

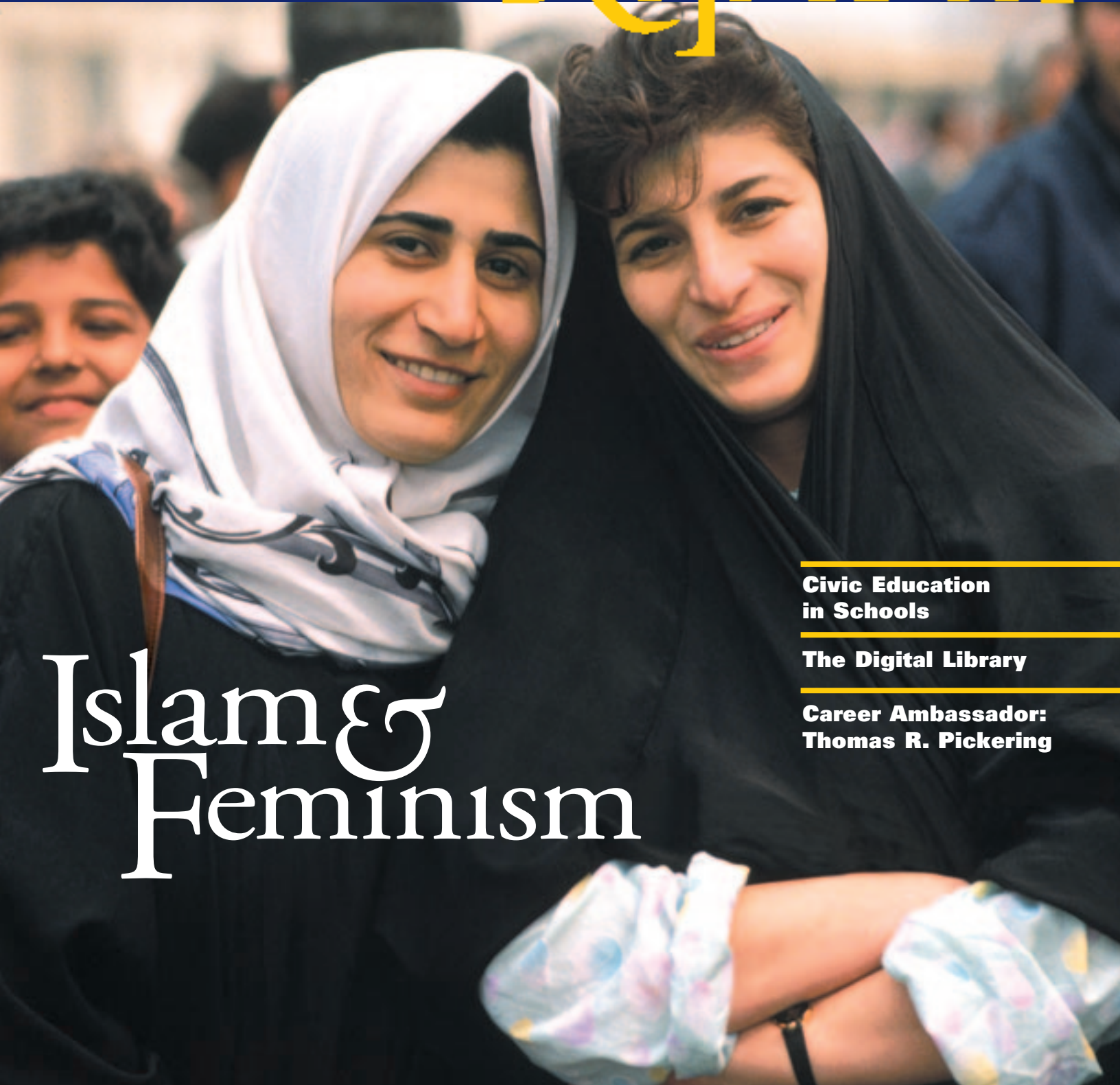
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CARNEGIE

Reporter



Islam & Feminism

**Civic Education
in Schools**

The Digital Library

**Career Ambassador:
Thomas R. Pickering**

On March 2, 1901, Andrew Carnegie completed one of the most significant financial transactions in American history by selling the steel empire he had built to J.P. Morgan for \$480 million. What Carnegie did with that money—at that time, one of the largest fortunes in private hands—arguably set the stage for all of current-day philanthropy: he used it to support knowledge and its diffusion through endeavors ranging from gifts to libraries and universities to the “relief of needy writers.” But perhaps most importantly for future generations, he devoted his wealth to the establishment of more than 20 philanthropic organizations, including Carnegie Corporation of New York.



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A Letter from the PRESIDENT

In a 1911 letter to the original trustees of the Corporation, Carnegie wrote, “My chief happiness...[is] that even after I pass away the welth [sic] that came to me to administer as a sacred trust for the good of my fellow men is to continue to benefit humanity for generations untold.” Embedded in Carnegie’s words is an understand-

ing of an important distinction about investing in the public good that has become blurred over time: the difference between *charity* and *philanthropy*. Charity, which is derived from the Latin word *carus*, meaning *dear*, has a long religious history: for Christians, Muslims and Jews, for example, it has meant giving immediate relief to human suffering without passing judgment on those who suffer. Philanthropy has a more secular history and comes from the Greek word *philanthropos*, meaning love of mankind. Carnegie Corporation was created to carry out philanthropy, which Andrew Carnegie said should aim “to do real and permanent good in this world.”

As this issue of the *Carnegie Reporter* goes to press, there is a bill before Congress (part of the Charitable Giving Act, or HR7) that I think will further confuse charitable relief with philanthropy. Specifically, the proposed legislation seeks to change the rules governing how much money foundations must disseminate annually in order to retain their tax exemptions. Currently, foundations must spend a minimum of 5 percent of their assets each year, a figure that may also include administrative expenses such as salaries and rent. (I should note here that foundations can—and often do—spend more than that in times when the economy is robust but do not have the option of spending less in years when investments and endowment values decrease.) The bill Congress is considering would require that some administrative expenses be removed from the equation so that the entire 5 percent would be spent on grantmaking; administrative costs would become a separate part of a foundation’s budget, driving up its overall annual payout. However, the only foundations that would be affected by the legislation are independent foundations, which

carry out their work, in part, by making grants to the thousands of grassroots charities across the nation. Operating foundations, for example, which often run programs that support the religious, educational, artistic or charitable strategies their boards dictate—and which are governed by a 3.5 percent payout rate—would not.

There are a number of factors behind this move by Congress, including the downturn in the economy that has left many non-profit organizations in need of additional funding and recent revelations about alleged spending abuses by some foundation executives, but its effect on private foundations could be great. Significantly increasing payout could force foundations to spend

their endowments faster than they can be maintained by careful investments. As Sherry Magill, president of the Jessie Ball duPont Foundation ex-

plains in a recent letter to the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, “With a 5 percent annual payout, private independent foundations must achieve an annualized rate of return of 10 percent or they will by definition erode principal over time. To support a mandated annual payout higher than 5 percent would require an annual rate of return in excess of 10 percent, which is impossible to sustain in today’s markets and nearly impossible to sustain over the long term.” In this regard, I believe that donor intent—the choice of the individual or family endowing a foundation to either completely disburse its assets or to continue on to serve the needs of the future—must be respected. It would be inappropriate of Congress to circumvent a donor’s wishes.

Certainly, there have been abuses by some foundation personnel and we welcome all efforts to ensure that they are put to an immediate end. But denying foundations the ability to assemble a staff of the best, most qualified people to manage programs and administer funds is not the solution. As assistant New York State attorney general William Josephson wrote in a recent letter to Congressional representatives, “If the public policy goal is to reduce or eliminate excessive private foundation administrative expense, [the proposed legislation] will not necessarily achieve this result...the money [foundations] spend on administration insures their professionalism.” In addition, foundations such as Ford and Rockefeller that have international offices and operations may decide to reduce them or even shut them down in order to decrease their overhead costs. That would be a pity.

If all foundations are treated equally—religious, operating and private—I’m certain that reasonable leaders can find compromises concerning what constitutes administrative expenses and overall payout. It is my deeply held belief that American philanthropy is a valuable and caring partner to America’s myriad nonprofit organizations; we support their efforts, applaud their determination to always do better and do more, and will continue to work with them to improve the life of the nation for many decades to come.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Vartan Gregorian". The signature is fluid and cursive.

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *President*

CARNEGIE Reporter

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In 1979, feminist author Kate Millett went to Iran in the midst of its tumultuous Islamic revolution. She demonstrated with Iranian women in the streets of Tehran. She declared that “religion and clothing are something private” and insisted that “nobody can force” women to wear Islamic-style dress. Millett also trumpeted her vision of global sisterhood at a chaotic press conference. “We are an international movement, the women’s movement,” she said. “I had understood there to be a few struggling feminists in Tehran...[N]ow there are thousands and thousands in the street...who hope to build a movement here...What is happening in Iran may herald the rise of women throughout Islam and the Near and Middle East.”

As Millett related in her 1982 book, *Going to Iran* (Coward McCann, 1982), her message was not well received. She and her Iranian friends were heckled for presuming to speak for Iranian women. One woman challenged Millett’s presence in her country, saying, “As women in Iran we are

very happy to have you here. It’s very nice of you to want to help us in this situation. But help us in *our* way, not in an American way.”

One day twenty years later, the telephone rang in the offices of the Los Angeles-based Muslim Women’s League, an organization of American Muslim women. A staff person from the Feminist Majority Foundation was on the line with a request. The Foundation was staging a rally to deplore the Taliban’s repression of Afghan women,

*Caryle Murphy covers religion for The Washington Post and is the author of the recently published *Passion for Islam* (Scribner, 2002), which explains the contemporary revival of Islam in the Middle East. She was the Post’s correspondent in Southern Africa from 1977-1982 and its Cairo bureau chief from 1989-1994, responsible for covering the Arab world. In 1991, she won the Pulitzer Prize for International Reporting and the George Polk Award for Foreign Reporting for her coverage of Iraqi-occupied Kuwait and the subsequent Persian Gulf War.*

by

CARYLE MURPHY

Islam & Feminis ARE THE BARRIERS COMING DOWN?

If there is common ground to be found between Western feminists and women in the Muslim world, it is being discovered slowly—but thoughtfully—by women from both secular and religious backgrounds.



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she said, and wanted to borrow some *burqas* for the event. “They assumed we all had burqas!” says Laila Al-Marayati, a U.S.-born founder of the League. “To make the assumption that we all have that, that we all dress the same, I was so offended. It was a total lack of cultural sensitivity.” The League was doubly insulted because it had twice written the Foundation suggesting some joint projects but never received a response. “They weren’t interested in our participation at all,” adds Al-Marayati. “Even though we’d be natural bridges to women in other countries.”

Much has changed in the worlds of both Islam and feminism since Millet’s trip to Iran. But American feminists and Muslim women seem as estranged as ever. On an institutional level, their relations remain plagued by stereotypes and mutual suspicion. Their dominant worldviews—one secular, the

other faith-based—seem irreconcilable. “When the Taliban were overthrown, the attitude was ‘Now you’ve been liberated by us, we expect you to take off the veil and become like us. Throw off Islam,’” says Pakistan-born Riffat Hassan, a professor of religious studies at the University of Louisville in Kentucky and a women’s rights activist. “There is an imperialist vein in American feminism. I see that clearly at times.”

Muslims complain that many American feminists remain ignorant about Islam and unaware of groundbreaking theological work on women’s rights being done by female Muslim scholars. They also criticize feminists for dismissing faith-based women’s movements, “matronizing” Muslim women, and being fixated on the Islamic head cover.

At the same time, Muslim women

are often overly sensitive and defensive when feminists make mistakes. (A Feminist Majority Foundation spokeswoman says that when they called the Muslim Women’s League looking for a burqa, “we didn’t assume they wore burqas or anything like that.”) Some also reject feminism as inimical to Islam without bothering to ask the person using the word what she means by it. Others demonize anything Western, and resort to formulaic apologies for Islam rather than acknowledge the problems that women face in Islamic societies. “Some Muslim men and women are extremely defensive when they perceive criticism and they don’t spend the energy to check where that belief is coming from and talk about it,” says Uzma Mazhar, a Muslim psychotherapist in St. Louis. “They don’t go beyond their initial reaction to have a dialogue.”

Astonishingly, women interviewed



COURTESY OF FEMINIST MAJORITY FOUNDATION

MAVIS NICHOLSON LENO *An*

Mavis Nicholson Leno is a gregarious, effervescent woman who calls herself “a lifelong feminist.” In 1997, she became national chair of the Feminist Majority Foundation’s Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan because she thought it was time “to look beyond our own borders and give a helping hand to other women who are not as far up the road in their struggles.”

Her first priority was to attract the media, then showing “absolute zero interest” in the Taliban’s mistreatment

of women. The campaign generated so much publicity, Leno said in an interview, that the U.S. State Department “got more calls on that issue than any other issue for three years running.”

She also credited the campaign with helping to block U.S. recognition of the Taliban as Afghanistan’s legal government and with convincing the energy company UNOCAL to drop plans to build a huge gas pipeline that would have brought the Taliban millions of dollars in revenue. The campaign also helped fund over 1,000 girls’ schools then meeting secretly in Afghan homes.

Leno, the wife of “Tonight Show” host Jay Leno, says she knows some aspects of the campaign have been criticized, but she defends its work.

“We took our entire campaign from information we got from Afghan women because we are perfectly aware that we know nothing about Afghan culture,” she says. “Not only will Afghan women have a different approach to getting equal rights in their culture, but they also probably want a different set of things out of it...All we are trying to do is create a situation in Afghanistan where women can return to the choices they used to have.”

The way that Afghan women dress “is none of our business,” she adds emphatically. “We fully understand that the *burqa* is a religious option in the same way that Orthodox Jewish women wear wigs and dress modestly. We simply did not want this imposed



HULTON/ARCHIVE BY GETTY IMAGES

U.S. feminist Kate Millett, 1973.

for this article could not recall a single gathering designed solely to promote dialogue between American feminists and Muslim women. Instead, dialogue has come only as an unintentional byproduct of meetings convened for

In the academic arena, and in grassroots encounters that have proliferated since the September 11th terrorist attacks, women on both sides are beginning to view each other with greater understanding and trying to

other purposes. “We come together to talk about issues but we never get to talk about stereotyping each other,” says Azizah al-Hibri, president of KARAMAH, a Washington, D.C. organization of female Muslim lawyers.

Despite this formal estrangement, however, a more nuanced portrait emerges on other levels of interaction.

build working relationships, according to recent interviews and a survey of the newest literature. “As someone who works in that field,” says Mohja Kahf, “I do think the situation is actually improving among Western feminists.” A poet and professor of comparative literature at the University of Arkansas, Kahf, who came to this country from Syria when she was three, says she has seen “more sophistication” in academic writings about Islam and Muslim women.

Manal Omar also has noticed changes. “Muslim women are learning to take the good and leave the bad from the West and from feminism. There is more of a critical process,” says Omar, a former World Bank employee of Palestinian descent with extensive experience in international development projects. “And on the side of Western feminists, they are becoming more sen-

Activist's Perspective

on women who...lived a more modified and contemporary version of Islamic beliefs.”

Leno says she believes that Muslim criticism of American feminist efforts on behalf of women overseas is based on “a lot of misunderstanding,” but is nonetheless understandable. “It has a lot to do with pride, in a sense. It’s not very rewarding to be a ‘rescued’ or ‘aided’ person,” she says. “I think what women are really trying to say is that you do not understand their lives...I know that there are indigenous feminist movements in all the Middle Eastern countries, so there is a certain amount of defensiveness.”

In the 1970s, Leno read several memoirs of Middle Eastern Muslim women and was left with the impres-

sion “that they did lead extraordinarily limited lives.” But their stories also included a “huge emphasis on the tradition of women warriors and brave deeds that women did, and...these stories were told among men and women who considered that it reflected well on their national identity,” she says. “I realized that these women hadn’t been stripped of the idea that they could get up and fight to do something.”

In recent years, Leno adds, she has “learned about the liberal parts of Islam, both towards people in general and women especially...The early suffragists often said that they envied Muslim women because the Qur’an is more liberal to women than the Bible. And it’s true.”

She notes that Muslim women are

not the only ones misperceived as helplessly repressed. “That used to happen to Japanese women, this completely ridiculous idea that they’re so subservient,” she says. “It’s insulting to them and out-of-date. I never thought they were subservient because I never thought women anywhere are *willingly* that way. Even when I was a little girl growing up in the 1950s, I knew it was just a big lie.”

Afghan women in particular are far from helpless or passive, Leno says, quipping: “You do not want to cross an Afghan woman!” And given the interdependence of societies today, she does not rule them out as potential allies.

“Who knows,” she says, “but that we might have to call on them to help us someday.”

sitive in their approach to understanding other cultures and religions. It's an overall tone I've been seeing."

Increased contacts in the American workplace—where Muslim women have become increasingly visible—and in international development projects have contributed to the change. Global gatherings such as the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, also brought interactions between the two sides. In addition, the mass rape of Muslim women by Christian Serbs in Bosnia, the Taliban's mistreatment of Afghan women, and the trauma of September 11th all challenged Western feminists to reach out to Muslim women. "There is an understanding that the world has changed," says Gisela Webb, associate professor of Islamic and women's studies at New Jersey's Seton Hall University, "and that the first wave of feminism had the possibility of becoming patriarchal itself."

Signs of growing mutual understanding are not huge but nevertheless noteworthy. In April, Women's eNews added an Arabic-language page to its web site to cover women's issues in the Middle East and among Arabic-speaking women in the United States. The move was sparked in part because Women's eNews (www.womensenews.com) had noticed that its English-language site was receiving a significant volume of visitors from Saudi Arabia and Qatar, editor-in-chief Rita Henley Jensen says. The new page, she adds, is also meant to "communicate to the Arab-speaking world that some of us are struggling to find out more about Islam and about Arab-speaking nations."

Another example of collaboration is the recent book, *Nothing Sacred: Women Respond to Religious Fundamentalism and Terror* (Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2002). The volume contains essays by secular American feminists such as columnist Katha Pollitt and

dramatist Eve Ensler, as well as scholarly specialists in Islam, notably Karen Armstrong and Leila Ahmed. The book's theme is that extremists in several religions—not only Islam—threaten women's rights around the world. In addition, the first conference of an organization called Women for Afghan Women held in late 2001 in New York included both Muslim women's rights activists and American feminists. "That's what was so remarkable about it, the inclusivity," says participant Irena Lieberman, a Virginia attorney who has assisted Muslim women fleeing gender-based persecution. And last May, Muslim women were among female theologians of various faiths who met for a conference on women, religion and social change at Harvard University.

These are small steps on a still-long journey towards deeper rapprochement, which depends on many things, including greater clarity about definitions.

Feminism is the principle that women have an equal right to the same opportunities as men in all spheres of life. But feminism's content depends on the circumstances of individual women. The word means one thing to a female executive in New York frustrated that the "old boys network" hinders her ascent through the corporate ranks. It means something else to a rural Pakistani widow resisting pressure from male relatives to withdraw her teenage daughters from school so they can be married off.

One reason why Millett's vision of an international women's movement foundered was its underlying assumption that all women everywhere wanted exactly the same rights and opportuni-

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The work of female scholars is part of a revolutionary theological reassessment going on in Islam.

*Feminism
women have an
as men...
the circumstances*

ties that Millett enjoyed as an American. The reality is that there are different expressions of feminism because women in different countries have different priorities. And for some Muslim women, the American feminist movement has become too narrowly identified with issues that are not their top priorities, such as abortion and lesbian rights. "Women's rights are universal but they have to be fought for in a specific context," says Nayereh Tohidi, an Iranian-born associate professor of women's studies at California State University,

Northridge. “I don’t believe in global feminism. It’s a fantasy, a romantic idea...The feminist movement is not one movement, but many.”

Another reality is that many Muslims in foreign lands believe that the United States is hostile to Islam and is using women’s rights as the tip of its spear in a cultural “invasion” of the Muslim world. In this atmosphere, the word feminism has taken on nefarious connotations, viewed as a Western movement of men-haters who extol the individual over the community, are sexually libertine and contemptuous of marriage and the family.

As a result, many Muslim women working for gender equality both in the United States and abroad refuse to call themselves feminists. “We don’t use that [word] too much, but we are com-

avoid the word. “Why not do it openly and accept the term?”

Honest dialogue also demands a better understanding of Islam. As with Judaism and Christianity, Islam is expressed in many different ways. Islam is practiced in Saudi Arabia very differently from how it is practiced in Egypt, Turkey or the United States. Even within the same country, Muslims hold different views on how Islam’s moral message should be applied.

Non-Muslims often overlook this diversity, taking the most intolerant and ultra-orthodox expressions of Islam as representing the religion as a whole. They often also fail to distinguish between Islam—a faith that unquestionably affirms human dignity and gender egalitarianism—and misogynist customs and prejudices prevailing in

required, condoned or suggested by Islam? No.

It is true that some Muslim religious authorities cite Islamic scripture and Islamic law, or *shari’a*, to justify these practices. But it is also true that other Muslim clerics go to the same scriptural sources to denounce these customs as contrary to Islam. Simply put, such practices are examples of women’s repression by patriarchal societies that happen to be Muslim. “It’s important to know,” says Azizah al-Hibri, “that just because a Muslim country is passing laws doesn’t mean that those laws are in accord with Islam.”

Many Western feminists also are often unaware that, to a greater degree than ever before in Islam’s 1,400-year history, Muslim women are challenging the religious rationales for these patriarchal traditions. The work of these female scholars is part of a revolutionary theological reassessment going on in Islam as Muslims around the world seek to revitalize their faith. Using the ancient Islamic practice of *ijtihad*, which means *exerting one’s utmost effort to understand*, Muslims are re-examining Islam’s holy book, the Qur’an, and its other scriptures to understand how Islam’s ethical message should be applied in a modern context.

Sometimes said to be on a “gender jihad,” these female Muslim scholars base their work on two premises. First, because Islam is a compassionate, just and egalitarian faith, its implementation must be the same. Second, for most of Islam’s history, men have monopolized the interpretation of Islamic scriptures and Islamic jurisprudence, a situation that did not produce genuine gender equality in Muslim societies.

“For centuries, men have been the main interpreters of Islam and what it means to be a good Muslim woman...To be blunt, many of the interpretations have a misogynistic bent

*is the principle that
equal right to the same opportunities
But feminism’s content depends on
of individual women.*

ing from a female perspective,” says Irfana Anwer, executive director of KARAMAH’s Washington office. “We don’t try to put it into people’s faces...and put people off unnecessarily.”

It is another sign of shifting attitudes, however, that some young American Muslims are no longer averse to the label. Mohja Kahf says she has left behind her earlier reluctance to call herself feminist, adding, “I’m a little tired of defensive Muslim women and men who are for gender equity” and use “verbal acrobatics” to

many male-dominated Islamic societies.

Take the idea that women cannot drive.

Or that women are obliged to wear head-to-toe garments.

Or that girls should have their clitoris cut so they do not become sexually promiscuous.

Or that men have the right to restore family “honor” by murdering a female relative who has had a sexual relationship outside marriage.

Do these things happen in some Islamic countries? Yes. Are they

to them,” says Tayyibah Taylor, editor of the Atlanta-based *Azizah* magazine. In these male-designed models of Muslim womanhood, she adds, “pious” was defined as the silent, invisible one. The quieter you are, the more pious you are.”

But women scholars are now demanding recognition of widely ignored rights for women that are clearly laid out in the Qur’an. It states, for example, that women’s money is their own, not their husbands’, and that women should not be forced to marry someone they do not want. Riffat Hassan, one of the first Muslim women to call herself a “feminist theologian,” also has pointed out that the Qur’an’s Creation story relates that Eve was not made from Adam’s rib, but created independently at the same time as Adam. It

also does not portray Eve as the temptress responsible for Adam’s first sin. (See also “Additional Commentary,” in sidebar “Qur’anic Verses,” pg. 11.)

Other female Muslim scholars are offering alternative interpretations of key Qur’anic verses that male scholars have long cited to justify male superiority, bar women from public office and deny them any authority over men. A seminal book in this area is *Qur’an and Woman: Rereading Sacred Text from a Woman’s Perspective* by Amina Wadud, professor of Islamic studies at Virginia Commonwealth University in Richmond. First published in 1992 and reprinted in 1999 by Oxford University Press, the book has been translated into multiple languages.

“My objective...was to make a ‘reading’ of the Qur’an that would

be meaningful to women living in the modern era,” writes Wadud, an African-American convert to Islam. “I explicitly challenge the arrogance of those men who require a level of human dignity and respect for themselves while denying that level to another human, for whatever reason—including simply because she is a woman. In particular, I reject the false justification of such arrogance through narrow interpretations or misinterpretations of the Qur’anic text, namely interpretations which ignore the basic social principles of justice, equality and common humanity.”

Equally provocative is Leila Ahmed’s *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (Yale University Press, 1992). Ahmed, professor of women’s studies in religion at Harvard University’s Divinity School,



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MAYSAM J. AL-FARUQI A

A few years back, Cairo’s renowned Islamic university of Al Azhar decreed that a new Egyptian law giving women the same right as men to divorce was in line with the Qur’an.

“Oh, so now it dawns on you?” Maysam J. al-Faruqi recalls thinking. “After all these years?”

As far as she was concerned, Azhar’s mostly male religious scholars should have done “a bit more soul-searching” a long time ago as to why women’s right to divorce—guaranteed in the Qur’an—was not enshrined

in Egyptian law. For al-Faruqi, it was another example of how “Islamic jurisprudence has been colored by male jurists. And this has to be rectified.”

Al-Faruqi is among the new wave of Muslim female scholars who are reading the Qur’an and Islamic law with an eye on greater gender equality. Their work is part of a movement that she views as unstoppable. “Muslim women are coming to grasp that the problems they experienced in the past were cultural,” al-Faruqi said during a break from correcting final exams at Georgetown University, where she teaches Islamic studies. “They are more and more aware of their rights in Islam. And that awareness is irreversible.”

A slender woman of Palestinian

descent, al-Faruqi was born and educated in Lebanon, where she got degrees in economics and anthropology. At Temple University she specialized in economic theory in classical Islamic law for her doctorate. But spurred by questions from Muslim women about their rights, al-Faruqi lately has focused on how those rights are expressed—or not—in Islamic law.

She does not call herself a feminist “because the word carries too much baggage...It implies accepting definitions of self, relations with society, and identity that come from the West...That’s definitely not my view. I start from Islam itself.”

Al-Faruqi said she understands the Western perspective that men and women should be equal in all things in every way, but does not think that it

argues that Islam's "ethical vision" is "stubbornly egalitarian" but that has not been evident in the "technical, legalistic establishment version of Islam." Because Muslim women have continued to hear this "egalitarian voice of Islam," Ahmed wrote, they "often declare (generally to the astonishment of non-Muslims) that Islam is nonsexist." Just like Judaism and Christianity, Ahmed adds, Islam's moral message is open to a variety of interpretations, "including feminist interpretations."

Islamic feminism, whether or not it uses the "feminist" label, generally has several characteristics. It is based on the Qur'an. It rejects the idea that Muslim women have to abandon Islam to secure their rights. It asserts that there are other models for emancipated, modern women besides the Western

one. It sees the traditional, extended family as the essential foundation of society. And it places just as much, if not more, emphasis on an individual's duties to the community as it does on recognizing an individual's rights. And while Islamic feminism accepts that men and women have different roles within the family because of biological differences, it firmly holds that these differences do not make women morally, spiritually or intellectually inferior to men, or preclude them from participating equally with men in the public arena.

Among the Muslim world's 1.2 billion adherents, this emerging vision of gender equality is only beginning to have an impact on legal and political structures. "We're only at the beginning of imagining what Islam would

look like without that patriarchal filter," explained Mohja Kahf, a contributor to *Windows of Faith: Muslim Women Scholar-Activists in North America* (Syracuse University Press, 2000; Gisela Webb, ed.), a collection of female voices redefining women's rights from an Islamic perspective.

Although Millett's vision of a Western-style, secular global women's movement never emerged, her prediction that Iran's revolution might "herald the rise of women throughout Islam" was on target. In many Islamic countries, Muslim women's movements are among the most dynamic and creative social groups pressing for change. "The Islamic world is teeming with feminists," says Riffat Hassan. "They may not call themselves feminists, but they want a choice in who

Scholar's Perspective

"takes into account the reality of things." By contrast, she said, "Islam is more practical." For example, its emphasis on the extended family as the foundation of society provides Muslim women with "a network, so I'm not prone to loneliness, or despair and even economic bankruptcy," said al-Faruqi. And the Qur'anic command that men are financially responsible for the family comes from the fact that women inescapably are responsible for bearing and nursing children, she explained. "It's a matter of equalizing the responsibilities."

But this differentiation of family roles does not mean that men and women differ in intelligence, talents or the right to play a role in public life, al-Faruqi added. Nor does it mean that women cannot work or provide for the family if they want.

Muslim women should be active in reevaluating prevailing interpretations of the Qur'an and Islamic legal rulings, al-Faruqi said, because this is an essential task for ending practices that hold women back. "If you say this is against Islamic law then you have immediate cooperation. It's an absolutely great tool in terms of reform," she said. But this reinterpretive effort is not a "feminist" movement, she has written, "because its basis is Islam and not gender: the injunctions of the Qur'an still take precedence over anything and everything even if, to the Western feminist, they do not provide blind equality."

Al-Faruqi says that Muslim women "have already taken a great gift from Western women, namely, their gaining of their rights," which she calls a "pro-

PELLER" for Muslim women's struggle. On the other hand, she believes that Western women have problems "because the feminist movement has focused on the individual, which has made it hard for women to find that equilibrium which would provide them with all their fundamental rights but also a fulfilling relationship with their family and with society." Muslim women, she adds, "can help their Western sisters find that middle road."

The two sides have more in common than stereotypes suggest, al-Faruqi says.

"I haven't met a Western woman who says I don't care about my children, or my family or my society," she notes. "And I have not met a Muslim woman who does not want to fight for her rights."

they marry, and they want education.”

Some of these women’s groups operate from a secular outlook. Others, such as Malaysia’s Sisters in Islam, advocate a faith-based feminism. The faith-based groups often elicit skepticism from mainstream American feminism because it has long operated from a strongly secular outlook and has been influenced by the view that all religions are inherently patriarchal, and therefore irredeemably anti-women. But precisely because Muslim women see Islam as an all-encompassing faith that affects everything from family relationships to public policy, they believe it is important to base their activism in their faith. Moreover, they see Islam as a powerful weapon for reform because it is the primary legitimizer for social customs and laws in Islamic societies. Once women can show that a practice is unIslamic or not condoned in the Qur’an, they have presented the most potent argument for ending that practice.

While many Muslim women view this approach as a key strategy for change, American feminists sometimes adopt other, ill-advised strategies with damaging results.

Take a recent case in Nigeria. Last May, Ayesha Imam, an activist with BAOBAB for Women’s Human Rights, issued a global Internet alert pleading for a halt to a letter-writing campaign protesting last year’s stoning-to-death sentence imposed on Amina Lawal by an Islamic *shari’a* court. Imam said the campaign had hurt BAOBAB’s efforts to appeal the sentence because local religious authorities in Nigeria were incensed by “negative stereotypes” of Islam in some letters and regarded the campaign as hostile interference by non-Muslim outsiders. To show their defiance of this foreign meddling, the authorities hastily carried out a flogging sentence on another woman with-

out waiting for her appeal to be heard, Imam noted.

“Women’s rights defenders should assess potential backlash effects before devising strategies,” Imam’s alert warned. “There is an unbecoming arrogance in assuming that international human rights organizations or others always know better than those directly involved.”

Other Muslim women expressed dismay over the confrontational tactics used by some Western feminists to impose a strongly secularized feminist agenda on conservative Islamic societies. These efforts “backfire on people like us because we are trying to influence the men. And they say, ‘You are part of these extremists,’” says Sima Wali, an Afghan-born women’s rights activist in Washington, D.C. “You’re talking about women concerned about the basics: clean water, health care, education and security. You cannot impose practices that are very far-fetched at this moment in Afghan history, such as a 50 percent quota for women in the Afghan government...This is not the time and place.”

But equally unhelpful, says Wali, is accepting injustices done to Muslim women as an unavoidable part of their culture, which “buys into the male political agenda of keeping women subservient.”

Perhaps most exasperating for Muslim women, however, is Western feminists’ preoccupation with the Islamic head covering, often generically referred to as the veil. Focusing on the veil reinforces the myth that Muslim women are repressed individuals waiting to be “rescued,” they say. (Though anyone with female Muslim friends who wear a veil know that is no barrier to self-confidence, intelligence or assertiveness.) Focusing on this particular aspect of dress distracts time and energy from more pressing issues, such

as the right to participate fully in public life, and is sometimes seen as a cover for promoting hostility towards Islam itself.

Muslim women have a recipe for American feminists who want to help advance women’s rights in Islamic societies and these are its ingredients: Forget labels (like feminist) and clothing (like the veil). Realize there are many versions of Islam. Recognize the validity of faith-based feminism. Accept that its content will differ from that of Western feminism. Listen to what Muslim women say they want. Despite some early missteps, the Feminist Majority Foundation’s “Campaign to Help Afghan Women and Girls,” which was launched in 1997 when much of the world was ignoring the Taliban’s misogynist policies, drew praise from several Muslim women. “They have learned from their mistakes,” says Wali. “They’re there for the long haul and are promoting the empowerment of Afghan women. They help us get funding and support to create change from inside. They’re listening now.”

Muslim women also have a role to play in furthering rapprochement. They need to reach out to American feminists who want to better understand their Islamic perspective and they need to more forcefully and creatively demonstrate to non-Muslims that Islam and women’s rights are not in conflict.

For both sides, the challenge is to keep their eyes less on their pride and more on their prize, which is the goal of feminism everywhere: justice for all women.

“Dialogue is always the best place to start and if I define justice from my Qur’anic view and someone else defines it from their background, there’s not going to be that much difference,” says Uzma Mazhar. “I think everyone will be surprised at how much we want the same things.” ■

QUR'ANIC VERSES*

And Some Contemporary Commentaries

“And get two witnesses, out of your own men. And if there are not two men, then a man and two women.” Qur’an 2:282

This verse deals only with “certain types of financial contracts” and was “not meant to be applied as a general rule.” Also, the circumstances it originally addressed are obsolete because Muslim women are now familiar with finances and contracts.

AMINA WADUD, *Qur’an and Woman: Rereading the Sacred Text from a Woman’s Perspective* (Oxford University Press, 1999).

“Allah (thus) directs you as regards your children’s (inheritance): to the male, a portion equal to that of two females.” Qur’an 4:11-12

“The inheritance system follows the distribution of responsibilities within the [extended] family cell” and “would have been an abusive system if it had denied women their right to property and to ownership as Western law did until the twentieth century...[But Muslim] women did have a right to inheritance and to property...That, of course, constitutes the ultimate form of independence.”

MAYSAM J. AL-FARUQI, in *Windows of Faith: Muslim Women Scholar-Activists in North America* (Syracuse University Press, 2000; Gisela Webb, ed).

“Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allah has given the one more (strength) than the other, and because they support them from their means...As to those women on whose part ye fear disloyalty and ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next), refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly); but if they return to obedience, seek not against them.” Qur’an 4:34

This verse “seems to hang like a black cloud over the status of women in Islam.” But the male responsibility here is only financial (because he gets more inheritance) and does not mean that men are “teacher/disciplinarians” of women, which would “imply that women are dingbats who don’t have the sense to know right from wrong unless their husband beats them.”

UZMA MAZHAR, *See the Big Picture: 4:34-35*, http://www.crescentlife.com/thisthat/see%20the%20big%20picture4_34.htm

The Arabic word translated here as “beat” has many other meanings and the more appropriate one here is “separate” or “part.” Otherwise, the verse contradicts the next verse, which advises couples experiencing marital problems to attempt reconciliation with the help of family relatives.

MOHAMMED ABDUL MALEK, *A Study of the Qur’an*, <http://members.aol.com/Mamalek2/>

REFERENCES TO WOMEN OUTSIDE THE QUR'AN

“Women should not travel more than three days without a muhrim.”

HADITH reported by ABDULLAH IBN OMAR in the *Bukhari collection, Book #1024*

[Ed. Note: The Sahih Al-Bukhari collection is a compilation of the sayings and deeds of Prophet Muhammad.]

For a woman, a muhrim is her husband or a male family member she cannot marry, such as her father or brother. This hadith was written at a time when traveling long distances “could be very dangerous since roads were full of bandits...Today a woman can travel halfway across the world by airplane in 19 hours, and remain safely among large groups of people at all times. Yet this hadith continues to be used, even by a few Muslim leaders in large U.S. cities, to prevent Muslim women from going from one city to another...or from leaving the doorways of their apartments, alone.”

SHARIFA ALKHATEEB, *Ending Domestic Violence in Muslim Families*,

http://www.crescentlife.com/psychissues/ending_domestic_violence_in_muslim_families.htm

ADDITIONAL COMMENTARY

Writing about the universality of the Qur’an, the scholar Mohamed Talbi refers to a saying attributed to the Prophet Muhammad that the Qur’an is “God’s Banquet,” to which everyone is invited, but not obligated to attend—people should come to him out of love, not compulsion. Talbi also writes that unlike some other religions, Islam does not blame Eve for Adam’s alienation from God. There was no temptress, no concept of original sin—hence, a woman did not cause the fall of humanity. There were no serpents dividing men and women. In the Qur’an, Talbi points out, God created man and woman as *zawjaha*, a couple, one entity with the same soul. Talbi questions the interpretation of a line in the Qur’an that is often used to justify men having authority over women...The Qur’an asks that both men and women live decent, virtuous lives and that both enjoy the same justice.

VARTAN GREGORIAN, *Islam: A Mosaic, Not A Monolith* (Brookings Institution Press, 2003).

*Qur’anic verses are from an edition based on a translation by Abdullah Yusuf Ali (King Fahd Printing Complex, Saudi Arabia).

CIV



Congress of the United States
began and held its first session
Wednesday the fourth of September 1789

THE Committee on the subject of the
RESOLVED
that the following Articles be proposed to the
and Legislatures to be added to all Articles and Provisions of the
ARTICLE I
of the original States pursuant to the fifth Article of the
After the first enumeration shall be so regulated
which the proportion shall be as near as may be
until the number of Representatives shall amount to
no more than one Representative for every
person. No law varying the composition of the
Congress shall be passed until the next
Congress shall have assembled.



by
JOYCE BALDWIN

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION *in Schools* The Right Time is Now

In schools across the nation, educators are developing new ways to teach students that citizenship is a rich experience that involves responsibilities as well as rights.

The Roadrunners, a student group from the Skinner Middle School in northwest Denver, were concerned about pedestrian safety near their school, so they decided to study traffic patterns in the area. The youngsters drew up maps, recorded traffic incidents, polled hundreds of students and met with police and community leaders. The data were so well developed and the student voices so persuasive that the city installed a four-way stop sign at an intersection declared unsafe by the youngsters.

This is only one example of how schools across the country are encouraging youth to voice their opinions responsibly while learning firsthand how our system of democratic government works. Educators from Maine to California are encourag-

ing students to grapple with public issues and tie them to academic lessons, so that the youngsters will become informed, active citizens.

Development of these model programs may mean that after years of being on the “endangered” list, civic education will not join the ranks of the dinosaurs after all. Instead of trailing off into extinction, the

A former teacher, Joyce Baldwin now enjoys reporting on significant educational issues. Baldwin also writes on health and medical topics for many publications and is author of two biographies for young adult readers.



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traditional social studies classes with students learning facts and more facts may be evolving into a dynamic new style of “civic engagement.”

But how is the idea of civic engagement being translated into the day-to-day curriculum of schools around the country? The answer is, differently, in different places. In Hudson, Massachusetts, for example, second graders learned about seeing-eye dogs, therapy dogs and bomb-sniffing dogs. Then they organized a “Barkery” and made dog biscuits to raise funds for animal surgery at a local shelter. While making and selling the biscuits, the children practiced reading, measuring, math, communication and cooperation skills. In Washington, D.C., high school

representatives, met in late June to resolve the question and decided to discontinue the uniform policy since there was not sufficient sentiment in favor of it. However, the committee recognized that parents and staff were concerned about dress standards, so the group will develop a set of “expectations” for the kind of clothes students should wear. In the fall, the school is planning a “Rock the Vote” concert to encourage Latino parents to register to vote, so that they will practice and model this civic responsibility for their children.

Teachers and administrators in these and other schools with similar programs report that the experiences the youngsters have in the community are reflected in a revitalized interest in aca-

it is also clear that these same youngsters care deeply about helping to create a better world. Members of the younger generation are increasingly prompted to volunteer to help others and are also becoming involved politically to support causes in which they believe.

The North Carolina Civic Education Consortium (www.civics.org) recently released results of the first statewide survey of the civic skills, knowledge, behavior, opportunities and attitudes of teenagers and adults. The survey, which was supported by Carnegie Corporation, the Smith Richardson Foundation and the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation, found that “North Carolina youth have a high level of confidence in their civic engagement

*The **YOUNGER** generation is increasingly prompted to help others and to become **INVOLVED** politically to support causes they believe in.*

students, who were studying issues involved with labor and justice, applied their lessons in the community. When they discovered that a fast-food restaurant was paying its tomato pickers less than fair wages, the students boycotted the restaurant and organized a protest. In Modesto, California, students in Fairview Elementary School, most of whom are Hispanic, studied, discussed, debated and then voted on whether or not a five-year policy of requiring students to wear uniforms should be continued. The results were 458 students in favor of discontinuing the policy and 162 in favor of continuing it. The parent vote was 167 in favor of keeping the uniform policy and 139 against it. The staff vote was about evenly split. The School Safety Committee, which is made up of students, parents and staff

demics. Grades and test scores improve as students grasp the link between what they learn in the classroom and how they can apply their skills and knowledge in the real world. Seeing this connection spurs even some of the most disaffected youngsters to achieve academically. What’s more, the youngsters gain a deeper appreciation of how they can participate in the democratic process.

The Right Time

These vignettes of students engaged in civic learning are juxtaposed against alarming statistics that indicate youngsters are disconnected from civic and political institutions, perhaps in part because of a decline in civic education courses in U.S. schools. (See sidebar, *Does A Downturn in Civic Education Signal a Disconnect to Democracy?*) Yet,

skills, but their levels of political involvement and knowledge of government are low.” Only 9 percent of teens surveyed knew the names of the two U.S. senators from their state and only 26 percent have ever sent a letter to a newspaper. By contrast, 73 percent of teens surveyed have recently volunteered to do community service, 49 percent have boycotted a product when they disapproved of a company practice and 32 percent have signed a petition circulated on the Internet. The strongest indicator of civic interest and participation was family income level, with youth from high-income homes more likely to report civic involvement than youth from low-income homes.

This unique set of parallel circumstances—a decline in civic education coupled with an upswing in youth

Does A Downturn in Civic Education Signal a

Disconnect *to* Democracy?

Young people today are less informed about civic matters than youngsters were a generation or two ago. Students attending high school now often take only one government course, compared to a range of courses in civics, democracy and government that were available in the 1960s and earlier. The profile of civics and social studies education in elementary school students is also dismal: during the decade beginning with 1988, there was a reported decline of 49 percent of fourth graders who had a social studies lesson each day.

A multitude of factors have led to this decline, including emphasis on high-stakes testing, cut-backs that affect extra-curricular programs in which students can learn civic skills and teachers' concerns that discussing controversial subjects may result in negative reviews or even legal action.

In view of the sharp downturn in civics education, it is perhaps not surprising that young adults are becoming increasingly disconnected from civic and political institutions. One manifestation of this disconnection is that only about 13 percent of eligible young people cast ballots in the last presidential election. A recent National Youth Survey conducted by CIRCLE revealed that only half of the 1,500 young people polled believe that voting is important, and only 46 percent think they can make a difference in solving community problems.

The lack of interest in politics is especially alarming since there are 43 million people under the age of 30 who are eligible to vote, a full one-quarter of the electorate. A clue as to why these voters are turned off may be found in a recent nonscientific Youth Challenge Quiz conducted online (<http://www.carnegie.org/sub/pubs/youthsurvey.html>) by Carnegie Corporation. Young people ages 15-24 were invited to participate in the quiz. One of the questions asked, "Why don't more young people vote or get involved in politics?" Of the nearly 2,000 respondents, the main answer was that they did not have enough information about issues and candidates. Other sources, such as the Center for Voting and Democracy (www.fairvote.org), report data indicating that young people say they'd be more inclined to participate in the U.S. electoral system if more candidates addressed issues of concern to younger citizens.

There are, however, signs that recent world events may be prompting young people to grapple with problems in our democracy. Data from UCLA's Higher Education Research Institute shows that the 2000 presidential election and events of September 11th, 2001, have reignited youths' interest in politics: 32.9 percent of college freshman surveyed said that keeping up with politics was either a very important or essential life goal, a jump up from 28.1 percent in 2000.

interest in community involvement—may indicate that this is the time for renewal in civic education.

"Young people today are engaged in their communities, doing real work that leads to concrete results," says Cynthia Gibson, Carnegie Corporation program officer in the Strengthening U.S. Democracy program. "That fact, coupled with the decline in civic education, may offer unprecedented opportunities to strengthen our nation's educational system and provide these youngsters with opportunities to learn firsthand how to participate in a democracy in a caring and responsible way—one that involves respect for and involvement with both the civic and political processes and institutions of a healthy democracy. We need to work with our schools to provide young citizens with the tools and knowledge to do just that."

Gibson is co-author with Peter Levine of *The Civic Mission of Schools*, a joint project of Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE (the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning & Engagement; www.civicyouth.org), which is based at the University of Maryland. The report, which grew out of meetings with 55 of the nation's top education experts, recommends renewing civic education and political engagement with "real life" learning opportunities, not simply reviving the traditional civics class.

"Instead of stressing the deficits of young people, we need to help them get involved in a deeper, richer civic engagement, which is the focus of our report," Gibson explains.

Building a Bridge

Scholars and practitioners stress the need to develop an amalgam of education and service activities outside the classroom. Establishing a bridge between the two worlds, it is thought,

will prompt youth to become engaged and energized participants in the democratic process.

“There is a level of service that is simply about doing good deeds. But if service is going to have implications for civic engagement, it has to go more deeply into the political and social dynamics that surround it,” says Sheldon H. Berman, superintendent of the Hudson School District in Hudson, Massachusetts. “A service project should combine research, service, and report implications. It should also combine reading in an area, so that it is a study of an issue that has service as a field component of that study.”

National Attention

On May 1, 2003, the national spotlight was focused on the need to



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Students in Hudson, Massachusetts, are learning to be responsible members of a community.

*Learning simple and important **SOCIAL** skills is part of a commitment in the Hudson schools to help youngsters learn to build a **COMMUNITY** and express mutual respect.*

study the issue of civic education at “We the People,” a daylong White House Forum on American History, Civics and Service. Leslie Lenkowsky, chief executive officer of the Corporation for National and Community Service (www.nationalservice.org), says that the forum represented “an effort to build on the outpouring of patriotic sentiments that we’ve seen since September 11th, 2001, and transform that into a real spirit of patriotic action. By that I mean, essentially, a kind of active citizenship that President Bush spoke about in his inaugural address. It is one thing for people to sing ‘God Bless America,’ for everybody to display the flag and for people to say they sup-

port our American troops, but we also need to do the things in our own lives that are essential to being an engaged citizen.” The forum was hosted by the U.S. Department of Education, the Corporation for National and Community Service, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the USA Freedom Corps.

The need for studying history and civics is emphasized by “The American History and Civics Education Act of 2003,” a bill introduced in March by senators Lamar Alexander (R-TN) and Harry Reid (D-NV). The bipartisan act is designed to allow teachers to attend two-week summer academies to learn more about American history and

civics. In May 2003, Senator Alexander and Senator Bill Frist (R-TN) announced a Department of Education grant program that will award about \$100 million to schools that submit successful applications for three-year projects in civics and American history.

Putting Civic Education into Action

There are a number of creative and innovative ways that civic engagement is being approached in the nation’s schools. Among them:

■ Peace Games (www.peacegames.org), an in-school violence prevention program started in 1992, develops curriculum about peacemaking as civic engage-

ment and works with elementary schools to improve communication, cooperation, conflict resolution and engagement. The nonprofit organization helped youngsters cope with the trauma of September 11th, through the creation of community service-learning projects. Some of the students chose to assemble Peacemaker Care Packages with messages of peace and gave them to firefighters, police, emergency workers and other peacemakers.

■ The ten-year-old nonprofit Earth Force (www.earthforce.org) helps young people take on projects that make lasting improvements to their environment and the community. The group works with about 35,000 young people and 1,500 educators in after-school and summer programs as well as in



Hudson students are putting environmental research skills to work in their own backyard.

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other educational settings in school districts across the country. One recent undertaking involved the Walnut Creek Middle School in Erie, Pennsylvania, where students in Judy Jobses' science

class have been working for a few years to study the quality of water in their local creek and to educate the public about the importance of reducing pollution in their water. The class, which calls itself Walnut Creek S.E.W.E.R. (Saving Erie's Water & Environmental Resources), has had many initiatives to educate the community about cleaner water, including a billboard and brochures, such as *Your Lawn & Pesticides: What Goes Around, Comes Around*. They have also worked with local officials to increase street sweeping, which reduces runoff into the water.

■ In the summer of 2003, Virginia high school students spent two weeks attending the inaugural High School Leaders Program, sponsored by the Virginia Citizenship Institute and the University of Richmond. The July institute provided an array of opportunities for interaction and debate among the students about public challenges facing their state; students also met with many elected officials including those serving their state in Congress.

■ The First Amendment Schools (FAS) Project (www.firstamendmentschools.org) uses the five freedoms of speech, religion, press, assembly and petition to the government as a lens to help youngsters become responsible citizens and leaders. "Those five freedoms have been the instrument for advancing democracy and justice for greater numbers of people throughout our history. They are inalienable rights and the basic tools of democratic citizenship. We see that as a starting point for helping young people understand how to be active and effective citizens," says Charles Haynes, senior scholar of the Freedom Forum First Amendment Center, which together with the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) created the FAS Project.

The group has awarded three-year grants to eleven elementary, middle

and high schools to help them become laboratories for democracy and freedom. A reporter recently visited two of these schools to see how they are combining their classroom lessons with active citizenry.

Gentle Beginnings

The kindergarten classes in Hudson, Massachusetts, begin each day with a community meeting. As the "star" for a day late in April, Emma Nathan took attendance, asked how many of her classmates wanted milk and began passing a koosh ball, which has soft rubber spikes that give it a noticeable resemblance to a small, round porcupine. As the ball was tossed, each child greeted a classmate, making eye contact with the other child and saying "Good morning, Tim" and "Good morning, Amanda," until everyone had been included. Learning these simple and important social skills is part of a commitment in the Hudson schools to help youngsters learn to build a community and to express mutual respect for each other. These skills are the underpinning of a rich civic engagement that the children also begin to experience in kindergarten and continue throughout their school years.

As the morning progressed in Catherine Waugh's kindergarten class, the children took pride in putting the final touches on a quilt project that they had been working on for some time. With the help of Emma's mother, the youngsters carefully added "tying-off" knots to their quilt, which was made as a gift for a mother and child living in a Hudson homeless shelter. Each year every kindergartner designs and makes one square of their classroom quilt. Teachers encourage the children to express in their quilts something they would like to share about themselves with a less fortunate child. When the quilt is assembled, each child takes

home the quilt and a journal, so that they and their parents can write a note in the journal about the project. When the journal is completed, the class presents the quilt to a mother and her child or to the director of the shelter. The journal shows how much the students care and how much they have learned in this hands-on civic education lesson. "I'm glad I helped someone keep warm," wrote one child. Another expressed the thought that "This makes me want to help more people."

Kindergarten lessons of social responsibility are reinforced throughout the school year. For example, when the students learn about the letter "K," each time a youngster performs an act of "K"indness, a heart is added to a classroom poster proclaiming "100 Acts of Kindness." Later in the year and further along in the alphabet, other kindergartners performed 100 Acts of "R"esponsibility, such as pushing a chair under a table or throwing away scrap paper.

And so civic education begins in the Hudson school district (www.hudson.k12.ma.us). In a gentle way, students begin to gain social skills and to understand the connection their little classroom community has with the greater community in Hudson, which is an industrial town about 30 miles west of Boston.

A K-12 Emphasis

Lessons learned in the early school years echo again and again in middle school and throughout the high school years, helping Hudson students become empathetic, respectful citizens with a desire to be of service to their community.

Speaking of the importance of Hudson's comprehensive civic engagement curriculum, Charles Haynes of the Freedom Forum's First Amendment Center says, "Our view is that elemen-

tary schools are key because civic habits of the heart begin at a very early age."

There are nearly 2,800 students in the Hudson school district. One-third of the student population is Portuguese-speaking; many emigrated from Brazil. Twelve percent of the students receive free lunches, yet despite their lower socioeconomic level, residents of Hudson recently ratified a \$43 million budget to build a new high school slated to open in the fall of 2003. The school's architectural design features open spaces to accommodate "cluster" groups, communities within the school that will form the basis for democratizing the school and enhancing the student voice in determining day-to-day policies.

Teachers are eager to share what is happening in their Hudson classrooms. Patty Lima's second grade in the J.L. Mulready School read *The Mitten Tree* by Candace Christiansen (Fulcrum Publishing, 1997) and then worked on "Helping Hands Stay Warm," a project that encouraged students to do chores for their families to earn money for children's mittens and gloves that were donated to the Hudson Food Pantry. While studying adjectives, the children collected boxes of cereal, studied the advertising to find adjectives and then donated the cereal to the food pantry. Among other projects, Laura Mullen's second graders collected pledges from sponsors who contributed a small sum for each book a child read; the class raised more than \$400 to buy a water buffalo, chickens and a pig for a family in another country.

Mullen echoed the words of other teachers in the district, saying, "Community Service-Learning is one of the things I really have a passion for because it is so important for our children."

Everywhere in Hudson, teachers and students together seem to have

found inventive ways to develop lessons of civic education while improving academic accomplishments. SAT scores, attendance rates and enrollment in advanced placement classes have increased, while elementary class size has decreased to about 19 students in each class.

At the high school, a group of six students traveled to the Patanal wetlands in Brazil where they learned environmental research skills and conducted baseline research about the wildlife in the area. The trip, which was conducted in partnership with Earth Watch, taught the teens how to

The mission
“to DEVELOP
a better place by
policies that



Irasema Salcido, founder and principal of César Chávez Public Charter High School for Public Policy.

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The César Chávez high school experience challenges students to become leaders who can propose solutions.

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ernment and then segues into a study of what circumstances gave rise to the Holocaust. By spring, the students are energized for the community service-learning component of the course, with proposals ranging from conducting workshops in elementary schools, to organizing fund raisers, working at a nonprofit day care center and volunteering at a nursing home. A key question that is the focus of the course throughout the year is: “What is the individual’s responsibility to create a just society?”

So what begins as a simple ritual of passing a koosh ball culminates in

teenage years. Now, years later, as founder and principal of the César Chávez Public Charter High School for Public Policy (www.cesarchavezhs.org) in Washington, D.C., she knows what it takes to help teenagers achieve.

The César Chávez student population is a diverse group of 250 students, with about 25 percent recent arrivals to the U.S. Many of the students are from El Salvador, one emigrated from Cameroon and two from Bosnia.

Salcido has recruited a staff of what she considers to be “the best teachers in the entire world,” and is proud to have attracted 25 full-time, experienced teachers, some of whom graduated from Ivy League colleges and to include a lawyer, research scientist, poet and an artist on the staff.

Housed in a former laundry and with few amenities, César Chávez’s mission is “to develop young people who will make the country a better place by influencing the public policies that affect their communities.” School facilities are below average in many respects. Makeshift dividers separate areas into classrooms, so discussions from one area of a partitioned room intrude on another class. There are only a few computers, no science labs, and no gym or playground for physical education. “Our students don’t get any exercise in school,” says Kate McGreevy, director of development and community outreach, “even though many of them are out of shape and might have health problems.”

While acknowledging the lack of facilities, the students are proud of the strengths of their school. After taking a Foundations in Public Policy course in the ninth grade, tenth graders select an issue that is relevant to their community, form a relationship with a local group and develop and put into action a plan that addresses that issue. The following year students partner with policymak-

of César Chávez High School is young people who will make the country

INFLUENCING *the public affect their communities.”*

conduct an animal and plant census, how to analyze predator-prey relationships and how to begin preserving the wetlands. Students kept a daily journal and took turns sending reports back to their Hudson web site. The students were the second group to travel to South America, and the skills they learned are being put to use by the environmental class. Teacher Frank Gilliatt has been working with students for five years to develop a trail along the Assabet River, which runs behind the high school and used to be inaccessible. “As soon as the students get their hands dirty, they feel a partial ownership of the trail and are incredibly protective of it,” Gilliatt says.

A required interdisciplinary Civics-English course that engages all ninth graders in exploring the rights and responsibilities of citizens begins the year with students learning about gov-

experiences that ripple throughout the community and emphasize the idea that citizenship is predicated on recognizing an individual’s responsibilities as a citizen as well as his or her rights. “Kids come out of the Hudson school experience with an understanding of the common good,” says Berman. “They understand what it means to be a responsible member of a community. They know better how to treat each other and work together effectively, they have an ethical and moral compass that we have helped them develop and some of the civic skills and competencies to make a difference.”

A Laundry Becomes a Remarkable School

As a fourteen-year old Mexican immigrant, Irasema Salcido worked in the fields of California, picking strawberries on weekends for three of her

What is it Like to be a Student at César Chávez?



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Carnegie Corporation of New York interviews Carmella Royster, 16, who is going into her senior year at César Chávez Public Charter High School for Public Policy in Washington, D.C.

CC: Were you an involved student when you came to César Chávez?

Carmella: When I came here in my sophomore year, I thought it would be a joy ride, like a regular public school. I talked too much in class and “pounced” on everybody. I was not dedicated at all to my education; I wasn’t focused and was immature. In my other school I was failing a couple of classes.

CC: What’s different about César Chávez?

Carmella: Here you have to do work; you can’t get around it. When you don’t turn in homework, you have detention, so your homework has to be done. If you don’t, it’s like a chain reaction and you don’t do well on tests. You have no choice but to focus on self-improvement and maturing. You don’t want to be a “get-by” student at César Chávez.

CC: What public policy experiences have you had?

Carmella: I had a National Parks Conservation Association (NPCA) internship for three weeks at the beginning of my junior year. We studied about national parks and I visited the Franklin D. Roosevelt Park, DuPont Circle (which a lot of people don’t realize is a park), the Lincoln Memorial, the Vietnam Memorial and Harper’s Ferry in Virginia. Then I taught first grade students at a nearby school about the importance of protecting parks. I also asked people at the Farragut North Metro Station area to sign postcard petitions asking the president to increase the budget for national parks.

CC: What else?

Carmella: I lobbied on the Hill three times, with NPCA, with Common Cause about national service and with Bread for the World, talking about welfare reform. I also went with other students to lobby for a national memorial for César Chávez.

CC: What other things are happening?

Carmella: I was granted a fellowship with Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-DC) in her constituent services office. My politics and citizenship class brought the mayor to our school, and we started reading the newspaper every day and watching the news morning, noon and night. We also talked with people who are part of the board of education and the city council. When Rod Paige, the Secretary of Education, came to our school, I got up to ask him five questions. He called me a leader.

CC: What are you considering as a career?

Carmella: Communications or law. I want more. I’m hungry for education, and I want to explore the world.

CC: What would you like to add?

Carmella: César Chávez has shed a new light on education for me and has taught me public policy skills and prepared me for college and the work force. People look at schools in D.C. and teenagers and think we’re not doing anything. But just come to our school and see the changes that we’re making in our community and for ourselves academically. My goal is to be a successful adult and make my mark in the world and to give back what I’ve learned, so that everyone can gain from it.

ing organizations and meet with government leaders. The students apply for a fellowship with a public policy organization and spend three weeks with the group. Meagan Labriola, public policy director at César Chávez says, “It’s real work experience, not filing and answering phones. That means taking a student to planning meetings and hearings or to attend meetings on Capitol Hill.”

The high school experience in the public policy arena culminates in a senior policy thesis that involves research and analysis of a problem and challenges the students to become experts who can propose solutions.

A school government and constitution were recently established and instituted. One of the first forays by the students in shaping school policy has been to reevaluate a rule that prohibits cell phones in the school. After a period of study and debate, the governing body, which meets every two weeks and comprises eight students and eight adults, submitted a revised policy to the principal and dean, who can veto a proposal. The administrators approved the new policy, which allows students to have cell phones in the school, but only if they are turned off. If students violate the regulation, their cell phone privileges are revoked.

Having the Courage

César Chávez opened in 1998 and at the end of that first year, two-thirds of the students were held back. Salcido wondered: “What am I doing?” She knew that some other schools routinely pass youngsters to the next grade, whether or not they have adequately mastered required work. “We couldn’t continue making the same mistake. We were the *last* stop for them,” says Salcido, who earned a masters degree from Harvard University. “I’m glad I had the courage to stick to my princi-

ples; it really shaped the way the school is today.” When it came time for the first graduating class to prepare their theses, the staff pondered whether they should assign a 15-20 page thesis or allow students to write just a five-page paper. Once again, the decision was made to hold students accountable to high standards.

From the outset, strict discipline was an essential element of the school program. Late to class five times? Your grade is reduced one level. Late eight times and you fail the course. “Drugs, or weapons, you’re out,” Salcido says. “Fight and you get a twenty-five day suspension.”

Despite the strict routine, a visitor saw clear signs that there was a caring, relationship between students and principal, between students and their teachers. A sign on a board in Salcido’s office, written in blue marker and displayed proudly, proclaims “Class of 2003. We love you, Mrs. Salcido.”

It is also clear that many of the students are articulate and forthright in talking about their newfound world at César Chávez. (See sidebar: *What is it Like to be a Student at César Chávez?*) During a lunchtime meeting students shared their thoughts about some of the issues that were uppermost in their minds

■ “Children die every day because of child abuse and neglect,” Cherry Wooten, a senior, said emphatically. “I’ve read *horrible* stories about parents who put their child in a dog cage without food or water, and the parents were not convicted.” Cherry will present her thesis to her class, including recommendations for change in D.C. law to ensure that at least minimum punishment levels are in place for convicted child abuse offenders.

■ Preventing teenage pregnancy was a high priority for Jajaira Mejia, a junior who is a teen mother of seven-month

old Diana. “At first I was shy to share my opinions,” Jajaira said. “but now I have a public service announcement on the Internet about teenage pregnancy. I don’t want other girls to make the same mistakes I made.”

■ Josue Cruz, a freshman, spoke enthusiastically about a school trip to Quebec where students stayed with host families. “It was way more than just fun, being in a different country and realizing the world is bigger than it seems.”

Other public service projects at the school include helping a food bank keep its shelves stocked, organizing a D.C.-wide Earth Day event, and conducting a fund-raiser to purchase energy-conserving light bulbs, green plants and other items to create a “green space” in the school.

The first César Chávez class graduated in 2002, with 100% of the students going on to college including Brown University, American University, and George Mason University. In 2003, all students in the senior class were again accepted to college, one to Columbia University. Speaking of the pride she felt at seeing the students collect their diplomas, Salcido says that the experience was so moving—and so hard-won—that, “I thought I was watching a movie.” She’s sure that all her students are now firmly on track to become truly engaged and successful citizens.

Making a Difference

As *The Civic Mission of Schools* urges, both the Massachusetts school district and the D.C. public charter high school “infuse a civic mission throughout the curriculum . . . so that the students are able to ‘live what they learn’ about civic engagement and democracy.” The experts whose input shaped the report recommend “conducting more research that helps to define and develop standardized indica-

tors of civic engagement, especially those that expand the meaning of citizenship and take a broader view beyond voting, volunteering, and knowing facts about the government.” Evaluation of the innovative ways in which civic education is changing in these schools and others throughout our country will yield valuable data to help states shape their education policies.

The Hudson schools and César Chávez are different in many ways, one a suburban school district, the other an urban high school drawing students from all parts of its city. The two academic institutions have developed different iterations of school-based civic education, yet they share a number of characteristics. In both Hudson and César Chávez, for example, all students—including those who might otherwise be disaffected—have ongoing opportunities to be engaged in the civic life of their communities, to begin to appreciate how classroom lessons are inextricably linked to their civic experiences and to learn how to voice their opinions and listen to the thoughts of others.

Civic engagement programs in the Hudson and Washington, D.C. schools help young people begin to understand how lessons learned in the classroom, in the Patanal of Brazil and in local governing groups in their communities resonate in their lives. Through civic engagement securely anchored to academics, the youngsters begin to gain a rich understanding of our democratic life and learn the skills needed to contribute to our nation in a meaningful way. As Carnegie Corporation president Vartan Gregorian has said, “When young people learn that they can make a real difference in their communities, civic lessons of the heart will become integral to their lives, and hopefully the youngsters will become active, caring citizens, who understand that the future of our democracy is truly in their hands.” ■

The Digital Librarian

by DANIEL AKST

Its Future Has Arrived

The dawning of the digital age is having an effect on your local library—and on libraries around the world, as well.

The movie opens with a shot of a 1950s computer, something on the order of a six-burner Viking stove mated with a teletype machine. The machine spits out the credits: *The Desk Set*, it prints, on that quaint fanfold paper with the holes on the sides.

The plot unfolds quickly: Katharine Hepburn heads the research department of a TV network—a department of glamorously brilliant career girls who can tell you in a flash not just whether the king of the Watusi drives a car, but what kind. One day a mysterious stranger—Spencer Tracy—materializes with a hush-hush mission. As he blunders eccentrically around the department with his tape measure and trick questions, the gals soon discover that he's the holder of a "Ph.D. in science" from MIT who's invented some gigantic new computer. Joan Blondell, Hepburn's salty sidekick, is practically hysterical: "He's trying to replace us all with a mechanical brain," she exclaims. "That means the end of us!"

Today there are millions of computers in

America, many of them in libraries, yet these institutions and others still employ more than 200,000 people calling themselves "librarians," according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That's about twice the number as in 1957, when *Desk Set* was released. It seems unlikely that any mechanical—or electronic—brain will mean the end of these librarians any time soon.

But the libraries they work in are something else again. The dawning of the digital age, glimpsed so charmingly in *Desk Set*, is bringing radical change to the whole notion of the library, with vast implications for the price, availability and durability of knowledge.

The dawn of the digital age, in fact, offers opportunities as well as challenges for libraries and their users unlike any seen since the random-

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y



access knowledge modules familiarly known as “books” supplanted scrolls.

What libraries may be like in the future is important not just for librarians and authors, but for anyone who cares about access to knowledge and information. To the extent an informed citizenry sustains a free society, democracy itself might be said to rest at least partly on the edifice of the library.

But it's not at all clear that the library of tomorrow will even involve an edifice. Digital technology raises questions about the very nature of the library—about what it's for, how it functions, what should be in it, and whether it's a place or an idea. What does it mean to lend a book when the volume exists only electronically? How many comprehensive research libraries are necessary if and when collections are largely digitized—and therefore accessible anywhere? Will digital libraries make it easier for the world's poor to affordably tap knowledge? Or, without electricity or reliable telecommunications networks, will Third World countries only fall farther behind nations already rich in information?

Andrew Carnegie understood how well libraries could function as the launching pads of social mobility, which is why, in 1881, he started using his wealth to fund them. In those days there were few free public libraries, and working people had relatively limited access to reading material. Carnegie helped to change that. His money subsequently built 2,509 public libraries all over the English-speaking world. To this day, there are Carnegie libraries in cities and towns across America, as well as in the British Isles and Australia.

Digital Libraries in the Third World

The challenge today is using digital technology to bring the library's riches to the world's poor. In this context,

Carnegie Corporation, for example, is bringing digital technology to bear in programs to improve African libraries and universities. Public libraries in Botswana, Kenya and South Africa are getting computers and help in digitizing their catalogs as well as connecting

users have in their favor is rapid advances in digitizing technology. Even the best digital library, after all, can't do anything about the millions of pages of items that exist today only on paper. But those items too may soon find their way online. In a neat symbiosis,



The Desk Set, 20th Century Fox, 1957. Spencer Tracy (l.), Neva Patterson (mid.), Katharine Hepburn (r.)

to larger library networks electronically. Corporation program officer Rookaya Bawa, who directs the foundation's efforts in this area*, says progress is constrained by a lack of affordable bandwidth. African telecommunications services are inadequate and expensive, and new fiber optic lines would require enormous capital. She remains optimistic, but admits that in Africa, “the wires are so crossed on this issue, it's unbelievable.”

One thing Third World library

* The Corporation's support of library initiatives is currently focused on revitalizing selected African libraries. The goals of this program are to develop national libraries, revitalize selected public libraries and consolidate the development of university libraries in countries and institutions that have strategic intervention programs funded by the foundation. See sidebar, A Short History of Carnegie Corporation's Library Program.

books and other works on paper are sometimes shipped to countries such as India, where they can be manually scanned at lower cost than in the U. S. In another example of symbiosis, the digital revolution is speeding up the scanning process through automation. The Stanford University library, for example, has started digitizing paper materials using a robot that can scan books and newspapers at speeds exceeding 1,000 pages per hour. Michael Keller, Stanford's head librarian, can see the possibilities. As he told *The New York Times*, “Think about the power of bringing our library to little schools in the middle of Africa.”

For Third World patrons who do have access to the Internet, digital

libraries are already starting to deliver materials that local libraries couldn't previously get or afford. The African Digital Library offers more than 8,000 full-text books online to patrons who live on the African continent. The latest research—in the form of agricultural, medical and scientific papers—from the world's advanced industrial economies is also starting to reach the Third World electronically via such efforts as Hinari (www.healthinternet-network.org), which makes medical publications available to underdeveloped countries at radically reduced cost, and the eJournals Delivery

public libraries were networked as part of a revitalization project that included improving existing libraries and building new ones. Library use doubled from 2000 to 2002, and the project won the 2002 Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation Access to Learning Award—a \$1 million grant.

Electronic Library Books

If you want a glimpse at the library of tomorrow, look no further than NetLibrary. Originally a private company with venture capital funding, it filed for Chapter 11 as part of the dot.com bust and was acquired by the

growing collection, assembled by professional librarians, is starting to include consumer titles as well. NetLibrary vice president Marge Gammon says most of its titles get used for only 15 or 20 minutes at a time, so they're usually available—often via regional networks of libraries that can share the costs. That can make a NetLibrary e-book cheaper than multiple copies of regular books, yet more convenient than a single copy that needs to be shuttled around among member institutions.

You can't take one of NetLibrary's books into the bathtub, of course, and reading on screen can be tedious. But cardholders can access e-books from anywhere, they don't take up any shelf space and they can't be stolen, as library books so often are. Plus, users can perform full-text searches—and even write in the books, so to speak, with annotation, highlighting and other tools.

Your scribbles are saved to your account and don't affect how the book looks to anyone else.

NetLibrary is also an example of how the digital revolution is blowing down library walls, since you can use it from home any time you want. The same goes for Ebrary, a private company that charges libraries a fee (based on number of cardholders) to permit their users to access books and other materials—except Ebrary's approach is all-you-can eat, so multiple users can view the same document. Publishers get a royalty on the deal.

A company called Questia is going even further by selling the library direct to patrons much the same way subscription libraries sold access to reading materials in the 19th century. Students who pony up \$20 a month (or \$120 a year) get electronic access via Questia to more than 45,000 complete books

“Think about the power of bringing our library to little schools in the middle of Africa.”

—MICHAEL KELLER, *University Librarian, Stanford University*

Service (www.ejds.org). SPARC—the Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition—is working to exploit the economies created by the Internet to lower the cost of academic journals for everyone by promoting competition in the field.

Some efforts are focused on overcoming the bandwidth constraint. The Essential Electronic Agricultural Library (<http://teal.cornell.edu/>) is distributed annually on CD-ROM to poor countries at low cost; it consists of more than 140 agriculturally oriented journals. And the eIFL initiative (www.eifl.net), started by the Open Society Institute, provides academic journals to poor countries, also on CD-ROM.

The experience in some underdeveloped countries suggests the physical library is a long way from disappearing. In Colombia, for example, the Bogotá

Online Computer Library Center, a nonprofit consortium of libraries that provides various services to its members.

What NetLibrary does is provide a rich collection of more than 51,000 electronic books, most of them academic, to libraries. To allay publisher fears about cannibalizing sales of physical copies, NetLibrary takes a “one book, one user” approach. It sells libraries an actual electronic copy of a work, and when one user is viewing it, no one else can. Prices are about the same as hardcovers—plus a hefty fee to cover NetLibrary's costs in running the system, including the Internet servers that host the electronic books.

Electronic books at hardcover prices might not seem appealing at first. But NetLibrary has signed up a remarkable 8,200 libraries all over the world, including the African Digital Library, and its

from such sterling names as Yale University Press and W.W. Norton. The books, along with something like 25,000 articles, are chosen by professional librarians, and publishers receive royalties. As with NetLibrary, users get online research tools. Nothing is ever checked out when you want it, and of course, the place never closes.

The Amazon Library

Steve Coffman is a reference librarian by profession, but a bomb thrower by nature. Nowadays he's vice president for product development at LSSI, a library services company. Coffman outraged some librarians by suggesting in a provocative essay that Amazon.com could be a model for the library of the future. "It's incredible what they've done," he says.

Coffman easily ticks off the many ways Amazon is superior to libraries: it has a larger collection, amazing economic efficiencies and an astonishing catalog that has itself become "a major reference tool," one that puts traditional library catalogs to shame. At Amazon, readers almost always find what they want and get it delivered to their door, often with no shipping charges. Compare this to libraries, where visitors often can't find what they want, and if they are among the rare patrons that make use of the inter-library loan system—sometimes at a small fee—getting that book to them might cost the library \$25 or \$30, as much or more than simply ordering it from Amazon.

That doesn't mean libraries ought to shut their doors. On the contrary, says Coffman, "We've got everything we need to beat the pants off Amazon. But nobody's done it."

Coffman is trying. For a fee, for example, his company will provide your library with a virtual reference desk, 24 hours a day, seven days a week. LSSI staffs this service with librarians

logged onto the Internet from all over America. The catch is that if a patron from, say, Denver calls, then the LSSI librarian will only consult resources available to Denver library patrons (in addition, of course, to the Internet). "It's silly," Coffman acknowledges. "But publishers care."

Coffman thinks libraries could learn a lot from Barnes & Noble as well as Amazon, not to mention high-tech companies that make use of global operations to exploit differing time zones. He foresees a time when the electronic reference desk goes global; then people in Third World countries could get answers from Western reference librarians, but U.S. libraries could also staff their reference desks around the clock with English-speaking librarians in places like India.

If Amazon is the library of the future, for many users the Internet is the library of today. But digital access to information changes the way we use it, privileging what is recent, searchable and at hand over what might be far more valuable or reliable, if less convenient. Still, the avalanche of random information available on the Internet is only going to grow. How should we deal with this explosion of both access and information? Bringing the library to the Internet will probably be a more effective remedy than hoping to bring users to the library.

An important function of libraries is preserving knowledge as well as disseminating it, so if the Internet is the library, maybe it too needs preservation. To address this problem, Brewster Kahle, a pioneer in digital information technologies, has created The Internet Archive (at www.archive.org) featuring a "way-

At the intersection of Main Street and Kissena Boulevard in Queens there is also a meeting of cultures and minds. Since 1891, this has been the site of the Flushing branch of the Queens Borough Public Library. In 1998, a new building, several times larger than its predecessor, became necessary as the community filled the library daily, in



The Flushing branch of the Queens Borough Public Library in Queens, NY.

numbers far beyond its capacity. But this new branch is more than a larger version of the original, it represents a dramatic shift in the form, function and philosophy of the library.

"In a global community, this library stands at a crossroads of cultures, languages, traditions and all that is wonderful about the make-up of Queens," says Yvonne Hoeft, the library's public relations associate, pointing to the books in dozens of languages lining the shelves. "The library was redesigned with the neighborhood's ethnic mix in mind."

The library has always been a beacon for immigrants, in their efforts to both learn the language and customs of America and to retain their own. As the times have changed and the population of Queens has shifted from primarily native-born Americans to almost half having arrived from other countries,

the library has made a point of making itself over to serve its new users.

“We are driven to change because of the cultural and ethnic diversity of Queens,” says Alan Wagner, manager of the library’s International Resource Center, which houses over 55,000 international items, making the Flushing branch the flagship of the largest public library system in the country. “A library has to be relevant to its customers or it will not continue to exist,” Wagner adds. “Many libraries

Korean, Spanish, Russian, Hindi, Gujarati and Hebrew comprising the majority. Approximately 80 percent of the materials can be borrowed.

“Hundreds of items are unique to the International Resource Center,” Wagner says. “Whether they’re doing business in Bahrain, looking for a historical dictionary of Burundi, fiction from Bosnia, international videos or databases on the latest political and economic developments from around the world, visitors to the library will

designed to help immigrants learn to read, speak and write English through seminars and individualized programs.

The new Flushing library is also notable for the predominance of computers: there are 80 workstations, and library users with laptops can plug in right from their desks. All four floors of the library are wired for high-speed Internet access; two self-service computer check-out stations add to the hi-tech ambiance. There are also connections to dozens of online databases, including WordLinQ, the library’s multilingual electronic delivery system.

Some critics of the new hi-tech library worry that the culture of books can get lost with the emergence of new technologies. But the librarians at the Flushing branch disagree. “Actually, one of the positive things about technology is that it is a tool that helps people connect to books faster and more efficiently,” says Ruth Herzberg, manager of the Flushing branch. The technology also brings to the library resources that would not otherwise be available. “With electronic media, we can provide current information much faster than we ever could on paper,” says Hoeft.

As the leading library in the Queens system, the Flushing branch has taken the initiative in plunging into the new world of information technology and—even if judging by nothing other than how busy it is on a weekday afternoon—the community is clearly benefiting from its efforts. Andrew Carnegie once said, “It is from personal experience that I feel that there is no human arrangement so powerful for good, there is no benefit that can be bestowed upon a community so great, as that which places within the reach of all the treasures of the world which are stored up in books.” Today, he might have added, “or which can be accessed through a computer or on a disk.” At least he might have if he had visited Queens. ■

The Queens Borough Public Library

At the Crossroads of Technology

keep doing things the way they did 20 years ago, but Queens changes every couple of weeks.”

The International Resource Center at the library is a citywide compendium of information and materials about the peoples, cultures and economies of the world. Designed for general readers with a serious interest in international subjects and for students from high school through the master’s degree level and business users at any level, the center provides a unique concentration of resources for global studies and international commerce. In addition to its extensive holding of books, the center subscribes to more than 250 newspapers, magazines and journals; it also circulates videos and DVDs of documentary and feature films from around the world, as well as recordings of ethnic and world music. Approximately 50 percent of the items are in English. The rest of the collection includes materials in 44 other languages, with Chinese,

find what they want, guided by a knowledgeable, multilingual staff.”

The International Resource Center also offers the community lectures, seminars, conferences, concerts and theatrical presentations that are international in scope and free of charge. This type of outreach was considered essential to the design of the library, which has wide-open spaces, including meeting rooms, and a 227-seat state-of-the-art auditorium. “In actuality, this is at the very heart of the purpose of the library; establishing a dialogue that is inclusive of the different groups within the community and we are glad that we are able to do that here in Flushing,” says Wagner.

The library’s facilities also include an expansive children’s section, with computer workspace designed specifically for them, a young adult section, two exhibition areas, seating capacity for 300 people, and “quiet rooms” for research. Another important part of the library is its Adult Learning Center,

back machine,” which “makes it possible to surf more than 10 billion pages stored in the Internet Archive’s web archive.” Here you can see differing versions of a web page—even your own—that you thought were long dead and buried.

“The idea,” Kahle has said, “is to build a library of everything, and the opportunity is to build a great library that offers universal access to all of human knowledge. That may sound laughable, but I’d suggest that the Internet is going exactly in that direction.”

Libraries could go that way as well, at least theoretically. Peter Lyman and Hal Varian, information scientists at the University of California, Berkeley, have pointed out that most data is already created and stored electronically, and digital data is growing faster than any other kind. The professors estimate that “the world’s total yearly production of print, film, optical, and magnetic content would require roughly 1.5 billion gigabytes of storage,” which isn’t much given that the cost of hard drives can be \$1 per gigabyte or less. The digital form of this material, coupled with rapid advancements in its distribution, leads to a conclusion not unlike Kahle’s. As Lyman and Varian put it, “Soon it will be technologically possible for an average person to access virtually all recorded information.”

So digital libraries can theoretically save everything. All the more ironic, then, that in the long run they may not be able to save anything at all.

Preserving the Digital Library

Dr. Floyd E. Dewhirst practiced dentistry for 59 years in the same building in Los Angeles except for World War II service that included a stint drilling teeth aboard the USS Bennington. He’s retired now, but get him going and he’ll pull out his ledger book for 1938, which

records the name and treatment of his very first patient. It’s right there in his own neat hand, for anyone to read.

Floyd’s daughter became a dentist too, some years before taking leave of her senses and marrying me. After dental school she went to work with her dad—but we can’t read all her records. They were kept in some special dental software and stored on floppy disks. We no longer have this software, and if we did it might not run on the computers we have today—never mind 60 years from now. Of course, by that time, the floppy disks holding the data might not be any good anyway. It’s not exactly clear how long such magnetic media, forgotten in some drawer or safe

an inventory of landholders and property compiled in 1086 by Norman monks, and today it resides safely in London. Nine hundred years later, the BBC marked the anniversary of the original by producing an innovative multimedia version providing a snapshot of life in England in the mid-1980s. The new Domesday book was vast, with more than 250,000 place names, 25,000 maps, 50,000 pictures, 3,000 data sets, 60 minutes of video and who knows how many words. Schoolchildren and researchers across the nation gathered material, and by the time it was done, something like a million people had contributed.

Unfortunately, the whole shebang

“The idea is to build a library of everything... a great library that offers universal access to all of human knowledge.” —BREWSTER KAHLE

deposit box, will remain useable, but in an endurance contest lasting a century or more, hardly anyone gives it much chance against a decent grade of good old-fashioned paper.

There, in a nutshell, is one of the biggest issues facing librarians and archivists today. “All the problems associated with digital libraries are wrapped up in archiving,” says Larry Lannom, Director of Information Management Technology at the non-profit Corporation for National Research Initiatives. “If in 100 years people can still read your article, we’ll have solved the problem.”

Perhaps a better example of what is at stake is England’s embarrassing Domesday project.

The original Domesday Book was

was stored on a couple of 12-inch videodiscs made to be used with a British personal computer—the BBC Micro—that was once popular over there. You can imagine what happened next: the computer became obsolete and soon after that vanished from the scene. The result: 15 years after it was created, the 1986 Domesday book was basically unreadable.

The Domesday case illustrates one of the essential perils facing any digital library: the rapid rate of progress—and obsolescence—in the computer industry makes archiving digital information extraordinarily difficult. “It is only slightly facetious,” writes Jeff Rothenberg, a RAND researcher who has focused on this issue for years, “to say that digital infor-

mation lasts forever—or five years, whichever comes first.”

The Domesday story has a happy ending. Information scientists at the universities of Leeds and Michigan rode to the rescue, salvaging the data and getting it into a form that could be accessed by today’s computers. But will the 1986 Domesday collection remain

whereby digital “objects” such as letters and videos could have some instructions attached on how to read them; and *emulation*, where the idea is to write software to get a newfangled system to act like an oldfangled system for purposes of running some old software.

But there are other problems, too. Take, for example, the issue of media

distributed too, as it is on the Internet, in which case preservation depends on lots of individual decisions by people who are not professional archivists. But it can also be highly centralized—after all, everyone can read the same copy—in which case it is more vulnerable to such traditional hazards as fire, flood and attack, to say nothing of hackers, hard-drive failures and excessive humidity. One centralized repository, the Library of Congress, is tackling digital preservation in a big way. Congress has agreed to give the Library \$100 million to carry out a plan for collecting and preserving digital information (assuming the Library can also raise \$75 million from private donors in cash, computers or other contributions).

Dealing with Copyright

The problem of preservation inevitably leads to the issue of ownership. In the past, libraries owned everything they offered, and preservation was their province. For instance, they kept copies of newspapers on microfilm, which patrons could come and use. But nowadays, people increasingly access back issues of important newspapers such as *The New York Times* via a proprietary database, the preservation of which is the owner’s business.

Given the value of such a database, we can assume the owner will do a good job, but that depends on copyright, and there is no more contentious issue for libraries—and copyright holders—as both head into a digital future. “For libraries,” writes Carrie Russell, a copyright specialist at the American Library Association, “traditional functions that depend on the ownership and relative permanence of a copy, like library lending, collection development, and preservation have been radically altered by digital technologies.”

Libraries increasingly find themselves renting material rather than



Will books someday vanish altogether? Yes and no.

readable for the next 900 years? Don’t bet on it. The problem is that digital data is unintelligible to the naked eye. This article, written in Microsoft Word, is really just a series of ones and zeroes that depend on hardware and software for decoding. As Stewart Brand, noted author and online innovator puts it, “Behind every hot new working computer is a trail of bodies of extinct computers, extinct storage media, extinct applications, extinct files.”

What’s the long-term solution? Right now there is none, but a number of answers have been proposed, including *migration*, meaning you convert digital data to the latest format whenever necessary; *encapsulation*,

durability. Digital media tend to be much less durable than, say, the Sumerian tablets that were created long before the birth of Christ and remain legible to this day. Estimates of the life of a CD, for instance, range from 20 to 300 years, with some cheap ones failing in a year or two. The truth is, digital media are new enough that nobody is exactly sure how long they will last, especially given variations in manufacturing, handling and even labeling.

And there are still more preservation issues. A lot of material from the past has endured because there were multiple copies all over the place, including musty trunks in people’s attics. The storage of digital data can be

owning it. This often requires an ongoing subscription; if the library stops paying, it loses not only new material but everything that has come before as well. Furthermore, this “access” model—versus traditional ownership—means libraries are licensing material under rules set by a private contract rather than federal copyright law. And what happens to the database if its owner goes bankrupt?

The whole concept of a “lending” library is in jeopardy. In the print world, after all, libraries can rely on the “first sale” provision of copyright law to freely lend any work they have purchased. But “first sale” doesn’t apply in the digital world, where theoretically the Library of Congress could buy a single digital “copy” of any book and everyone in the world could “borrow” it simultaneously.

You can’t blame copyright holders

for worrying. For many titles, library purchases account for a significant chunk of sales, sometimes even the majority. And the experience of the recording industry, which seems powerless to keep people from downloading music without paying for it, is worrisome to anyone whose livelihood depends on intellectual property. The Internet’s unofficial slogan, after all, is “information wants to be free.” But the corollary is that creators of information want to be paid for it. So publishers and other content owners have been pushing for—and getting—stronger and longer lasting copyright protection from Congress.

Some people even suggest that the current legal and business models for compensating authors and publishers can never be stretched to fit the digital future. One of the most intriguing alternatives has been put forward by

David Rothman, a 56-year-old writer in Alexandria, Virginia.

Rothman calls his project TeleRead (www.teleread.org), and it would amount to a single global digital library, except distributed, much like the Internet today. It would start with academic books, out-of-print titles and works that are already in the public domain (many of which in various forms are already finding their way onto the Net) and gradually expand to include all the books published, anywhere.

Copyright problems would vanish. Access would be free via the Internet, after all, so no one would bother making an unauthorized copy. Users could make printouts—sooner or later portable digital tablets will make reading on screen less onerous anyway—or save electronic copies with their own highlights and notes.

So who would pay the writers?

A Short History of Carnegie Corporation’s

Although Andrew Carnegie established more than 20 organizations in the U.S. and abroad dedicated to philanthropy, promoting international peace, rewarding selfless heroism and pursuing other goals aimed at improving people’s lives across the globe, to many his name is still synonymous with creating libraries. Beginning in 1886, Carnegie, and later Carnegie Corporation, in its early years, collectively spent \$56 million to create 1,681 public libraries in nearly as many U.S. communities and 828 libraries in other parts of the world.

Carnegie Corporation of New York inherited its interest in libraries from its founder, who was president of the Corporation from its establishment in 1911 until 1919, the year of his death, and who initiated a library program at the foundation. During the early years, the program emphasized the construction of new library buildings across the country; between 1918 and 1925, though the Corporation continued to make some grants for library development, its efforts were primarily devoted to appraisal and evaluation of its library program until then.

Beginning in 1926, the Corporation embarked on a large-scale expansion of its library-related efforts, aimed mainly at strengthening the library profession, but also at the enhancement of central services. For these programs, the Corporation spent an average of about \$830,000 a year until 1941. Rural library services were greatly enhanced under Corporation grants in the 1920s and 1930s, especially in the South. As to academic libraries, between 1930 and 1943, the Corporation appropriated nearly \$2.5 million to more than 200 liberal arts colleges in a series of grants for library development and services and for the purchase of books for undergraduate reading.

Although the Corporation’s charter permitted it to make grants in the countries that are now known as the former British Commonwealth, it did not extend its library interests, except for public library buildings, beyond the Western Hemisphere until 1928, when, coinciding with the Corporation’s initiation of grants to countries in Africa, it began promoting the concept of free library services in sub-Saharan Africa. The majority of Corporation funds went to the Central State

Library of South Africa, which stimulated the development of free library services throughout the four provinces that made up the South Africa Union at that time. Substantial grants also went for the development of libraries and the purchase of books and training in Gambia, Nigeria, Kenya, Sierra Leone, Uganda and other Commonwealth countries.

After World War II, grants for library purposes received a decreasing share of the Corporation’s funds, except in Africa. More emphasis was placed on grants for central services provided by the American Library Association, the Association of Research Libraries, the Library of Congress and other organizations and for new technologies and equipment aimed at facilitating library use.

In the past 25 years, the Corporation has not had a program of support for domestic libraries, with the exception of a few grants for specific purposes (see next page).

With the reassessment of Corporation strategies under its current president, Vartan Gregorian, who was previously president of the New York Public Library in the 1990s, the Corporation decided to reform its International Development Program and sup-

Rothman's idea is that public funds could be allocated to publishers and authors based on the number of times each book is borrowed or accessed—something society could easily afford given book spending of something like \$25 billion annually in this country.

Then what would happen to the publishing industry under TeleRead? While it could forget about printing, manufacturing and returns, in Rothman's vision, a publisher's brand would become even more important to assure readers of a work's quality. Publishers would still have to acquire, edit and promote books, and they would get paid for this based on their performance in the marketplace, just as they do now—except nobody would "buy" anything.

Is There Still a Library in Our Future?

So will all information eventually

be in the form of ones and zeros? Will we reach for a computer as casually as we reach for a pair of reading glasses? Will books someday vanish altogether? Yes and no. Paper will be around for a long time to come, and books will persist whether they are printed on paper or not. But make no mistake, the future of libraries—and of information—is digital.

Where does this leave the librarians? "Most people assume the building with the lions out front has a future only as a museum," says Larry Lannom. "Eventually, it will go away. The skills librarians bring in organizing and making accessible the ongoing cultural record of humanity will probably change, but they will endure."

Which is exactly what happens in *Desk Set*. The research department's new computer, like the specialist brought in to run it, doesn't know the

difference between "curfew" and "Corfu," which the human researchers find hilarious. When the thing goes completely blooey, Tracy fixes it with one of Hepburn's hairpins. And when the librarians get pink slips at the end, so does the president of the company. Tracy's payroll computer, it seems, has gone haywire too. It's even fired him.

But the movie is too smart for mere Luddism. It turns out the whole idea was to free the librarians from drudgery, which is what the computer does best, so they can focus on real research. The computer, after all, doesn't know everything—when Tracy asks it whether Hepburn should marry him, it gives the wrong answer.

Finally Hepburn herself puts it to good use, tackling the question "How much does the earth weigh?"

"With or without people?" the computer wants to know. ■

Library Program

port the revitalization of universities and libraries in Africa.

The foundation's most recent library-related efforts have focused on sub-Saharan Africa with the goal of developing national libraries, revitalizing selected public libraries and consolidating the development of university libraries in countries and institutions that have strategic intervention programs funded by the Corporation. "The public library revitalization program supports the development of selected public libraries in order to create 'model centers of excellence' that help their system lobby for greater resources and public support of library services," says Rookaya Bawa, a program officer in the Corporation's International Development Program. Based on criteria such as relevance to the country and community, types of library services provided and strength of leadership, the Corporation, to date, has provided support to public library systems in Kenya, Botswana and South Africa.

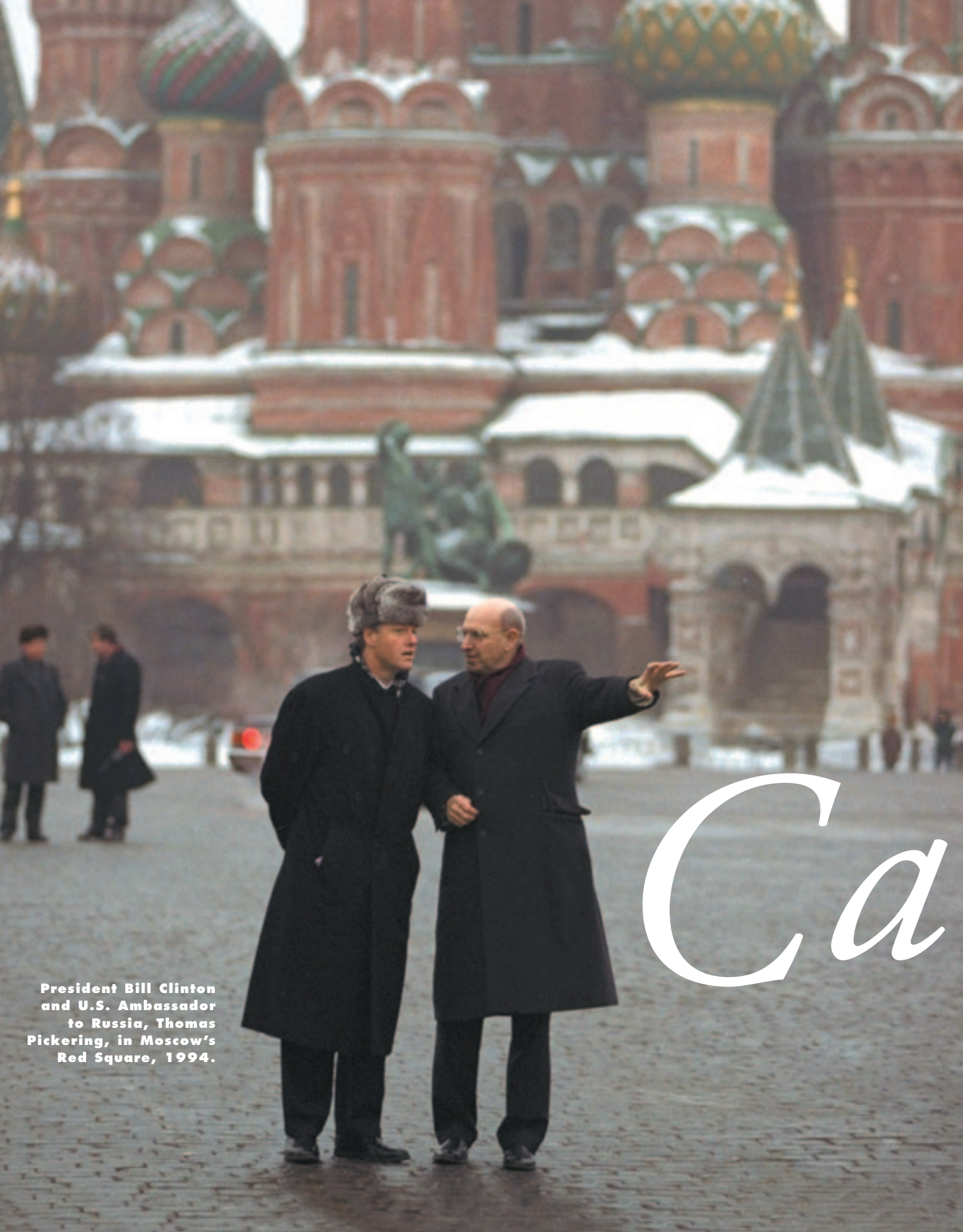
In addition to its library program in Africa, the Corporation—while not maintaining a program of support for U.S. libraries—has continued to make special-initiative grants

to domestic public libraries in recent years. Some highlights include: in 1999, the Corporation awarded \$15 million to promote literacy, services to children and adolescents, preservation and special collections at The New York Public Library, Brooklyn Public Library, Queens Borough Public Library and libraries in 22 other cities serving large, culturally diverse populations. The grants commemorated the centennial period of Andrew Carnegie's gifts to establish public libraries in New York City and more than 1,350 other communities across America. Almost all of the grant recipients were originally funded by Andrew Carnegie between 1899 and 1906. All were chosen according to the size and diversity of population served, geographic spread and/or historical relationship to Andrew Carnegie, according to Corporation president Vartan Gregorian.

In May 2003, the Corporation made a \$4.5 million grant to support the book collection at The New York Public Library and at the Brooklyn and Queens libraries in memory of those who lost their lives on September 11th. It was the second award made as part of the Corporation's \$10 million

pledge to support the unmet needs of the communities in New York and Washington, D.C. following the terrorist attacks. Each book purchased through this challenge fund will have a bookplate commemorating those who died in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11th, so that years from now, new readers will not forget the sacrifice made by so many in the name of America's freedom, values and way of life. These grants were also made as a challenge to other funders with the hope that they will contribute to libraries and other New York City institutions and serve as a catalyst for other public-private partnerships.

Most recently, in June 2003, along with the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Corporation made a one-time contribution to the Laura Bush Foundation for America's Libraries for its administration costs. The mission of the Laura Bush Foundation is to support the education of the nation's children by providing funds to update, extend and diversify the book and print collections of America's school libraries. ■



**President Bill Clinton
and U.S. Ambassador
to Russia, Thomas
Pickering, in Moscow's
Red Square, 1994.**

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Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering is the Senior Vice President for International Relations with the Boeing Company. He assumed his current position in January 2001 upon his retirement as U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. Prior to that, Pickering held the personal rank of Career Ambassador, the highest in the U.S. Foreign Service. In a diplomatic career spanning five decades, he has served as U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation, India, Israel, El Salvador, Nigeria and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. From 1989 to 1992, he served as Ambassador and Representative to the United Nations in New York. He also worked as Executive Secretary of the Department of State and Special Assistant to secretaries William P. Rogers and Henry A. Kissinger from 1973 to 1974. He is interviewed here by Susan King, Vice President, Public Affairs, of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

SK: What makes this interview so interesting for me is that you are not only an ambassador, as they call it, a “career ambassador,” but a veteran of so many hot spots. But now that you’re out of government, you’re a citizen looking at the really important diplomatic questions of the last six months. So it’s exciting to be able to get that perspective from you, with all that you bring to it, yet with some of the freedom of being able to discuss events more openly. We want to start with talking about the Council on Foreign Relations report developed by a task force you co-chaired: *Iraq: The Day After*. As the country was preparing to go to war, your task force was preparing for the next question and I

found it intriguing that your report concluded that, “It’s as important to win the peace as it is to win the war.” Why was that perspective so critical?

TP: It was tremendously important because, as we’ve seen in the aftermath of Iraq, it appears that either the planning was insufficient, or the follow-up was insufficient in terms of where we are now. And secondly, with the collective experience of the twenty-some experts we had and seventeen observers, most of whom had dealt with one or a number of these events, issues and problems in the past, we brought our collective experience to the fore, and we all felt that America had more trouble winning the peace than it had, in many cases, winning the combat operations—witness, for example, the long, drawn-out episodes following Bosnia, the difficulties and problems in Kosovo and in Macedonia. Also the issues that arose in West Africa over the years, in every place from Liberia to Sierra Leone to Ivory Coast, and the never-ending conflict in the Congo.

And, of course, there was my experience with Iraq, at the time of the first Gulf War, where as the United Nations Ambassador in New York, I made proposals for a very large U.N. zone that would have, in effect, taken over most of southern Iraq. There was also a strategy that would have created limited armament zones in Iraq, in the way that Henry Kissinger did when he disarmed the front line areas in the Sinai and the Golan in the 1970’s. But both were ignored.

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AMBASSADOR:

Thomas R. Pickering

Our military felt that everything was fine; all they had to do was win the war and then go home and they didn't want to fool around with the aftermath, but that left Saddam in a much stronger position following 1991 than we should have allowed. So I think that all of the collective experiences we had, as a task force, put up a red flag for us that signaled, *watch out*. Almost always the biggest American problem related to combat is what to do after the war.

SK: The administration was pretty optimistic about what they felt was the opportunity for democracy after the war. Your report was not quite as optimistic. From what we know now, were you still *too* optimistic?

TP: We were probably a little too optimistic in some areas and a little too pessimistic in others. I think that you're right, the administration was super-optimistic, they thought that there were going to be palm fronds and roses and that the troops would go home in August, that everything would be fine, that we'd have a government by the end of July and that, in fact, the international community and the Iraqis would take over. And they lost all sight of reality of the years of repression, of the deep sense of feeling among the Iraqi people of the need for retribution and revenge, which led to the subsequent looting. And of course the administration should know that looting is endemic after these kinds of activities. In fact, if you let looting go on, it moves from disorganized personal looting to organized criminal activity and then to guerrilla warfare.

And we've seen that transition begin to take place in Iraq, particularly in the Sunni-dominated areas where, unfortunately, I think the spirit of Saddam, his malign influence and people's fear have made it hard for Iraqis to cooperate with the U.S. and the coalition. And many Iraqis are perhaps also

willing to become guerrilla fighters in the hope of some future reward or maybe some potential benefit, or at least in keeping with their Baathist principles. So the situation is becoming more and more dangerous.

We're in a very difficult period now. I've spent the last two days seeing old friends, many of whom have just come back from Iraq. I think certainly their firsthand experience confirms that difficulty.

SK: Your report anticipated the security needs after the war and you recommended that along with troops, there ought to be legal teams to put security systems in place once the fighting stopped. Did that message not get heard by the administration?

TP: I'm afraid it did not. We also recommended that along with combat troops there should be units of specially prepared coalition forces whose principal purpose was to deal with law and order, looting, civil disorder and all the difficulties that arise, particularly following combat situations in major cities, where you have the potential at least for an ideological confrontation and ideological opposition.

But we were not the only ones making this recommendation. I think that if you canvas the Washington think tanks, all of us, about that time, were putting out similar reports. The Council's report happens, in my view, to be one of the most salient and prescient, but all the others also raised this question of security. So it wasn't as if a small group of experts in a quiet corner somewhere were ignored, it was basically every think tank in Washington that examined the problem making the same recommendation.

SK: With that kind of chorus of seasoned observers emphasizing follow-up support for combat troops, why do you think they weren't heard by the administration?

TP: I wish I knew. It's an unanswered question. I suspect that Congress and others will ask those questions over a period of time. And I think that they should be given an opportunity to do so. Those who are in charge of the situation in Iraq should be given an opportunity to relay their own experiences, their own concerns, their own decisions, their own reasons why they perceive it the way they do. But, unfortunately, I found that some of the people coming back from Iraq are themselves wondering why expert advice, which was available there, was ignored, as apparently it was.

SK: You mentioned the term "guerrilla warfare," which you brought up as a consequence of unchecked looting. That notion has crept into the headlines and into the debate over Iraq. How serious a threat is guerrilla warfare and the possibility that this rather successful war could morph into a long guerrilla war?

TP: I think the idea that we can lose one American soldier a day and have numerous armed incidents against us and a constant drumfire—which appears not to be reducing, but maybe even increasing—is a problem. Intelligence and military experts with whom I've worked in the past and who I highly respect are very, very frank and straightforward in saying this is a guerrilla-type war, a guerrilla situation. I think that puts the reality exactly where it should be, right up front.

SK: What should Americans expect? A long engagement in Iraq?

TP: I believe that we should have a serious effort made, as we always do, to deal with the critical questions. I think first and foremost we should think about two of the major principles in the basic report. One is, what's the role for the Iraqis? I think the notion that there were, as we said in our follow-up report, 400,000 Iraqi military, as ineffi-

cient and as helpless and as feckless as they were, suddenly dismissed with their weapons in their hands and told they were no longer going to be paid, meant that you put a large share of them on the street at a time when criminal activity seemed to be the order of the day. So it was not, in my view, an entirely wise decision.

I would have put them to work, cleaning rubble, clearing mines. Maybe the Iraqi military could begin to help the police restore law and order under allied and coalition supervision. And, maybe you could use some of these people as the kernel for a new military force rather than just putting them out on the street and saying, you're on your own. It wouldn't have cost us a lot of money to keep the rank and file going and we would have achieved a lot.

I also think we have to find Iraqis who are willing to confront and work on the country's problems, everything from intelligence to garbage collection to security. Apparently the Pentagon is beginning to think about that and is bringing in people to deal with it.

Another major question is the international question. The enthusiasm on the American side for international participation has grown as the problems have grown worse. But I do believe that the international community is willing to help. Those who would have provided troops just wanted a clear U.N. umbrella.

In sum, we are talking about an American presence in Iraq for several years as a minimum and maybe up to five years as a possibility.

SK: I want to ask you more about international cooperation. In reading this report, I was taken by the fact that even though it was written before the war, it calls for thinking about a future government of Iraq as composed of those within Iraq, not just those exiles who have come back as the leaders.

TP: That was very much a key finding.

SK: And now the U.S. has organized a coalition of Iraqis that's been put together this summer. Do you think the coalition reflects the kind of thinking that is necessary? Is it too weighted toward exiles? Does it represent enough of the internal players in Iraq?

TP: I think it represents a fair balance. One might argue that there could be fewer exiles and more local people, particularly given the balance of population and that may be what happens over the long term. It isn't chiseled in stone that there has to be a certain number of members or a certain balance between male and female or Shia and non-Shia. I think Ambassador Jerry Bremer is wise in trying to reflect national balance in a reasonable way but not tilt so far over in one direction or another. I think he's found some very good Sunni, some of who I also know. And I believe the steps that have already been taken will be the beginning of the really more intensive Iraqization of the whole process. In the long run, our ability to be helpful is going to be determined by the level of Iraqi cooperation and the ability of Iraqis to take responsibility for themselves and their country.

Over the last few days I've met with many people returning from Iraq. They've told me how some exceptionally able Iraqis are beginning to step forward and work with the coalition provisional authority. They don't want to see their country destroyed. And I think there's a relatively small minority who are focused on destruction and from my experience in places like El Salvador, I think there is an opportunity to marginalize the people who want to solve problems by force, by using electoral politics and building a national coalition in favor of a peaceful solution. I think there can be a very powerful movement for peaceful solu-

tions and in fact, I've seen such efforts be more powerful than military force

SK: As a former journalist, I'm finding it hard, since the fighting ended, to keep up with what is really going on in Iraq. I don't feel like I have enough insight since I'm dependent on the news media for my information. Do you think the public is informed in the way they need to be about what is really happening since the war was declared over?

TP: I think that we never can be well enough informed. It's like being in the government and asking "Do we need more intelligence?" The answer is always yes. The more difficult question is whether the present balance of reporting is sufficient to give people the basis for making good judgments about what is going on.

But I also think that there is always a bias. I think that the embedded journalists reporting on the war offered the public a very interesting experience because we seemed to get a lot of fresh information and firsthand reporting. But the public was not able to get an overall appreciation of the war. And much of the television coverage seems to have been from the tank-turret perspective. Also, journalists were not embedded in airplanes very frequently, so the folks who actually carried out a very successful aviation campaign tended to be ignored, although they made a major contribution to the success of the ground forces. So the public lost some balance.

And I think we're probably losing more balance today. We don't have reporters who are spending their days in the Sunni area of Iraq. It's very dangerous in that region, or seems to be. And then there's the perennial complaint against the press: that it's only the bad stories that get into the headlines, and the successes don't. Right now, we could use some sense of where

there are successes in Iraq because of course, there are some.

At the moment, though, we seem to have a news process totally dominated by the failures or the difficulties or the problems or the deaths and that clearly is not a balanced view of where we are as a nation in this war.

SK: I'd like your personal take from the perspective of a man who's spent his whole life in diplomacy and who was the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and who obviously respects the notion of the larger world community. When it came to Iraq, I think many people had the sense that the U.S. said, "We'll go it alone," and that would have been true even if Britain hadn't joined us. Now, in the peace, can we afford to go it alone?

TP: I don't share the view that either we had to go it alone or should have gone it alone to begin with. But the fact is, we spent an awful lot of time, or people in the administration did, railing against the international community and the U.N. So the notion that we were going to get the United Nations and other countries to come and help us with Iraq at a fairly late date was pretty farfetched.

The second problem was that, I think, in the end we spent a lot of effort, especially on the part of the Secretary of State, over a day or two of preparation, trying to explain our position as to why we thought Saddam Hussein was a menace when I would have hoped that we would have been explaining it for ten months ahead of time. I agree, he was a menace and I certainly agree that it's nice to have him gone. But I think that if we'd done more to prepare and present our case, we would have had the U.N. with us going in and we would have had the U.N. with us coming out.

If you spend a lot of time around the U.N., you know it's far from per-

fect and its faults are out there and quite glaring in many cases. On the other hand, it has a terrific leader at the present time in Kofi Annan. The Security Council can work, I believe, if properly put together and dealt with, but that requires a different kind of approach than we experienced in the



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last year. We often tend to forget that the "U.N.," especially in the Security Council, is the member states of the organization, not some gigantic monolith operating on its own.

SK: I want to ask you a question about the current National Security policy of "preemptive strikes." It's a policy about which there's been really little debate in this country, though it does seem to be the policy of the day. Do you think it needs to be debated? Or should we just accept it?

TP: Of course it needs to be debated. I believe, in fact, that there are strong justifications for a preemptive strike if you feel someone is about to launch a serious blow against you or your people, at home or overseas. However, I think that anticipating that as a possibility and then invoking a doctrine of preemptive strike creates a serious problem because if the U.S. acts as if it's the only country that's allowed to do this, it's hardly likely to sit well with the world community.

It also opens the door to the possibility that everybody else will, for good or ill, reach the conclusion that an

enemy or putative enemy is about to strike them and go ahead and use that as a basis for launching an aggression against that enemy or a preemptive attack. That kind of doctrine is an invitation for international anarchy. And I don't believe that as a doctrine, either we or the larger world community would find that very palatable or very efficacious. It cries out for more careful definition than has been given to it in the National Security Strategy. Is it



*that the 'U.N.,'
the member states
gigantic*

merely a concise, careful and slight extension of self defense under Article 51 that is clear to all; or is it a "particularistic doctrine" which only the U.S. can use; or is it an invitation to international anarchy?

SK: I want to ask you a couple of short, targeted questions on subjects about which you have great insight since you served as ambassador in these countries. Israel, for example. You were ambassador to that country at a rather pivotal moment. Today we seem to be at another pivotal point, about which there are widely differing opinions.

Some observers say that they are the most optimistic they've ever been and others say they are more pessimistic than ever about the prospects for peace. What's your view, especially in light of the conclusion in your report that the war would open up a real opportunity for Middle East negotiations?

TP: We did link the two, Iraq and the Israel-Palestine question, and used our



“We often tend to forget especially in the Security Council, is of the organization, not some monolith operating on its own.”

report as an opportunity to say that the region is important, that regional security is important. We said that there should be a forum established to work on regional security. And by that, we meant that many of us have spent a lot of time thinking about and discussing the critical contribution that could be made to Middle East peace following Iraq. Iraq is a game-changer, in a way. We moved Iraq from being one of the pivotal Arab countries aligned against Israel to one under much more benign control. So the end of Saddam, I think, opened the door to a different perspective.

In an interesting way—and very much contrary to people's expectations about him—Israeli Prime Minister Sharon has begun to see that point and to respond to it. Whether he has a vision of a Nixon-in-China role for himself or for resuscitating or rebuilding his own reputation, which has been severely tarnished by events in the past, I don't know. But whatever his motivation is, I think some of the steps that he has taken are truly laudatory and are worthy of our continuing encouragement.

The fact that he's actually used the word “occupied” to characterize the Israeli military presence in Palestinian areas and that he's taken steps to move out of Gaza are positive actions on the Israeli side. And there have also been changes on the Palestinian side. What

I would call the marginalization of Arafat, the role of the new Prime Minister, Mahmoud Abbas, who seems to be willing to take on the terribly difficult issue of violence and trying to control Hamas—even though he hasn't been one hundred percent successful, we can hope for continuing progress.

Even more importantly, I think the most significant game change in the region has been the fact that President Bush has seen the urgency, the value, the importance and, indeed, the necessity, of his own personal role in work-

ing on this particular problem in the Middle East. He's been out in the region. He's talked to both leaders very straightforwardly. He's made his commitment about staying involved. These are the kinds of things that have, in the past, and I think will in the future, make for real change in the Middle East.

So out of an awful situation, in this terribly bleak period, there are at least some hopeful signs. We all have to be guarded about that, though. I certainly am. But I think, nevertheless, some of the things that I mentioned do represent change and are what we ought to encourage and work for because there have been so few offerings of that kind over the last year.

SK: I'd like your perspective on Nigeria, where a new government is trying to create stability after years of military rule. At Carnegie Corporation, we are involved in working with universities in a number of African countries, to strengthen them. What role do you see universities playing in trying to build a democracy in a country like Nigeria?

TP: This, of course, is not a “new” government in the sense that President Obasanjo has been elected to succeed himself in a second term. I believe that both for the short term and the long term, universities in Nigeria are very important. The country has lacked the depth of political leadership that it ought to have. It's also lacked people with the in-depth technical competence needed to run an efficient government.

A recent poll taken in Nigeria reported that 53 percent of the people are directly and openly complaining about the prevalence of corruption in government. So it's clear that universities can teach honest governance, good governance, better behavior, increasing confidence and more political responsibilities in a country like Nigeria, which

is undergoing so much change.

There are problems in Nigeria, in the religious tensions between Islam and Christianity and in some areas where they're feeling that they're not getting their fair share of the money that's being produced by the country's oil exports. There have also continued to be tensions over the application of Shariah law. President Obasanjo has a huge challenge before him in his second administration to see if he can bring about change. He worked very hard in his first administration. The results don't seem to be terribly rewarding. Although it is interesting that he seemingly has won at least what most people think is a reasonably fair election.

SK: So investing in universities is worth the gamble?

TP: Universities, in my view, are definitely worth the gamble. They can become centers for excellence. They can help to make change.

SK: Russia. One of Carnegie Corporation's major projects was the Russia Initiative, which involved a multidisciplinary task force of scholars from Russia and the U.S. who prepared a policy outline for a new U.S. president in 2000 to sketch out the options for a post-Cold-War relationship. The task force, which looked at economic, social, economic and military issues in Russia, concluded that there ought to be a much more mature and normalized relationship between the U.S. and Russia which is, in fact, what happened. Does this surprise you?

TP: I am surprised. When I was in Russia, during the Yeltsin period, this was one of our goals, that we should strive to see a normal relationship even in a period of rather breathtaking change for Russia. And that continues to be the problem. There are many difficulties and many areas of difference. There are differences over Iran, differences over nonproliferation, some

differences on Iraq, differences over NATO, differences in the Far East.

But I also believe there are tremendous areas for potential cooperation as we go ahead. We've worked together on an international space station, for instance. And I think, with careful planning, Russia can develop a successful market economy. The country is also developing a new information technology industry, building on the very considerable skills of trained people and the excellence of the country's educational system, particularly in the areas of math and science.

Economically, Russia still floats, if you like, on a sea of oil exports. I think that will continue, although Russia's economy is fragile and if we get into a period of oil surplus, they will find it harder to maintain the kind of growing economy they've enjoyed recently.

Step by step, President Putin is making those kinds of changes and we have to admire him for doing so. He recently launched a campaign against some of the oligarchs and against corruption, and the country has been more committed to punishing criminals. We'll have to see where that goes. Russia is facing an election next year so electoral politics are beginning to permeate the scene.

SK: Which is definitely a sign of democracy.

TP: A big sign of democracy.

SK: Now let's turn to the new world you've entered, the world of business. The announcement about your appointment as the senior vice president for international relations at Boeing said that you would be working to strengthen relationships with governments around the world. What is the difference in culture between the business world and the diplomatic world?

TP: The differences are that people evaluate progress on simpler standards in the business world. Are you adding

value? Are you making money? Are you adding to the stockholders' success? In the governmental world the question is, are your policies successful? There are a lot of ways to gauge that, but there isn't a single number at the end of the day that makes the results easy to count.

I happen to be in a small group inside a very large company that provides services to the company. What that means is that I don't make anything, so I am equally challenged, in the governmental sense, to demonstrate the success of my activities since there is not a bottom-line number to point to in order to make that clear. In that way, some of my governmental experience in measuring success and value is transferable.

Much of what I do involves analyzing what's happening around the world. Another piece is finding the right people to represent Boeing overseas and who, in a sense, can become our ambassadors, helping our folks to sell products and pioneering new business activities abroad, whether it's in manufacturing or engineering or research and development or information technology. And we're very much determined to globalize and become better known and more effective and more present in local scenes around the world. Local economies in critical countries of interest are important to a company like Boeing as part of the process of globalizing. Whoever said becoming more effective globally was becoming more effective locally, in my view was right. So that's one salient aspect of what I'm doing.

Another part of my job is to try to help the 160,000-some employees of Boeing understand a little bit more about what's going on in the world, what makes the world tick, what makes other countries a potential marketplace for us, because 70 percent of our commercial airplanes—and a significant percentage of our space, military and

communications activities—are outside the U.S. Therefore, it's clear to us that we have to be in the global marketplace and have to be very much a part of the global scene.

SK: So it wasn't that much of a culture shift for you.

TP: No, it was not, in many ways. And of course, in the diplomatic service, I had the wonderful advantage of almost automatically moving every three years or so to a new job. So at Boeing, I have been able to apply much of what I had learned about rapidly adapting to new responsibilities and new circumstances.

SK: One last question. You were born in Orange, New Jersey.

TP: And grew up in Rutherford, New Jersey.

SK: I don't think of those as places where people grow up dreaming of careers in pin-striped diplomacy, or of the world of ambassadorships and international relations. What drew you to a career in diplomacy and international relations?

TP: A number of things. First I had an opportunity, growing up in a small town in suburban New Jersey, to get a good education. I received a lot of my education during and after the Second World War, which was a very international time. So as a matter of hard reality, I was very aware of what was happening in the world. We went from the Depression to the Second World War to the Cold War in the space of a few decades. All of those things affected my consciousness.

Early on, I loved to read and developed an abiding interest in history, which became one of the areas on which I focused my education. But I gave only passing thought to the foreign service until, in my second year at university, a professor I very much respected said, "Why don't you take the foreign service exam?" With

his encouragement, that's what I did.

SK: Many people think government careers don't offer a great deal of opportunity, but you've certainly seen the world in your foreign service career.

TP: The American Foreign Service is far from a dead-end career. It's one of the most exciting careers a person can have. For me, it provided a unique opportunity to make a major contribution to the development of significant American foreign policy in the countries I served in and, on a personal basis, to help Americans who were confused and in trouble overseas. These were exciting and interesting challenges and they were difficult; there were complex problems to overcome all the time. But situations like that help to hone your skills, give you a sense that when you make the right decisions and carry them out, you can make a real change in where a particular country is going and how it will achieve its goals.

SK: So as a student you loved history but your career enabled you to be a real participant in writing current American history.

TP: It's been interesting. I think that all of us who have been engaged at this level have some humility, because almost no single policy is one person's success. Everybody contributes to it in a way and those, I think, who believe that they invented, sold and developed a policy all by themselves forget all the other people who helped them, asked the right questions, raised the difficult issues or sometimes committed themselves and participated in solutions.

Failure, on the other hand is an individual sport. And often, a single individual does have to bear a lot of the responsibility for failure. So service in government is not without risk. It is, in some ways, very risky! But it is also quite rewarding and I think that it's as interesting and exciting as anything you can ever do.

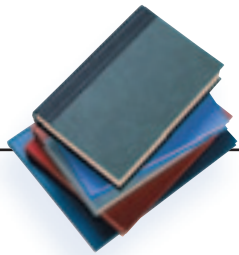
My first week at Boeing, I attended a meeting of 400 Boeing executives where they participated in a survey to determine which incentives for their work and performance they found most compelling. As someone who had just come from a comparatively low-paid government job, I found it very interesting that, according to personnel experts, most American executives put compensation and benefits much lower down on the list of what they expect out of their job than they do a whole series of other kinds of interesting rewards. That's what my Boeing colleagues also did in rating job satisfaction.

SK: So in fact, the world of business is not that different from the foreign service life of incentives!

TP: It's not that different. Private executives may get more money and as a result have to think less about it, but I believe that as long as government service is reasonably responsible in rewarding and taking care of the hardships that individuals face when they go overseas, it will attract the best people. But, as I said before, public service—particularly in the foreign service—is risky. We've lost more ambassadors than we have generals in the last decade. And yet, the number of people who are interested in taking the foreign service exam has expanded exponentially.

SK: Do you like the title "career ambassador"?

TP: Well, I think that it connotes a lot. It connotes professionalism. It connotes the fact that the career is a demanding one because there's a lot of preparation required. And I think that, given the fact that there are people who accept political appointments as ambassadors from time to time, some of them extremely good but some of them lamentably bad, the career adjective is a plus. I'm very pleased to have received it. ■



Expanding the Boundaries of Health and Social Science

EDITED BY FRANK KESSEL, PATRICIA L. ROSENFELD AND NORMAN B. ANDERSON
Oxford University Press, 2003

Growing out of the work of the Social Science Research Council Working Group on Bio-Behavioral Social Perspectives on Health, *Expanding the Boundaries of Health and Social Science* explores the nexus between the health and social sciences.

Underlying the diverse mix of case studies presented in this volume is the premise that problems in human biology and health may best be solved through an interdisciplinary approach.

The editors, who include Patricia Rosenfeld, Chair, Carnegie Scholars Program and Special Advisor to the Vice President and Director for Strategic Planning and Program Coordination, note the well-recognized fact that research on human health requires more than a focus on human biology and illness. Lifestyles, attitudes, stress, education and income, for example, may also contribute to the spread of disease and can impact efforts both to prevent illness and to enhance an individual's sense of well-being. Yet there is still considerable debate about how best to conduct research and shape policies that combine concepts and methods drawn from the full range of the health, social and behavioral sciences.

Expanding the Boundaries of Health and Social Science attempts to fill in some of the gaps by offering case studies that provide a variety of models for undertaking interdisciplinary health research. Some of the common themes that emerge across the

chapters include the need to build research teams within and across institutions; to identify dedicated funding streams; and to overcome particular peer review and publishing challenges. By detailing the substantive results that their work has produced, the authors make a compelling case for the benefits of interdisciplinary health research; by describing the factors that have at times inhibited as well as facilitated their work, they also articulate some of the fundamental strategies required for successfully achieving such benefits.

Islam: A Mosaic, Not a Monolith

BY VARTAN GREGORIAN
Brookings Institution Press, 2003

Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, began work on this survey of Islam before September 11th, 2001, as a report to the trustees of the Corporation about possible opportunities for grantmaking in light of the growth of the Islamic population in the U.S. After the terrorist attacks, he felt a need to further enrich the work in order to contribute to a deeper understanding of Islam and the diversity of the Muslim world and its people. Brookings felt the essay deserved a larger audience that would include educators, scholars and policymakers, and so published a slightly expanded edition in the spring of 2003.

The book, which provides highlights of 14 centuries of Islamic history, begins with an overview of Islam's tenets, institutions and evolution. Gregorian traces the origins of the Islamic religion, culture and fundamental principles from Prophet Muhammad's call to faith nearly 1,400 years ago to the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I, and the subsequent development of what has come to be called Islamic fundamentalism.

Dismissing the "clash of civilizations" theory that has become popular among scholars in the western world, Gregorian points out that the history of Islam is marked by divisiveness and internal struggles, which suggests that any serious movement toward a monolithic Muslim world force is unlikely. Instead, says Gregorian, these theories "provide unwarranted support for prejudice and false generalizations and categorizations in both Muslim and non-Muslim societies."

In light of the growing influence of Islam and the lack of understanding on both sides, Gregorian suggests that the great challenge before us all is "one of understanding and accommodation: how can each group maintain and develop its own set of values and at the same time coexist?" He offers one hopeful path for all to follow: that "out of dialogue will come understanding and respect, and out of respect will come tolerance."

The Road to Home

BY VARTAN GREGORIAN
Simon and Schuster, 2003

Vartan Gregorian's memoir describes the extraordinary journey of an Armenian boy from a poor section of Tabriz, Iran, who became president of the New York Public Library, president of Brown University, and who is now president of Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Born in 1934 to Armenian Christian parents living in a largely Muslim community, Gregorian's early years were difficult: his mother died when he was six, and his father was emotionally and often physically distant. The center of his family life was his maternal grandmother, Voski, who raised him and his younger sister. Through

her stories, which introduced the young Gregorian to a world of mythology, magic and fantasy, his grandmother taught him that what endures are good deeds and reputation—one's name and, above all, one's dignity.

Spurred by a growing desire for education and aided by the first of several benefactors who appeared serendipitously in his life, Gregorian left Iran at the age of fifteen and traveled to Beirut to attend the Collège Arménien. Eventually, Gregorian was accepted at Stanford University in California, where he completed his bachelor's degree, entered a Ph.D. program in Middle Eastern and European Studies and met his wife, Clare, beginning a lifelong partnership that has included raising three sons.

In his memoir, Gregorian's "road to home" includes helping to restore the New York Public Library to its rightful place as one of the crown jewels of New York City and the nation, and devoting himself to raising Brown University to new levels of prominence. Along the way he received honorary degrees from some fifty universities, and was awarded the National Humanities Medal. But among the most important achievements in his life was becoming an American citizen. Of the official ceremony he says, "I became emotional and even teary. I felt as if I were getting married."

Gregorian's personal journey is perhaps as compelling as his public achievements. With the exuberance and passion for which he has become known, he writes of how he was a poor boy, yearning for knowledge, "who—I hope!—became an educated man... This is the life I could never have expected, the life it has been my privilege to lead."

Foundation Roundup

YouthVote
COALITION



Study Recommends Best Practices for Encouraging Youth to Vote

The National Association of Secretaries of State (NASS) and the Youth Vote Coalition have released a study of programs underway in each state to encourage civic participation among young people. The *New Millennium Best Practices Survey* provides an overview of outreach efforts and identifies innovative models showing the greatest promise.

Over the last 25 years, eligible voters in the 18-24 age category have failed to make their voices heard in higher and higher numbers. According to NASS, one in every four voters is under 30—a voting bloc sizable enough to sway elections—yet only about one-third of young voters participated in the contested 2000 presidential election.

NASS, established the New Millennium Young Voters Project in 1998 to search for better ways of persuading young people to become active citizens. Results from the new survey, will be shared with secretaries of state nationwide.

NASS, a professional, non-partisan organization of public officials, leads the debate on improving voter registration processes and promoting elec-

tion reform policies at the state and national levels. The Youth Vote Coalition, which has received support from The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Open Society Institute, is a nonpartisan coalition of diverse organizations sharing a common goal to increase political and civic participation among young people. For more information, go to www.nass.org and

StoryCorps

www.youthvote.org.

StoryCorps Captures Oral Histories of Americans

A nationwide initiative called StoryCorps is collecting personal histories of ordinary Americans in recorded interviews conducted by family members or friends. The interviews, coordinated by StoryCorps facilitators, are conducted in StoryBooths, small sound studios located in public spaces across the country. Interviews may also be recorded at home with the use of a StoryKit, which provides instructions for interviewing and technical details about recording the dialogue.

StoryCorps participants receive a professionally engineered compact disk of the interview which, with permission, will be added to the growing StoryCorps archive. Selected interviews may be broadcast nationally over National Public Radio and included in a compact disc series called *Best of StoryCorps*.

The StoryCorps project was inspired by the Works Progress Administration, a Depression-era program that, among other

projects, employed out-of-work writers to interview Americans and document their histories. Now housed at the Library of Congress, this collection of personal stories, in text and sound, stands as one of the nation's most important social documentaries. StoryCorps' goal is to continue this tradition, enriching future generations through a personal look at the past.

The first StoryBooths will be located in New York City and within a few years, expand across the country. Local StoryBooths will be promoted over regional public radio stations, which will also broadcast selected interviews from the area. In addition, plans are underway for a fleet of mobile StoryBooths that will travel to remote locations.

Funding has been provided by the Rockefeller Foundation and Carnegie Corporation. For more information go to <http://StoryCorps.net>.



Effectiveness of Boost-Phase Missile Defense in Doubt

The American Physical Society (APS), a professional society of physicists, has released results from a study of boost-phase defense technology, part of the U.S. Ballistic Missile Defense System. The study concludes that boost-phase defense would not be effective against attacks on America by long-range intercontinental ballistic

missiles (ICBMs), which are capable of carrying nuclear, biological and chemical payloads.

Boost-phase defense is part of a layered system for intercepting enemy missiles at different trajectory points during flight. "Boost-phase" refers to an early segment of the launch, when engines continue to burn as the missile gains velocity. To retaliate, heat-seeking rockets or lasers would intercept the missile at this stage, disabling it before the midcourse and re-entry flight phases were reached. But as this study showed, the window for launching interceptors, often less than 30 seconds, was inadequate.

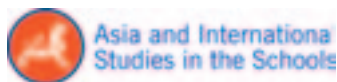
The study focused specifically on defense against missiles launched from North Korea and Iran, countries that may become capable of firing long-range rockets at the United States. Geopolitical boundaries for both areas preclude locating interceptors close enough to the enemy missiles to be generally effective.

The only scenario in which boost-phase intercept could potentially be feasible is if enemy missiles are launched from ships near the U.S. coast. In that case, interceptors based within 40 kilometers of the enemy ships might be able to make an intercept.

Analyzing performance times of both liquid and solid-propellant enemy missiles produced varying results, as did a comparison of land, sea and air-based missiles. However, the best possible defense technologies of the next decade still would not provide sufficient response time for interception.

Space-based interception technology, even allowing for technological developments in the next 15 years, will face the same time constraints, and scientists calculate it will require a minimum of 1,000 interceptor rockets to effectively defend against one ICBM. Such a vast arsenal would require a sizable increase in defense funding for weapons production and a significant, and costly, acceleration of the U.S. space program to enable deployment.

APS has received funding from The Pew Charitable Trusts and the Packard and MacArthur foundations. For more information, go to www.aps.org.



The Goldman Sachs Foundation

New Prizes for Excellence in International Education

The Goldman Sachs Foundation and the Asia Society have inaugurated The Goldman Sachs Foundation Prizes for Excellence in International Education, a unique initiative that will recognize successful strategies for increasing and enhancing knowledge about other countries, languages and cultures.

The annual awards recognize innovation and achievement in international studies

by schools, states, colleges and media/technology groups. Announcement of the first five \$25,000 prizes will be made in Washington, D.C. in November 2003. A nationally disseminated “best practices” guide will document innovations recognized through the prize program.

Impetus for the new awards comes in part from Asia Society’s National Coalition on Asia and International Studies in the Schools, a group that analyzes data from around the world to track the widening knowledge gap between American and foreign students. For instance, a comparison of scores on a world geography test administered worldwide found Swedish, German and Italian students scored highest (nearly 80 percent). By contrast, Americans, along with their Canadian and Mexican neighbors, answered fewer than half the questions correctly. These and similar statistics have academic, corporate and governmental sectors concerned that America’s youth will be ill-equipped as adults to assess and decide on issues critical to the world’s only superpower.

The Goldman Sachs Foundation is a global philanthropy with a mission that focuses on promoting the lifelong productivity and excellence of young people worldwide. The Asia Society, a nonprofit educational organization, is dedicated to fostering understanding between Americans and people from Asia and the Pacific.

Additional information, including guidelines for the competition, are available at www.InternationalEd.org.



Scientists Push for Public Access to Scientific Research

The Public Library of Science (PLoS), a nonprofit organization of scientists and physicians, has embarked on a public campaign to make scientific and medical literature freely available worldwide.

Traditionally, research data are disseminated through for-profit professional journals, which often have prohibitive subscription costs that limit access to a narrow segment of amply funded institutions. Scientific organizations unable to afford them—including many state colleges and universities, nonprofit and foreign research facilities—inevitably lag behind elite institutions, restricted by lack of access to cutting-edge research.

PLoS’ plan is to make these publications available through a global network of online libraries of science. One way to make this possible would be to include publishing costs in research budgets, which PLoS estimates would amount to less than one percent of the project total. However, PLoS’ commitment to publishing overrides the ability of authors and institutions to cover the costs, and it has pledged that decisions on whether to publish will never hinge on this.

More than 30,000 scientists around the world, including

13 Nobel Prize winners, are supporting PLoS. Other reinforcement comes from a new House bill, the Public Access to Science Act (PASA), that would exclude copyright protection on nonclassified research substantially funded by the federal government.

Introducing the PASA bill, Congressman Martin Olav Sabo (D-MN) noted, “Our government spends \$45 billion a year to support scientific and medical research for the public benefit. We must remember that government funded research belongs to, and should be readily available to, every person in the United States.”

PLoS was formed in 2000 through a grant from the Gordon and Betty Moore Foundation. Its online journal, *PloS Biology*, launches its first issue in October 2003. A second journal, *PLoS Medicine*, is expected to come out in mid-2004. For more information, go to www.PLoS.org.



NEW AMERICA
FOUNDATION

Unlicensed Airwaves Offer Promise of Fast, Cheap Internet Access

The New America Foundation (NAF) has published a paper on the development of Wireless Fidelity (Wi-Fi), a fast and cheaper alternative to dial-up and broadband connections available to most Internet users. The paper, *Breaking the Chains: Unlicensed Spectrum as a Last-Mile Broadband Solution*, was

co-authored by James H. Johnston and J.H. Snider and released through NAF's Spectrum Policy Program.

Wi-Fi uses unlicensed spectrum (airwaves) to bring broadband access to organizations such as universities, hospitals, hotels and airports. Wi-Fi also offers a remedy for remote locations inaccessible by cable and to low-income areas where the cost of broadband is unaffordable.

While Wi-Fi continues to rely on wires or cables for its backbone infrastructure, its innovative use of unlicensed spectrum offers a solution for the "last-mile" hurdle, the final lap a signal travels before reaching a user's computer. Most last-mile broadband service travels over wires owned and controlled by telephone and cable monopolies. This last-mile wire domination affects consumers in two ways: it slows down broadband Internet communication and raises the costs to consumers who must pay to use the wires.

Although the spectrum is publicly owned and unassigned airwaves are accessible by anyone, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) allocates and regulates the amount that is available. Right now, the supply of unlicensed spectrum at low frequencies—optimum requirements for wireless access—is inadequate for Wi-Fi development and expansion. Thus, although Wi-Fi's future looks promising, it cannot proliferate without FCC commitments to increase the amount of necessary spectrum and to revise FCC policy in order to ease the way for Wi-Fi development.

The New America Foundation, a nonpartisan, public policy institute, brings new voices and ideas into public debate. To download a copy of the paper, as well as J.H. Snider's *Citizen's Guide to the Airwaves*, go to www.NewAmerica.net.



Campaign Finance Reform Movement Gaining Momentum

A toolkit called *Investing in Democracy: A Citizen & Candidate Guide to Voter Owned Elections* is now available for community coalitions working toward campaign finance reform on state and local levels. Included is a user guide, *Creating Public Financing of Elections in Your Community*, prepared by the Center for Governmental Studies. The guide provides an overview of public financing in America, including organizational and action strategies, as well as contact information for over 160 state and local campaign finance reform organizations.

The toolkit also includes two short videos, each documenting campaigns using public funds. *The Road to Clean Elections*, narrated by Bill Moyers and produced for Public Campaign, follows candidates in elections held in Maine and Arizona. *Running: The Campaign for the New York City Council*, produced by Firelight Media, goes behind the scenes with City Council candidates running in New York City's first election regulated by enhanced public financing guidelines. *Running* aired on Thirteen/WNET,

New York's City's public television station, and received the Henry Hampton Award for Excellence in Film & Digital Media and a CINE Golden Eagle.

Investing in Democracy was launched at a meeting of campaign finance funders in Phoenix that featured Arizona's governor, Janet Napolitano, who ran for office under new Arizona funding guidelines.

Support for this project came from the Solidago Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York. For information on the project, or to order a toolkit, go to www.publiccampaign.org.



Americans Favor Medicare Prescription Plan

A recent nationwide poll finds most Americans (52 percent) favoring a Medicare prescription plan similar to what most workers have, even if it costs taxpayers more and means foregoing future tax cuts.

Thirty-eight percent of the population initially opposed a more generous drug plan; however, 65 percent of this same group changed their opinion in favor of a generous drug plan when asked if they would remain opposed if it meant seniors would be unable to afford prescribed medicine.

While the study found general agreement across the

board about many Medicare issues, responses were bifurcated when analyzed by age groups. For instance, 80 percent of Americans 65 and older are favorable toward Medicare while only 44 percent of younger Americans have positive feelings about it. Asked what they would prefer if they could choose a health plan upon retirement, 63 percent of seniors selected the current government Medicare program while 56 percent of the 18-64 age group would choose a private health plan.

Yet older and younger Americans feel similarly about suggestions for reforming Medicare. Majorities of seniors (68 percent) and those under 65 (56 percent) object to privatizing Medicare. Both groups (65 percent and 63 percent, respectively) also agree that any changes to Medicare should build on successes of the current program.

Queried about political support, Americans in all age groups continue to think Democrats do a better job on health policy than Republicans (28 percent vs. 14 percent). However when the same question was asked in 1999, Democrats scored much higher (43 percent vs. 17 percent), an indication that Democrats have lost ground on this issue.

The survey was a collaborative effort by the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, an independent philanthropy that provides information and analysis about health issues to policymakers and the general public, and the Harvard School of Public Health, an institution dedicated to improving public health. For more information about this study, go to www.kff.org.

THE BackPage

Susan Carroll Schwab is the former Dean of the University of Maryland School of Public Affairs. She also recently stepped down as President of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs and has been nominated by President Bush to be Deputy Secretary, U.S. Department of the Treasury.



plinary approach to understanding and solving the world's problems—whether at the community level or on a global scale. While their graduates all share a commitment to public service, their education is sufficiently flexible that once in the workforce, they are often in the vanguard of their professions and engaged in careers that entail moving, working and thinking across

to lifelong learning, with recipients who can move across all sectors of the economy. And first-class faculty who do not wish to be placed into the neat categories of traditional academic disciplines. Were all research emanating from these schools to focus on the same handful of refereed journals; were all graduates to move in lockstep into management training or profes-

sional schools that have succeeded in bridging the divide between research and the delivery of competent professionals that has plagued other genres of professional schools for years.

Curriculum. What sets these programs apart is their attention to nurturing a truly integrative, multidisciplinary curriculum. All graduates at the master's level of a top public policy and/or international

In Praise of a Public Policy/International Affairs Education

by
SUSAN CARROLL
SCHWAB

What do National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson, former Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, former Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker and NASA Administrator Sean O'Keefe, have in common? They all hold graduate degrees from professional schools of public policy and international affairs.

There are roughly 60 such graduate programs in the United States today. Some public policy and international affairs curricula are offered under the same institutional roof; at some universities the international affairs program is housed separately. Together, these programs handed out an estimated 3,000 professional masters degrees in 2002. Many also have small Ph.D. programs. Yet even as their enrollments have grown in the post-September 11th reaffirmation of patriotism and public service, the numbers are dwarfed by business schools and law schools—their principal competitors for talent.

What sets these programs apart is their commitment to a multidisci-

plinary approach to understanding and solving the world's problems—whether at the community level or on a global scale. While their graduates all share a commitment to public service, their education is sufficiently flexible that once in the workforce, they are often in the vanguard of their professions and engaged in careers that entail moving, working and thinking across

Low Profile; High Impact.

So why are only a few such programs visible, and why do the magazines that rank graduate programs consider them only important enough to rank once every three years or not at all? It is a sad irony that the very strengths and competencies of these programs are also the principal source of their weaknesses.

What are these strengths? Integrated curricula that demand multidisciplinary approaches, that merge theory and practice, and that value process, context and peripheral vision. Versatile degrees, conducive

sional development programs in a given sector; and were all of these graduate programs to offer the same named degree, their profile as a group would no doubt be higher. They would also have far less impact, for it is the absence of neat categories that make public policy and international affairs programs so successful and so unique in higher education.

Vive la Difference

Programs at schools of public policy and international affairs are designed to enable their graduates and faculty to have impact; to make a difference. They are a community where scholar-practitioners are embraced. They offer an environment where the right Op-Ed. piece or article in a widely read magazine or journal is applauded as much as others in the academy might value an article in the most prominent peer-reviewed journal. This is not to denigrate important scholarly research—the faculty produce it, as well—rather, it reflects the value placed on impact; on reaching a wider audience. These are profes-

affairs school have studied a core set of policy analysis tools. These include microeconomics, macroeconomics, quantitative methods/statistics, and political theory and processes. The emphasis is on problem solving, on the rigorous application of this multidisciplinary toolkit to the issues of the world. On top of this versatile base, most programs add courses in management and leadership and finance; virtually all include a heavy dose of ethics; some, an entire course in the moral and ethical dimensions of public policy.

Beyond the core curriculum, students apply the analytic tools they've been equipped with by specializing in one of an almost unlimited number of policy areas: education, welfare, children and family policy, the environment, international development, national security studies, health care policy, housing and urban development, criminal justice, and so on. This approach to a public policy/international affairs education can be thought of as the "undiscipline" in social science. It embraces knowledge for the sake of action, placing as much value on the

application of theory as on the theory itself.

These programs also emphasize communications skills: if you cannot persuade the policymaker, your analytic prowess has little impact. Similarly, these programs emphasize implementation: once you have convinced the policymaker or funder that your approach is the right one, unless you can successfully launch, manage and evaluate your idea, even the best policy initiative is at risk.

Above all, these programs recognize the importance of context—specifically, the contextual setting in political, economic, international and human terms of a problem and its potential solutions. This in itself is a distinctive competency of the graduates.

Faculty. The composition of faculty in public policy and international affairs programs is unique. Although generally dominated by economists and political scientists, most schools offering these programs boast faculty from a wide range of disciplines. In any given school it is not unusual to find lawyers, sociologists, philosophers, psychologists, physicists, MBAs or MDs. Most initially emerged from the traditional disciplines, and many still have strong affiliations and stellar reputations in those disciplines—but more often than not, these faculty have chosen to move away from the narrow specialization of their original fields.

Another characteristic of these faculties is their embrace of scholar-practitioners, individuals with strong scholarly credentials who have demonstrated strengths as practitioners and who periodically move into government. Distinguished practitioners are also often welcome in these programs as adjunct professors or professors of the practice. In both cases, one finds a revolving door between the academy and the likes of the Council of Economic Advisors, the departments of Defense, State, Treasury,

Health and Human Services and the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that can only serve to strengthen both the teaching and the practice of public policy.

Graduates. The students in these programs want to make a difference in the world (whether the corner of the world they choose is a neighborhood or a continent) and they would like to make a decent living doing so. They tend to enroll in schools of public policy or international affairs not because of the unique characteristics articulated in this article, but because they have decided not to go to business school or to practice law. Some students have their entire careers ahead of them; some are well along in careers they want to advance or change; some are full-time students, some work and attend school on a part-time basis.

All of these students recognize that there is no standard path to the unlimited array of career options that exist. And while they may bridle initially at the core courses that stand between them and classes on saving the ecosystem or eliminating welfare as we know it, they emerge from these programs able to paint on an enormous professional canvas, and motivated by the potential for impact and influence, regardless of sector.

Issues and Challenges Ahead

These programs are not without challenges, and yet the nature of their faculties and the diversity of thought they promote in their students should serve them well in the evolution of their own programs. Employment opportunities for graduates are generally not an issue.¹ Critical mass, “brand image,” faculty recognition and the temptation to cut corners may be.

What these programs suffer from most is their lack of brand name or product identity. One survey by the Association of Professional Schools

of International Affairs (APSIA), found that less than twenty member schools together accounted for forty-three different degrees and degree acronyms, ranging from the Master of International Affairs (MIA) to the Master of Public Policy (MPP) or Master of Public Administration (MPA) with an international track to more specialized degrees in area studies. Public policy programs face a slightly less daunting range of degree names, but the problem remains the same: these disparate degree names work against efforts to create a critical mass of graduates that employers perceive and can count on to share common competencies.

Further complications include the fact that some universities have more than one such program on campus, and a trend among long-standing public administration programs to offer the increasingly popular public policy tracks without necessarily requiring a full load of policy analysis courses to back them up. But there does appear to be a gradual merging of the once-distinct public administration, public policy and international affairs fields. This trend seems to have been influenced not only by a growing understanding that such integration is a better reflection of the world but also because the programs are flexible enough to change.

Another challenge stems from the difficulties public policy programs sometimes face in obtaining tenure for their faculties from university promotion and tenure committees dominated by arts and sciences disciplines. Top peer-reviewed disciplinary journals like the *American Economic Review* or the *American Political Science Review* are known and valued in these circles, while many publications favored by policy experts—such as a range of issue-specific journals or higher impact (but not technically peer-reviewed) publications like *Foreign Affairs* or Brookings volumes—are not. Per-

haps as a result, policy-relevant research by policy and international affairs school faculty must often wait until they have gained tenure through more traditional publications; indeed, at least one leading school is quite explicit to junior faculty on this matter.

Other challenges include tight academic budgets and the tension between comprehensive, quality education and students’ demands to move through graduate professional programs as rapidly as possible. Together these influences are likely to push schools in the direction of shorter programs, larger classes and vertical integration into the undergraduate realm². Added numbers of graduates are sure to contribute to achieving critical mass, but reducing the credit hours and courses required for graduate degrees risks further exacerbating the challenge of consistency and branding.

Where will tomorrow’s top leaders, policymakers, analysts and organizers come from? Evidence from recent surveys of young people about public affairs, and the dramatic upswing in applications since September 11th, would suggest they are likely to come from professional schools of public policy and international affairs. And whether in the public, private or nonprofit sectors, they are certain to offer the nation a distinctive form of public service.

¹ *The Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA), for example, reports that in 2002, 42 percent of its graduates went into the public sector, 25 percent into private business, 23 percent into nonprofits and NGOs, with 10 percent opting for further study. Overall placement rates approaching 90 percent six months after graduation are comparable to those of business and law schools.*

² *A few public policy/international affairs programs already offer undergraduate degrees, which turn out to be among the most popular degrees at the university.*

Sources: The Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs (APSIA; apsia.org), the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM; appam.org) and the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA; naspaa.org).

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A FOOTNOTE TO History

Like many Americans before him—and many who came after—Andrew Carnegie and his family were immigrants. They came to the United States in 1848 to escape a life of poverty in Scotland, settling in a suburb of Pittsburgh. Carnegie's first job was as a bobbin boy in a mill, earning \$1.20 a week. Though lacking a formal education, he eventually became an industrialist who controlled most of America's iron and steel production. In 1901, he sold his steel company to J.P. Morgan, a New York banker, for \$480 million. From that time on he devoted himself to various philanthropic projects, donating generous amounts to thousands of libraries and educational institutions. He also founded more than 20 philanthropic organizations in the U.S. and abroad, including Carnegie Corporation of New York.

Carnegie's life embodied the American dream: the immigrant who went from rags to riches, the self-made man who became a captain of industry, the king of steel. He always remained proud to have made America his home and wrote of his adopted country, "Immigrants come to her from many nations... she welcomes all, and shares her privileges with them. She is the pioneer nation proclaiming the brotherhood of man."

As more and more people of different races and cultures entered the U.S. and the ethnic composition of the country changed, the federal government tried to control immigration by introducing restrictive laws. Carnegie was a strong opponent of these efforts; in 1915, for example, he wrote to President Wilson, strongly opposing a literacy test for immigrants that had just passed Congress on the grounds that it was grossly unfair to the millions who "have no opportunity for education in their native land."

Eighty-eight years after that letter, the men and women who continue Carnegie's philanthropic work have taken up the cause. In the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program, grant-making focuses on immigrant policy, including strategies to offer bridges to new immigrants in diverse 21st century destinations like Maine, Tennessee and Iowa, where today's immigrants are making homes. And in the seven cities participating in the Corporation's *Schools for a New Society* initiative, our Education Division is reforming urban high schools to ensure that those who come here have the opportunity to read, learn and advance just as a Scottish bobbin boy did a century ago.



Andrew Carnegie came to the U.S. in 1848 aboard the S.V. Wiscasset.

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