellesley Centers for Women; www.wcwonline.org), which was also supported by the Federation of Organizations for Professional Women. The Center, which is today a partnership of the Center for Research on Women and the Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies at Wellesley College, was founded with the purpose of studying the status of educated women in order to develop ways to help them advance in their careers. Two years later, another Corporation grant of \$156,700 was announced and within the same decade, grants of more than \$355,800 were awarded to the Higher Education Resource Services (HERS), also headquartered at Wellesley College, with a mission to further counsel academic women regarding career opportunities. The Wellesley Centers for Women now have more than 100 staff members and an annual budget of \$7.5 million supporting 50 projects that, as their web site notes, look “at the world through the eyes of women with the goal of shaping a better world for all.”

A Commitment to Social Justice

At the close of his tenure at Carnegie Corporation, Alan Pifer took a long look at the years he had spent as president, shepherding the Corporation and shaping it through engaged activism, a hallmark of his era. In the Corporation's 1982 annual report, he wrote that

virtually everything he had done as president of Carnegie Corporation had been “guided by a single motivating force—a lifelong belief in social justice and the equality of all people under the law. This was a passion I inherited from parents who were deeply imbued with democratic values and brought me up to share them,” he continued. “The conviction was strengthened during the war years when, along with many other Americans, I took part in the defense of freedom against Nazi and Fascist tyranny, and it became firmly set in the years immediately after the war when I was working abroad and had the opportunity to travel widely in Europe and Africa. By the time I came to the Corporation in 1953, the commitment had become an immutable part of my very being. The key questions for me here with respect to any proposed action have always been: Will it promote equality of opportu-

nity? And will it to some degree make the world a fairer and more just place? ”

Pifer goes on to say, “As time went by, this outlook was supplemented by a second perspective that gradually became as strong and as clear as the first. The new outlook grew from an interest I began to take during the 1960s in human resource development, or, as it is sometimes called, ‘human capital formation,’ which over time has led me to the view that the very future of our society depends absolutely on the broad development of all our people, and especially of our children, irrespective of race, sex, economic statuses, or any other consideration.”⁵

Commenting on Pifer and his contributions to

⁵ Carnegie Corporation Annual Report, 1982, “The Report of the President,” p. 5. Carnegie Corporation of New York Records, Rare Books and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Libraries. Series VIII.A.1 (CCNY Annual Reports)

Carnegie Corporation of New York and Social Justice

Carnegie Corporation’s support for social justice and other programs associated with strengthening the rights of underserved populations since the early 1960s has been in excess of \$68,000,000. The Corporation has worked with many other foundations over the years, including the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Revson Foundation, the James Irvine Foundation, the Deer Creek Foundation, the Joyce Foundation and the Scherman Foundation to help ensure progress in civil rights, social justice and women’s rights. The following is a selection of many Carnegie Corporation grants that have been made in these areas during the nearly 40 years of support that began with Alan Pifer’s tenure as president: (*Figures rounded to nearest thousands*)

Legal defense funds

- Legal Defense Fund (LDF; formerly NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.): \$6,358,900
- Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF): \$8,043,000
- National Asian-Pacific Legal Consortium (NAPALC): \$1,845,000
- Native American Rights Fund (NARF), including the National Indian Law Library (NILL): \$2,102,000
- Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF): \$4,830,000

- Politics (CAWP), at the Eagleton Institute of Politics (Rutgers University): \$462,500
- Children’s Defense Fund (formerly Washington Research Project): \$11,988,000
- National Council for Research on Women: \$125,000
- NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund (now Legal Momentum: Advancing Women’s Rights): \$1,450,000
- Wellesley Centers for Women (WCW), a partnership of the Center for Research on Women and the Stone Center for Developmental Services and Studies at Wellesley College: \$451,700

- \$1,110,000
- Law Students Civil Rights Research Council (LSCRRC): \$1,007,000
- Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law: \$5,898,000
- NAACP Special Contribution Fund: \$5,977,000
- National Urban League: \$5,340,000
- Southern Regional Council: \$4,359,000
- Voter Education Project: \$472,000

Women’s and children’s rights

- Carnegie Council on Children: \$2,730,000
- Center for American Women and

Selected other social justice grants

- American Civil Liberties Union Foundation—Voting Rights: \$3,811,000
- The Earl Warren Legal Training Program (an affiliate of LDF):

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progress in the field of social justice, Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, says, "Throughout his career, Alan Pifer was always striving to do the right thing because he believed, deeply, that for every challenge he faced, there *was* a right way. He fought social injustice; he stood in opposition to racism; and he worked to end discrimination against women and minorities. For these reasons and more, his three decades of work in philanthropy still resonate today. And the work of Carnegie Corporation is enriched and inspired by his legacy."

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

Editor's Note: This article was developed through the author's study of Carnegie Corporation documents in the Corporation's archives at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Columbia University— www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/indiv/rbml/collections/carnegie/CCNY.html—including copies of the annual reports, since Corporation electronic records have been kept only since 1983. To help preserve this important time in philanthropic history interviews were also conducted with people who are holders of the institutional memories of their organizations. In some instances, there is only a single individual whose memory extends to the early days of the founding of a group.

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