

CARNEGIE REPORTER

FUTURE OF LEARNING & DEMOCRACY



We Must Keep at It

It is hard to see the true impact of a crisis when you are still in it. I have nodded my head each time I have heard this observation in the last year — in words coming from media columnists, ICU nurses, researchers, and historians. Despite the one-year milestone of the pandemic, and despite the rising hope that vaccines will provide a path to a new normal, we all share a deep sense that the new normal in America will not be the old normal. It may be decades before we truly understand what is happening now.

There are clear and obvious signs that our current crisis is also shaped by the unresolved issues and lingering inequities that we brought with us to this moment. The pandemic has served as a tsunami that has laid bare underlying systemic gaps in education, work, and our democracy, and we recognize that we did not see everything clearly before the pandemic either.

Yet in some unexpected ways, the pandemic has brought a new lens that may help us see and address some things better.

Welcome to the Spring 2021 issue of the *Carnegie Reporter*, where we look at the future of learning and the inextricable ties between education, democracy, and peace, and their implications for the era in which we are living.

We talk to Margaret Spellings and John B. King, Jr., past secretaries of education, and consider what is changing — and what must change — in order to educate all Americans on a pathway to meaningful work. As LaVerne Evans Srinivasan, leader of the Corporation’s grantmaking in education, says in her essay on how we can enact meaningful change, “Practically everyone who plays a part in education must learn to act in new ways.” And while we all agree that education is imperative to the future of our nation and necessary for the strength of our democracy, we often don’t mention the central role of teachers, writes Corporation President Vartan Gregorian, in his letter calling for more material and moral support for educators in America.

Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor argues that a healthy civil society is built on a foundation of knowledge and understanding, and that the obligations that come with citizenship are learned, not inherited. Corporation Trustee Martha Minow reminds us of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg’s work to help all citizens “repair tears in their local communities, the nation, and the world, so that the long arc of the moral universe will continue to bend toward justice.”

And we recognize the role that education plays in international affairs, including in the halls of Congress, where democracy is served when those creating foreign policy can benefit from scholarly expertise and opportunities to build bipartisan relationships that survive crises.

Indeed, we in America may be more unified than we think we are. In a recent survey by Gallup and the Corporation, we found a surprising bipartisan consensus that the nation should help those in need and without work with a national plan that provides jobs, education, and training.

Geri Mannion, leader of the Corporation’s grantmaking in democracy, notes that there are real opportunities for bipartisan progress on issues like immigration. “This is about reaching across the aisle and across the street and across industries ... because that’s how people see what they have in common and what they share,” she says.

Across the country, in this unexpected moment, the history of this new normal is playing itself out at our home tables as we wrestle with the world at the same time we isolate from it. We cannot yet grasp the enormity of the change we are living. But we must keep at it, identifying new knowledge and understanding, and working toward a future shaped by the best of what we know.

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On the Cover

Woman of Words New Orleans’ Rameisha “Ramie” Johnson spent about three days manually adding the words to the wall behind her, creating a virtual learning space for her daughter with a series of inspirational quotes suggested by her colleagues at EdNavigator. A 1962 quote by James Baldwin (1924–1987) appears partially above Ramie: “Not everything that is faced can be changed; but nothing can be changed until it is faced.” For more on Ramie and some of her own words, check out the Center Point section of the magazine beginning on p. 26.

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TEACHERS CREATE THE FUTURE OF AMERICA

While we all agree that education is imperative to the future of our nation and necessary for the strength of our democracy, we often don't mention the central role of teachers, writes Vartan Gregorian. They deserve both material and moral support as well as our respect

By **Vartan Gregorian**

Editor's Note: Vartan Gregorian, the 12th president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, died unexpectedly on April 15, 2021, as this issue was on press. Gregorian founded the Carnegie Reporter magazine in 2000 and was deeply involved in the development of this issue dedicated to education and democracy. Among Gregorian's many writings as an educator and a historian, this final essay focuses on subjects that he held dear — teaching and learning. To learn more about his extraordinary life and legacy, please visit carnegie.org/gregorian.

Andrew Carnegie, our founder, had an extraordinary vision for our society. He believed in the necessity and the transformational power of education. He also believed that the success of our democracy depends on the quality of our education and of our teachers.

Reason and education, he believed, are bedrocks providing not only inspiration but also solutions and engines of progress for our free society. He was a firm believer in our democracy, its institutions, and our Constitution. He was convinced that an educated citizenry was the best

guardian of our democracy, because they had learned that along with all of the rights bestowed upon them came an obligation to become engaged citizens.

After more than two centuries of independence, we in the United States still hold the notion that education is the instrument that provides advancement, not only of individuals but of our republic as well. However, great education needs great educators. They are central to the aspirations and progress of our society, not only in the scientific realm but also in the economic, social, and cultural domains.

A Noble Profession A teacher from Yung Wing Elementary P.S. 124 in New York City's Chinatown remote teaches from her rooftop on March 24, 2020. Due to the spread of COVID-19, the city's vast system of 1,800 schools had entirely shut down the week before.

CREDIT: MICHAEL LOCCISANO/GETTY IMAGES

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A teacher does not merely instill an education, but rather, given adequate supports, provides avenues of discovery that enrich the lives of our children — who are our future citizens.
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America has always been and will always be a work in progress. Every generation has contributed and must contribute to that ongoing progress. Those of us who have been charged with following in the footsteps of Andrew Carnegie have believed as he did that an educated society is the best guardian and protector of our democracy. As John Gardner, one of my illustrious predecessors who served as president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, once said, when it pertains to our democracy, it is important to be both a loving critic and a critical lover, but never indifferent. America needs all of us to be both because, as he elaborated, “love without criticism brings stagnation, and criticism without love brings destruction.” One needs facts, scientific knowledge, respect for memory, and awareness of the past achievements of our democracy as well as its failures and deficiencies. We cannot know about our history, nor fill our scientific laboratories with expert scientists, nor fill our libraries with researchers as guides to our future, without a strong education system as well as competent and expert teachers.

During the past two centuries, we have made enormous efforts in America to democratize and nationalize access to education, thereby upholding the principle that education and the opportunity to learn should be available to all. Education is a necessity, thus a right not a luxury. Yet while we all agree that education is imperative to the future of our nation and necessary for the strength of our democracy, we often don’t mention the central role of teachers — to whom we have entrusted our children and grandchildren. In my opinion, they deserve both material and moral support as well as respect. We must counter the ambivalence toward the teaching profession that has long endured in America. On the one hand, we want the very “best teachers” for our children; on the other hand, it is ironic that many of us, across the nation, don’t want our sons and daughters to become teachers. We want them to aim at “higher” and more “rewarding” professions, namely ones with a higher salary and social standing. I don’t think many know the sad fact that in most states, we pay teachers less than any other occupation requiring a college degree.

The psychologist Erik Erikson (1902–1994) once remarked that human beings are the “teaching species.”

I believe this to be true. I also believe teaching is a noble profession, perhaps the noblest of all. It is not just a profession or a vocation, it is a calling. Thus, our teachers bear an awesome moral, social, civic, and historical responsibility in teaching new generations and, hence, creating our future. They are the ones who challenge students to engage in the joy of learning as well as “to undergo the fatigue of judging for themselves,” to quote the dramatist Richard Sheridan (1751–1816), meaning the process through which learning becomes knowledge.

“Education can do all” is a celebrated phrase, written and published posthumously in 1772 by the philosopher Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715–1771). He wrote, “If I can demonstrate that man is, in fact, nothing more than the product of his education, I shall doubtless reveal an important truth to the nations. They will learn that they have in their hands the instrument of their greatness and their felicity, and that to be happy and powerful, it is only a matter of perfecting the science of education.”

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Today, we all realize that in the best of situations teaching has been and continues to be hard work. In tough situations, it is most difficult. In the past, we have witnessed the shootings of teachers and children, dying in our classrooms and schools. However, nobody anticipated a pandemic that would challenge all of our premises about theories of teaching and learning.

As our frontline education professionals during the pandemic, teachers have been forced to bear the brunt of several challenges: a massive overnight shift to “remote teaching,” forcing them to adopt new tools and skills, sometimes with little support or training; the health risks of in-person instruction; decreased online attendance and participation by students; large-scale learning loss; and inconsistent access to technology and learning assistance at home for disadvantaged students. They have had to learn on the job and improvise to deal with new challenges.

We have seen an enhanced appreciation of teachers as families themselves have experienced the challenges



Tough Choices Chicago Teachers Union members and supporters protest outside Chicago Public Schools headquarters while a Chicago Board of Education meeting takes place inside the building on July 22, 2020. Citing safety concerns, teachers called for remote learning in fall 2020 during the COVID-19 pandemic. CREDIT: MAX HERMAN/NURPHOTO VIA GETTY IMAGES

of daily at-home learning and realized firsthand how a teacher does not merely instill an education, but rather, given adequate supports, provides avenues of discovery that enrich the lives of our children — who are our future citizens. Nevertheless, teachers have also experienced animosity and criticism. They have been caught in a dilemma between reopening schools at the risk of their and their families’ health and well-being, and closing schools, which denies education to our children and challenges the very essence of a teacher’s obligation. These are new trials that teachers have not dealt with before.

While we often blame our teachers when they do not deliver expected results in the classroom, teachers and schools do not exist in a vacuum. They are affected by a very complicated system of PreK–12 and higher education in the United States. Allow me to extrapolate.

American education is unique in many ways in the industrialized world because public schools are a local and state responsibility. This was an inadvertent outcome of the landmark 1966 study *Equality of Educational*

Opportunity, which influenced a United States Supreme Court ruling on school funding in 1973. The study confirmed the prevailing view at the time among scholars of educational reform that good teachers and good schools could not overcome the disadvantages of growing up in poverty. After noting that scholars were still debating whether more money would improve schools, the court ruled that education was a state responsibility, not a federal one.

This much-criticized decision set off 28 years of litigation, involving nearly every state. After failing for many years, the legal efforts to equalize state spending began succeeding when courts focused on state guarantees of an “adequate” education for all children. Nevertheless, funding for public schools continues to be drawn primarily from uneven and sporadic income sources — often deriving from real estate tax, income tax, and occasionally from gambling — with built-in inequality. Furthermore, our education system is unique in relying on private funds and philanthropy for innovation and reform. In the meantime, the finding of the 1966 study, which was



Back to School In 2013, students invited Vartan Gregorian to visit his namesake public elementary school in Providence, Rhode Island, where he lived while serving as the 16th president of Brown University from 1989 to 1997. CREDIT: THE PROVIDENCE JOURNAL

based on the very best information then available and unintentionally undermined efforts to improve schools and the teaching profession, has today been countered by numerous empirical studies that confirm that quality of teaching is *the most important* variable affecting student achievement.

In 1983, the landmark report *A Nation at Risk* famously said that if a foreign power had imposed our education system on us, we would have considered it an act of war. The report called for, among many reforms, improving teacher education and strengthening the profession. Since 1983, there have been many reports, reviews, and movements to improve our public school system and teacher education. The proposed reforms have not been uniformly successful. As a result, we still have a long way to go.

I do not underestimate the difficulty of putting teaching reform on the fast track. Even when there has been widespread support, it has been very difficult to change our vast and fragmented education system. Actually, it is a nonsystem. There is no national entity governing our

entire public school system and there is an absence of national guidelines. On the national scene, policies that define the U.S. Department of Education's role and its funding are changed every two or four years based on the results of congressional and presidential elections. Hence, this lack of coherence, continuity, and long-term planning impedes efforts of reformers to improve the education of 50.7 million public school students in a nation with 3.2 million public school teachers where federal, state, and local agencies spend \$709 billion a year on public PreK–12 education alone. Since the national alarm of 1983, we have had scores of school reformers, associations, and foundations, even some states and municipalities, put forth proposals for improving our PreK–12 system, involving some 100,000 public elementary and secondary schools, 18,000 public school districts, and 50 state departments of education. These efforts continue.

In my opinion, presently, we don't have the means to resolve administrative tensions between jurisdictions, so we must seek and provide exemplary education models that can be adopted. It is a fact that in the United States

we cannot impose progress from above because of existing civil, legal, and administrative systems. We must therefore make progress primarily by means of persuasion and inclusion of different stakeholders, by providing successful educational reform models, and always encouraging collaboration.

In our case, Carnegie Corporation of New York has been very active in supporting reforms to modernize our public school systems in cooperation and collaboration with others. I commend the work of Corporation grantees like the iLEAD (Improvement Leadership Education and Development) network, an initiative of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, our sister institution, which has established district-university partnerships around the country committed to developing leaders, addressing local problems of practice, and promoting equitable educational opportunities and outcomes for all students. Also laudable is the work of EdPrepLab, a grantee that is working to transform how we prepare educators by fostering collaboration between preparation programs, school districts, and state and federal policymakers. However, more needs to be done. While we are seeing progress, it is not at the scale that is needed for teachers and students everywhere to thrive.

Naturally, we still have some bully pulpits, such as: the president of the United States, the U.S. secretary of education, the National Governors Association, the United States Conference of Mayors, two national teachers unions (the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association), and some prominent leaders of educational reform. In the past, some influential university presidents, who have been committed to the reform of PreK–12 public education, have provided platforms for inspiration, advocacy, and guidance. Furthermore, in recent years, businesses and philanthropies have assumed a crucial role in promoting public school reform in order to provide not only opportunity but also economic and social stability for their local communities. Last but not least, we have witnessed with gratification the organization of parents who are providing additional impetus for reforms and support for teachers through the Parent Teacher Association. The latter at present has a national profile, but their chapters are locally controlled. Of course we cannot talk about change and school reform without mentioning the other organizations representing principals, superintendents, school boards, and a myriad of entities that would like to play a role in the renewal of the nation's education system. Unlike in other countries, there are too many cooks in our education kitchen.



For me, one thing is clear. Public school reform is not enough without teacher education reform. Our “nonsystem system” needs to be revamped to better support teachers' education, knowledge, and skills. State and

federal authorities must focus on improving teaching and making that the cardinal element of school reform. After all, without quality teaching “all the directives and proclamations are simply so much fairy dust,” as the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future put it in 1996.

I still believe that it is in our nation's classrooms that the future is created on a daily basis. Therefore, it is essential that the work in those classrooms be carried out with the guidance of teachers who are well educated, well trained, and knowledgeable about their respective fields of expertise. In addition, teachers must be committed to the idea that no student can be written off as mediocre or inconsequential. After all, students are potentialities not mere actualities. Therefore, all students must be given the opportunity to succeed in their quest for knowledge.

Unfortunately, at the present in our country, there is a serious deficiency in the quality of the education and training that teachers themselves receive in many of our universities and colleges before they are sent into our nation's classrooms to help educate the next generation of Americans. In my opinion, we continue to overlook the responsibilities of our universities and colleges to PreK–12 education in educating and training a generation of inspired individuals who, against all odds, want to be teachers — good, competent teachers. Therefore, if we really want to improve learning, we have to make some structural changes in the curriculum of teachers to improve the art of teaching as well as a mastery of subject matter. I have always felt, maybe naively, that teachers fail, students don't fail. As the philosopher Victor Cousin (1792–1867) put it succinctly, “As is the teacher, so is the school.”

My colleagues in higher education have a historical obligation to take decisive action in fulfilling their responsibilities to ensure that the education of teachers remains one of the central priorities of their institutions. Schools of education do not enjoy central roles in many universities. In general, many of them are poorly endowed and are often subject to benign neglect. We must continue efforts to make sure that our schools of education are not isolated islands that are marginalized and sustained by financial incentives and self-contained curricula.

Ideally, universities must provide prospective teachers with the best education, the best knowledge of their individual fields, as well as the latest theories of pedagogy, strong skills in technology, considerable classroom and distance learning experience, and professional mentoring. It would be wonderful if every two or three years, teachers were able to return either to their alma maters or nearby universities, preferably during the summer, for a month or two of renewal, at the expense of the universities or local school districts. This would enable teachers to catch up with major developments not only in their

specialized fields but also in related academic disciplines, such as science, psychology, neurology, history, philosophy, anthropology, and sociology — disciplines that affect learning and quality of teaching and are relevant to pedagogy.

It may be Pollyannaish but ideally higher education should demonstrate the importance of teaching in many ways, including equalizing the rewards for those who conduct research and those who apply it. This means granting tenure, promotions, and raises to faculty who teach prospective teachers or strengthen the profession in any number of ways, including advising school districts, coaching teachers, or even teaching in local schools. After all, colleges and universities need to recognize their responsibilities and opportunities in what de facto is a PreK–16 education system. The neglect of PreK–12 education is detrimental to the quality of higher education in the United States and also to equal opportunity.

Of course, the above suggestions require federal, state, and local funding as well as philanthropic endeavors. The teaching profession is not a lucrative one. We cannot ask our teachers to learn more and give more, only to be burdened further with debt. To help them, we must continue to provide more scholarships and grant loan forgiveness to individuals from all backgrounds who have chosen to join the teaching profession. We also need induction programs that provide new teachers with ongoing professional learning that is deeply connected to their work in the classroom.

If there is to be real fundamental teaching reform along with an accompanying restructuring of our PreK–12 schools, we need teachers as allies rather than adversaries. Whatever the reforms envisaged, teachers must receive the necessary training and education and the means to carry out the aims of those reforms. That’s why in recent years, to ensure that teachers have a leading voice in the policies that impact their students and profession, Carnegie Corporation of New York has supported several teacher-led organizations, such as Educators for Excellence and Teach Plus. All of us know that more work still needs to be done to make sure that teachers’ expertise, experiences, and opinions inform management decisions as well as reform agendas and proposals.

The success or failure of our schools does not rely solely on teachers. Good schools need good teachers, and they need good principals — and they, in turn, need good superintendents. Yet the job of school administrators is more complex and demanding than ever before given their responsibility to work with teachers to remake schools so that they are more focused on teaching and learning by all. Superintendents and principals must receive adequate preparation to be instructional and organizational leaders with the authority and autonomy to enhance the educational mission of their respective schools. In our modern

world, schools must provide teachers with adequate support, the latest technology, and work environments conducive to efficiency and creativity to enable teachers to do their best work. We must not thwart their leadership. We must be reminded that high turnover among principals and superintendents is a recipe for chaos and continued delay in the reformation of our schools and school districts.

Our universities and our colleges, our libraries and our learned societies, indeed our contemporary scholarship and our PreK–16 educators, more than ever have a fundamental historical and social task and responsibility to ensure that we provide not training but education, not education but culture as well, not information but its distillation, namely knowledge, in order to protect our society against counterfeit information disguised as knowledge. This is not an easy task. For in addition to an explosion of information and knowledge, we also face dangerous levels of fragmentation of knowledge, dictated by the advances of science, learning, and the accumulation of several millennia of scholarship. One of my favorite guides has been T. S. Eliot (1888–1965). As a poet, he summed it up best: “Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge? Where is the knowledge we have lost in information?” Understanding the nature of knowledge, its unity, its varieties, its limitations, and its uses and abuses is necessary for the success of our democracy.



The quality of teacher education — and hence the ability of excellent teachers to uplift and inspire their students — was of paramount concern to Andrew Carnegie, who helped elevate the quality of teacher education through, among numerous other ways, the founding of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, established in 1905 to “do and perform all things necessary to encourage, uphold, and dignify the profession of the teacher and the cause of higher education.”

Carnegie’s personal commitment to our nation’s teachers stemmed from his belief that they are among the greatest resources American democracy can rely on to keep it strong, vibrant, and self-renewing. Today, those of us who appreciate teachers and teaching know there are few greater joys in this world than being able to rouse students’ curiosity about the world around them; to draw out of them the dreams and abilities that are born within them; and to help set them on a path that will lead them toward the kind of life and work that will offer both personal and professional fulfillment.

Naturally, Carnegie’s faith in education has been reflected in the mission of our Corporation. During past decades, we have sounded the clarion call for better early childhood education and care; for research about how children learn and about their cognitive development; for improved

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I am the product of my teachers who instilled in me the joy of learning
and the value of knowledge as a lifetime companion.
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middle schools; for educational television for children; and for the right of all children to receive an education of great quality, an education that will truly prepare them to be citizens and participate and succeed in our society.

The 21st century presents education with many challenges. Almost every profession now requires knowledge and an understanding of complex information, a mastery of evolving technology, and an ability to weave them together as a whole cloth. As the world changes and artificial intelligence begins to play an important role in providing additional tools, so too must schools change. At the Corporation, this imperative has taken the form of working with school systems across the country to bring about a fundamental reformation of secondary and post-secondary education, reshaping our schools into learning communities with cultures that support high expectations, inquiry, effort, persistence, and achievement for all.

Let me conclude by quoting the historian Henry Adams (1838–1918): “Teachers affect eternity. They never know where their influence ends.” Each of us bears the imprint of a teacher who has had a major influence on our lives. My first teacher was my Armenian grandmother, an illiterate peasant yet wise disciplinarian, who raised me in Tabriz, Iran, where I was born. She instructed me in the moral lessons of life and the “right way” through her sheer character, stoic tenacity, formidable dignity, individuality, and utter integrity. My life was changed thanks to a series of subsequent teachers, including a passionate and inspiring elementary school teacher and high school teachers, one of whom was educated in Prague’s famous Charles University and who instilled in me a love of history, and another, educated at British schools in Cyprus and later at Oxford, who taught me English (but not the right accent); and then of course my professors at Stanford University, who practically adopted me, helped me, and launched my career. I am the product of my teachers who instilled in me the joy of learning and the value of knowledge as a lifetime companion.

All of my teachers taught me, guided me, and assisted me in making the right choices and wise decisions. It is because of them that I was able to make the transition from being a student to becoming a teacher myself. But along the way, it became clear to me that for those in the position of guiding students, it is vital to refrain from

thinking of students as blank slates. Not at all. In fact, I subscribe to Plato’s notion of the role of teachers as those who have the great moral responsibility to draw out of students the talents and curiosity and desire to be educated that is born within them. In other words, for Plato, the role of a teacher is not to assume that students are empty vessels that need to be filled but rather to work with young people to help them learn how to learn and to think deeply and critically and in an organized way, so that ideas can turn into knowledge and knowledge may lead them to wisdom. Indeed, that is one of the most important qualities of a good teacher: to help a student uncover the abilities that he or she doesn’t even know they possess.

As president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, I feel a civic and moral obligation that we must maintain, prepare, and uphold a new generation of teachers who are dedicated to teaching all students who are entrusted to them. I firmly believe that the health of our country and the future of our democracy require that education, and the opportunities it affords, be sustained by well-educated and prepared teachers from all backgrounds. I also believe that vigorous curriculum and instructional materials must be aligned with professional learning and school- and classroom-based innovations, new technology that is revolutionizing learning, and effective family and community engagement. Let me iterate that our country and democracy cannot afford to see one-third of our students fail to receive an education. It will make a mockery of equal opportunity and of our commitment to quality of education and knowledge for all.

I would like to conclude my remarks by paying tribute and express my utter respect for our nation’s teachers. Perhaps no other field of human endeavor serves as directly and forcefully as a “flight school” for the human spirit as teaching and learning. As the visionary businessman Lee Iacocca (1924–2019) once said, “In a completely rational society, the best of us would be teachers and the rest of us would have to settle for something less.” ■

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Vartan Gregorian served as president of Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1997 until his death on April 15, 2021. This essay is a continuation of his thoughts on teaching inspired by several of his earlier speeches and essays, primary among them his Tanner Lecture, *The Real Crisis in the Classroom: How We Have Devalued Teachers* (2001).



Big Picture An aerial view of the empty schoolyard at Ulloa Elementary School on March 18, 2020, in San Francisco, California. As millions of Americans sheltered in place in an attempt to slow the spread of the coronavirus, schools across the country were closed. CREDIT: JUSTIN SULLIVAN/GETTY IMAGES

AMERICAN EDUCATION:

What We Absolutely Can and Should Be Doing

In a wide-ranging and candid policy discussion, three national education leaders — John B. King, Jr., and Margaret Spellings, both former U.S. secretaries of education, and John C. White, former state superintendent of schools in Louisiana — look at where we are ... and where we should be going

By **John B. King, Jr.**, **Margaret Spellings**, and **John C. White**

JOHN C. WHITE, PROPEL AMERICA: You're both former secretaries of education, but currently leaders of state-specific efforts. Tell us about where the education systems of those states are, broadly speaking, in the pandemic and over the last nine months.

MARGARET SPELLINGS, TEXAS 2036: I've been calling this the era of local control, where the states, for good or ill, have had the action on education. We have just had a time of really diminished federal leadership — some people love that, some people hate that. I think John and I both

were privileged to serve in administrations where we did believe the federal platform was important.

I want to give a little context. The Texas legislature meets, blessedly, 140 days every two years. So two years ago they enacted a major education reform bill that invested around 10 billion dollars in K–12 education, including a billion dollars for early childhood education. Even in Texas those are big numbers. The bill included reforms around quality teaching and research-based reading instruction and accountability, technology, an extended

school year — and these things were just on the eve of being implemented when COVID hit. So a major legislative battle we'll be fighting this session is hanging onto those resources and the reforms.

How have we fared in COVID? Not terribly well. As John and I have said many times, it has revealed gaps that we knew existed for a very long time and made them worse. In Texas our enrollment is down about 6 percent — that's about 250,000 students who now are not even enrolled, so we don't know how they're doing, let alone how we capture their learning or lack of it. We have early returns that there's significant learning loss for all students, but certainly for our low-income and minority students. I'm concerned that we've asked not too much of our kids, but too little. They are disengaged, disconnected, and it's not a good scene.

Technology — obviously we've expanded learning significantly from where we were. It's been clumsy and awkward, but we've learned a lot. Better than nothing, but we are not where we should be, and without investment our workforce in Texas will not be all it needs to be in future years.

JOHN B. KING, JR., THE EDUCATION TRUST: In many ways the story in Maryland has significant parallels. This has been an incredibly difficult period and an equity disaster. We already had very large disparities pre-COVID between the performance of our Black and Latino students and our white students, disparities based on income, and COVID has exacerbated all of that. It's the kids in our highest-needs communities that are least likely to have Internet. Their parents are the least likely to work from home so they're not in a position to support them. Most of our districts have stayed virtual for a significant part of this period, and that will have a toll in terms of lost learning but also in terms of socio-emotional well-being. We are seeing that kids need the relationships with peers and teachers at school, and being without that is very hard on kids across lines of race and income.

Before COVID, our General Assembly passed a major school funding reform, so we have some parallels with Texas. It would have directed significant additional resources to our highest-needs districts and PreK, improved teacher compensation, and created a teacher career-ladder model to strengthen the profession. We were very excited, but COVID hit, and the governor used COVID as the pretense, in my view, to veto it, a funding reform he didn't support in the first place. My expectation is that the General Assembly will override that veto in the next couple of months.*

*Indeed, on February 12, 2021, the Blueprint for Maryland's Future Act became law after the state Senate overrode Governor Hogan's veto (the House of Delegates had already voted to override the governor's veto).

I'm concerned that we've asked not too much of our kids, but too little.

— Margaret Spellings, Texas 2036

The reality now is that funding reform is the floor. We actually need *more* resources now as we think about how we address learning loss, hopefully with things like high-dosage tutoring and an extended school year. We need more investment in counselors and mental health services.

We're seeing some transformations in our economy that have made improving education even more urgent. Some jobs went away due to technology over the last decade that just aren't coming back, and that process has only accelerated due to COVID. We really need a workforce that is ready for information economy jobs and green jobs and renewable energy.

We have a very educated state in Maryland. Upwards of 45 percent of folks have an associate's degree or better, among the highest in the country. That positions us well, but if we want to continue to grow and be competitive, we've got to make sure that folks in the high-needs rural and urban parts of the state get the support they need, not just to get to college but to get through to a meaningful credential.

SPELLINGS: We envy Maryland's high completion rate since Texas numbers are in the low 30s, and we have some industries that have been particularly strained — the oil and gas industry, the refinery industry. Those carbon-based jobs are in real stress, and they'll come back only in the short run as we shift to a more carbon-neutral world.

So how do we do a much better job of connecting the supply side — largely undereducated people, especially in demographically changing states like ours — with the demand side, our employer community? We have enjoyed Texas being a magnet for talent from around the country and around the world, but we have done a much less good job of educating our own students. We have to change that.



Too many low-income students and students of color are not getting what they need to access a decent life.

— John B. King, Jr., The Education Trust

WHITE: One thing that struck me over the last four years is the absence of a sense of collective leadership. To what degree in your states are the leaders — political, business, civic, the community leaders — saying coherently that these are the priorities and we need to move forward? Or is it more like the Washington cacophony where people are still going in a million different directions?

KING: I think there's a sense that we need to do better and invest more on the career and technical education front. That's pretty broadly shared across the business community and political leaders. But there isn't the "hair on fire" feeling of urgency that we should have.

I was thinking this morning about NAEP scores — the National Assessment of Educational Progress scores. Probably 34 percent of our fourth graders are African American, and of those, 49 percent are below basic in reading. That's a disaster, but we don't have that feeling of urgency — that we should show up every day, placard in hand, chanting on the steps of the state capitol. But we should. And COVID has made the situation much more dire. I am certain that the next round of NAEP scores in 2022 will show even wider gaps based on race and income, and yet there isn't the fire about it that there once was. A challenge for the new administration is whether they can bring a sense of national urgency to these issues, like President Bush and President Obama did.

SPELLINGS: In Texas, this big reform bill created some major momentum, but only after 10 years going in the wrong direction. We had gone from 33rd nationally in

fourth grade reading to 46th, and that was a wake-up call for the state and leaders in the business community. Happily, they acted. I agree with John — the urgency isn't there now. That hair-on-fire feeling, we need to reinstate it, because the communities that were instrumental in No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top were the business community and the civil rights community, and they both have drifted for a while. We need to get that band back together around these issues of urgency and predictability.

WHITE: You've both acknowledged the positive role that Washington can play in lighting people's hair on fire. You were there in different roles for two presidents who tried to do that; then you were later in a seat to implement large pieces of those presidents' agendas. What about the forces around these leaders that shape their thinking? What is the path back to strength, making education a front-page issue versus a back-page issue?

SPELLINGS: I'm optimistic that it can happen. I'm looking at the vote count sheet from No Child Left Behind, which was 87 to 10 in the Senate, thanks to leaders like Judd Gregg and Ted Kennedy, so we can do it. Americans might not agree on much, but I think we all agree that education is the way to create successful lives and communities and a successful country. Using that bully pulpit matters a lot. I will say — probably I shouldn't — that maybe it was best that this administration did not use the bully pulpit, because I don't know what that would have been like.

WHITE: The Trump administration.



What is the path back to strength, making education a front-page issue versus a back-page issue?

— John C. White, Propel America

SPELLINGS: The Trump administration, yes. Having a national discussion around a federal role in education — frankly that is a civil rights role and always has been, whether it's the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act or Title I. Civil rights issues are the cornerstone of the federal role in education, and when we don't put muscle around those, it matters for students and it matters for our country. I think it can be invigorated. I've told education secretary Miguel Cardona that I'm optimistic and will do anything I can to be helpful to him. Every single governor is an education governor, as you know well, because of what the states spend on education, whether it's K-12 or postsecondary — and we ought to make it a national imperative again.

WHITE: In the platforms of the presidential candidates in recent elections, the political incentives to think boldly on education haven't been as present as they were in the cycles that brought both of you into the secretary role. What coalition or political path is there to get to that urgency?

SPELLINGS: The only things really discussed so far are college affordability and supports, free tuition, free college, those sorts of things. I think it's about low expectations. Whether you loved or hated No Child Left Behind or Race to the Top, we had high expectations of all our students, and that has fallen out of favor. It's an equity agenda — the idea that every single student can learn, be successful, and have a prosperous life and access to post-secondary education. I'm not sure it's as universally shared now as it once was. What's missing is the expectation that these wage and inequality gaps can and must be closed.

KING: I think President Biden and Secretary Cardona will have two big opportunities. One is that everybody knows we've got to figure out how to get schools reopened safely and we've got to address the impact of COVID on kids. That will mean a lot of new resources, which need to be weighted towards schools and communities that face the biggest challenges. If we're going to invest a lot of money in high-dosage tutoring, what should the tutoring be about? How do we make sure it addresses the reading gaps we had before COVID? How do we make sure the tutors build positive mentoring relationships with kids that will get at the socio-emotional impact this period has had on them?

There's also a conversation to be had about the digital divide and the shame that we have failed as a country to address it. There are still kids doing schoolwork on their mom's cell phone and trading it back and forth with their siblings. That's an embarrassment. We could have had a device and Internet access for every kid at the beginning of this period and we failed to do it. In short, there will be more money — how much is not known yet, but there will be more money for COVID relief and that's an opportunity.

Then there's a second opportunity around infrastructure. It does feel like there really may be bipartisan cooperation. An infrastructure bill that includes big public works projects would require preparing young people for the building trades. A package that includes big investments in green jobs — we'll have to train young people for that. You can see cybersecurity featuring in it, and goodness

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Too often I think we fight over "do we have money or do we have accountability?" — when we actually need both. This is Margaret's signature phrase, right? Reform plus resources equals results.

— John B. King, Jr., The Education Trust

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knows we need more young people trained for those jobs. There could be a conversation about better alignment of K-12, higher ed, and the workforce to execute that infrastructure agenda.

SPELLINGS: I read the executive order on schools from President Biden and I couldn't have written it better myself. It was all the things that we absolutely can and should be doing. Convening our best researchers at the Institute of Education Sciences on what we're learning, getting with Health and Human Services on best practices and providing that as guidance to our schools and communities. It's absolutely the right thing, and I agree with every word, and I hope they'll hurry up.

WHITE: I feel like I'm getting real optimism here! It sounds like you all feel a good band is coming to town, and that the pandemic, as horrible as it has been in so many ways, potentially could dislodge some of the stasis in education policymaking.

SPELLINGS: Absolutely. Our challenge will be building on John's point about more resources. There's going to be a lot of money sloshing around and our job is to make sure we don't squander it. If we had all the money in the world, which we do not have all the money in the world, but plenty, how would we spend it? What are the most high-leverage things to do at this moment? I think it's a great opportunity and I'm excited about it.

KING: I think that's exactly right. And for a good example, Governor Haslam in Tennessee launched the Tennessee Tutoring Corps last summer where college students did intensive tutoring with younger students focusing on reading. Then they actually evaluated it. They learned what worked and what didn't and now they're going to scale the program, with some tweaks based on what they learned. He and I agreed that if there's a big federal investment in tutoring, there needs to be a set of guardrails, basing it on evidence-based practices, with an evaluation component to know what works. Too often

I think we fight over "do we have money or do we have accountability?" — when we actually need both. This is Margaret's signature phrase, right? Reform plus resources equals results.

SPELLINGS: Amen!

WHITE: A missing piece is where the capacity exists to take resources and motivation and inspiration from federal regulations and translate it into coherent high-impact planning on the ground. I think you'd be hard-pressed to find many examples of where Cares Act funding was either notably high-impact or transformative, for instance.

SPELLINGS: That's why it was such a lost opportunity with the previous administration, because you can aggregate and learn from and research those activities on the ground, like the one in Tennessee. Frankly, these things are embodied in Biden's executive order. Secretary Cardona should immediately gather the best thinkers, the best researchers in mental health, in space usage and technology, and in reading and closing gaps. When you get those experts together you can glean and learn and proliferate, as opposed to having to make it up every day.

WHITE: Agreed. So what happens to the last generation of education reforms when we're talking about new issues — infrastructure, student loan debt, getting kids back to school, and supporting students in acute states of need because of COVID? For the last 25 years we've been talking about other things — accountability and measurement, intervention at the school level, school choice, and market reforms. None of those things are going away, so in a world where we're turning to a new agenda, what happens to the old agenda?

KING: I'd like to think we could weave them together. One challenge in setting college- and career-ready standards has been helping students catch up who are behind. Now we're going to have a huge national effort to help students catch up and hopefully accelerate, so that should be an opportunity for some learning that would strengthen our approach to math and all instruction generally.

Some high-performing charters and some district schools did some creative things to navigate COVID and we ought to learn from them. Some schools deployed teachers differently so that, for example, the teacher who's the superstar presenter of the mini-lesson does that for more kids, which frees up her colleagues to provide intensive support in small groups or to give more feedback on student work. We should learn from that. I think we can blend some of the things we've learned over the last 25 years with new things to meet the current challenges.

SPELLINGS: I think there's a 2.0 version of the issues you raised, John. For example, we've all labored around

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— Margaret Spellings, Texas 2036



standardized assessment and accountability and transparency, and those things are still important in a virtual world, a tech-based world. It'll be accelerated by COVID and these investments. How do we embed assessment in tech-based programs so there's quicker feedback? Parents are more aware now of where their students are in their learning. When you're sitting with your child on a cell phone, you can understand that they don't read very well, even though they got a B on their report card. How do we engage parents to be more actively involved in student learning? We've seen the importance of connecting with adults and peers, not only for mental health but for deploying personnel in smarter ways. I think that's a 2.0 version of this old issue.

Another favorite is how are we going to use time? We've now blown open and extended the year, extended the day, proliferating high-quality curriculum through technology. Those are the 2.0 issues of those same old bedrock issues — measurement, accountability, high-quality curriculum, and high-quality teachers, but shaped and formed in a more modern way.

WHITE: It's fair to say that No Child Left Behind and its predecessor legislation ushered in an era of standardization. But now the moment has blown our education system into 25 million little homes across the country. Standardization and uniformity are in smithereens. Will we ever get back to standard assessment in the way it was before the pandemic? Should we get back to it?

SPELLINGS: I think a little of both. We absolutely have to get back to assessment, although obviously we'll have a

temporary hiatus on school ratings and all of that — that's right and proper. But we have seen before what happens when we don't care enough to find out. When everybody is using their own measurements, sending their own invalid measures, we know who suffers.

I do think we'll see much more innovation and thousands of different models for use of time, use of people, use of technology. But that's a winning combination: bedrock, uniform, standardized, valid, reliable assessment coupled with a proliferation of lots of innovation.

KING: I agree. The underlying rationale behind assessment systems remains. But we are still going to be grappling with the fact that too many low-income students and students of color are not getting what they need to access a decent life. Whether people are accountability hawks or in denial about the need, the reality is that we have all these young people who aren't being equipped with what they need, and as a society we have a moral responsibility to do something about that.

WHITE: Well said. I'm going to pivot now to a different subject, higher education. Is there an emerging higher education reform analogous to the K-12 movement? And will the pending renewal of the Higher Education Act be as cataclysmic, given the greater role the federal government plays in that system?

SPELLINGS: I think a coherent higher education reform agenda is happening in the private sector, in the employer community, and it is amazingly innovative. Whether it's Amazon training high-skilled tech workers or employers

The moment has blown our education system into 25 million little homes across the country. Standardization and uniformity are in smithereens.

— John C. White, Propel America

doing it here in Texas, they're addressing employability and postsecondary credentials, but not necessarily at a flagship university or a private university. We're seeing an opening of the academy to the idea that you can get postsecondary learning in lots of places. It may or may not lead to a job, and we're eventually going to do a much better job of knitting together the employer demand side and the worker supply side. A million and a half Texans lost their jobs in COVID and they're slowly scratching their way back, seeking and finding enhanced skill development in all manner of places. I'm excited about it and it'll be a motivator for policymakers, because as you know the federal role in education is largely about money and supports and Pell Grant rates and whatnot, and it's not terribly strategic. I'm excited that this is emerging as a new frontier, and at the state level as well. We just can't afford to do higher ed like we've been doing it.

KING: This is another place where I see a big opportunity for the new administration. President Biden talked during the campaign about doubling the Pell Grants. I think that's great. But also how do we create a more muscular federal policy around outcomes? Do we find ways to reward the institutions that do the best job serving the highest-need students in getting them to a degree, a meaningful credential, and a good job? Do we exclude from Pell Grant access the institutions that chronically underserve students, where students start but don't finish, don't get meaningful credentials, aren't able to get good jobs? Do we try to make up for the horrible history of underinvestment in our HBCUs? We then have to link that to a vision of how we improve degree completion at the most struggling institutions. Let's give the resources, yes, and then let's invest in strategies like better advising and wraparound supports and prerequisite courses and other things that we know will help improve outcomes. That's a big opportunity. I hope the administration will seize it.

WHITE: You both talked about the civil rights role of the federal government and noted that the federal power in higher education is its checkbook. That checkbook now

subsidizes the system that rewards conventional degrees, but credible studies are finding that the use of the bachelor's degree as a sorting mechanism continues social stratification. It has the effect of reducing upward mobility, of promoting systemic racism and other forms of bias. And yet I don't see right now a credible response to that civil rights issue from the alternative-credentials movement. What is the civil rights argument in higher education?

KING: There's the idea of stackable credentials, where you create the opportunity to secure a credential that helps you get a job today, but with credits and transferability to do something different later on. I may take a job as a solar panel installation expert today but in three years, if I want to become a manager, I can use those credits to get that bachelor's degree, or more. Creating that kind of flexibility could be a way to thread the needle.

The second thing is that the institutions best positioned to help us work through this are the ones we starve of resources. Community colleges can be the lynchpin of a credential system, a pathway for first-gen students and low-income students and students of color and returning adults to get onto a four-year degree path. In most states we spend a ton on the flagship universities where the affluent students go and dramatically less on the community colleges, even though they are the key engines of social mobility. Again, this is an opportunity where the federal government could say "We're going to give you new money, but you — the state — have to show us you're going to put resources into your community colleges."

SPELLINGS: That's also true of our HBCUs — Historically Black Colleges and Universities — and our comprehensive universities like my alma mater, the University of Houston, and public universities in our central cities. We have our incentives wrong in postsecondary education. We really need to think about what is our objective in producing human capital as a strategic asset for our state and nation and how are we going to invest around that and we have not done that in higher education. We've come a lot closer to thinking about our strategy and our plan in K-12, at least we've had those discussions. We've virtually had none of that in higher education, so it's time.

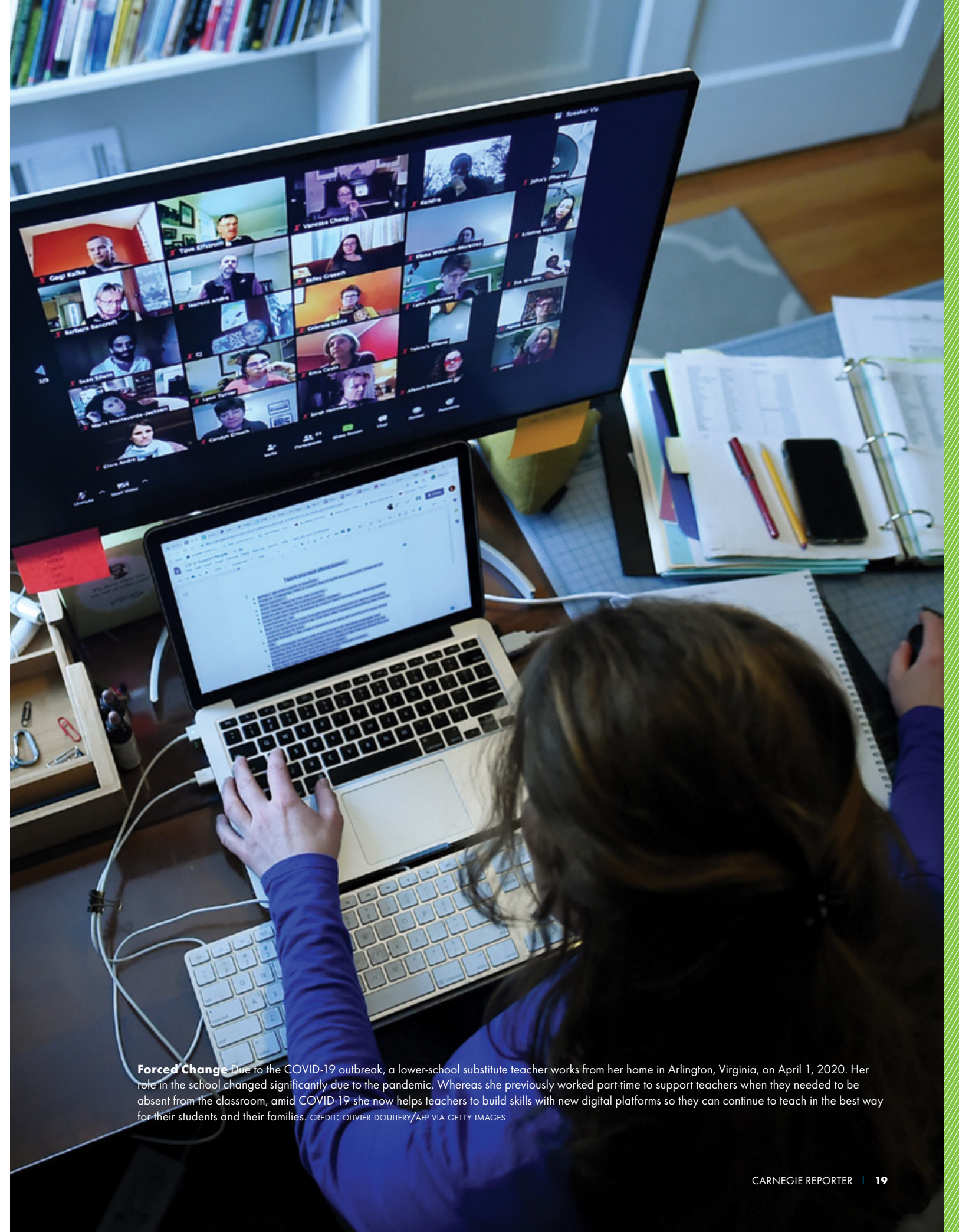
WHITE: It seems like another opportunity for leadership from Washington, but also from those who have something to say about what happens in Washington — like the two of you, who have made this such an interesting conversation. ■

John B. King, Jr., former U.S. secretary of education (2016-17), is president and CEO of the Education Trust. **Margaret Spellings**, former U.S. secretary of education (2005-9), is the president and CEO of Texas 2036. **John C. White**, former Louisiana state superintendent of education (2012-20), is cofounder and chair of the board of Propel America. This Carnegie Conversation, which was recorded via Zoom on January 22, 2021, has been edited for clarity and length.

Transforming Education for a Rapidly Changing World

The vice president of the Corporation's National Program argues that to achieve equity, rigor, and relevance, practically everyone who plays a part in education must learn to act in new ways

By **LaVerne Evans Srinivasan**



Forced Change Due to the COVID-19 outbreak, a lower-school substitute teacher works from her home in Arlington, Virginia, on April 1, 2020. Her role in the school changed significantly due to the pandemic. Whereas she previously worked part-time to support teachers when they needed to be absent from the classroom, amid COVID-19 she now helps teachers to build skills with new digital platforms so they can continue to teach in the best way for their students and their families. CREDIT: OLIVIER DOULIERY/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

At no point in our nation's history have we asked so much of our education system as we do today. We ask that our primary and secondary schools prepare all students, regardless of background, for a lifetime of learning. We ask that teachers guide every child toward deeper understanding while simultaneously attending to their social-emotional development. And we ask that our institutions of higher learning serve students with a far broader range of life circumstances than ever before.

We ask these things of education because the future we aspire to requires it. The nature of work and civic participation is evolving at an unprecedented rate. Advances in automation, artificial intelligence, and social media are driving rapid changes in how we interact with each other and what skills hold value. In the world our children will inherit, their ability to adapt, think critically, and work effectively with others will be essential for both their own success and the well-being of society.

At Carnegie Corporation of New York, we focus on supporting people who are in a position to meet this challenge. That includes the full spectrum of educators, administrators, family members, and others who shape young people's learning experiences as they progress toward and into adulthood. Our mission is to empower all students with the tools, systems, knowledge, and mindsets to prepare them to fully participate in the global economy and in a robust democracy.

All of our work is geared toward transforming student learning. The knowledge, skills, and dispositions required for success today call for a vastly different set of learning experiences than may have sufficed in the past. Students must play a more active role in their own learning, and that learning must encompass more than subject-matter knowledge. Preparing all children for success requires greater attention to inclusiveness in the classroom, differentiation in teaching and learning, and universal high expectations.

This transformation needs to happen in higher education as well. A high school education is no longer enough to ensure financial security. We need more high-quality postsecondary options, better guidance for students as they transition beyond high school, and sufficient supports to enable all students to complete their postsecondary programs. Preparing students for lifelong success requires stronger connections between K-12, higher education, and work.

The need for such transformation has become all the more urgent in the face of COVID-19. As with past economic crises, the downturn resulting from the pandemic is likely to accelerate the erosion of opportunities for low-skilled workers with only a high school education. Investments in innovative learning models and student supports are critical to preventing further inequities in learning outcomes.

Our mission is to empower all students with the tools, systems, knowledge, and mindsets to prepare them to fully participate in the global economy and in a robust democracy.

An Urgent Call for Advancing Equity

The 2020-21 school year may prove to be the most consequential in American history. With unfathomable speed, COVID-19 has forced more change in how schools operate than in the previous half century.

What is most concerning in all of this is the impact on the most underserved and historically marginalized in our society: low-income children and students of color. Even before the current crisis, the future prospects of a young person today looked very different depending on the color of her skin and the zip code in which she grew up, but the pandemic exposed and exacerbated long-standing racial and economic inequities. And the same families who are faring worst in terms of disrupted schooling are bearing the brunt of the economic downturn and disproportionately getting sick, being hospitalized, and dying.

Every organization that is committed to educational improvement needs to ask itself what it can do differently to further advance the cause of educational equity during this continuing crisis so that we can make lasting improvements. As we know from past experience, if the goal of equity is not kept front and center, those who are already behind through no fault of their own will benefit the least. If ever there were a time to heed this caution, it is now.

We hope that our nation will approach education with a new sense of purpose and a shared commitment to ensuring that our schools truly work for every child. Whether or not that happens will depend on our resolve and our actions in the coming months. We have the proof points and know-how to transform learning, bolster instruction, and meet the needs of our most disadvantaged students. What has changed is the urgency for doing so at scale.

Our starting place must be a vision of equal opportunity, and from there we must create the conditions that can

FUTURE OF LEARNING AND WORK

Over the past few years, Carnegie Corporation of New York has been focused on working to better serve the cradle-to-career needs of our nation's young people. We've identified a need to strengthen opportunities for students to connect with the world of work even before graduating from high school and to expand the range of educational pathways available to them afterward.

But the pandemic-related crisis has broadened the scope of our thinking: What changes to our system are needed to support long-term success for all adults?

We have partnered with Gallup on two surveys to understand the kinds of solutions that Americans want to see. Both surveys are designed to offer insights into the concerns, hopes, and pragmatic needs of those who look to the American education system to help them navigate job and career choices.

Back to Work: Listening to Americans, released in February, solicits Americans' views of the most important issues facing the nation amid COVID-19; of support for a plan that provides jobs, education, and training; and of high-priority areas to address with a national jobs recovery program. The survey provides important insights about what is required to confront this immediate crisis, and it also suggests that we need a much more dynamic education system that supports lifelong learning and skills development.

The survey surfaces strong bipartisan support for a national jobs recovery program that would put people back to work, addressing national and community needs while helping individuals build skills for future employment. Ninety-three percent of respondents favored a national work and job training program, including 98 percent of Democrats and 87 percent of Republicans.

It was no surprise to see health care and the economy emerge as the top issues facing our country right now, but one thing we are thinking about is what is needed to address those needs over the long-term.

We were glad to see that the American public understands the urgency of addressing learning loss — a vast majority of survey respondents identifies it as a top priority for the nation. It is a critical national problem. A recent study estimates that students have lost between two and six months of learning in reading, and between five and eight months of learning in math. Another estimates that reduced education from school closures will cost students between four and five percent of lifetime earnings.

And when we look at the most vulnerable young people, the toll is even greater.

One of the findings that we were most excited about in the survey was the strong, bipartisan support for programs that combine paid work and learning. There is a large body of research showing that this approach is the best way to prepare people for long-term success, but this survey shows that it's also a commonsense idea: Americans understand that, and they want these kinds of opportunities. We need to create more of them.

The best way to grow the economy is to invest in people — and that includes a heavy focus on programs that allow employees to earn and learn. I hope employers take that message to heart when thinking about the kinds of workforce development programs they create within their organizations. It is in their interests to cultivate the capacity of the American workforce, so that they have the talent they need for their companies to thrive, which will in turn strengthen the broader economy.

This crisis has made it impossible to miss the fact that our schools, communities, and broader economy are inextricably linked. We are seeing schools distributing food to families. And while we know that schools provide much more than childcare, we see the impact on families' ability to work when their children are unable to attend school in person. We also see that students need high-speed broadband to learn.

These issues are all connected, which means that a program that addresses these priorities and puts people back to work will have something of a multiplier effect in the benefits it brings to our society. It's going to take a partnership involving leaders from government, education, and the private sector to make that happen. — **LaVerne Evans Srinivasan**

Among the findings of *Back to Work: Listening to Americans*, a survey by Gallup and Carnegie Corporation of New York:

- 76%** of Americans say a weak economy and job loss are the most urgent concerns facing the nation.
- 93%** "strongly favor" or "favor" a national program that would provide paid work and job training opportunities.
- 64%** say they would support such a program because it would promote long-term economic growth by putting people back to work and helping them build skills for future jobs.
- 62%** say that pairing paid work with education or training opportunities is the best way to prepare people for future jobs.
- 65%** identify addressing the impact of lost learning for K-12 students due to COVID-19 as a top priority for the nation to address.

A second survey by Gallup and Carnegie Corporation of New York, *Family Voices: Building Pathways from Learning to Meaningful Work*, will offer further insights from Americans about the opportunities families want for their children and the postsecondary pathways available to them. To learn more, visit carnegie.org/learningwork.

Students were expected to return to school in fall 2020 with significant learning loss — up to **30%** in reading skills and over **50%** in math, especially among Black and Latino students.

"Why the Pandemic Presents a Rare Opening for Improving the Way We Educate Kids," October 2020, Carnegie Corporation of New York

In May 2020, only **9%** of teachers reported that their classrooms' daily attendance was above **90%**.

Voices from the Classroom 2021: A Survey of America's Educators, February 2021, Educators for Excellence

At the end of August, **40%** of all families worried they would not have enough food to feed their families within the next month.

Voices from the Classroom 2021: A Survey of America's Educators, February 2021, Educators for Excellence

4 in 10 teachers claim technology or reliable Internet access and limited access to a conducive learning environment have been "very serious" obstacles for their students.

Voices from the Classroom 2021: A Survey of America's Educators, February 2021, Educators for Excellence

In 2020, **67%** of parents said they felt more connected with their child's day-to-day education than ever before, and **70%** wanted to know more about lessons their children had missed and how their schools planned to recover that lost ground.

"Why the Pandemic Presents a Rare Opening for Improving the Way We Educate Kids," October 2020, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Just **41%** of principals and **33%** of teachers report the availability of supports for the transition from high school to college.

Moving the College Access Needle for the New Majority, February 2021, National College Attainment Network

About **30%** of Black workers and **20%** of Latinx workers hold bachelor's degrees, compared with **44%** of white workers.

Reimagining College and Career Transitions under COVID-19, December 2020, Carnegie Corporation of New York

In the last quarter of 2019, the median earnings of white workers were **28%** higher than those of Black workers and more than **35%** higher than those of Latinx workers.

Reimagining College and Career Transitions under COVID-19, December 2020, Carnegie Corporation of New York

At no point in our nation's history have we asked so much of our education system as we do today. We ask these things of education because the future we aspire to requires it.

actually ensure it — irrespective of how different they may look from the ones we now have. We need to reimagine the systems that shape student learning and put the communities whose circumstances we most need to elevate at the center of that process. We need to recognize that we will not improve student outcomes without building the capacity of the adults who work with them, supporting them with high-quality resources and meaningful opportunities for collaboration and professional growth. We need to promote stronger connections between K–12, higher education, and employment so that all students are prepared for lifelong success.

The pandemic has deepened inequities that threaten students' prospects. But if we seize this moment and learn from it, if we marshal the necessary resources, we have the potential to transform our education system from one characterized by uneven and unjust results to one that puts *all* students on a path to bright futures.

We Must Learn to Act in New Ways

These are not controversial ideas. In fact, they constitute the general consensus about where American education needs to go. But they also represent a tall order for the people who influence the system. Practically everyone who plays a part in education must learn to act in new ways.

That we have made progress in such areas as high school completion, college-going rates, and the adoption of college- and career-ready standards is a testament to the commitment of those working in the field. But it will take more than commitment to achieve the changes in student learning that our times demand. We can't expect individuals to figure out what they need to do on their own, nor should we be surprised if they struggle to do so when working in institutional structures designed to produce

Our starting place must be a vision of equal opportunity, and from there we must create the conditions that can actually ensure it — irrespective of how different they may look from the ones we now have.

— **LaVerne Evans Srinivasan**

Vice President, National Program, and Program Director, Education

different outcomes. The transformation we seek calls for much greater coordination and a broader set of allies than would suffice for more incremental changes.

Our best hope for achieving equity and the transformation of student learning is to enhance adults' ability to contribute to that learning. That means building their capacity while supporting their authentic engagement in promoting a high-quality education for every child. It also means ensuring that people operate within systems that are optimized to support their effectiveness and that a growing body of knowledge informs their efforts.

These notions comprise our overarching strategy for promoting the systems change needed to transform student learning experiences on a large scale. We seek to enhance adult capacity and stakeholder engagement in the service of ensuring that all students are prepared to meet the demands of the 21st century. We also support knowledge development and organizational improvement to the extent that investments in these areas enhance adult capacity, stakeholder engagement, and student experiences.

Five Ways We Invest in the Future of Students

These views on how best to promote systems change in education guide our philanthropic work. The strategic areas of change we focus on are major themes throughout our five investment portfolios. Although they are managed separately and support different types of initiatives, each seeks to address its area of focus from multiple angles. A single portfolio may include grants that build adult capacity, enhance stakeholder engagement, and generate new knowledge.

New Designs to Advance Learning

Preparing all students for success requires that we fundamentally reimagine our nation's schools and classrooms. Our public education system needs to catch up with how the world is evolving and with what we've come to understand about how people learn. That means attending to a broader diversity of learning styles and bringing what happens in school into greater alignment with what happens in the worlds of work and civic life. We make investments to increase the number of innovative learning models that support personalized experiences, academic mastery, and positive youth development. We also make investments that build the capacity of districts and intermediaries to improve learning experiences for all students as well as grants to investigate relevant issues of policy and practice.

Pathways to Postsecondary Success

Lifelong success in the United States has never been more dependent on educational attainment than it is today. Completing some education beyond the 12th grade

has virtually become a necessity for financial security and meaningful work. But for that possibility to exist for everyone, we need to address the historical barriers that keep many students from pursuing and completing a postsecondary program, and we must strengthen the options available to all students for education after high school. Through our investments, we seek to increase the number of young people able to access and complete a postsecondary program, with a major focus on removing historical barriers for students who are first-generation college-goers, low-income, or from underrepresented groups. We also look to expand the range of high-quality postsecondary options and to strengthen alignment between K–12, higher education, and the world of work.

Leadership and Teaching to Advance Learning

At its core, learning is about the interplay between teachers, students, and content. How teachers and students engage with each other and with their curriculum plays a predominant role in determining what students learn and how well they learn it. That's not to say that factors outside of school don't also greatly impact student learning. But the research is clear that among the factors a school might control, nothing outweighs the teaching that students experience. We focus on supporting educators in implementing rigorous college- and career-ready standards in math, science, and English language arts. We make investments to increase the supply of and demand for high-quality curricular materials and professional learning experiences for teachers and administrators.

Public Understanding

As central as they are to the education process, school professionals are hardly the only people with a critical role to play in student learning. Students spend far more time with family and other community members than they do at school. And numerous stakeholders outside of the education system have the potential to strengthen and shape what happens within it. The success of our nation's schools depends on far more individuals than are employed by them. We invest in efforts to engage families and other stakeholders as active partners in supporting equitable access to high-quality student learning. We also support media organizations and policy research groups in building awareness about key issues related to educational equity and improvement.

Integration, Learning, and Innovation

Those of us who work for change in education need a new set of habits to achieve our vision of 21st-century learning. It will take more than a factory-model mindset to transform our education system into one that prepares all learners for an increasingly complex world. We must approach this task with flexibility, empathy for the people involved, and an understanding of how to learn from what's working and what's not. We work to reduce the fragmentation, inefficiencies, and missteps that often result when educational improvement strategies are

pursued in isolation and without an understanding of the contexts in which they are implemented. Through grants and other activities, we build the capacity of people working in educational organizations to change how they work by emphasizing systems and design thinking, iteration, and knowledge sharing within and across organizations.

Join Us in This Ambitious Endeavor

Our approach of supporting multiple stakeholders by pulling multiple levers is informed by our deep understanding of the system we're trying to move. American education is a massive, diverse, and highly decentralized enterprise. There is no mechanism by which we might affect more than superficial change in many thousands of communities. The type of change that is needed cannot come from compliance alone. It requires that everyone grapple with new ideas.

We know from our history of promoting large-scale improvements in American education that advancements won't happen overnight or as the result of one kind of initiative. Our vision for 21st-century education will require more than quick wins and isolated successes. Innovation is essential, and a major thrust of our work involves the incubation and dissemination of new models, resources, and exemplars. But we must also learn to move forward with the empathy, flexibility, and systems thinking needed to support people in making the transition. Novel solutions only help if they can be successfully implemented in different contexts.

Only a sustained and concerted effort will shift the center of gravity of a social enterprise that involves millions of adults and many tens of millions of young people. The challenge of philanthropy is to effect widespread social change with limited resources and without formal authority. This takes more than grantmaking. At the Corporation, we convene, communicate, and form coalitions. We provide thought leadership, issue challenges, and launch new initiatives. Through these multifaceted activities, we maximize our ability to forge, share, and put into practice powerful new ideas that build a foundation for more substantial changes in the future.

We encourage everyone who plays a role in education to join us in this work. Our strategy represents more than our priorities as a grantmaker. It conveys our strong beliefs about how to get American education to where it needs to be. The more organizations and individuals we have supporting those who are working to provide students with what they need, the more likely we are to succeed in this ambitious endeavor. ■

LaVerne Evans Srinivasan is the vice president of Carnegie Corporation of New York's National Program and the program director for Education.

CARNEGIE INSIGHTS: DATA FOR INFORMED ACTION

Families pay more for childcare than for mortgages in **35** states and only **10%** of childcare programs in this country are considered high quality.

Investing in the Birth-to-Three Workforce, January 2020, Bank Street College of Education

Major industrial development goes where there are good teachers. Economic development prospects never ask about the college of education, but **100%** ask about the quality of the schools.

How Do Teacher Preparation Programs Affect a State's Economy? What State Policymakers Need to Know, September 2020, Carnegie Corporation of New York

More effective teachers can add as much as **\$10,600** in earnings over the lifetime of an average worker, according to Stanford University's Hoover Institution.

How Do Teacher Preparation Programs Affect a State's Economy? What State Policymakers Need to Know, September 2020, Carnegie Corporation of New York

When teachers participated in curriculum-based professional learning, their students' test scores improved by **9%** of a standard deviation — about the same effect caused by replacing an average teacher with a top performer or reducing class size by **15%**.

The Elements: Transforming Teaching through Curriculum-Based Professional Learning, November 2020, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Just **37%** of teachers claim to receive training that enables them to implement their curricula effectively.

Voices from the Classroom 2021: A Survey of America's Educators, February 2021, Educators for Excellence

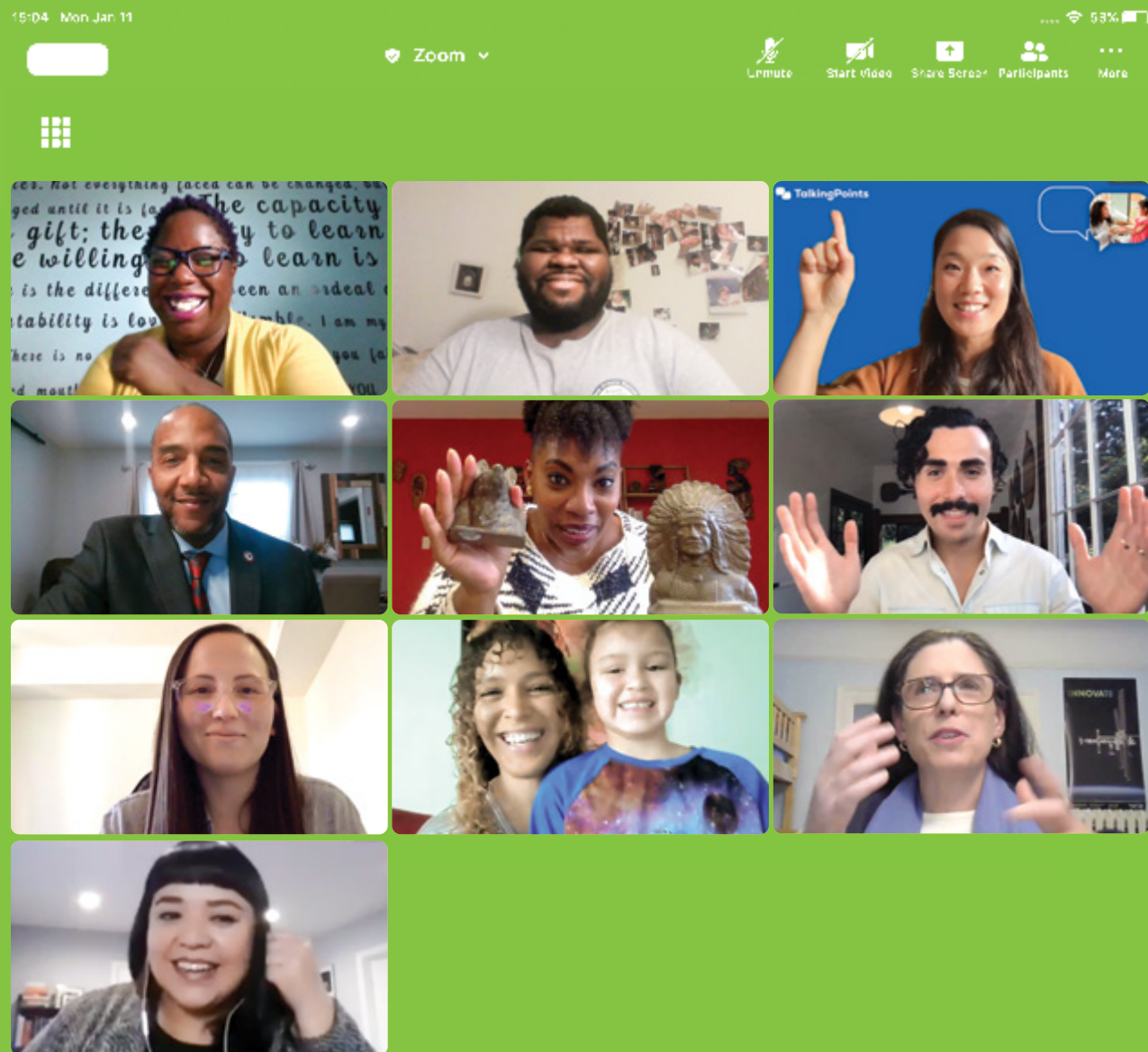
More than **9** in **10** Americans (**93%**) — including **98%** of Democrats and **87%** of Republicans — say they favor a national initiative that creates paid work and job training opportunities as a component of COVID-19 economic recovery efforts.

Back to Work: Listening to Americans, February 2021, Gallup/Carnegie Corporation of New York Survey

65% of Americans identified addressing the impact of lost learning for K–12 students due to COVID-19 as a high priority in a possible jobs-and-training program.

Back to Work: Listening to Americans, February 2021, Gallup/Carnegie Corporation of New York Survey

ALL IN THE FAMILY



Making education work better for everyone is a team effort — especially during a time when teachers, schools, students, and parents have experienced firsthand during the pandemic how they must work together to overcome challenges. Families — and the Corporation grantees who work closely with them — are key to helping achieve lasting improvements through stronger home-school connections

Credit: **Filip Wolak Photography**

This portfolio of specially commissioned Zoom portraits captures the conditions of a particular moment, providing personal glimpses of how all of us are trying to *make it work* during a time of nearly unprecedented upheaval. Represented in the following pages are leaders and practitioners of a selection of Corporation grantees who focus on family engagement strategies: **EdNavigator**, **TalkingPoints**, **Springboard Collaborative**, and **PowerMyLearning**. Also included are parents, an after-school supervisor, a curriculum specialist, a teacher, and two senior district leaders who offer windows into what life has been like for them this past year. In the words of Elisabeth Stock, chief executive officer and cofounder of PowerMyLearning, “I think we’ve all been amazed at what we’ve been able to accomplish under very, very difficult circumstances.”

Amid lockdowns and school closures, these stories inspire and provide hope for a more united path forward. As parent Rameisha Johnson puts it, “All of us with kids who are learning virtually have been given a unique opportunity to get a daily glimpse into classroom life.” TalkingPoints’ Heejae Lim, for one, came out of 2020 feeling “cautious optimism” after witnessing the “incredible resilience and empathy being built between families, schools, and educators while learning under COVID.” These individuals are a microcosm of the many families, teachers, schools, and students who have become problem solvers and realists — and nothing if not optimistic. They believe — and they put their beliefs into practice day in, day out — that when families are empowered as true partners in their children’s education, students thrive, schools are stronger, and the whole community benefits. ■



PARENTS KNOW THEIR CHILDREN BEST

Partnering with leading businesses and community organizations in New Orleans, **EdNavigator** helps parents support and advocate for their children in school by assigning each an individual counselor — a “navigator,” like Rameisha Johnson — who works with them intensely to meet their children’s needs. EdNavigator recruits parents through their employers, meeting parents “on site” at work or wherever else is convenient for them, helping families guide their children on the path from preschool to college and career.

Rameisha “Ramie” Johnson

Manager of Navigation Operations, EdNavigator, Helicopter Parent

“**A**t EdNavigator we want schools to understand that we’re not there to be punitive. We’re not there to point fingers, but we are there to make sure our families are getting the information and the support that they need. We believe our parents are very knowledgeable about their children, and they know what is best for them. We try to make sure that they’re able to voice their concerns. We’re also there to prevent teachers and other school staff from talking over them.

I always said I was a helicopter parent who became a drone — and this pandemic almost turned me back into a helicopter parent. All of us with kids who are learning virtually have been given a unique opportunity to get a daily glimpse into classroom life. I learned that my daughter needs a very different learning cycle than other kids. When we were in school, and a teacher had to talk to you, they said ‘Hey Ramie, could you stay with me after school for five minutes?’ I don’t see that happening for my daughter. So, I’m hovering a little more closely over her work, maybe peeking into her Google classroom and saying, ‘Hey, Mr. Johnson, I noticed that she didn’t get feedback on this.’ I haven’t figured out if that’s a positive or a negative thing, but I want her — just like I want all families — to be able to get a robust and rigorous education even though she’s learning at home.

"MY FAMILY'S ALWAYS ON MY MIND"

Shot in front of a wall adorned with an array of family photographs, Nathaniel talked about his daughter and how she wasn't getting everything she needed – and was supposed to have – until his **EdNavigator** navigator, Rameisha "Ramie" Johnson, came on the scene.

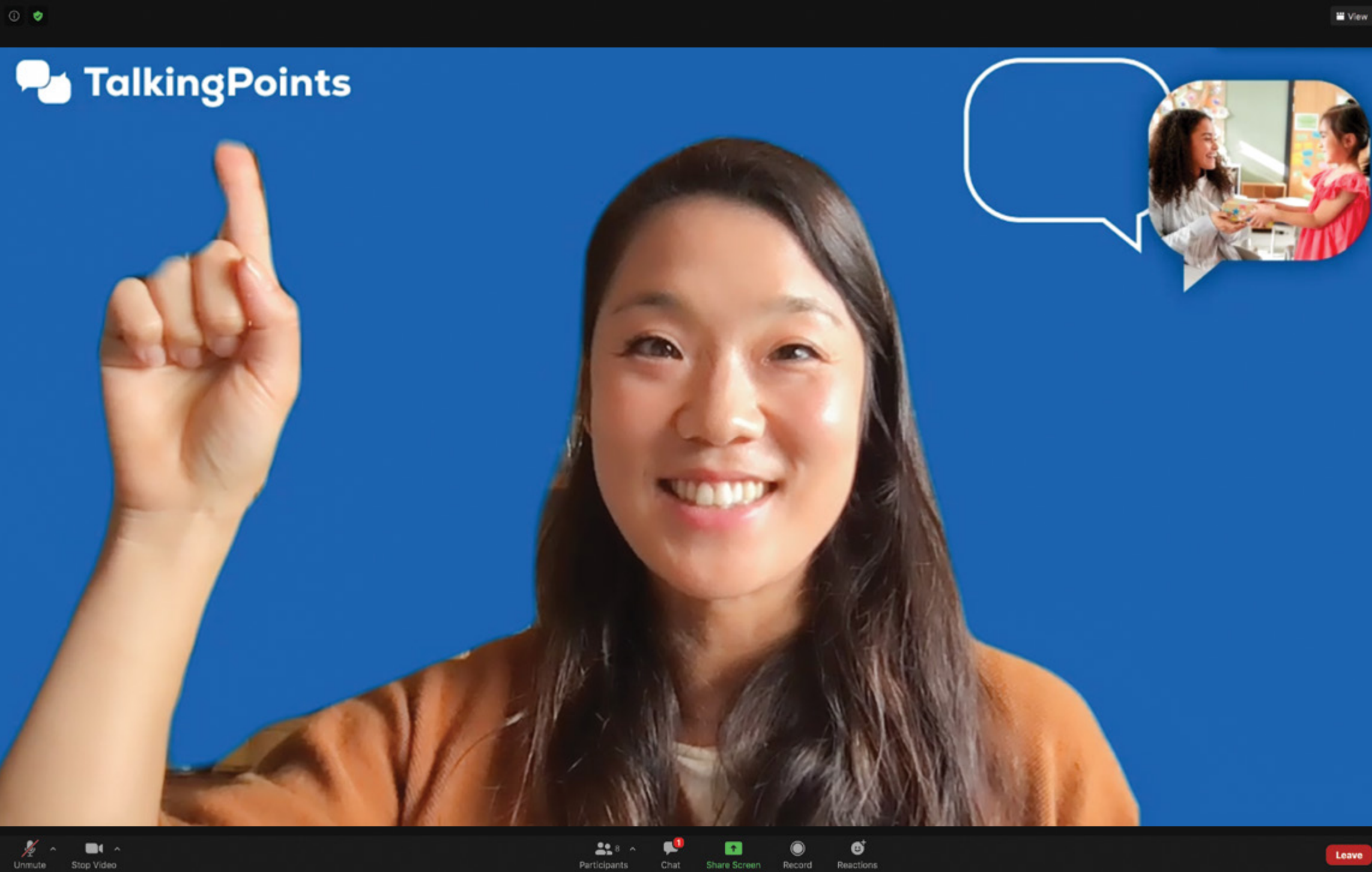
Nathaniel Royal

EdNavigator Parent, Photo Wall Enthusiast

“When I had meetings with the school it was often because Ramie noticed something in my daughter's report card that I hadn't noticed. This was very helpful. At that time, I was working 16-hour days, and her mother was working a lot of hours too. We didn't look at her grades unless the teachers said something – and sometimes they didn't.

In 2018, my daughter was making all Cs, but then she had a final test – and she got an A on it. Ramie looked at that and said, 'This seems suspect.' So, we dived into it. Turned out, it was almost like 'busy work,' and it brought my daughter's grade up. That made me upset, and we expressed that to the teacher. We didn't want my daughter's success falsified. Ramie helped me pick out what the real work was versus the busy work. She helped me understand when schools kind of ... finesse the system to just pass your child along. That hurts her in the long term. Before I trusted that the school was giving her proper feedback, telling us if something was wrong. But that wasn't always the case. Now I'm more focused on her work and her grades. We communicate with her teacher more. Now that she's remote, at times I'm in the room listening to the teacher, and I think, 'That doesn't make sense.' Or I push my daughter to answer a question if I think she's being quiet. This experience has got me more focused on what the school system is actually doing.





HER MOM LED THE WAY

Communicating with families in their home languages to build strong relationships throughout the year, **TalkingPoints** centers its vision for family engagement around the belief that strong family-school partnerships are critical to student learning.

Heejae Lim

Korean Born, U.K./U.S. Educated, TalkingPoints Founder and CEO

“**W**hen I was eight, my family moved to England from Korea. I attended a local public elementary school outside of London in a very Korean immigrant-heavy suburb. My mom became kind of the de facto parent leader in the school, despite the fact that she was extremely shy. Parents crowded around her when she came to pick up my sister and me from school. They asked all sorts of questions. ‘When is homework due?’ ‘Where are they going on the field trip?’ ‘Is there anything that I can do to support my child at home?’ All of that had a great impression on me growing up. In fact, my personal experience is borne out by academic research that family engagement has a huge impact on student success. That is my mission with TalkingPoints: to duplicate what I learned — by watching my mom as a kid — across millions of underresourced multilingual students in the U.S.

When COVID-19 hit, we made sure that educators and school systems that needed us could get to us. We opened up our TalkingPoints platform for Title One schools and districts at no cost — and between March and December of last year, we grew from serving about half a million to more than three million families in the U.S. I came out of 2020 with a cautious optimism. I witnessed incredible resilience and empathy being built between families, schools, and educators while learning under COVID. Every parent had to become a teacher in one way or another. And teachers who are parents had to play a double role. Above all, this year reinforced my belief that a parent or family member’s love for their children is such an incredible — although often untapped — resource.

A CREDIT TO OUR MOTHERS AND FATHERS

Two senior administrators from the Boston Public Schools district, who both work closely with Corporation grantee **TalkingPoints**, reflect on a school year like no other — and how their parents helped bring them to where they are today.

Allen Dowling

Director of Translation & Interpretation,
Boston Public Schools

“I am always hyperfocused on language as it relates to family engagement. As far as I’m concerned, they’re one and the same, and as a district we’ve sort of merged the two. So, when we communicate out, we communicate out in multiple languages. TalkingPoints allows us to communicate more authentically.

How did I get here? My father always said, ‘Put your money where your mouth is.’ My parents were heavily involved in my education, and I think that has contributed to my success in life. I think that’s one of the reasons I’m doing the work that I’m doing currently. The majority of my life has been in corporate America. I made the transition into education about 10 years ago. I had colleagues who said, ‘What?’ It was time for me to give back some of what my parents imparted to me to some of the young folk. My parents were so heavily involved, you would think they had worked at the school. I remember sitting at the table a lot of times doing homework, and then my mom would slide other things to me. She had her own curriculum, if you will. I had regular homework and ‘mom’s homework.’ And I think that more or less supported my growth and this mindset of ‘You have to dictate your fate.’ That’s some of what I’ve learned and what I’m imparting to these students now. Oftentimes students are in classrooms and feel that others are dictating to them. But you have to *dictate yourself*.

Monica Roberts

Chief of Student, Family & Community Advancement,
Boston Public Schools

“Families are always their child’s first teachers. TalkingPoints serves as a tool to allow them to easily engage and interact with their child’s classroom teacher. They don’t have to go to the school. They don’t have to worry about not being able to communicate in English or having to ask for an interpreter. They can — right from the comfort of their home — ask the questions that they need to ask the educators. We connect with families in ways that are respectful, dissolving some of the angst and concern they have about why we are engaging with them. This sort of outreach is powerful.

What you see behind me is a reflection of my travels. Everywhere I go, I like to collect artwork. Some are metal pieces that my father made. He used to work in a foundry, very creative. He did not go to college but was very invested in our education, and my mom was as well — which is part of why I’m in the field. My mom was the mom who would nag — the principals and everyone else. The pieces from my dad reflect the diversity of who we are and that we don’t need to be put in one box. I credit a lot of where I am to my parents.

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Allen Dowling



Monica Roberts



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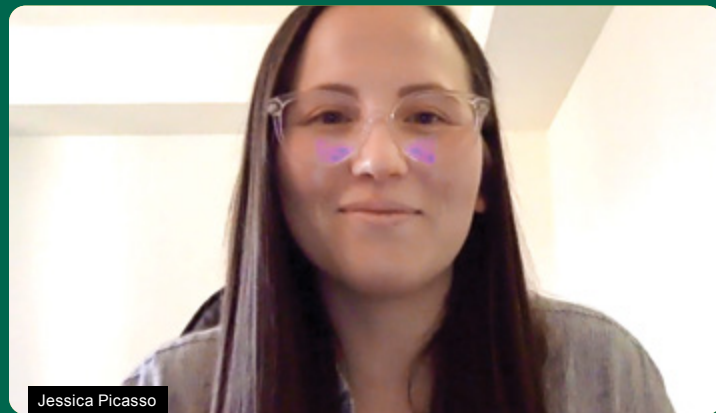
Participants



More



Alejandro Gibes de Gac



Jessica Picasso



Inez Acevedo

CLOSING THE OPPORTUNITY GAP

Springboard Collaborative closes the literacy gap by coaching teachers, training family members, and cultivating reading habits so that students have the requisite skills to access life opportunities. Parents and teachers share a game plan in order to help kids reach learning goals.

Alejandro Gibes de Gac

CEO and Founder,
Springboard Collaborative

“**G**rowing up in a home with little money, but lots of love, taught me that parents’ love for their children is the single greatest, most underutilized natural resource in education. After Harvard, I became a first-grade teacher in North Philly in a Puerto Rican neighborhood — where I easily saw myself in my students, and I saw my parents in their parents.

But pretty quickly, I became frustrated that my school was approaching parents like mine as liabilities, rather than as assets. In the COVID era, lots of kids are spending 100 percent of their waking hours outside of the classroom. If we don’t find a way to bring parents into the teaching process and capture instructional value from the time that kids are spending at home, then how are we ever going to close the achievement gap — let alone the opportunity gap? There are a lot of folks who look at me — and they see a storyteller. They don’t see an entrepreneur. And similarly, when it comes to the families in our education system, I think they’ve been left out because all too often, people don’t recognize parents’ potential.

Jessica Picasso

Kindergarten and Springboard Teacher,
Ben Painter Elementary, San Jose, CA

“**C**ommunicating with parents is not just about giving them one way for their child to improve or learn but suggesting the best way for that child to learn. Parents need to be given the tools to help their children succeed throughout their entire life. I’m with my students for such a short portion of their time, so I want to give parents as much as possible. You kind of get addicted to helping parents, to wanting that light bulb to go off — not just for the child but for the parents too. Because then they’ll realize they really can help their kids’ brains grow — continually.

Inez Acevedo

Springboard Parent and After-School
Supervisor, San Jose, CA

“**I** use Springboard with my students after school, as well as with my own daughter. The day-to-day of parenting has changed tremendously. It takes a lot of patience. I’m my daughter’s teacher/mom throughout the day. It’s hard working from home and working with her, but it’s gotten to the point where it’s now the norm and it’s become a little easier. Helping your child at home is all a matter of trial and error — and knowing your kid. We try one thing — it doesn’t work? OK, let’s move on to the next thing. Springboard has given me a lot of patience. It’s given me more respect for teachers. Nothing compares to a teacher. When it comes to homework, if I have to, I always throw in, ‘Your teacher said to do this.’

For her Zoom portrait, Inez Acevedo posed with her daughter, Tatiana Brown.



IT TAKES A VILLAGE

A national education nonprofit that advances educational equity and accelerates students' social-emotional learning and academic achievement, **PowerMyLearning** activates the "exponential power" that occurs when the trio of teachers, students, and families collaborate on the same learning goals.

Elisabeth Stock

CEO and Cofounder, PowerMyLearning

“**W**hat we need to do as a country is take the line and bend it down and connect the bottom and get a nice, beautiful triangle — so that students, families, and teachers are all connected to one another around curriculum. We need to activate that triangle.

I had a call with a bunch of other nonprofit leaders in the K–12 space. And the question that we asked ourselves was, 'If you could pick one indicator that would have predicted how well schools would fare with the building closures, what would that indicator be?' And all of us said, 'relationships.' We can't think of this as just a checkbox, we can't think of this as something that comes after everything else. How much of our energies are we spending on strengthening those relationships and those ties with parents, with students? It has to be first and foremost.

One of the things we learned during the pandemic is that you can do much more online than people thought you could do. And in fact, some of these online methods work better. Schools have actually seen an increase in family engagement because they're able to meet families where they are. Another thing we learned is just how resilient families are. Families bring so many assets to the table. We've been blown away by how much families can do. None of us thought we could do this when the lockdowns happened, and I think we've all been amazed at what we've been able to accomplish under very, very difficult circumstances.

Tanya Castro

Student and Family Services Coordinator, Camino Nuevo Charter Academy, Los Angeles, CA

“**H**ow have we pivoted with COVID? Definitely online family workshops with PowerMyLearning have been essential, especially with the pandemic and school closures. And we're still in remote learning. We tell parents that they are now the online facilitator at home for learning.

My role is to be the liaison between school and home. I ensure that family engagement practices are programmed at our school, that these connections are being made, yearly, daily, weekly. I make sure that our parents have the resources they need. I used to think families were hesitant or afraid to begin accessing different tools online. Now, I think that they're ready to learn. Parents want to learn. Our family engagement numbers have actually doubled.

A value that's important for us at Camino Nuevo Charter Academy is serving the whole child. So if there's something happening at home that will affect the student's success at school, we make sure that those needs and resources are met and then we provide those tools for our families. Now more than ever, communication is super important. Teachers are communicating constantly — and parents can respond back. We're letting parents know: 'We're here to help. We're your partners, you're not in this alone.' It takes a village.

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Elisabeth Stock



Tanya Castro





WHAT WE OWE OUR CHILDREN

Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor argues that a healthy civil society is built on a foundation of knowledge and understanding. But the responsibilities that come with citizenship are learned, not inherited

By **Sonia Sotomayor**

A few years ago, I met Milena, a high school junior who served as a student judge on Seattle's Youth Traffic Court. In this role, Milena helped first-time traffic offenders between 16 and 18 years old maintain clean driving records and avoid paying fines. I was struck by Milena's commitment to her community and understanding of the importance of civic engagement. She was acutely aware of the importance of opportunities to learn about and get involved in the workings of government, especially early on in life. As Milena explained pithily, "Withholding knowledge is injustice."

Milena's comment stuck with me, and it rings true now more than ever. A healthy civil society requires peaceful engagement, respectful discussion, and thoughtful action,

built on a foundation of knowledge and understanding. Achieving this requires investing in civic education. On this score, the current deficits our society faces are hard to ignore: for example, the National Assessment of Educational Progress found that only 24 percent of eighth graders scored at or above the civics assessment proficiency level. Such severe shortcomings in our students' education will continue to hamper them as they try to grow into active members of their communities. Overall, our civil society is weakened by these cracks in its foundation.

These deficits have special urgency in today's political climate. In one sense, many Americans are highly engaged in politics and the workings of government. Voter turnout in the most recent presidential election,

Iconic A view from the National Mall in Washington, D.C., facing the United States Capitol. CREDIT: CARTER DAYNE/GETTY IMAGES

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If the seeds of lifelong, prepared, and engaged participation are not planted in the civic education classroom, they will never grow, and our people's strong desires to be active in society will not be channeled into productive discourse and real solutions.
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for instance, reached historic levels, and political issues have galvanized people of all walks of life, in every part of the country. Even amid the isolation of the pandemic, it sometimes feels as though there is no escaping public discourse, whether through the phone, the computer, or the television. But despite this level of engagement, our civil society has shown serious strains. For instance, while most Americans believe the federal government should play a major role in important areas of policy, just 20 percent actually trust the government to do the right thing. Recent events also remind us that intense engagement alone is not enough: when improperly channeled and guided, it can be destructive and counterproductive.

Many have recognized these challenges and are working to focus national attention on civic education. For example, a cross-ideological coalition of more than 100 scholars, educators, and practitioners under the banner Educating for American Democracy recently announced a road map for reimagining civic education for the 21st century. It is a monumental effort to guide states and local school districts in transforming the way they teach civics and history to meet the needs of a diverse K–12 student body. Their work should be supported and complemented.

My Supreme Court colleague Justice Sandra Day O'Connor has been a pivotal voice in championing civic education. She founded the nonprofit, nonpartisan organization iCivics, which supports and promotes civic education across the country. I sit on its board, and it affords me the opportunity to be an ambassador for the program and to help prepare young people for their civic responsibilities. iCivics aims to make civic education more hands-on and concrete. It offers remote learning activities for educators, families, and students, including online games that allow students to step into the roles of

members of all branches of government, legal advocates, and political organizers. It also provides ready-to-use lesson plans, visual aids, and other teaching resources. Currently, iCivics supports the education of more than five million students in all 50 states, primarily in middle and high school, and extending even to higher education. For more information and access to these resources, please visit [icivics.org](https://www.icivics.org).

In my role, I pay particular attention to addressing the barriers to education for specific student populations, including those who count English as a second language. One of the ways in which iCivics reaches out to these young students is through the educational games it offers. Games are a wonderful way to make civic education more concrete and fun, and we continually strive to make them engaging and accessible. For instance, many iCivics games have been enhanced with language assistance features, including optional translation, as well as comprehension aids, such as embedded glossaries, infographics, and the “legal eagle” tool, which helps explain legal concepts in ordinary terms. It is essential for civic education to reach all of our children, including the nearly four million American students who are native Spanish speakers, who are often excluded from civic education opportunities. Our work is always ongoing, as new generations of citizens develop each day.

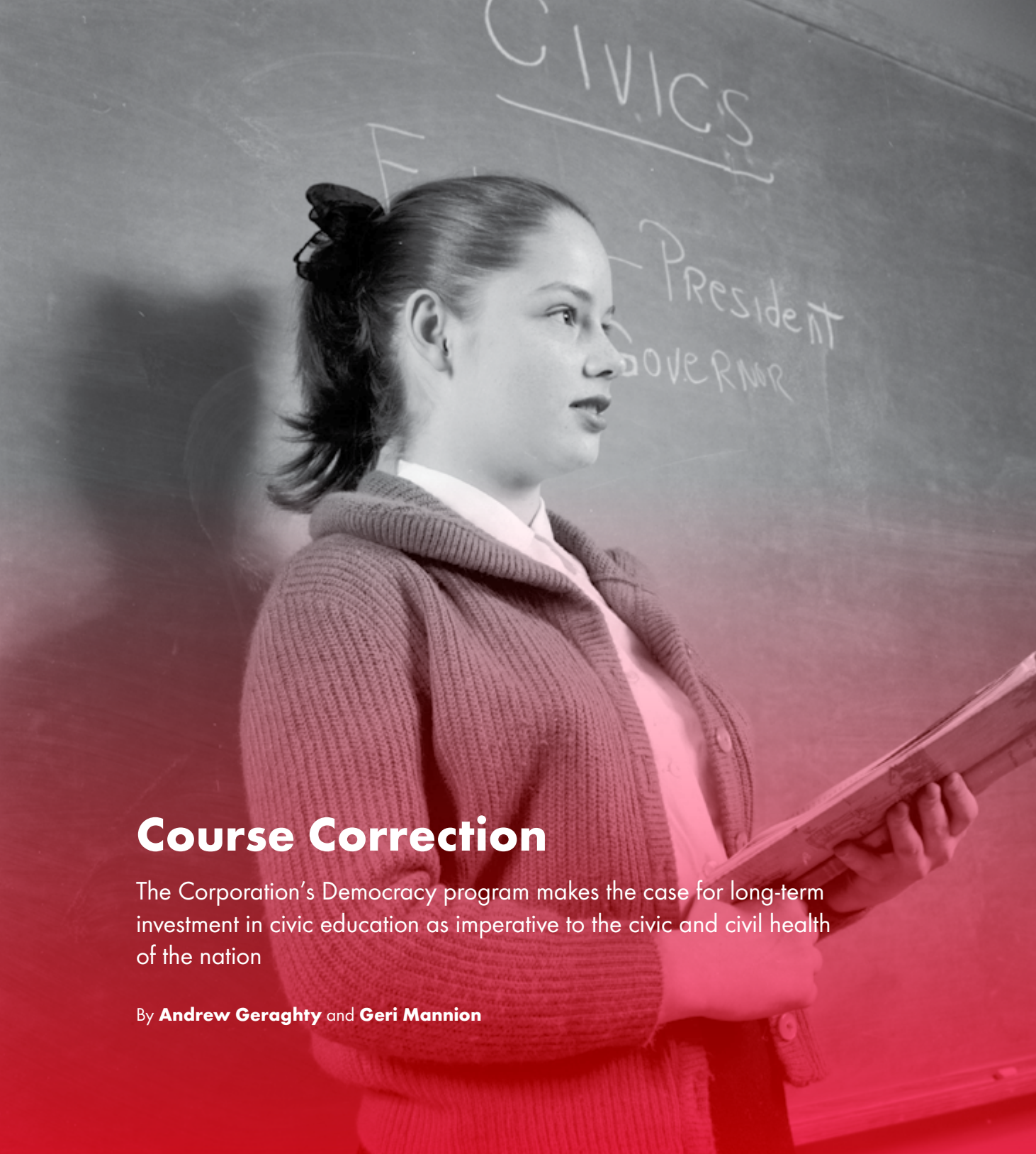
It has been encouraging to see civic participation in the recent election grow. Voter turnout increased in every state across the country (although the total still amounted to only about 62 percent of the voting-age population). I am deeply encouraged by this reaffirmation of the importance of one of the roles we all have to play in our democracy. But the responsibilities of citizenship do not begin or end with casting a vote. None of us can afford to be a bystander in life. Civic participation requires stepping off the sidelines and becoming active in improving one's community. That might mean being there for a neighbor, reading to those at a nursing home, or caring for others in need. It also means publicly raising important problems that our society faces in peaceful, democratic ways and working toward solutions.

These civic duties and behaviors are learned, not inherited. If the seeds of lifelong, prepared, and engaged participation are not planted in the civic education classroom, they will never grow, and our people's strong desires to be active in society will not be channeled into productive discourse and real solutions. We owe it to our children and our society to invest in civic education. In light of the challenges we face today, doing so has never been more important. ■

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Sonia Sotomayor has served as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of the United States since 2009.



Civically Engaged U.S. Supreme Court Associate Justice Sonia Sotomayor hugged Maria Tarzia Gordon, 9, of Arlington, Virginia, after Gordon asked a question about the justice's recently published children's book, *Turning Pages: My Life Story*, during the Library of Congress National Book Festival in Washington, D.C., September 1, 2018. CREDIT: AP PHOTO/CLIFF OWEN



Course Correction

The Corporation's Democracy program makes the case for long-term investment in civic education as imperative to the civic and civil health of the nation

By **Andrew Geraghty** and **Geri Mannion**

Making Citizens A civics class in an American school in 1955. CREDIT: THREE LIONS/GETTY IMAGES

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We must teach the next generation to understand the full value of our democratic institutions — so that they will listen to one another, work to find common ground, and thereby strengthen our democracy.

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The civic health of the United States has been in decline for decades. Early on, symptoms of this illness were relatively modest. Polls showed that only one-third of Americans could name all three branches of government (one-third can't name any of them). Almost one-third believe that a U.S. Supreme Court ruling can be appealed, and only 4 out of 10 Americans would be able to pass the U.S. citizenship test.

But civic health comprises much more than a rote understanding of U.S. history and how our government operates. A country's civic health can also be measured by the ability of its citizens to identify and distinguish reliable news sources from disinformation and conspiracy theories, to understand opposing points of view (and to be able to debate them peacefully), and to have faith in the government institutions that are the hallmark of any true democracy. Measured by these standards — and the intense polarization of the last four years culminating in a violent attack on the U.S. Capitol on January 6, 2021 — the civic health of the United States is in critical condition.

We believe that the leading cause of this decline, observed and studied by political scientists and others for decades, is the near absence of civic learning in the K–12 education system. In 2003, the Corporation, in partnership with the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement, published *The Civic Mission of Schools*, a report highlighting the need for increased civic learning in the U.S. school system. According to the report, growing numbers of Americans have disengaged from traditional civic and political institutions, including religious congregations, community-based organizations, and other volunteer-driven groups. Historically, these associations have provided citizens with a crucial personal connection to current and local events, ensuring that they remain engaged and active in their communities. A continued decline in engagement has been especially

profound among young people, who are now less likely to vote than older Americans and are more likely to express distrust in government institutions — and indeed in the democratic system itself.

The Civic Mission of Schools and the follow-up report published in 2011, *Guardian of Democracy*, both offer specific recommendations for correcting course, including the development of stronger standards and assessments for civic education; the expansion and improvement of teacher training opportunities; and programs that provide students with opportunities to perform community service and apply the lessons of their civic education. But a lack of resources remains a major obstacle for anyone working to increase Americans' civic knowledge. As the public's interest in civics has declined, so too has the support of the funding community.

We are a deeply polarized country — reflected not just among our elected representatives, but also family members, neighbors, coworkers, and students in communities throughout the country. This did not happen overnight, nor is there a quick fix. A return to civil discourse and civic understanding will require a generational shift. More than ever, we need to address this tremendous threat to our democracy. We need sustained, long-term investments in our K–12 education system — and we need incentives to connect it to college attainment while expanding national community service. Civic education is imperative to the civic and civil health of the nation. We must teach the next generation to understand the full value of our democratic institutions — so that they will listen to one another, work to find common ground, and thereby strengthen our democracy. ■

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Andrew Geraghty is a program officer with the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program. **Geri Mannion** is director of the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program, which she has overseen since 1998.



RBG: WHAT RUTH BADER GINSBURG MEANS TO ME – AND TO DEMOCRACY

Harvard's Martha Minow reflects on the remarkable life of the visionary force for justice: late-night get-togethers, landmark legal rulings, the lived experiences of others, and what truth and justice demand

By **Martha Minow**

Exceptional Brilliance "It's the rare prophet who not only imagines a new world, but also makes that new world a reality in her lifetime. This was the brilliance and vision of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg," commented Rabbi Lauren Holtzblatt at Ginsburg's memorial service held at the Supreme Court in September 2020. CREDIT: TIMOTHY GREENFIELD-SANDERS

As a lawyer, and then as a judge and justice, Ruth Bader Ginsburg (1933–2020) brought the most rigorous form of analysis, the most focused attention to the life experiences of human beings, and the most generous personal approach to relationships even with people with whom she deeply disagreed. My own career in crucial ways was made possible because of her work. And she has long been an inspiring, motivating, and personally supportive force for me and so many others. She was, beyond all this, a simply remarkable visionary and effective force for justice.

At the memorial service held at the Supreme Court, Rabbi Lauren Holtzblatt said:

To be born into a world that does not see you, that does not believe in your potential, that does not give you a path for opportunity or a clear path for education — and despite this, to be able to see beyond the world you are in, to imagine that something can be different — that is the job of a prophet. It's the rare prophet who not only imagines a new world, but also makes that new world a reality in her lifetime. This was the brilliance and vision of Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.^[1]

For more than half a century, she pursued justice while being a devoted wife, mother, friend, and mentor. Ginsburg was meticulous as a legal analyst and writer, multidimensional as a strategist, judge, and justice. Her legal work established the standard for rigor. Even her spoken words demonstrated an uncommon level of care and precision. As a justice, she was always the first to circulate an opinion. She commonly stayed up through the early hours of the day while preparing for arguments and working on opinions. She was also unfailingly generous and gracious, in her own shy and introverted way. I offer here a few of my own memories of her along with descriptions of her analytic and persuasive powers and her consistent appreciation of and respect for other human beings.

Snapshots: No Small Talk, Late-Night Drinks, and a Love of Opera

My own recollections start during my early law school days when fellow students and I debated what to do about the notable absence of issues of gender from our curriculum. We found a recently published book — the first law school case book on sex discrimination, coauthored by one Ruth Bader Ginsburg.^[2] That book inspired and enabled at first informal reading groups and eventually a course, teaching students directly of the cases that began to establish in light of her advocacy protections against sex discrimination. I was thrilled by her appointment to the court of appeals, which occurred while I was clerking on that court, and that is where I met her. To see a short,

shy, Jewish woman exerting power and commanding respect was unprecedented and so very meaningful to me. She seemed a bit intimidating, formal, quiet, and, by the account of her clerks, very demanding. In contrast to these impressions, somehow, one night, I found myself invited to her Watergate apartment for a dinner, where she delighted in explaining that she never cooked and in showing us their brand-new computer-driven player piano. We guests were also lucky to have the benefit of her husband Marty's culinary talents, conversational warmth, and legal acumen.

One day a few years later, when I was still an assistant professor, I answered the telephone to hear, with no small talk, “This is Ruth.” She immediately asked, “Are you a member of the American Bar Association?” “Why, yes, I am,” I answered. “Well, why don't you let people know that?” came the chiding question, followed by this surprising sentence: “I want to nominate you to something.” The call soon ended. She then nominated me to serve on the board of the American Bar Foundation, the independent nonprofit organization working to “advance the understanding and improvement of law through research projects of unmatched scale and quality on the most pressing issues facing the legal system in the United States and the world.”^[3] I learned three invaluable lessons from this experience. First, don't hide your involvements under a bushel; second, step up to leadership opportunities; and third, actively find ways to support the careers and development of others. And my service on that board immersed me in the empirical study of law and law reforms, very much a predicate for my current work on access to justice reforms.

I leaped at the chance when then-Senator Joe Biden invited me to help prepare him for the confirmation hearings of the 1993 nominee to the Supreme Court, though that meant I had to decline then-Judge Ginsburg's invitation to help prepare her for the same hearings. She said she was glad I was helping in a different role. Reading her work in that context was awe-inspiring.

Here's another snapshot. In 2011, I delivered the Ruth Bader Ginsburg Lecture at an annual event that the New York City Bar created to honor her. I spoke about the legal and policy issues presented by single-sex public schools; on the one hand, exclusions on the basis of gender could be unfair and could reinforce faulty stereotypes; on the other hand, the educational benefits to girls from time spent in all-female settings could be especially empowering. Who should pop up from the audience but Justice Ginsburg herself? She remarked that while she opposed foreclosing opportunities for girls at prestigious schools, she thought I and others would find it interesting that she chose to send her daughter to an all-girls school. As the lecture and reception ended, she asked if I would like to join her and some friends for a drink. It was already after 10:00 p.m. and, of course, I joined them. We walked



RBG Holds Court — at Harvard Ruth Bader Ginsburg reflected on her career during a discussion with Martha Minow, then dean of Harvard Law School, before a packed room at the school on February 4, 2013. CREDIT: MARTHA STEWART/HARVARD LAW SCHOOL

across the street to the Algonquin Hotel, where she and her friends recalled fun times together. They called her “Kiki” and she reveled in the company. As the evening wore on, despite what was surely a long day, she was lively and energized, surely more than I was by that point.

To honor her 20th year as an associate justice of the Supreme Court, we at Harvard Law School hosted in 2013 a day of events, including panels featuring discussions, published later, of her notable opinions.^[4] The day was followed by an evening of toasts and music. As dean of the law school, I planned the event and turned to Harvard Law alum Mark Volpe, chief executive officer of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, for help finding a way to honor Justice Ginsburg's love of opera. He recruited two outstanding young opera singers who planned an evening of choice selections. Who should rise up, unrehearsed, before each aria, to tell the assembled crowd about the distinctive context and meaning of each work? Justice Ginsburg, of course. It was a tour de force.

Bending the Long Arc of the Moral Universe Toward Justice

Last spring, while battling her fifth bout of cancer, Justice Ginsburg displayed undaunted and sheer willpower in delivering a dynamic speech as part of the ceremony for

the first Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg Woman of Leadership Award. As a nominator for the award, I attended the celebration in Washington, D.C., and saw Justice Ginsburg's delight at the selection of Agnes Gund, an art patron who notably devoted the \$150 million proceeds from the sale of a prized painting to create an Art for Justice Fund to combat mass incarceration. In her remarks, Justice Ginsburg said, “By honoring brave, strong, and resilient women, we will prompt women and men in ever-increasing numbers to help repair tears in their local communities, the nation, and the world, so that the long arc of the moral universe will continue to bend toward justice.”^[5] The long evening was no doubt tiring, but Justice Ginsburg greeted friends and newcomers alike, showed off her sparkling metallic shoes, and stayed to the end to thank everyone that evening — from the food servers to those who had handed out goody bags.

During each day of her life, Ginsburg accomplished feats of mental, physical, and psychological strength. Through excellent lawyering and reasoning, she not only sought but achieved landmark legal victories for gender equality through strategic litigation, legislation, and public awareness efforts. Through her assiduous efforts as a judge and justice, she pursued precise consideration and justice in each case. As an advocate for gender equality, she proceeded like the law professor that she was, teaching the judges, legislators, and public audiences before

her. She and her colleagues tried “not to take the court by storm, but to lead them there in small degrees.”^[6] That meant bringing some of the first cases representing men who because of their gender faced denials of the limited privileges granted to women. Decades after this work, some academic feminists criticized the effort as a pursuit of “sameness,” treating gender as irrelevant and denying distinctive differences in gender due to biology or socialization.^[7] Such critiques missed the brilliance of Ruth Bader Ginsburg’s strategy, which challenges the constraints that gender roles play in the lives of both men and women — and the interlocking assumptions about gender roles for people treated as different.^[8]

Master strategist Ginsburg litigated governmental unequal treatment of men and women, understanding that all-male judicial benches might better understand the unfairness of classifications based on stereotypes about men. In one of her early cases, in search of heightened judicial scrutiny under the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution for uses of gender categories — recently depicted in the film *On the Basis of Sex* — she advocated for Charles Moritz when the Internal Revenue Service barred him, as a man, from using the tax deduction for caregivers.^[9] After Ginsburg and her team won the case in the Tenth Circuit, the federal government petitioned the U.S. Supreme Court for review, claiming a “parade of horrors” because, if Moritz were to prevail, hundreds of other federal statutes would also be deemed unconstitutional. To support their argument, the government attached the list of statutes as an addendum to their brief.^[10] For the next decade, then-lawyer Ruth Bader Ginsburg used that list as she developed her plan to overturn and scrutinize any governmental discrimination on the basis of sex as unconstitutional for faulty stereotypes and generalizations.

She expressed opposition to sexual harassment and assault and to exclusions based on race, class, and other characteristics. Justice Ginsburg brought equal care, deft analysis, and persuasive scrutiny to complex matters in civil procedure, federal courts, taxes, environmental law, and so many other fields. Her majority opinion in *M.L.B. v. S.L.J.*, written just a few years after joining the Supreme Court, illuminates her distinctively superb analytic and persuasive powers. In that case, a poor woman wanted to appeal the trial court’s termination of her parental rights but faced the insuperable barrier of paying for the transcript required for an appeal.^[11] Reflecting the lack of a social safety net and the resistance to positive rights for the poor, two lines of prior federal constitutional cases stacked the deck against M.L.B.’s argument. Only in criminal cases posing risks of jail time had the Supreme Court found a constitutional right to a transcript without cost to the individual; and the Court had already concluded that parental rights termination cases did not give rise to a categorical right to counsel other than in egregious cases, assessed by the trial court.^[12]

Justice Ginsburg did not offer a frontal challenge to those and other precedents and instead worked with them. Weaving together the actual language from prior decisions, she found a distinctive thread in family law cases. Prior cases granting as a constitutional matter access to divorce,^[13] finding payment for a blood test constitutionally available to indigent men facing paternity cases,^[14] and erecting a heightened burden of proof in termination of parental rights^[15] articulated private interests far more precious than property rights commonly treated as a basis for constitutionally mandated procedural protections. Bypassing the distinction that the Court had drawn between criminal and civil cases, the majority opinion underscored the extreme power of the state to destroy permanently all legal recognition of the parental relationship and found a parent’s interest in maintaining that relationship outweighed Mississippi’s desire simply to save money. In his concurring opinion, Justice Anthony Kennedy commended the “most careful and comprehensive recitation of the precedents” in Justice Ginsburg’s well-crafted opinion.^[16]

Her persuasive talents appeared when she subtly shifted the question presented in the case from “May a state, consistent with the Due Process and Equal Protection Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment, condition appeals from trial court decrees terminating parental rights on the affected parent’s ability to pay record preparation fees?” to ask instead, “Does the Fourteenth Amendment require Mississippi to accord M.L.B. access to an appeal — available but for her inability to advance required costs — before she is forever branded unfit for affiliation with her children?”^[17] In so doing, she avoided the disagreement among the justices over whether M.L.B. had a right under the Due Process Clause or the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment — she pointed instead just to the Fourteenth Amendment. She recast the state conditioning an appeal on record preparation fees as a right to appeal, blocked by state-required costs. And she remade the bland “terminat[ion of] parental rights” to “forever brand[ing the mother as] unfit for affiliation with her children.”

Respect for Real People and Their Lived Experiences

Here and elsewhere, Justice Ginsburg illuminated tensions and gaps by reframing the issues, always with the lived experiences of people in mind. Thus, she reframed an apparent conflict between religious freedom and individual equality as a public university requiring officially recognized student groups to open membership to any student, while the Christian Legal Society excluded students who did not subscribe to the sexual mores of the faith by engaging in such acts as “unrepentant homosexual conduct.”^[18] For a bare five-justice majority, Justice Ginsburg rejected the asserted conflict between

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"By honoring brave, strong, and resilient women, we will prompt women and men in ever-increasing numbers to help repair tears in their local communities, the nation, and the world, so that the long arc of the moral universe will continue to bend toward justice."
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– Ruth Bader Ginsburg

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freedom and equality, because the organization sought preferential rather than equal treatment at the expense of the equality principle embraced by the university.^[19] And, in her last opinion for the Court — a dissent — she showed how statutory and administrative law could ensure accommodation for religious employers opposed to paying for contraceptive coverage while also preserving a statutory guarantee of preventive health care for women without additional cost.^[20]

Her appreciation and respect for other human beings shines in her attention to actual people behind litigation and to their lived experiences. It also informed her particular devotion to collaboration and dialogue and to civility and respect, even for people with whom she profoundly disagreed. Indeed, this regard for other human beings connected her interpersonal relationships, her collegial approach to her work, and her ideas about how to make desirable changes in the world.

Thus, although known for her litigation before becoming a judge, she also worked tirelessly with teams of colleagues in pursuit of legislation, social movements, and changes in public opinion. In later years, somewhat surprised by the appellation as “Notorious RBG,” she ultimately had fun with it — the socks, movies, the tattoos, the saying: “There is no truth without Ruth.”^[21] But she also understood that the public persona assisted public awareness and could change hearts and minds.

She treated her work — both lawyering and judging — as collaborative. Generous to those who preceded her, she took the unusual step of listing on her brief in a key case two people whose contributions occurred many years earlier. So in the brief in *Reed v. Reed* — the first decision in which the Supreme Court concluded that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment called for scrutiny of gender-based classifications^[22] — she listed Dorothy Kenyon and Pauli Murray.^[23] As she later explained, “[w]omen, and some men, *forever*, have been saying the same thing. But society wasn’t ready to listen.”^[24]

What Justice and Truth Demand

Respectful of and cordial with even those with whom she disagreed, Justice Ginsburg had genuine friendships with conservative as well as liberal colleagues. Her close ties with Justice Antonin Scalia started when they both served on the Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit. Justice Scalia once described Justice Ginsburg as “the best of colleagues as she is the best of friends.” Federal Judge Jeffrey Sutton learned that Justice Scalia planned to send 24 roses to Justice Ginsburg for one of her birthdays; Judge Sutton asked if he hoped to win Ginsburg over to his side by buttering her up with the flowers. “Some things are more important than votes,” Justice Scalia said.^[25]

Less well-known, however, was Justice Clarence Thomas’s warm personal ties with Justice Ginsburg, well-captured in his statement when she passed away. Justice Thomas wrote:

My wife, Virginia, and I are heartbroken to learn of the passing of our friend, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.... Through the many challenges both professionally and personally, she was the essence of grace, civility, and dignity. She was a superb judge who gave her best and exacted the best from each of us, whether in agreement or disagreement. And, as outstanding as she was as a judge, she was an even better colleague — unfailingly gracious, thoughtful, and civil.^[26]

Justice Ginsburg often recounted the advice given to her on her wedding day by her mother-in-law: “In every good marriage, it helps sometimes to be a little deaf.” Justice Ginsburg would say she applied that maxim not only to marriage but also to her jobs: “I have employed it as well in every workplace, including the Supreme Court. When a thoughtless or unkind word is spoken, best tune out. Reacting in anger or annoyance will not advance one’s ability to persuade.”^[27]



Wise Counsel Ginsburg often recounted the advice given to her on her wedding day by her mother-in-law: “In every good marriage, it helps sometimes to be a little deaf.” In 1997, the justice was photographed with her family by Timothy Greenfield-Sanders for the *New York Times Magazine*. The magazine’s caption pointed out that her husband of 43 years, Martin, “is a tax lawyer and professor. And he cooks.” CREDIT: TIMOTHY GREENFIELD-SANDERS/CONTOUR RA BY GETTY IMAGES

To act in each interaction with civility and respect, at work and with family, requires discipline, control, and the cultivation of kindness. For Justice Ginsburg, it seemed inextricably connected with separating disagreements or slights from the human before her, as well as a kind of perpetual effort — much like her reframing of apparent conceptual conflicts — to find grounds of commonality with others even while vigorously disagreeing. As so many look to Ginsburg’s life for inspiration and encouragement, this particular, disciplined effort to cultivate respect and regard across differences offers a lesson especially relevant during our polarized, divisive time.

But that never involved giving an inch on her commitments to what, by her lights, justice and truth demand.

Respect and civility were part of what she wanted herself and so she made them features of her daily life. Perhaps this too was for Justice Ginsburg part of the long game, for she saw the pursuit of justice as an enduring task of persuasion, ultimately through dialogue across institutions and among communities. In the most recent years, as her dissents became more frequent, she even took the unusual step of often reading her dissents from the bench and in so doing, brought the pursuit of justice beyond her colleagues, and beyond the particular moment at hand.

Thus, Justice Ginsburg spoke from the bench as she dissented in the case of Lilly Ledbetter, who had not discovered until close to her retirement the disparity in her pay — when compared with that of her male colleagues —

during her years working for the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company. Ledbetter sued for back pay and punitive damages but lost, 5-4.^[28] The Supreme Court majority ruled that she had waived the right to sue by failing to file within 180 days of the first act of discrimination even though the discrimination repeated year after year.^[29] Justice Ginsburg read her vibrant dissent from the bench and talked of the majority’s neglect of women’s experiences in male-dominated workplaces where women might understandably be anxious to avoid making waves. As my colleague Lani Guinier later wrote, Justice Ginsburg deliberately spoke to the public in the dissent, and in effect said to Congress: fix it.^[30] The case ignited a movement; it became an issue in the 2008 presidential election. And Congress acted: one of the first bills signed into law by President Obama in 2009 was the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act.^[31]

Respecting the other branches of government and respecting the people, Justice Ginsburg believed deeply that courts do not end democratic debate over the meaning of rights and laws. Courts are participants in that large and long-running debate. During one of her visits to Harvard, she said, “It has to be the people who want the change, and without them no change will be lasting.”^[32] The courts cannot alone fix all social ills, she believed; instead the spirit of the people is the crucial ingredient for real and enduring solutions. But it can be spurred, guided, and propelled by inspiring, indomitable individuals who give their all to the struggle for justice. No one did that with more grace, power, and effect than Ruth Bader Ginsburg. ■

Martha Minow is the 300th Anniversary University Professor at Harvard University and a trustee of Carnegie Corporation of New York. The author would like to thank Lauren O’Brien for comments and assistance.

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- [13] *Boddie v. Connecticut*, 401 U.S. 371, 374 (1971).
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- [15] *Lassiter v. Department of Social Services*, 452 U.S. 18 at 27.
- [16] *M.L.B. v. S.L.J.*, 519 U.S. 102 at 128 (Kennedy, J., concurring).
- [17] Compare *M.L.B. v. S.L.J.*, 519 U.S. at 102, with *id.*, at 119.
- [18] Compare *Christian Legal Society v. Martinez*, 561 U.S. 661, 668 (2010), with *id.* at 672.
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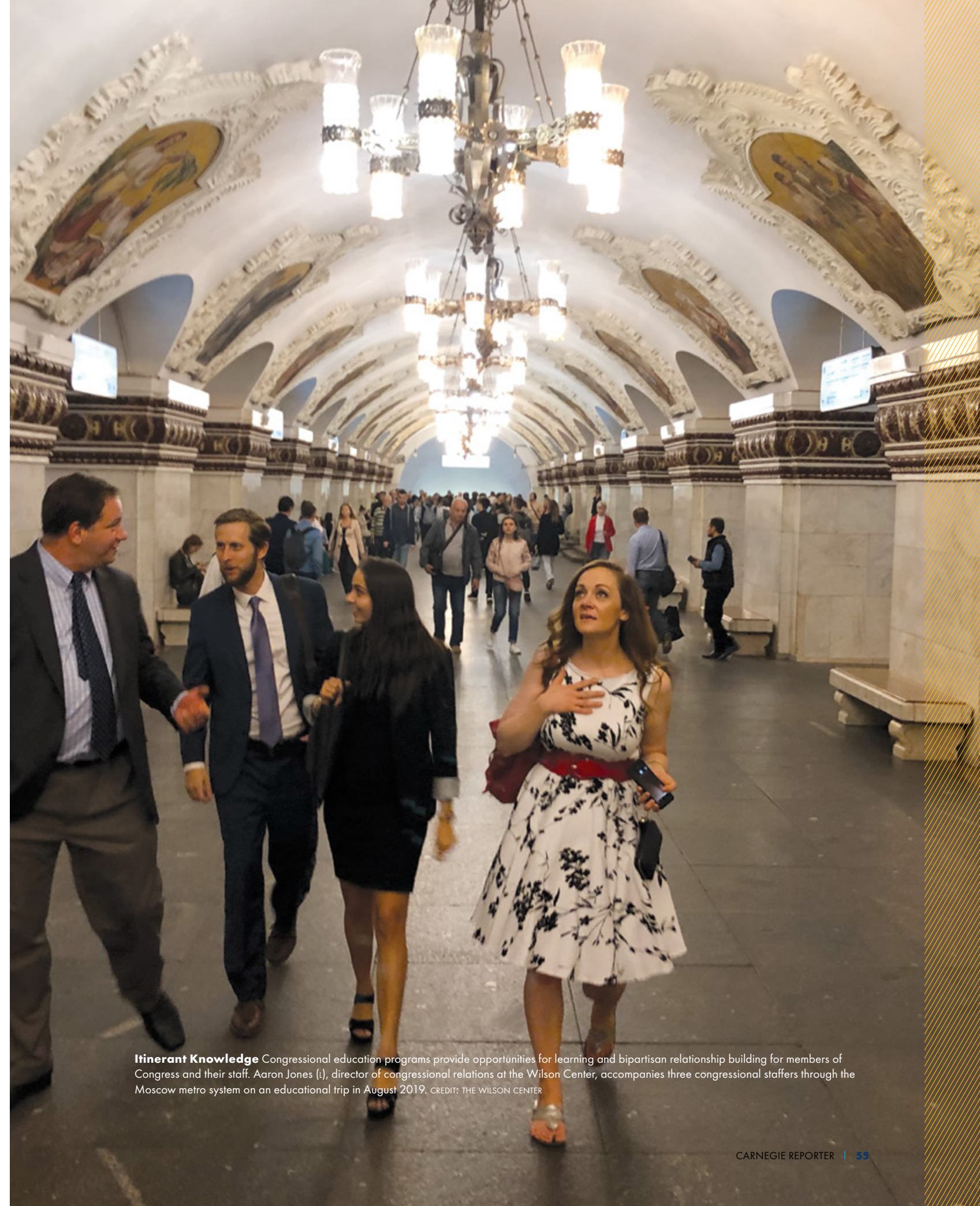
CONTINUING EDUCATION FOR CONGRESS:

BUILDING TRUST AND EXPERTISE — TO GET THINGS DONE

Capitol Hill lawmakers and their staffers wrestle with their busy, stressful work schedules that simultaneously call for general knowledge and specialized expertise. And that doesn't even get to the lack of time and bandwidth. It may surprise many that members and aides don't arrive on the Hill fully informed and fluent across the complex spectra of foreign policy matters.

Enter philanthropy-supported congressional education programs

By **Menachem Wecker**



Itinerant Knowledge Congressional education programs provide opportunities for learning and bipartisan relationship building for members of Congress and their staff. Aaron Jones (l), director of congressional relations at the Wilson Center, accompanies three congressional staffers through the Moscow metro system on an educational trip in August 2019. CREDIT: THE WILSON CENTER

Within months of becoming a Brookings fellow, Scott Anderson was fielding congressional staffers' regular calls about his self-admittedly "eclectic" foreign relations and national security law articles. The questions spanned the map — some basic, others highly technical, recalls the Lawfare blog senior editor.

Anderson knew Capitol Hill work can overload staffers, who lack bandwidth to develop deep expertise or whose prowess comes enmeshed in particular viewpoints. So he created the Congressional Study Group on Foreign Relations and National Security as a "bridging mechanism" between experts and Congress.

It may surprise many that members and aides don't arrive on the Hill fully informed and fluent across the complex spectra of foreign policy matters. But leaders of congressional education programs, which vary widely, agree learning opportunities are essential for members and their staff. Some programs focus solely on one or the other; others cater to both. Some feature overseas travel; others host breakfasts in the District. To a tee, they stress pedagogical benefits and across-the-aisle relationship nurturing.

"Trust building is fundamental to making good policy and relationships on the floor," says Patricia Moore Nicholas, program officer in Carnegie Corporation of New York's International Program. "We want to impart the knowledge that these individuals need to do their jobs, center them within the expert community, and get those bipartisan relationships going."

In an ever-changing world, members and staff require continuing ed, as do doctors and lawyers, according to Dan Glickman, who recently stepped down after a decade as Aspen Institute Congressional Program executive director. (The institute recently named former congressman Charlie Dent as his replacement.) "They make policy decisions that impact every person's life in this country," he says. "They need to be up to date on the most current information possible, or they can't do a very good job."

Alexandra Bell, the outgoing senior policy director at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation (CACNP), and colleagues may sit for hours with congressional staff, who want to dive deep into policy weeds on nuclear subjects, like Iran sanctions. "We sometimes refer to ourselves as an external hard drive that offices can make use of," says Bell, who was just named deputy assistant secretary of state in the Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance.

Programs like Aspen's, in which U.S. Rep. Diana DeGette (D-CO) has participated, allow members to analyze the most-pressing national issues. "Knowledge is power," the 13-term congresswoman says. "They also give us a chance to build strong bipartisan and bicameral relationships, which we can then use to get things done."

"We want to impart the knowledge that these individuals need to do their jobs, center them within the expert community, and get those bipartisan relationships going."

— Patricia Moore Nicholas, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Project heads, among them former congressional staffers and members, have told the Corporation's Nicholas not to believe the divisive tone she sees in the media. Lawmakers are rolling up their sleeves and having civil, constructive conversations behind closed doors. Much legislation is the result of months and months — even years — of quiet, painstaking work. "We weren't sure collaboration could be happening," she says, and by design, the Corporation avoids any form of politicking. But Nicholas was surprised to see bills emerge that bore apparent traces of the success that Republicans and Democrats were making by working together to find solutions outside the limelight.

When thinking pragmatically, participants also reflect increasingly on Congress's evolving role in foreign policy decision-making. Congress has abdicated many foreign policy domains to the executive branch, experts say, because it's convenient politically to blame presidents if something goes wrong. But the Constitution bestows many powers, including military force authorization, squarely on congressional shoulders.

"Congress has been happy not to have to make those hard decisions," Bell explained in early January. "Some of the choices the Trump administration has made and some of the president's behavior have opened a conversation on the Hill that had not been there." Members and staffers who feel comfortable navigating foreign policy complexities are most empowered to effect change, she adds.

The issue is personal for Glickman, a former nine-term congressman representing Kansas. "Congress is the Article I institution. Over the years — whether by intention or neglect — it no longer seems to be the Article I institution when it comes to foreign policy and national security issues," he says. "This area is really ripe for further development."

The executive branch hasn't stolen anything here, but Congress has found it safer to "rail about an issue but not necessarily have any responsibility to deal with it. That's harmful to our democracy," Glickman says. "It's really dangerous to give that kind of carte blanche authority to an executive."

HYPER-COLLEGIALITY

It's amazing what can happen when you've simply got to come up with a consensus-based solution

As a Hill staffer in 2013, Monica Pham had focused on domestic issues until her then-boss, Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA), tasked her with being lead staffer on global health issues, including HIV/AIDS. Having trained in neuroscience and law, Pham applied and was admitted to the Wilson Center's Foreign Policy Fellowship Program in 2015.

"It wasn't enough for me to be well-versed in just domestic issues. I needed to learn more about what was happening around the globe in order to be a well-rounded staffer," she says. "I am a naturally curious person and am consistently engaged in learning, so any opportunity to be taught by working experts was one that I jumped on."

Pham, who went on to work for then-Senator Kamala Harris and New Jersey Governor Phil Murphy, now works as senior director at the biotechnology company Biogen. In the Wilson program, she was surprised to find a lot of common ground with colleagues from across the aisle. Having worked for "extremely progressive members" up to that point in her career, she discovered that, fundamentally, her conservative colleagues wanted the same things for the country, albeit via different approaches.

"I still consider it one of the most eye-opening experiences from my time on Capitol Hill, given how much I learned and how much more open I became to welcoming new ideas and new viewpoints," she says. "This is something that I think is sorely needed in Washington these days given the hyperpartisanship. We all need to be more open to new ideas, listening, and forging more common ground. That's the only way we can move forward as a country."

That's part of the point of the program, says Aaron Jones, director of congressional relations at the Wilson Center, who was himself a participant when he was a Hill staffer. A Mexico trip that was part of his fellowship forged "lifelong friendships on both sides of the aisle," he says.

When staffers of differing ideological stripes put their heads together on the same team during simulations, results can be very different from the bickering one might see on social media or cable news. "The hawks become doves, and the doves become hawks," Jones says. "It's amazing when you put them in a situation where they've got to come to a consensus-based solution."

Program leaders agree that bipartisan cooperation is essential as Congress rethinks, or reclaims, essential powers. Glickman thinks many would be surprised how many members don't know one another. When he served, "back almost in prehistoric times," members of Congress worked five days a week in Washington. They might spend not even half of that amount of time in D.C. these days, devoting most of their time to campaign fundraising. That makes educational trips — almost pilgrimages

Sarah Miller, then legislative director for Rep. Brian Mast (R-FL), didn't overlap in the program with Pham, but she had a similar experience. Miller, who handled the congressman's foreign affairs, intelligence, appropriations, and trade policy, was impressed that the Foreign Policy Fellowship Program included people from both the House and Senate — and from both sides of the aisle. She participated in spring 2018, and remains engaged as an active alumna.

"It is hard to get Hill staffers to disconnect from their office for an extended period of time, but everyone in the program was completely engaged, because the Wilson Center program provided qualified and well-versed speakers during each session," she says.

Her favorite session in the program was about Arctic policy. "It is a topic not frequently discussed on Capitol Hill, but I was able to understand the policy issues and implications much better after the session and take some of this information back to my former boss," she says.

Like Pham, Miller found the program's capacity to make connections across the aisle indispensable.

"Working for a member of Congress on the Foreign Affairs Committee, it was easy to see things through just one side of an issue and predominantly work with the committee staff in my party," she says. "The Wilson Center program allowed me to hear from colleagues across the aisle in an off-the-record setting, so no one was nervous to speak up about their views."

Bipartisan teams worked on miniprojects and presentations between sessions. "This time allowed for staffers to understand and learn about issues from another perspective and made working together on Capitol Hill on legislation a more seamless process," she says.

In 2017, Sen. Thomas Carper (D-DE) spoke in Congress about the value of an Aspen Institute seminar in Tanzania in which he participated "with Democrats and Republicans, House and Senate," per the *Congressional Record* from June 19.

In addition to the program's bipartisan appeal, Carper said he learned a lot about Africa. A proverb stood out in his mind: "If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together." The senator took away from that proverb that Congress too must go together, "and we will be glad we did."

— such essential camaraderie forgers. "My Aspen staff doesn't like when I use the word 'trip,' thinking that means a vacation," Glickman says. "They're conferences."

On trips the Wilson Center organizes, participants develop "tight bonds," and the most personal conversations develop on the bus between formal itinerary events, says Aaron Jones, director of congressional relations.



Global Dynamics Chinese Premier Li Keqiang (center, right) talks with U.S. Senator Dick Durbin (center, left) and other members of Congress in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing at a 2016 conference organized by the Aspen Institute. Corporation-supported congressional education programs emphasize Russia and China, given the importance of these relationships to U.S. interests. The agenda for the 2016 conference focused on economic, environmental, and security challenges. Dan Glickman, former U.S. congressman, former U.S. secretary of agriculture, and then-executive director of the Aspen Institute Congressional Program, can be spotted in the second row on the left. CREDIT: LINTAO ZHANG/POOL/GETTY IMAGES

Members act as they do in the office when, say, meeting a Swedish minister. But on the bus, foreign affairs and armed services committee members, who don't tend to cross paths, compare notes. "We know people work on legislation together long after the trip is over," Jones says.

Jones served eight years in the office of U.S. Rep. Hal Rogers (R-KY) and was part of the second Wilson cohort as a staffer

in 2013. A year later, he was running the program. All of the projects strive for bipartisanship in their programs, but Wilson in particular hasn't struggled to attract as many participants from the right as the left side of the aisle.

But Jones has had to "disabuse" many Republican offices over the years about supposed partisanship at Wilson. "I have worked very hard to remove that patina," he

says, noting a third of the center's funding is federal. "We've got the Appropriations Committee looking over our shoulder. We're not going to mess with that," he says. "Everybody says they're nonpartisan, but we actually have to be."

Most programs report that it is easier to recruit men than women. Exceptions are Brookings and Wilson, which report more women participants, and Partnership for a Secure America (PSA). All are trying to increase racial diversity. "We get a cross-section of diversity as it exists on the Hill," says Curtis Silvers, executive director of PSA.

When he was searching for a job on the Hill, where he is now a House Judiciary Committee professional staffer, Will Emmons kept hearing staffers rave about Wilson's foreign policy fellowship, which exceeded his expectations. "This is a rigorous and highly relevant experience that was well worth the wait," he says.

Other programs meet members and staff where they are — say a Rayburn or Cannon House Office Building conference room — but Wilson prefers to host staff for its Friday evening presentations and simulations. Then they can't excuse themselves early and return to the office. "If they're a mile away, we get to hold onto them a little bit," Jones says. "That has generally worked for us."

Amid the pandemic, the programs have adapted to virtual meetings, which both collapse and expand space. The Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) used to host weekly breakfasts and lunches at Hill restaurants, which could draw up to two dozen staffers. In the move online, it created nimbler "telebriefs."

"Washington tends to be very insular. It's a lot of people in the beltway talking to people inside the beltway," says Sam Brannen, director of the risk and foresight group at CSIS. Brannen and Louis Lauter, vice president for congressional and government affairs who was just named to a Department of Defense role, realized virtual programs easily accommodate speakers from anywhere. A recent geoeconomics discussion enlisted experts in Singapore and California.

"We triangulated three time zones thanks to people getting up early and staying up late," Brannen says. "We took away, 'Isn't it great to have a non-American voice in the room?'" Hybrid events are likely in CSIS's post-pandemic future, they say, and Brannen suspects that it won't be thought weird or disruptive going forward to have meetings with some people in person and others via video.

"I think the flexibility and networking element is here to stay," he says.

Brookings too has found flexibility online, but attendance is higher at live events. "Sometimes an hour-and-a-half Zoom call at the end of the week is the last thing anybody wants," Anderson says. He anticipates a hybrid future, one embracing both in-person and virtual approaches.

"I wouldn't recommend having this program if we were going to do this virtually for the next 10 years," Glickman says. "You just need to have this physical contact, plus you need to visit places where action is occurring."

Anderson is optimistic about the future. "I think it has the potential to be a major period of reform, kind of similar to the post-Watergate era," he says. There were ethics reforms, but given the proximity to the Vietnam War, "It was a big era of reform in foreign relations and other areas of national security," he adds.

Going forward, measuring the success of congressional education programs can be a challenge. When Bell served in the Peace Corps, she had to fill out a quarterly questionnaire asking how many people she affected that quarter. "Even at a very young age, I found the question to be sort of strange," she says. "There were 11,000 people living in the general area, so I just started writing '11,000.' No one ever questioned it." She sees CACNP's work as a similar long-term investment.

She and colleagues have seen members of Congress talk on C-SPAN about what they learned at a CACNP dinner the prior evening. Bell also takes the "huge flurry of condemnation" from both sides of the aisle when the United States withdrew in November from the relatively obscure Open Skies Treaty, allowing unarmed aerial surveillance flights, as a reflection of the success of programs like hers.

After an Aspen trip to Tanzania with nearly two dozen members — including the head of the Peace Corps — Congress oversaw the largest increase in Peace Corps funding ever in a single year. "I think most people would say that was a direct result of that particular conference," Glickman says.

"Much day-to-day congressional work never results in legislation," says Silvers, of PSA. "It's an imprecise

ADAPTING TO COVID

Some work-arounds are becoming advantages in the ways grantees are operating their projects

Corporation-supported congressional education program leaders agree. Training and relationship building work best in person, and that's particularly true when it comes to benefits to members and staffers across the aisle — from breaking bread together to serving on the same team in a simulation. At the same time, as they told the *Carnegie Reporter*, several have noticed promising results in their newly adapted programs tailored to Zoom and other online platforms.

Curtis Silvers, executive director of Partnership for a Secure America, has found that COVID has made programming much more difficult, "especially when you're trying to build long-term relationships." In 2020, the program broke participants out into smaller groups online, to increase personal interaction. It also found "fun steps" to mitigate online challenges, including sending meal vouchers to participants, and distributing snacks and a sparkling beverage during a program graduation. "These are a lot more work for us, however," Silvers says.

He too has found more efficiency online in certain areas, particularly lectures, which aren't otherwise interactive. Post-COVID lectures may continue online, and they'll be recorded. "People whose schedules have to be adjusted can view it later," he says. There may also be hybrid events in the program's future. "We're using this period now to find some alternatives that we might do online to simulate some of the international components," he says.

Alexandra Bell, formerly of the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation and a new member of the Biden administration, saw a loss of camaraderie when the center had to move its

programs online, pointing to the usefulness of connections forged by people in the same room. But she too has found benefits to going digital.

"We've been able to put on rapid-response briefings. Something happens in the news, like the India-China dust up over the summer. That's a very-complicated problem that a staffer may not have half a day to read up on," she says. "But they can certainly make a 45-minute Zoom briefing, where we bring in an expert to talk them through, 'Here are the key things that you should know right now at this point.'" She thinks those rapid-response Zoom briefings will continue post-COVID.

At the Center for Strategic and International Studies, web-based telebriefs, forged during COVID, have also exceeded expectations, says Louis Lauter (recently named to a post in the Biden administration) and Sam Brannen. "In my experience, within the virtual format, the hardest thing is to get participation from the audience, but I think in this group, it's been pretty good, because it's this self-selecting group that really is excited to engage," Brannen says.

"There's no question you lose the hallway conversations that happen in a physical format. So much of Washington business gets done on the margins literally, and so it's tough," Brannen says.

Online programming has been "a little more awkward to get those conversations happening," says Scott Anderson, of Brookings. But he too sees advantages to virtual programming. "In the online format, you have such a better ability to bring in really interesting and excellent outside people, because you don't have to fly them to Washington. You don't put them up in a hotel. They don't have to take 48 hours out of their schedule to come talk to you," he says. "They only have to come for 90 minutes. That's a huge advantage."

Going forward, Anderson hopes to have hybrid events in addition to in-person ones, when it's safe to do so, perhaps alternating in-person and online programs.

measure at best." But at a recent PSA event, an alumnus who isn't currently on the Hill shared that he used a technique, which he learned in the program, amid a stalled policy negotiation. "It broke the logjam, and they completed it," Silvers says.

Many congressional education program participants and alumni strive to bring their problem-solving skills to bear on fundamental questions about the mission and responsibilities of Congress. They also find that overseas conferences provide fertile ground for a better understanding of their colleagues across the aisle when stateside, and they are increasingly reconsidering Congress's and the nation's place in the world. Furthermore, the pandemic has been a painful reminder that many of the world's

biggest problems traverse national borders. Likewise, policymakers who must help us navigate and solve those crises cannot afford to isolate international affairs from domestic policies and vice versa.

And in the present moment, as partisan tensions run high, we as a nation cannot afford for our politicians to be so divided. It is more vital than ever to convene and nurture settings for bipartisan relationships to develop. That is the surest path forward to getting the hard work done that will unify us as a nation and help us, collectively, envision and achieve a better future. ■

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Menachem Wecker, a former education reporter at *U.S. News & World Report*, is a freelance reporter.



CREDIT: ERIN ROWLEY BARMA. COURTESY NAAZNEEN BARMA

MEET NAAZNEEN BARMA — BRINGING

SCHOLARLY INSIGHTS TO REAL- WORLD PROBLEMS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The recently appointed director of the Scrivner Institute of Public Policy belongs to a new generation of scholars who are shaking up the old guard in the national security and foreign policy establishment, bridging the gap between academia and policymakers and the public. But change never comes easy — and allies and mentors matter

By **Ellen T. White**

Naazneen “Naaz” Barma was a first-year graduate student at the University of California, Berkeley, the day the Twin Towers collapsed. “9/11 happened during my second week, and I remember walking into class that day thinking, ‘I’m in a PhD program in political science, so I’m going to be able to understand what just happened and do something about it.’” Instead she was thrown by her professor’s words: “Look, guys, this is huge. It’s going to change the world around us,” he said. “But we’re here to do game theory. So, let’s turn back to the textbook.”

Barma had come to Berkeley from the World Bank, where she specialized in institutional and governance reform in the East Asia and Pacific region. At the age of 25, she was flying to Cambodia and East Timor, where she worked on postconflict transitions with the UN. “In the late ’90s you had this opening in terms of American foreign policy following the Cold War, and the work was fascinating,” she says. However, to advance in her career, a PhD was the necessary next step. Yet at Berkeley, “I was so frustrated during those months when we were all so shell-shocked after 9/11. I kept wondering, ‘What am I doing here, maybe this isn’t for me, maybe I should go back to D.C.’”

Barma sought out others in her cohort who were also eager to move beyond the classroom and apply scholarly insights to real-world problems — not something that was then encouraged in the ivory tower. “We kind of kept each other sane,” says Barma, “and had our secret conversations about policy. We sort of had this little discussion group to begin with.” Ely Ratner, now special assistant to the secretary of defense, and Brent Durbin, now a professor at Smith College, were part of this special troupe. A shared mentor, Steve Weber, then director of Berkeley’s Institute of International Studies, came to them with a proposition. “Hey, guys, if you want to have a group of PhD students talk about policy, I have some funding,” Barma remembers Weber saying. “What do you want to do with it?”

What the group did was launch the New Era Foreign Policy Conference, held at Berkeley in 2006. “Basically we reached out to the top 20 political science PhD programs in the U.S. and said, ‘If you are interested in talking about policy, come talk with us,’” says Barma. “We brought in other professors who we thought would support us, people who we wanted to know — we were networking, too.” Bruce Jentleson, who was head of the public policy school at Duke University, was one of them. Jim Goldgeier, then a professor at George Washington University, was pulled into the group sometime later.

This was one of the kernels that turned into the Bridging the Gap (BtG) Project, funded by Carnegie Corporation of New York beginning in 2008 and spearheaded by Stephen Del Rosso, director of the International Peace and

Security (IPS) program at the Corporation. A former U.S. diplomat, Del Rosso has long believed that “good policy is informed by good ideas, and good ideas are not formed in a vacuum.”

Security (IPS) program at the Corporation. A former U.S. diplomat, Del Rosso has long believed that “good policy is informed by good ideas, and good ideas are not formed in a vacuum.” The academy, he argues, needs to be a primary source of these ideas, and “should help ensure that they are not lost in translation for a policy audience.”

“Steve had the vision to build it out,” says Goldgeier, noting that resistance within the academy was strong. Among the old guard, the entrenched belief was that the academy’s role was to look back at itself and align with methodologies unrelated to real-world problems, providing “increasingly precise answers to increasingly irrelevant questions,” as Del Rosso has written. “Most people in academia didn’t give a hoot about policy,” adds Jentleson. “I joke that our bumper sticker should have been, ‘we may not make a revolution, but a little insurrection is not a bad thing.’”

Fourteen years later that original merry band is largely still involved, and the Corporation continues to be BtG’s principal benefactor. Steve Weber, Bruce Jentleson, and Jim Goldgeier recently stepped back from codirecting and now serve as BtG senior advisors. Barma and her Berkeley classmate Brent Durbin, an associate professor of government at Smith College, continue to codirect, along with a later arrival to the group, Jordan Tama, associate professor at American University’s School of International Service. Under their aegis, the BtG project produces a host of programs, but still at its heart is the New Era Workshop, affectionately known by its participants as NEW, which is Barma’s charge in collaboration with a core group of graduate student fellows.

The annual two-day workshop for political science doctoral students and postdoctoral fellows employs complex scenario exercises to develop research questions linking theory and practice. In it, a series of imaginary but plausible worlds five years hence are proposed to the group. Later, a shock, such as a pandemic, is introduced. The exercises help scholars think nimbly and develop the kinds of questions that might be useful to decision makers down the line. According to one scholar, for those involved it’s “political-science nerd heaven.” The event is the ideological spawn of the original New Era Foreign Policy Conference at Berkeley back in 2006.

As for Barma, she would return to the World Bank after earning her PhD, as she had always intended. Her 2017 book, *The Peacebuilding Puzzle: Political Order in Post-Conflict States*, drew on her fieldwork in Afghanistan, Cambodia, and East Timor with the organization. She ultimately returned to academia with a faculty appointment at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, California, where she spent a decade as a professor in the Department of National Security Affairs. “They actually appreciated the policy work I had done,” says Barma, “which was part of why they hired me.” Throughout those years, her touchstone — both personally and professionally — was Bridging the Gap, which moved from Berkeley, then to Duke, and finally to American University (AU) in Washington, D.C., when Jim Goldgeier became dean of its School of International Service in 2011.

The name “Bridging the Gap” is a kind of homage to Stanford University professor Alexander George, who in one way or another mentored the BtG Project’s current senior advisors. George’s 1993 book, *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*, argued that policymaking could benefit from scholarly expertise and that academics needed a clearer understanding of the political prerogatives of decision makers. “He was extraordinary. It brings a chill to my spine to remember him,” Weber, still a professor at Berkeley, says of George, who was his PhD advisor at Stanford. “He was a humble man who never lost sight of his convictions or let the fashions of academia bounce him off his path.”

“Within the academy, the historic feeling was that political science should be insulated from the real world, that it should be dealing with these internal, theoretical issues and that it’s up to the rest of the world to figure out how those ideas might be mined to affect society,” says the Corporation’s Del Rosso. “However, if a policymaker or an American citizen picked up a political science journal and tried to discern the bottom line and how it affects the world, they couldn’t. The jargon is often abstruse, and the methodological approaches tend to obscure rather than illuminate.”



The Gang’s All Here In March 2018, old friends gathered at the BTG New Era Workshop held at American University’s School of International Service in Washington, D.C. (l-r) Brent Durbin, Steve Weber, Naaz Barma, Bruce Jentleson, Jim Goldgeier, and Jordan Tama. CREDIT: LEILA MAHNAD ADLER. COURTESY NAAZNEEN BARMA

The goal of the Corporation’s Bridging the Gap Initiative is to promote and support a cohort of early-career scholars who are interested in real-world problems and to create multiple platforms so that their academic insights are disseminated to a broader audience. “And the other part,” says Del Rosso, “is that we wanted to chip away at the incentive structure within the academy, such as tenure considerations, to give more weight to policy engagement.” In theory, “nobody wants these trees to fall in the forest that nobody hears,” but change didn’t come easily.

In 2014, a request for proposals to graduate schools for international affairs led to a broader Corporation-supported Bridging the Gap Initiative at five major universities throughout the U.S. This grantmaking added to a BtG portfolio within the International Peace and Security program portfolio that had expanded to include a diverse set of programs largely based at universities — from blogs and research centers, to a project that focuses on the ethical dimensions of policy engagement and another venture that teases out the implications of quantum theory on international relations and security policy.

Over its 14 years, the flagship initiative — the BtG Project at AU — has added several programs, such as their International Policy Summer Institute (IPSI) for faculty

and postdoctoral students. IPSI introduces scholars to the foreign policy process in Washington. The summer institute draws decision makers from the executive branch, Capitol Hill, NGOs, and international organizations who advise attendees on engaging with the policy community and discerning the needs of those communities. Intense media training hones participants' communication skills for public engagement. "It's rewarding to see scholars who have been through media training workshops go on *The Daily Show* or CNN," says Durbin, who heads the effort, "and to know that that kind of public engagement is deeply rooted in rigorous research." Op-eds and articles written by participants that were languishing on their computers often make their way successfully out of media workshopping to print or blog publication.

In 2018, the BtG Project began a partnership with Oxford University Press. The Bridging the Gap Series publishes manuscripts that are written to engage both academic and policy audiences, making significant contributions to debates in both communities. Steve Weber, Bruce Jentleson, and Jim Goldgeier are coeditors of the series. "This squares the circle and allows academics to reach a broader public," says Jentleson, "while doing work for tenure promotion." In a running start, they have published half a dozen books, and five more are under contract. "We have more proposals," says Jentleson, "than we know what to do with, to be honest."



In September 2020 Barma's work with Bridging the Gap came full circle. She was appointed the inaugural director of the Douglas and Mary Scrivner Institute of Public Policy, established in 2018, as well as associate professor at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies, University of Denver. As Scrivner Chair — "a total dream job," according to Barma — she leads an organization that defines itself as lying at the intersection of real-world problems and practical policy solutions.

"Korbel has the spirit embedded within it of being a school of international affairs that is interdisciplinary. It's not a traditional international relations department. It's a school with a mandate to be outwardly and publicly engaged," says Barma. "There are faculty here who are part of our Bridging the Gap network, who have gone through our programs," says Barma, providing further evidence that efforts such as the Bridging the Gap Project — along with compatible work supported by Carnegie Corporation of New York's International Peace and Security program, such as a project housed at Korbel's Sié Chéou-Kang Center for International Security and Diplomacy — have substantially moved the needle toward policy engagement in academia. "Every like-minded scholar we talk with," says Smith College's Durbin, "seems to have been touched by at least one of the Carnegie-funded programs."

More recently, BtG's New Voices in National Security program — supported by the Raymond Frankel Foundation — taps the research findings of younger scholars. "The core aim of that program is really to bring in underrepresented voices, emerging scholars who look different than the people who usually sit around the table and who are not just from mid-Atlantic universities," says Barma, who recently won the Women's Caucus of the International Studies Association's Susan S. Northcutt Award for scholarship, teaching, and mentoring that advances women and underrepresented scholars.

Barma's October 2020 article in the Center for Strategic and International Studies blog *Defence360* emphasized the necessity of including diverse voices in public policy. As a self-described "queer, gender non-conforming woman of color and a first-generation naturalized American," Barma — of Indian descent and born in Hong Kong — claims to have benefited from peer and senior mentors who have tempered any marginalization or adversity based on her visible identities. "Allies and mentors matter," she wrote. "Bringing the wealth of a wider range of lived experience into national security policy formulation *does* improve the process; it is the *effective* thing to do."

In the New Voices in National Security 2019 two-day conference — "The Deterrent and Signaling Effects of Sanctions" — six scholars from diverse backgrounds submitted memos addressing questions posed in advance by policymakers from the National Security Council, the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, and Capitol Hill, before convening to discuss the ramifications and further research opportunities. "We felt that policymakers in Washington could have their horizons broadened by meeting younger academics that they wouldn't otherwise come across and who might have interesting things to say about the topics that they work on," says Goldgeier. A subsequent Government Accountability Office report on economic sanctions quoted the conference, spearheaded by American University's Tama on the BtG team, providing tangible proof of BtG's input. Participating scholars made important and lasting connections.



"We measure our success at Bridging the Gap in terms of whether and how our participants take what they've learned at our workshops and engage more with the media and policymakers," says Barma. "Are they publishing in blog outlets? Are they writing op-eds? Are they doing radio and TV appearances? Are they taking their research papers and finding ways to communicate directly with policymakers, whether it's through think tanks or through congressional briefings? I think we can take some credit for that because we are facilitating those connections." Alumni — now close to 500 in number — tend to



"I think you help change the world around you by fully being in it, and by being authentic to who you are and what you can contribute. I'm both most effective and happiest when my sense of internal purpose and what I'm doing align. Where I've ended up now is not exactly a culmination, but a place where I've found my equilibrium on my continued pathway."

— **Naazneen Barma**, University of Denver



circle back and stay involved in BtG, creating a kind of 21st-century version of a foreign policy old-boy network.

"My involvement with Bridging the Gap encouraged me to have the audacity to ask big questions, to engage with the policy world, and to cultivate a network of peers and mentors who will support me in my efforts," says Rebecca Lissner, now an official on President Biden's National Security Council, who coauthored *An Open World: How America Can Win the Contest for Twenty-First-Century Order* with fellow BtG alumnus Mira Rapp-Hooper, now a Department of State official.

Rachel Whitlark, assistant professor at the Georgia Institute of Technology, is part of the team that works with Barma in creating the scenarios for the New Era Workshops. Whitlark says she "glommed on" to the BtG project in the 2008 workshop when she was a graduate student at George Washington "and never let go." She remembers that as a graduate student she had to play her "cards close to the vest." If you were interested in working on policy, that was "something you kept to yourself, which is no longer true," Whitlark maintains. "Bridging the Gap continues to broaden the conversation."

Interestingly the "imaginary" scenarios Barma and the team of emerging scholar fellows create for NEW are sometimes eerily prescient, which means they have to be discarded and written anew. "Unfortunately, we get too close quite regularly. A few years ago we imagined a global pandemic, and a few years before that we proposed a massive upheaval of dictatorships in a Middle East that had experienced sudden, popular revolutions," says Whitlark. "But we don't intend to be predictive. We just try to get people out of their comfort zones and question their longstanding assumptions."

In these days of COVID, BtG has taken some of their programming online, creating webinars on issues related

to diversity and inclusion in international relations and on nonacademic careers. The BtG Project principals — Barma, Weber, Jentleson, Goldgeier, Durbin, and Tama — meet by Zoom every week, along with deputy director Leila Adler and project coordinator Kathryn Urban, to tackle the agenda. In fact, says Barma, "Now, when any one of us misses that meeting, it feels like a hole. This is what we do. We get together. We check in every Thursday morning."

"Naaz has been the glue that has kept the group together," says Weber, observing that "intellectually and professionally," Barma never gets "boxed into a narrow perspective. The combination of her academic credentials, work, diversity criteria, and lived experience make her a macro-thinker." Goldgeier calls Barma a "rock star" in international studies. "We are all engaged with the students, but Naaz is the most important mentor in our cohort," says Goldgeier. "She has this kind of 'superpower' to provide feedback on other people's work and to help students move forward in their careers." Jentleson cites Naaz's strategic judgment and leadership sense: "She's able to engage people but also to exert authority when she needs to."

"I'm a big believer in purpose," says Barma. "My wife gave me this little plaque that says, 'What good shall I do this day?' I think you help change the world around you by fully being in it, and by being authentic to who you are and what you can contribute. I'm both most effective and happiest when my sense of internal purpose and what I'm doing align. Where I've ended up now is not exactly a culmination, but a place where I've found my equilibrium on my continued pathway." ■

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Ellen T. White, a former managing editor of the New York Public Library, is a freelance writer.



Change Agents Abe Lo, a presenter from BSCS Science Learning, leads a group during a professional learning session for OpenSciEd Facilitators. CREDIT: OPENSIED

EDUCATION

The Elements: Transforming Teaching through Curriculum-Based Professional Learning

A new report by Carnegie Corporation of New York calls for transforming teaching and student learning by anchoring professional learning in high-quality curriculum materials

By **Jim Short** and **Stephanie Hirsh**

Teachers' jobs are changing in real time. Over the past decade, new academic standards have dramatically shifted our expectations for student learning. It's no longer enough to raise a hand and give the right answer. Instead, we want students to wrestle with complex problems, collaborate with one another, and investigate and apply information in creative ways.

This is not how most teachers learned when they were in school. It is not how most teacher preparation programs develop adults to lead a classroom. And it looks nothing like the seminars that dominate teachers' professional development experiences. Most often, the emphasis is on creative lesson planning and keeping students engaged. While that can contribute to better teaching, it keeps the focus on the adult in the room.

That focus needs to change. Most teachers have never experienced the inquiry-based learning we expect them to provide for their students.

School board members, parents, education stakeholders, and all educators have a vested interest in the success of *all* students. And one thing they have witnessed firsthand is clearly supported by research: curriculum has a direct impact on student engagement and learning. The instructional materials that teachers use with their students can dramatically accelerate or hamper learning.

Perhaps less obvious, yet even more important, is that the way in which teachers use curriculum matters too. This presents a unique opportunity to enhance the efforts of hard-working teachers: provide them with strong,

RESEARCH SHOWS:

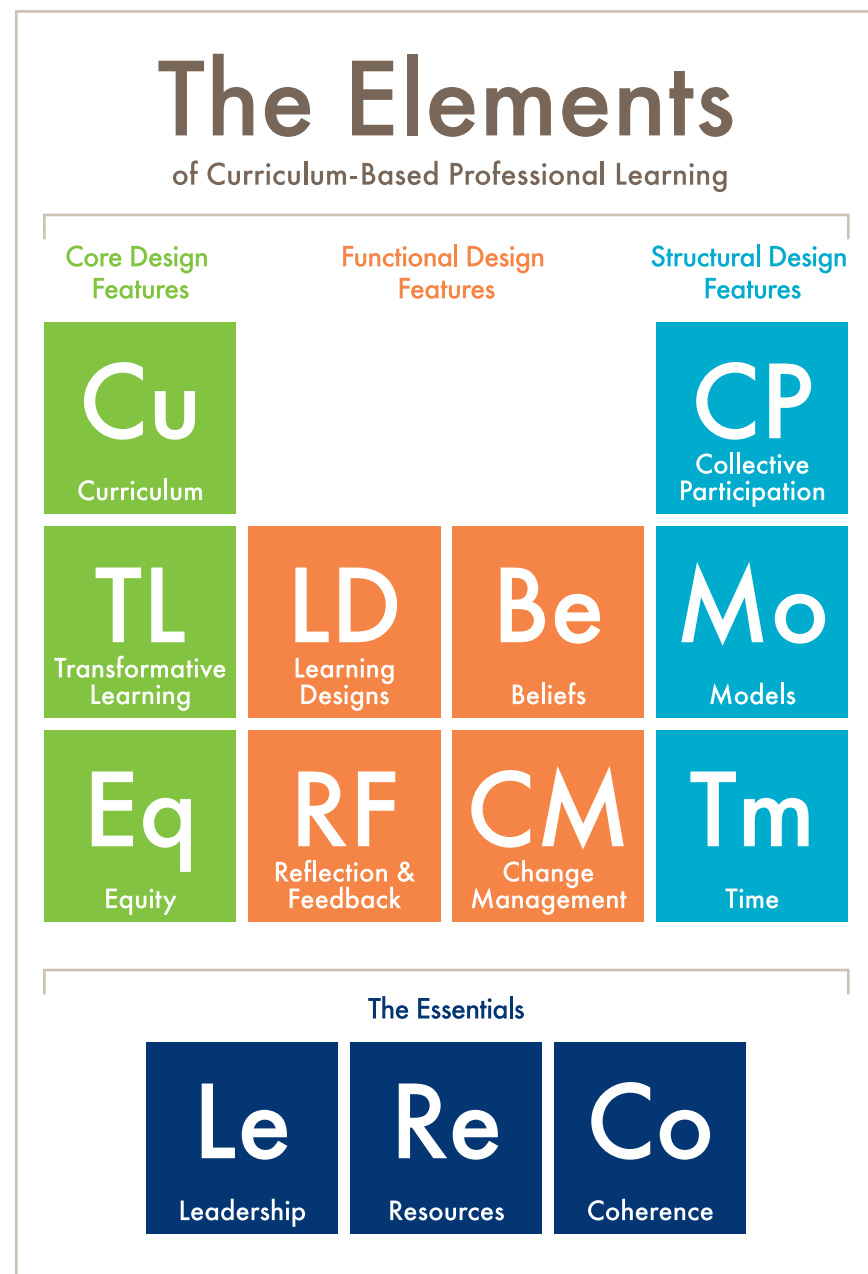
- Most professional development rarely achieves substantial positive impacts on teacher performance or student outcomes.
- A broad gap exists between the short-term, isolated experiences that typify professional development and the ongoing, content-focused, job-embedded professional learning that can help teachers and their students excel.
- Even when learning is focused on a particular content area, it tends to be short-lived, with most teachers participating in less than 16 hours of activities — on the order of a seminar or two in a year.
- Just 7 percent of the nation's elementary school reading teachers use at least one standards-aligned instructional tool in classroom instruction.
- More than half of U.S. teachers craft curriculum for their students, either by borrowing from multiple sources or creating their own materials.
- Using better instructional materials boosts student outcomes just as much as having a better teacher at the front of the room.
- When teachers participated in curriculum-based professional learning, their students' test scores improved by 9 percent of a standard deviation — about the same effect caused by replacing an average teacher with a top performer or reducing class size by 15 percent.

The implications are clear. Curriculum matters, but how teachers use curriculum matters even more.

high-quality, standards-aligned curriculum and make sure they know how to take advantage of everything it has to offer. The question is, how?

We have identified a core set of research-based actions, approaches, and enabling conditions that effective schools and systems have put in place to reinforce and amplify the power of high-quality curriculum and skillful teaching. We call these the *Elements of Curriculum-Based Professional Learning*, or simply the *Elements*.

The Elements encompass actions big and small, from purposefully selecting a strong curriculum to planning efficient teacher meetings wholly focused on instruction. In our challenge paper *The Elements: Transforming Teaching through Curriculum-Based Professional Learning*, published by Carnegie Corporation of New York in November, we define each of the 10 Elements and show how school and district leaders, curriculum developers, and organizations that support teacher development can



The Elements are the expectations and according actions that school and district leaders, curriculum developers, and teacher development organizations take to promote and design curriculum-based professional learning. They include:

- **core design features**, which focus on the purpose of curriculum-based professional learning
- **functional design features**, which shape teachers' experiences
- **structural design features**, which describe parameters and settings.

Elements may be used in different combinations depending on what individuals and organizations need at different times. But all curriculum-based learning rests on **the Essentials** – the expectations for system and school leaders that nurture growth and change.

apply them in their roles and communities. We also identify foundational conditions that system leaders establish to ensure that curriculum-based professional learning can thrive. We call these the *Essentials*.

Taken together, the Elements and the Essentials offer a foundation for practitioners looking to undertake this work. They also serve as a call to action. This powerful approach to curriculum reform and professional learning knits together two influential aspects of a child's education: teachers' skillfulness and the quality of the instructional materials they use. By reshaping current practices with the Elements and the Essentials as a guide, we can help teachers further develop the skills, knowledge, and understanding they need to set all students up for success.

What Is Curriculum-Based Professional Learning?

Curriculum-based professional learning invites teachers to participate in the same rich, inquiry-based learning that new academic standards require. Such learning places the focus squarely on curriculum. It is rooted in ongoing, active experiences that prompt teachers to change their instructional practices, deepen their content knowledge, and challenge their beliefs. This stands in contrast to traditional teacher training, which typically relays a static mass of information that teachers selectively apply to existing practice.

Instead of a one-time workshop, facilitators guide a series of focused, small-group sessions that are structured like a typical day's lesson, allowing teachers to experience the instruction that their students will receive. This experience prepares teachers to work together, rehearse lessons, and address common concerns. They deepen their subject knowledge and fine-tune their instructional approaches, growing fluent in the curriculum's rigorous content and sequence of learning. Over time, both inside and outside their classrooms, teachers see firsthand how their day-to-day choices can enrich or cut short inquiry-based learning. These experiences help reshape their beliefs and assumptions about what their students can achieve.

This vision of professional learning uses curriculum as both a lever and a guide, helping link teachers' actions and ideas to new standards in a concrete, focused way. Done right, it can close the gap between the experiences we provide for teachers and those we want them to provide for students. Given the challenges teachers and students are currently experiencing as they adapt to remote instructional platforms, such learning is especially crucial to their success.

The Importance of Teacher Learning

Teachers, unions, schools, and districts all seem to agree on the importance of teacher learning. The United States

spends an estimated \$18 billion on professional development programs every year, and teachers spend more than a week's worth of time participating in them. From training seminars to coaching and small-group study, professional development entails a major investment of money and time.

A strong evidence base shows that high-quality instructional materials accelerate student learning and that their impact grows even larger when teachers participate in curriculum-based professional learning. Yet in too many cases, instruction is poorly aligned to the research on learning, and a wide gap remains between traditional teacher professional development and what is needed to teach with high-quality instructional materials. These differences are most stark in classrooms serving underserved students of color, who have far less access to rigorous curriculum and inquiry-based instruction than their peers.

High-quality instructional materials and curriculum-based professional learning can help us continue to drive improvements in teaching and learning that reach all students. We can capitalize on the investments that states and systems have already made in adopting new standards by better connecting teachers with curriculum developers and professional learning providers. In providing these supports, we can give teachers what they so clearly want and what research and evidence from the field indicate they – and their students – need.

These won't be quick fixes. Rigorous, inquiry-based teaching and learning require teachers to make fundamental shifts in habits, skills, knowledge, and beliefs. They also require substantial changes in instructional culture and priorities. We offer the 10 Elements and three Essentials as both a guide and a call to action. ■

Jim Short is a program director with the Corporation's Education program. **Stephanie Hirsh**, a former executive director of Learning Forward, is an author and consultant.

The Elements: Transforming Teaching through Curriculum-Based Professional Learning is a challenge paper from Carnegie Corporation of New York that explores how professional learning anchored in high-quality curriculum materials allows teachers to experience the instruction their students will receive and change their instructional practices, leading to better student outcomes. Robert Pondiscio, senior fellow and vice president for external affairs at the Thomas B. Fordham Institute, writes that *The Elements* offers "copious sense and practical wisdom on ways that we might make good teaching more consistently and effectively doable." Learn more at carnegie.org/elements.

The Real Value of the Nuclear Ban Treaty

From a humanitarian point of view, the question has been settled: nuclear weapons are unacceptable. But, in the meantime, the ban treaty need not distract from bilateral arms-control and threat-reduction efforts

By **Carl Robichaud** and **Karim Kamel**

No More Nukes Members attend the signing ceremony for the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) on September 20, 2017, at the United Nations in New York. CREDIT: DON EMMERT/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

In January, 75 years after nuclear weapons were first used, a treaty came into force that bans them. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), also known as the ban treaty, is the culmination of a decade of work by civil society leaders and diplomats who, frustrated by stagnation in traditional venues, focused the lens of international humanitarian law on nuclear weapons. This approach, dismissed at first, resonated with many states that understood nuclear weapons to be inherently indiscriminatory and inhumane.

The new treaty outlaws the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, prohibits their development and possession, bans their transfer or receipt, and prohibits stationing, deploying, or assisting with nuclear arms.

But does any of this matter? The treaty lacks verification and enforcement mechanisms. No state with nuclear weapons will join anytime soon. The nine nuclear-armed states and their allies boycotted the negotiations and pressured other states to abandon the treaty. Each has nuclear modernization programs that will stretch for decades.

Skeptics of the treaty claim it is worse than irrelevant; it will accentuate tensions, undermine collective action on urgent proliferation challenges, diminish alliance cohesion or strategic stability, and potentially establish an alternative to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). We should not, they argue, take any steps that might undermine this bedrock agreement that for 50 years has helped limit the spread of nuclear arms.

These objections are overstated. Collective action against proliferation has been, and will remain, a challenge with or without the ban treaty. Moreover, the treaty was carefully drafted not to conflict with existing nonproliferation obligations, including the NPT.

But the broader point holds: the treaty does little to reduce short-term nuclear risks. That is not its point. What the treaty does is establish, in clear and certain terms, that nuclear weapons are unacceptable. Over 122 countries supported the adoption of the treaty, 52 states have ratified it, and these numbers will continue to

grow. Even within states that oppose the treaty, many citizens agree with its premise. Various polls suggest more than half of Americans believe the United States should work to eliminate all nuclear weapons, and support for this view is even higher in Japan and among NATO countries. In the words of former U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry, the ban treaty “rightly establishes abolition as the standard that all nations should be actively working to achieve, rather than an indeterminate future goal.”

The status quo, with its 16,000 nuclear weapons, is far from stable. Everyone alive today lives in the shadow of a potential nuclear war. Climate modeling suggests that even a limited nuclear war, such as one between India and Pakistan, could result in a billion deaths as the ash from burning cities “could blot out the sun, starving much of the human race.”

The treaty represents a refusal to live forever under this nuclear shadow. It reflects a belief that the status quo represents a grave inequity, in which

The treaty does little to reduce short-term nuclear risks. That is not its point. What the treaty does is establish, in clear and certain terms, that nuclear weapons are unacceptable.

nuclear costs are imposed upon all, while the benefits of nuclear arms accrue to the few states privileged to possess them. In a world of inequities, this is especially pernicious because it is hidden from view. In its preamble, the ban treaty calls out the disproportionate effects on marginalized communities, including indigenous peoples, societies harmed by testing, and women.

At least from a humanitarian point of view, the question has been settled: nuclear weapons are unacceptable. That alone will not make them disappear. But, in the meantime, the ban treaty need not distract from bilateral arms-control and threat-reduction efforts. The recent agreement to extend New START should be commended, and we must establish new mechanisms to build confidence and reduce tensions. The existence of a treaty banning nuclear weapons does not contradict these efforts; on the contrary, it should help build support for more sensible nuclear postures and for prohibitions on nuclear explosive testing and the production of weapons-usable materials.

The nuclear age is in its eighth decade, a mere dot on the timeline of human history. In this brief span there have been dozens of known close calls and near misses. So long as these weapons exist, ready to use at a moment’s notice, we court disaster. The nuclear powers find themselves, as Nikita Khrushchev wrote to John F. Kennedy during the Cuban missile crisis, in a tightening knot. Untying this knot will require a multigeneration project that brings together verification science with extraordinary foresight, diplomatic skill, and political leadership. But first it requires a change in our collective beliefs about nuclear weapons. This is the contribution of the ban treaty, and it should not be underestimated. ■

Carl Robichaud is a program officer and **Karim Kamel** is a program analyst with the Corporation’s International Peace and Security program. This article was first published online in the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, February 4, 2021. Republished with permission.

Building Bridges on Immigration

With fresh hope for progress in Washington, Carnegie Corporation of New York and other funders continue to support a united approach to fixing the U.S. immigration system

By **William H. Woodwell, Jr.**

As the COVID-19 crisis wreaked havoc across the United States, opinion polls captured a shift in public understanding and appreciation of U.S. immigrants whose families and communities have been among the hardest hit by the pandemic and its economic repercussions. For example, a September 2020 survey by the Pew Research Center revealed that Americans were viewing immigrants in a more positive light. According to the poll, 60 percent of registered voters said newcomers strengthen American society, compared to less than half (46 percent) in 2016.

For immigrant communities and advocates, these numbers are an encouraging sign in the midst of an otherwise difficult moment. However, the extent to which growing support for immigrants in the wake of the COVID-19 crisis will translate to more immigrant-friendly policies at all levels of government is an open question. The Trump administration's anti-immigrant policies and actions fomented deep divisions and left even deeper scars in immigrant communities across the land. Even in light of a new administration, pro-reform advocates say that lasting change is still uncertain.

"There are real opportunities today for positive progress, but it's only going to happen if we continue to invest at all levels, and if we continue to lift up and recognize our shared interests," said Geri Mannion, director of the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program and the Special Opportunities Fund. She added that building relationships across lines that too often go uncrossed is key. "This is about reaching across the aisle and across the street and across industries and everything else, because that's how people see what they have in



This is about reaching across the aisle and across the street and across industries and everything else, because that's how people see what they have in common and what they share.



common and what they share. And once you do that you start to create a chorus for change that is hard to ignore in Washington or anywhere else."

Carnegie Corporation of New York is a longstanding philanthropic supporter of organizations and movements that are working to improve the U.S. immigration system in ways that recognize the power and the potential of immigrants to strengthen U.S. communities and the economy. The Corporation's grantmaking reflects the life story and beliefs of its founder and namesake, Andrew Carnegie, who immigrated with his family to the United States at age 13 to escape poverty in Scotland. Since 2001, the Corporation has awarded roughly \$200 million in support for immigrants and immigrant integration at the national, state, and local levels.

For many years, the Corporation has supported multiple strategies to advance pro-immigrant solutions. One strategy is supporting grassroots organizations at the state and local levels that are pressing a ground-up campaign for change, both through the Corporation's independent



We Hereby Declare New U.S. citizens recite the Oath of Allegiance during a naturalization ceremony at Rockefeller Center on September 17, 2019, in New York City. Hailing from 33 different countries, 50 people officially became new U.S. citizens at the ceremony. CREDIT: DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES

grantmaking and through its leadership and participation in funder collaboratives such as NEO Philanthropy's Four Freedoms Fund. At the same time, the Corporation has been a leading supporter of efforts to build alliances on immigration across sectors.

"Our theory of change has been that politics is always a game of addition," said Rebecca Shi. Shi is executive director of the American Business Immigration Coalition, a Corporation grantee that organizes businesses and business associations to promote "common-sense" reforms that are good for immigrants and good for the U.S. economy. "We believe success comes from adding allies and bringing in different voices based on the understanding that Americans and American business are broadly supportive of immigrants."

As an adjunct to the economic case for immigration, some organizations take a more libertarian stance on the issue, advancing the argument that onerous restrictions on immigration limit people's basic freedoms and undermine the market economy. These groups include Corporation grantees such as the Cato Institute, the National Foundation for American Policy, the Bipartisan Policy Center, and the Niskanen Center.

Ali Noorani has led the National Immigration Forum, a Corporation grantee for more than a decade. Under his

leadership, the forum launched the "Bibles, Badges and Business" network in 2012 to bring together conservative faith communities, law enforcement, and business leaders in support of immigration reforms. According to Noorani, in the wake of the 2020 election and the COVID crisis, the time is right for forging broader consensus on an issue that has for too long divided the country: "We are seeing real opportunities for engagement with communities that could really make a difference and move the needle politically on this issue."

By supporting the alliance-building work of the National Immigration Forum, the American Business Immigration Coalition, and other similarly minded groups, Noorani said philanthropy has an opportunity to help break the logjam on these issues and to advance saner, sounder, and more humane policies that will help immigrants and all Americans.

For decades, reform of the United States' broken immigration system was a priority that cut across partisan lines and drew support from a range of interests, including business. Under the Republican administrations of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush in the 1980s and early 1990s, the federal government created new pathways to permanent residency for undocumented workers, expanded visa programs for temporary workers, and granted temporary protection from deportation



Digital Assets Members of e/merge Africa’s leadership team take a break to pose for a group portrait during a planning meeting in Cape Town in 2019. (L-R) Gabriel Konayuma (Zambia); Jerome Dooga (Nigeria); Irene Maweu (Kenya); Nicola Pallitt (South Africa); Cath Fortune (South Africa); Alice Barlow-Zambodla (South Africa); and Mohamed Ahmed (Egypt). CREDIT: E/MERGE AFRICA

Embedded at the Centre for Innovation in Learning and Teaching (CILT) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in South Africa, e/merge Africa has been developing, training, and networking the next generation of Africa’s educational technology professionals since 2014.

The history of the Corporation’s support for the training of educational technology professionals at the University of Cape Town began in 2012, when the Corporation’s board of trustees approved an initial grant of \$1.5 million supporting the development of a postgraduate diploma in educational technology to create an accredited UCT program for practitioners, and the establishment of an African e-learning network. “The grant has continued to support the training program in educational technology at the University of Cape Town, as well as funding e/merge Africa’s professional development network across the continent for five years,” says Tony Carr, founder of e/merge Africa and senior lecturer in CILT. In addition to providing learning experiences, the project aimed to expand professional networks and partnerships in the field of educational technology in African universities.

Between 2014 and 2020, the grant provided scholarships to 53 students to study for the postgraduate diploma course in educational technology. According to datasets from CILT, most of the scholarships were granted to students from Botswana, Egypt, Eswatini, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Carr points out that the Corporation grant has also spurred an increase in the

enrollment of students in educational technology who are being supported either by their employers or through self-sponsorship.

In recent years, most of the marketing of the postgraduate diploma and master’s degree in educational technology has been through the e/merge Africa professional development network or through the African networks at CILT. “The reputation of the program and the availability of scholarships have been strong attraction points for the applicants,” Carr explains.

Alice Barlow-Zambodla, e/merge Africa’s research support convenor, describes the Corporation’s efforts in developing African professionals in educational technology as “an act of lighting fires” in the African higher education landscape that has been too long in the waiting. An expert in educational technology, Barlow-Zambodla, who leads a research support collaboration with the Association for Educational Communications and Technology (AECT), said there is a pressing need to integrate educational technology into teachers’ curriculum at all levels.

“It is not a choice to have educational technology professionals in our education systems — but a reality that has dawned on us in Africa is that we should be making conscious educational decisions to find solutions to overcome learning challenges — and not just during a pandemic,” says Barlow-Zambodla.

The University of Cape Town has been offering openings to African universities that would like to upgrade the capacity of their teaching professionals by supporting them through scholarships. According to Carr, since 2007 Uganda’s Makerere University has sent more of its staff for postgraduate training in educational technology at UCT than any other university.

From 2014 to 2020, 17 educational technologists and lecturers from Makerere signed up for and completed the postgraduate diploma in educational technology at the University of Cape Town. Eight of them received Corporation-supported scholarships. “Makerere has been able to improve its training in educational technology, research, and funding partnerships, and in 2018 it was able to launch its own master’s program in instructional design and technology,” says Carr.

In another positive development, the e/merge Africa network has enjoyed success in assisting and connecting educational technology professionals in African universities, even though in the larger context the numbers are relatively small. (According to the Association of African Universities, there are more than 1,225 officially recognized universities in the continent.)

From the beginning, e/merge Africa has offered online professional development activities that focus on educational technology practitioners and researchers in the African higher education system. According to Carr, whereas network membership includes colleagues from government, private and nongovernmental organizations, and experts from outside of Africa, e/merge Africa’s leadership and core members come from African universities. Network activities include webinars, online workshops, periodic online conferences, and support and mentorship of members who are doing research on the use of technology in African higher education.

Here are some figures: in 2020, 1,145 active members of e/merge Africa attended 22 events conducted in English and 19 events held in Arabic, and they came from 59 countries with 26 African countries represented. The seven countries with the highest number of active members in 2020 were Egypt (254), South Africa (232), Saudi Arabia (136), Kenya (97), Nigeria (77), Zimbabwe (39), and Ghana (24).

As part of efforts to attract even more teaching personnel, the e/merge Africa network is preparing to launch a new open license online course that will integrate the pedagogical and technological knowledge required by lecturers who are getting ready to teach online. The new e-Learning Basics course is an open resource collaboration between Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique, CILT, the Association of African Universities, and e/merge Africa.

For now, the flagship course taught by e/merge Africa is its eight-week Facilitating Online course. According to the organizers, with the rapid shift to remote learning after the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, this online short course has been increasingly accepted as an essential and effective online teaching and training resource in African universities and has also attracted participants from the training sector. (In 2020, the course attracted 172 participants with 128 certificates achieved.)

Most significant has been the development of e/merge Africa Arabic, which opened the door for online teaching in languages other than English. According to Mohamed Ahmed, a senior instructional designer at Mansoura University in Egypt and the coordinator of e/merge Africa Arabic, the Arabic language events were piloted in 2018. e/merge Africa now has members in universities across North Africa and the Middle East — where Arabic is one of the languages of instruction. “The concept is good as there is no other organization today that is offering this kind of educational professional development to university lecturers in Arabic,” notes Ahmed.

To date, e/merge Africa Arabic has relationships in 22 universities in Egypt in addition to Mansoura, including Ain-Shams University, Al-Azhar University, Alexandria University, the American University in Cairo, Aswan University, Cairo University, and Suez Canal University. Ahmed is quite optimistic that as time goes on, e/merge Africa will develop similar offerings in other languages that are widely spoken in the continent.

Since the foundational 2012 grant that gave rise to e/merge Africa, Carnegie Corporation of New York has continued to steadfastly support the initiative. In 2018, the Corporation approved another grant of \$350,000 to continue the work of improving the capabilities of educational technology practitioners and researchers in African universities. Some of the developments coming out of this philanthropy include e/merge Africa Arabic language events, research support activities, and the development of the e-Learning Basics course.

Although access to educational technology services is still low in most African countries, e/merge Africa, thanks to the Corporation’s support, has been opening opportunities for inclusive learning by exposing new concepts, practices, and tools to lecturers and teachers. As Barlow-Zambodla points out, building on these experiences and successes is one way of narrowing Africa’s digital divide in education. ■

Wachira Kigotho, a former senior information officer with the Government of Kenya, is a journalist based in Nairobi.

NOTABLE EVENTS



Back to Work: Listening to Americans



Governor Jack Markell
Former Governor of Delaware



Ardine Williams
Vice President, Workforce Development
HQ2 Amazon



LaVerne Evans Srinivasan
Vice President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

GALLUP/CARNEGIE

Carnegie Corporation and Gallup Host Joint Webinar Exploring Key Findings of Back to Work Survey



Carnegie Corporation of New York and Gallup cohosted a webinar on February 17, 2021, that explored key findings of their joint survey *Back to Work: Listening to Americans*. The public opinion poll, commissioned by the Corporation, looked at Americans' views on the most important issues facing the nation due to COVID-19 as well as an economic recovery program that would address high unemployment through paid jobs, education, and training.

Three out of four Americans, including nearly identical numbers of Democrats and Republicans, say that the weak economy has become the most urgent concern in recent months. An overwhelming number — more than 93 percent — from both political parties favor a national program that would provide paid work and training opportunities while addressing national and community needs.

Hundreds of viewers tuned in to the webinar to learn more about the results of the survey, which were discussed by LaVerne Evans Srinivasan, vice president of the Corporation's National Program and director of the Education program; Jack Markell, former governor of Delaware; Ardine Williams, vice president of Workforce Development, HQ2 Amazon; and Mohamed Younis, the editor in chief at Gallup.

Both Markell and Williams spoke at length about the need for a more robust education system. Additional skill training for students and those already in the workforce is not only necessary for America to bounce back, they explained, but essential for our long-term prosperity.

According to Markell, many people “feel poorly served by much of the education they’ve previously gotten. They’ve been left on the sidelines as the world of work passes them by through automation and globalization.” But the good news, he continued, is that “we have better tools than we’ve ever had before” to help job seekers and training providers match their needs and wants.

“As a business community, we need to understand that a skilled workforce is a community asset,” Williams added. “If you have a skilled workforce in a specific county or region, that accelerates growth, and economic growth is good business. But it has to be done locally.”

Srinivasan provided an overarching conclusion: “Americans are pragmatic. They know that pairing job creation with education and training is the best way to prepare for long-term economic success.”



Hillary Rodham Clinton and William J. Burns engaged in conversation at the Second Carnegie Peacebuilding Conversations in New York City on October 15, 2019. According to President Biden, “the American people will sleep soundly with [Burns] as our next CIA Director.” CREDIT: FILIP WOLAK



After being formally nominated to be Secretary of the Department of Defense by U.S. President-Elect Joe Biden, General Lloyd J. Austin speaks at the Queen Theatre in Wilmington, Delaware, on December 9, 2020. CREDIT: CHIP SOMODEVILLA/GETTY IMAGES



(L-R) Comedian and special guest John Mulaney; Adam Warrington, representative for honoree Anheuser-Busch Foundation; honoree Vartan Gregorian (seated); honorees Ann and Thomas S. Johnson; and host Michael R. Bloomberg. CREDIT: JAMIE WATTS FOR BLOOMBERG PHILANTHROPIES



2020 Andrew Carnegie Fellow Jennifer Anne Richeson, the Philip R. Allen Professor of Psychology and director of the Social Perception & Communication Lab at Yale University, has dedicated her research to examining the social psychology of intergroup relations. CREDIT: JENNIFER ANNE RICHESON

CEIP

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace President Appointed CIA Director

Veteran diplomat and president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace William J. Burns was nominated on Monday, January 11, by President Joe Biden to be his CIA director. His nomination was confirmed by the Senate in March.

Before joining the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Burns spent 33 years at the state department, serving both Republican and Democratic presidents. In addition to serving as deputy secretary of state under former President Barack Obama, Mr. Burns served as ambassador to Russia and Jordan, and assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs.

“[Mr. Burns] shares my profound belief that intelligence must be apolitical,” President Biden said in a statement, “and that the dedicated intelligence professionals serving our nation deserve our gratitude and respect.”

TRUSTEE NEWS

General Lloyd J. Austin III Becomes First Black Defense Secretary

On January 22, 2021, Lloyd J. Austin III was voted in as the Biden administration’s Secretary of Defense. It was a historic appointment, making General Austin, who joined the Corporation as a trustee in 2016, the first Black Pentagon chief.

Retiring in 2016 after 41 years in the military, General Austin was granted a special waiver to hold the post, a requirement for any defense secretary who has been out of active-duty military service for less than seven years.

In an email of support for his nomination, Vartan Gregorian, president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, praised General Austin as “a man of great integrity, humility, and accomplishment, and a person of action and principle. The Corporation has benefited from his intellect and wise counsel, especially in matters pertaining to our international peace and security portfolio of philanthropic grants.”

HONORS

President Vartan Gregorian Honored for “Encouraging Future Generations”

Vartan Gregorian was awarded a Visionary Distinction at the 13th Annual 9/11 Memorial & Museum Benefit Dinner on September 8, 2020, for his “foresight and vision” in promoting the education of future generations about the events of 9/11, preserving the spirit of volunteerism that enveloped the world in the days following, and encouraging future generations to make volunteerism a way of life.

Additional honorees included the Anheuser-Busch Foundation and Ann and Thomas S. Johnson of the Johnson Family.

The 9/11 Memorial & Museum’s annual benefit dinner traditionally takes place in September at Cipriani Wall Street in New York City. This year, the event was virtual, with Michael R. Bloomberg, former NYC mayor and chairman of the 9/11 Memorial & Museum, serving as host of the dinner.

AC FELLOWS

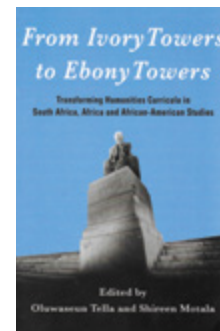
Carnegie Fellow Presents on the Mythology of Linear Economic Progress

Jennifer Anne Richeson, a 2020 Andrew Carnegie Fellows recipient and the Philip R. Allen Professor of Psychology and director of the Social Perception & Communication Lab at Yale University, virtually presented on her research surrounding “psychological phenomena related to cultural diversity” to the Russell Sage Foundation on February 10, 2021. The presentation, which took an evidence-based look at the mythology of linear social progress for Black and Latinx Americans especially, was attended by Carnegie Corporation staff, and generated a spirited discussion around the possible reasons a majority of people misjudge the current social and economic state for many BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, and people of color) Americans.

Richeson says she hopes to use her work to contribute to a better understanding of intergroup relations, including how best to foster culturally diverse environments that are cohesive. ■



Poster by Kobus Faber for the “Pan-African Pantheon” conference, held at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa, June 16–18, 2017.
CREDIT: INSTITUTE FOR PAN-AFRICAN THOUGHT AND CONVERSATION (IPATC)



From Ivory Towers to Ebony Towers: Transforming Humanities Curricula in South Africa, Africa and African-American Studies

Oluwaseun Tella and Shireen Motala, eds.

Fanele | 426 pp. | 2020 | ISBN 978-1-4314-2955-4

Transforming African Higher Education

A landmark collection of essays offers fresh perspectives on decolonizing the curriculum

By **Claudia Frittelli**

Carnegie Corporation of New York organized its first staff trip to East and South Africa in 1927, visiting 124 educational institutions in all. Corporation president Frederick Keppel and his team were “continually drawing attention to the pitifully unsuitable textual and illustrative content of the primers and educational posters used — little English boys in straw hats, sailing little boats at the seaside.” Keppel was moved to make a \$5,000 grant to support the publication of more suitable teaching materials.

Almost a century later, curriculum transformation continues to passionately engage students and educators in South Africa and the United States — as exemplified not least by the #feesmustfall and #BlackLivesMatter movements. *From Ivory Towers to Ebony Towers*, a Corporation-supported book project led by Adekeye Adebajo, director of the Institute for Pan-African Thought and Conversation (IPATC) at the University of Johannesburg in South Africa, provides a historical perspective on higher education curricula transformation in select African countries and the United States authored by well-known African and African American scholars, historians, and student activists.

The book shares learnings from humanities departments in postindependence East and West African universities as well as from African American studies programs in the United States. Scholars and educators at the time were confronting and reshaping curricula that was prescribed by colonial, national, and global forces with little relevance to or understanding of African postindependence identities and development agendas.

Beginning with the current South African context, Ahmed Bawa highlights a question posed in the postapartheid 1994 policy moment, one that is still relevant today: how our universities could best be deployed to fit the purposes of a transition marked by transformation toward a non-racial, nonsexist democracy, together with the development of a globally competitive knowledge economy.

The pre-independence African university was characterized by the devaluation of indigenous African knowledges, the hegemony of Western forms of knowledge, and the fundamental erasure of the knowledge legacy of the African people. African public universities that were founded and run by colonial governments began to Africanize their staff mostly after independence in the 1950s and 1960s. However, this did not necessarily translate into curricula transformation, particularly when African faculty had been trained in Europe and North America.

In “Ugandan Transformation Efforts,” Pamela Khanakwa points out that some Ugandan university staff preferred and foregrounded European-oriented courses, while in 1952 African history curriculum at Makerere University was initiated by non-Africans. Furthermore, research on

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the history of East Africa relied heavily on donor agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation. In “The Dar es Salaam School of Political Economy,” Severine M. Rugumamu emphasizes that the range of academic training and ideological orientations of faculty members at University of Dar es Salaam in the 1960s resulted in mixed responses to the government’s mandate to restructure teaching and research programs to respond to the imperative of building socialism and self-reliance in Tanzania. Political science courses relied on texts from China, Cuba, or the Soviet Union to demonstrate socialism’s relevance to Africa’s development. Rugumamu details the Dar es Salaam School’s debates, actors, ideologies, and production of intellectuals, as well as its eventual fall from grace, and concludes with the relevance of its practices today.

From Ivory Towers to Ebony Towers illuminates perhaps the most productive development of the period, which saw African scholars writing their own histories, compiling national archives, and developing and incorporating contemporary African literature as well as classic African texts into the curricula. For example, the renowned Nigerian historian Kenneth Onwuka Dike founded the National Archives of Nigeria to address the country’s problem with national record storage and preservation. He also founded the Ibadan School of History at the University of Ibadan, subsequently becoming the university’s first African vice-chancellor. Cheikh Anta Diop, chair of the Association of Black Researchers and Scientists and professor of history at the University of Dakar (now renamed after him) strengthened the Dakar School of Culture by establishing the profound linguistic, cultural, historical, and anthropological unity among African populations. All of these efforts were transformational, leaving indelible imprints on their countries and peoples.

Turning to the written word, the late Nigerian poet and professor Harry Garuba sat on the editorial advisory board of the African Writers Series, one of the most prolific of postindependence literary initiatives. The series made African writers accessible to Africans, offering low-cost paperbacks, reprinting classic texts and popular titles, and publishing translations. Although the Heinemann series was critiqued for being linked with a London-based publisher, it could be argued that it made the canon of modern African literature. In “The Development of Contemporary Literature in East Africa,” the renowned literary critic Chris Wanjala explores Kenya’s literature debates, which expanded curricula to include African writers, separated the study of literature and language, and exploited the rich tradition of oral literature. Sadly, both Garuba and Wanjala passed away during the production of the *From Ivory Towers to Ebony Towers* project, but their final narratives stand as important firsthand accounts of the growth of contemporary African literature and, in Wanjala’s case, of the critic who pioneered the Africanization of the literature syllabus at University College (now the University of Nairobi) in the 1970s.

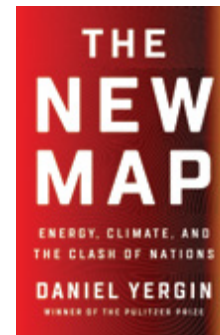
The final section of *From Ivory Towers to Ebony Towers* turns to the United States. In America at the turn of the 20th century, debates on higher education for Blacks focused almost solely on industrial or vocational education as opposed to liberal arts education. Booker T. Washington sought economic opportunity for Blacks through the former, while W.E.B Du Bois advocated for empirical methods and research as the leader of the Atlanta School of Sociology, which “embraced scholarship as an intellectual weapon in the service of emancipation and liberation.” From the 1930s to 1950s, scholars at the Howard School of International Affairs were known for problematizing hegemonic paradigms, demythologizing colonial views of history, and theorizing race relations. This included conceptualizing race as a social construct intrinsically related to capitalism and imperialism, as opposed to the then-prevailing biological and anthropological interpretations of race. Howard is truly central to the story of Black empowerment in the United States. Attracting 80 percent of all Black PhDs in 1936 (the highest concentration of Black PhDs anywhere in the world), Howard University became the leading center of Black scholarship in the humanities and social sciences.

Jimi Adesina concludes his contribution to *From Ivory Towers to Ebony Towers*:

For the students, while it is important to rail against a colonial, extraverted curriculum, this is only an initial step: a necessary anger that needs to be expressed. The real task lies in study groups that read, debate and exhaustively consider existing works. Inspired by what already exists, the crucial task is to produce new waves of endogenously grounded knowledge.

Indeed, while the 20th century began to address the colonial legacies of humanities curricula, universities worldwide are currently facing the erosion of support for the humanities. Due to the rising costs of university degrees, concerns about unemployment, and decreasing enrollments in humanities programs, researchers and professors are challenged to defend the value and utility of their disciplines in developing engaged citizens who are committed to social justice and democracy. To that end, *From Ivory Towers to Ebony Towers*, by compiling and documenting the historical trajectory of humanities curricula in leading African universities and select Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the United States, makes the case for the vitalness of humanities curricula as a catalyst producing leaders who will reinforce the identities and cultures of nations — while freeing them from oppressive legacies of colonialism. ■

Claudia Frittelli is a program officer with the Corporation’s Higher Education and Research in Africa program.



The New Map: Energy, Climate, and the Clash of Nations

Daniel Yergin

Penguin Press | 492 pp. | 2020 | ISBN 978-1-59420-643-6

Energy, Climate Change, and the Emerging Global Order

Daniel Yergin’s engaging – and sobering – guide to the forces of energy resources and geopolitics that will shape the 21st century is destined to become a touchstone reference for policymakers, diplomats, and industry players of any nation

By **Thomas C. Hayes**

Yergin wonders, if the energy fueling electric cars comes from plants fired by fossil fuels, as much of that energy will be, at least in the near term, what is gained?

Henry Kissinger wrote 50 years ago that a nation’s foreign policies will be determined by its internal politics. Rigorous explorations of histories and cultures open windows into those politics. As Daniel Yergin has chronicled now for three decades, so do matters of energy demand, access to supplies, and aspirations for rising living standards.

His treatise on 20th-century charm offensives, bullying, and bloodshedding for primacy in global energy resources and dominance in geopolitics, *The Prize: The Epic Quest for Oil, Money, and Power*, won the 1992 Pulitzer Prize and became a PBS documentary. *The Quest: Energy, Security, and the Remaking of the Modern World*, an update published in 2011, was equally exhaustive and compelling.

Yergin returns to these themes of where the complex, turbulent forces of energy and geopolitics are taking the world in *The New Map: Energy, Climate, and the Clash of Nations*. His pithy narratives and keen observations, unfolding across more than 400 pages, are certain to become touchstones of reference, a shorthand for policymakers, diplomats, and industry players of any nation. For readers on alert for probing backstories to help interpret flashpoints of global energy events and geopolitics — yesterday’s, today’s, and tomorrow’s — it is hard to imagine a better guide.

Vice chairman of industry research giant IHS Markit, Yergin for decades has advised decision makers and served as a global convener for people at the highest levels of the energy business and government. Access to shifting centers of power has been a Yergin trademark as well as a principal currency for his career. He is an energy insider, a trusted witness to the many events and personalities he describes and interprets for readers.

Yergin paints on a vast canvas. Anyone anticipating a retreat of fossil fuel production will not be cheered by his sober conclusions. Advocates of a green energy revolution likely will be dismayed. For example, while leaking methane from natural gas equipment and pipelines poses, as Yergin says, the “most significant” climate risk related to rising natural gas production, he sounded confident as *The New Map* went to press last June that regulators and industry leaders could contain the threat. (Methane is far more menacing in trapping radiation in the atmosphere than carbon dioxide — 25 times more, according to the Environmental Protection Agency.) Two months later, the Trump EPA rescinded the Obama-era mandate for oil and gas producers and pipelines to monitor methane leaks.

We are nowhere near the end of the age of fossil fuels. Yergin estimates oil demand alone will exceed 100 million barrels a day in 2050, rising by 10 percent compared to pre-pandemic levels. He allows that if climate policies do



The Wayward Wind Like solar power, the modern wind industry goes back to the 1970s, but its phenomenal growth has only been in this century. Daniel Yergin writes: “The growth is propelled by forces similar to those that have driven solar, beginning with technical innovation. Taller towers, longer blades, new materials, more sophisticated controls and software, better wind models and weather prediction — all these transform more of the wind into electricity.” But the often-cited “capacity” can be misleading, as Yergin notes, because “wind, like solar, is intermittent. It depends upon the wind blowing.” Here, rain clouds pass over a wind farm at Struckum, Schleswig-Holstein, on Germany’s North Sea coast. CREDIT: AXEL HEIMKEN/PICTURE ALLIANCE VIA GETTY IMAGES

become “much more” aggressive, that number could fall to between 60 and 80 million barrels a day.

The central issue: How to convincingly preserve life on the planet for rising and future generations while increasing energy supplies equitably to answer the hopes of billions of people for a better life, especially the estimated 700 million living on less than \$2 a day. Extremely difficult trade-offs must be managed pragmatically.

The \$5 trillion global oil and natural gas industry now supplies nearly 60 percent of world demand. Yergin estimates that production of oil and gas combined will have remained stable by 2050, declining modestly as a percentage to roughly half of world demand. Solar, wind, and other sources will comprise the balance. Many energy experts believe that substituting natural gas for coal, especially in India and China, with one-third of total world population, is the most promising path to slowing greenhouse gas output. (Massive gas fields have been discovered recently in coastal waters near Tanzania and

in the eastern Mediterranean Sea.) Demand for natural gas is accelerating, promoted as an abundant, low-carbon fuel. Production is expected to increase 60 percent by 2050. More than \$20 trillion, nearly equal to the total U.S. federal debt, will be required to produce new oil and gas supplies over the next two decades, according to one industry estimate.

Solar and wind energy, growing rapidly, are playing larger roles. Yergin’s firm estimates that these renewable sources combined will contribute about one-third to powering electricity by 2040. Yergin looks closely at electric and self-driving vehicles, agrees they will have a role, but adds how much of a role depends on evolving regulations and technologies. Consumer demand will also be a factor, Ford Motor Company chairman Bill Ford says, but to what extent is not yet known. Yergin wonders, if the energy fueling electric cars comes from plants fired by fossil fuels, as much of that energy will be, at least in the near term, what is gained?

Yergin is a talented writer. The book is studded with tightly woven anecdotes and personality profiles. (Data and analyses are enlightening, not obtrusive.) Among his subjects are Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping, and Mohammed bin Salman; undaunted American shale field entrepreneurs George P. Mitchell and Mark Papa; and technology disruptors Elon Musk and Travis Kalanick. Greta Thunberg and Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez have cameos. Hair-raising tales of Qassem Soleimani, architect and director of Iran’s murderous “axis of resistance” against the United States, Saudi Arabia, and ISIS, read as if they might have been copied from a CIA file. Soleimani was assassinated by U.S. missiles fired from a drone early in 2020.

The most consequential of many urgent geopolitical clashes Yergin analyzes may be this: What will be the shared destiny of the U.S. and China for the rest of the 21st century? Will disagreeable relations descend into a shooting war? The world is watching, warily. “When the United States and China go at it,” a senior official in one industrialized country said, “everybody else in the world suffers.”

These two countries produce about 40 percent of the world’s economic output and comprise 50 percent of military spending. Over the past four decades, rising economic interdependence mattered more than irreconcilable political systems. Yergin believes that a new kind of cold war is underway and is probably irreversible. It features escalating tariff wars, a military arms race, and a decoupling of intricately woven technologies, research affiliations, and supply chains. The forecast? A battle for economic models — and primacy — for the rest of this century.

Forty years ago the Iranian Revolution highlighted the strategic significance of the Strait of Hormuz, a flashpoint now in Iran and Saudi Arabia’s deadly struggle for Middle East dominance. Yergin sees Iran gaining the upper hand, with varying successes in Lebanon (financing Hezbollah), Gaza (Hamas), Yemen (Houthis), and parts of Syria, Iraq, Bahrain, and northern Africa. Iran was gleeful over the demise of ISIS.

Ascendant China may be casting a similar arc of confrontation across the South China Sea. China imports 75 percent of its petroleum, much of it through these waters, a vulnerability that is “one of the drivers” of Beijing’s strategic policy. The expanse is claimed more muscularly now by China. Its own map — much disputed across the region and in Washington, flaunted in Beijing — asserts Chinese sovereignty for more than 1,000 miles south of Hong Kong to Malaysia, and for 700 hundred miles between Vietnam and the Philippines. In all, about half the world’s oil tanker shipments and much of its expanding LNG (liquefied natural gas) trade move through the South China Sea. The U.S. Navy maintains patrols. Admiral James Stavridis, former NATO supreme commander, sees the South China Sea as “the most dangerous potential confrontation between the United States and China.”

Big Oil vs. the Independents

Globe-straddling oil giants broadly favored the Obama administration’s methane regulations because they bolstered the companies’ assertions that substituting “cleaner-burning” natural gas for oil and coal will slow the growth rate of greenhouse gases over the next few decades as capacity rises for solar, wind power, and other renewables. Small and medium-sized independents, which dominate production in the U.S., opposed the Obama rules. The conflict, not unusual for energy policy matters, was a function of business models and scale.

Big Oil typically refines and transports fuels and chemicals as well as discovering, developing, and producing in oil and gas fields. Expenses from tightening regulations can be absorbed by billions of dollars in annual revenues. In contrast, independents mainly explore for and produce only oil and gas and generate a fraction of the majors’ total revenues. Thus, costs from new regulations cut independents’ profit margins more deeply and quickly.

Closer to home, the much-documented surge of oil and natural gas production from shale drilling in the United States, buoyed in part by the daring redesign of LNG terminals in Louisiana and Texas to export rather than import the fuel, elevated the U.S. to equal footing — perhaps more — with Russia and Saudi Arabia as the world’s largest energy exporting nations. These three countries’ combined resources have guaranteed their now dominant roles in shaping the new oil order.

Will the science and technology for the production, use, and conservation of energy advance rapidly enough to avoid a climate apocalypse this century? Yergin does not speculate. Perhaps within the next decade, as more stories, data, and insights accumulate, this septuagenarian sage will again return to his oeuvre and do so. We should welcome it. ■

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Thomas C. Hayes, who formerly reported on the energy and transportation industries for the *New York Times*, is a freelance writer and editorial consultant.



Embracing an American Identity First-generation college student Sharai Conde (right), the daughter of Mexican immigrants, hugs her cousin Stephanie Cruz during their first day of class in Denver, Colorado, on August 20, 2019. CREDIT: AARON ONTIVEROZ/MEDIANEWS GROUP/THE DENVER POST VIA GETTY IMAGES

OUR FUTURE RESTS WITH THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS

In 2019, the number of births in the U.S. hit a 30-year low. The COVID-19 pandemic and its wake of economic destruction and job losses will continue that downward momentum, writes the chancellor of the University of Massachusetts Boston and trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The only group counteracting the trend? The children of immigrants

By **Marcelo Suárez-Orozco**

The COVID-19 pandemic is challenging every aspect of college life — from health and mental health, to student and institutional finances, to teaching and student engagement. But a less visible crisis — the slow but steady decline in the young adult population — may prove more disruptive to higher education than the pandemic. The improbable solution: the children of immigrants.

The demographic trend is unmistakable. In 2019, the number of births in the U.S. hit a 30-year low. The COVID-19 pandemic and its wake of economic destruction and job losses will continue a downward momentum in the number of births. Even before the pandemic created new barriers to higher education, enrollment was becoming an existential issue for colleges and universities.

The only group counteracting the trend are the children of immigrants. The number of U.S.-born adults with immigrant parents is projected to more than double between 2015 and 2035. A new study by the Migration Policy Institute shows that the children of immigrants are the fastest growing sector of the U.S. college population accounting for 28 percent of all college students in the United States. In California today, 50 percent of college students are immigrant-origin (first or second generation), in New York the number is 39 percent, and in Massachusetts it is 34 percent. This will be the case moving forward: over 17 million children under age 18 born in the United States are children of immigrants.

All of us should be rooting for their integration. A study by the National Research Council shows that

when given the opportunity, immigrants embrace an American identity. The data show them gravitating toward American cultural norms, embracing the English language, and improving educational levels, occupational diversity, and incomes in their communities. That's good for them as well as good for the country.

When they have access to higher education, they develop the higher-order cognitive and socio-emotional skills crucial to the state's innovation-based economy. The new MPI data suggest that all "net labor force growth in the United States over the next 15 years is expected to come from immigrant-origin workers." Their future is our future. But integration and the benefits it brings face real and growing threats including racial animus, xenophobia, and growing income inequality.

The immigrant-origin population make up a large share of college students who are racial and ethnic minorities. More than 85 percent of Asian and Pacific Island college students, 63 percent of Latinx college students, and 25 percent of Black college students are first-or second-generation immigrant origin. As such, they are subject to the undertows of systemic racism that affect student access, success, and completion in higher education.

Further, in recent years rising tides of xenophobia have created a number of further obstacles. The majority of these students are citizens (68 percent by birthright and another 16 through naturalization) with the same rights as native-born peers. Yet, their fates are tied to their families who have been subject to systematic changes to migration policies (such as public charge, asylum, and deportation regulations) that negatively affect all members of immigrant-origin families. Further, relentless hostile social and political messages about immigrants has likely implications for their finding a sense of belonging to our nation.

Lastly, growing and well-documented income inequality disproportionately affects immigrant-origin students. Too many immigrant students, especially those from Latinx homes, are growing up in conditions of poverty. While most of their parents were employed prior to the pandemic (with unemployment rates of 4.8%) these jobs tend to be low-paying and precarious. As the pandemic descended upon us, Latinx unemployment rates reached levels of 18.5 percent with women exceeding 20 percent. Food insecurity, already high has risen dramatically amongst immigrant families. With an ethos of family responsibility, all family members are called upon to pitch in as they can to contribute to family income.

Taken together, these obstacles can and do lead to socio-emotional problems, increased absenteeism, and academic decline for immigrant college students — to

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Immigrant families are faithful believers in higher education. Our immigrant origin students today will go on to be over-represented as engineers, scientists, doctors and winners of the Nobel Prize.

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the detriment of us all. A college education teaches all students to coexist while respecting, articulating, and celebrating our differences, and does the all-important job of leading young adults for democratic citizenship that is at the core of our republic. We must seek to find ways for all of our students to flourish.

The pandemic has created myriad and intense financial pressures on state governments, but policymakers at the local and national levels should continue to prioritize support for public higher education because it is central to upward mobility and social justice. We need the help. While some private institutions can and will endure the pandemic, public higher education as a system lacks the funding structure and endowments that provide a financial cushion to many of our private school counterparts.

Immigrant families are faithful believers in higher education. Our immigrant-origin students today will go on to be overrepresented as engineers, scientists, doctors, and winners of the Nobel Prize. A new research study by the National Foundation for American Policy found that immigrants have won almost 40 percent of the Nobel Prizes awarded to Americans in Chemistry, Medicine, and Physics since 2000. In 2019, two immigrants earned Nobel Prizes, one in chemistry and one in physics.

If the 20th century was the era of mass migrations, the 21st will be the century of the children of immigrants. In helping them integrate, our higher education system and all that it touches will be the better for it. Our country will be better too. ■

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Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, chancellor of the University of Massachusetts Boston, is a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and was named a Great Immigrant by Carnegie Corporation of New York in 2018. This article was first published online in the *Los Angeles Review of Books*, October 28, 2020. Reprinted with permission.

A college education teaches all students to coexist while respecting, articulating, and celebrating our differences, and does the all-important job of leading young adults for democratic citizenship that is at the core of our republic. We must seek to find ways for all of our students to flourish.

— **Marcelo Suárez-Orozco**
Chancellor, University of Massachusetts Boston

Contributors

Claudia Frittelli is a program officer for Higher Education and Research in Africa in the Corporation's International Program. She works to accelerate economic and social development in Africa by strengthening higher education through partnerships with public universities, research networks, and diaspora linkages, and through support for higher education policy and research in sub-Saharan Africa. @cfritt

A program officer with the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program, **Andrew Geraghty** manages the program's alliance-building and strategic communications portfolios, identifying new opportunities to expand and amplify the voices of business, law enforcement, and faith leaders in the immigration debate, and also supports the program's civic engagement work.

Reporting frequently on the energy and transportation industries for the *New York Times* from California and Texas, **Thomas C. Hayes** has also advised senior executives in those and other industries on strategic communications. He has collaborated with leaders of global enterprises and philanthropies on five books, including William A. Haseltine's *My Lifelong Fight Against Disease: From Polio and AIDS to COVID-19* (2020).

Stephanie Hirsh is the former executive director of Learning Forward and a current board member and advisor to several community-based nonprofits, regional and national education organizations, and foundations. A former teacher and administrator, she is an author and consultant focused on teaching and learning, professional development, and systems improvement. @HirshLF

A program analyst with the Corporation's International Peace and Security program, **Karim Kamel** focuses on strengthening nuclear security. Before joining the Corporation in 2015, Kamel was a program associate at the Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum of the Social Science Research Council. @karimskamel

A former senior information officer with the Government of Kenya, **Wachira Kigotho** has also lectured on journalism at the Kenya Institute of Mass Communication and was the education editor at the *Standard* (Nairobi). He has published with the *Standard*, *Times Higher Education* (London), the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Bloomberg Industry Group, and *University World News*.

John B. King, Jr., is the president and CEO of the Education Trust, a national nonprofit that seeks to identify and close educational opportunity gaps. Prior to his role as the U.S. secretary of education in the Obama administration, King carried out the duties of deputy secretary. A former teacher and school principal, King previously served as New York State's commissioner of education. @JohnBKing

Geri Mannion, director of the Corporation's Strengthening U.S. Democracy program, has overseen its work since 1998. Active in organizations that work to advance the organizational capacity of the philanthropic and nonprofit world, Mannion is a leader in a wide range of funder collaboratives, such as the Four Freedoms Fund and the State Infrastructure Fund, which focus on immigrant integration and voting rights/voter engagement, respectively. @Gerimannion

Martha Minow is the 300th Anniversary University Professor at Harvard University, where she has taught at Harvard Law School since 1981, serving as dean of the school from 2009 to 2017. A trustee of Carnegie Corporation of New York, she is an expert in human rights, constitutional law, and advocacy for members of racial and religious minorities and for women, children, and persons with disabilities.

A program officer in the Corporation's International Peace and Security program, **Carl Robichaud** manages a portfolio of grants to strengthen nuclear security, including work on strengthening nuclear governance and investing in the next generation of nuclear experts. He has written extensively on nonproliferation and foreign policy. @CarlRobichaud

Alessandra Scandella lives and works in Milan, Italy. Cofounder of Studio Container, which focuses on illustration, graphics, animation, and video, she works mainly in watercolors and ink. Her clients include Bulgari, San Pellegrino, Lavazza, and Amnesty International, and she has exhibited in Italy and abroad. alessandrascandella.com @AlessandraScan4

A program director in the Corporation's Education program, **Jim Short** manages the Leadership and Teaching to Advance Learning portfolio. He oversees grantmaking focused on the integration of high-quality instructional materials and curriculum-based professional learning to support teachers, instructional coaches, and school and district leaders to build coherent systems. @jamesbshort

Sonia Sotomayor earned a JD from Yale Law School. Serving as assistant district attorney in the New York County District Attorney's Office from 1979 to 1984, she then litigated international commercial matters in New York City at Pavia & Harcourt from 1984 to 1992. In 1991, President George H. W. Bush nominated Sotomayor to the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, and she served in that role from 1992 to 1998. She then served as a judge on the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit from 1998 to 2009. President Barack Obama nominated her as an associate justice of the Supreme Court on May 26, 2009, and she assumed that role on August 8, 2009.

Margaret Spellings is president and CEO of Texas 2036, a nonprofit organization building long-term, data-driven strategies to secure Texas's prosperity through the state's bicentennial and beyond. She served in the George W. Bush administration both as assistant to the president for domestic policy in the White House and as U.S. secretary of education. Most recently, Spellings served as the president of the University of North Carolina System. @Texas2036

LaVerne Evans Srinivasan is the vice president of the Corporation's National Program and the program director for Education. She oversees grantmaking and other activities aimed at engaging parents and communities, improving teaching and leadership for learning, advancing innovative learning environment designs, providing K-12 pathways to college and career success, and fostering integrated approaches to innovation and learning in the field of education.

Marcelo Suárez-Orozco, chancellor of the University of Massachusetts Boston and trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, was named a Great Immigrant by Carnegie Corporation of New York in 2018. Previously, he served as the inaugural Wasserman Dean at the University of California, Los Angeles's Graduate School of Education & Information Studies.

Menachem Wecker is a freelance reporter based in Washington, D.C. A former education reporter at *U.S. News & World Report*, he currently covers arts and culture, religion, education, chess, and other beats. @mwecker

Freelance writer **Ellen T. White** is the former managing editor of the New York Public Library and the author of *Simply Irresistible* (2007), a book about the great romantic women of history. With this article for the *Carnegie Reporter*, she continues her long and happy association with organizations created by Andrew Carnegie, which also includes the Carnegie Museums of Pittsburgh.

Cofounder and chair of the board of Propel America, **John C. White** is currently a visiting scholar at the University of Virginia. He served as Louisiana State superintendent of education from 2012 to 2020. Previously, White served as superintendent of the Louisiana Recovery School District, leading the reformation of public schools in New Orleans following Hurricane Katrina. @SupeJohnWhite

Photographer **Filip Wolak** works closely with New York's major arts and cultural institutions. His work has been published worldwide in both print and digital media, and as an active pilot and flight instructor, he is able to combine both of his passions and create unique aerial photographs that have been exhibited in the U.S. and his native Poland. filipwolak.com @filipwolak

William H. Woodwell, Jr., is a writer, editor, and communications consultant whose clients include leading foundations, nonprofits, universities, and businesses.

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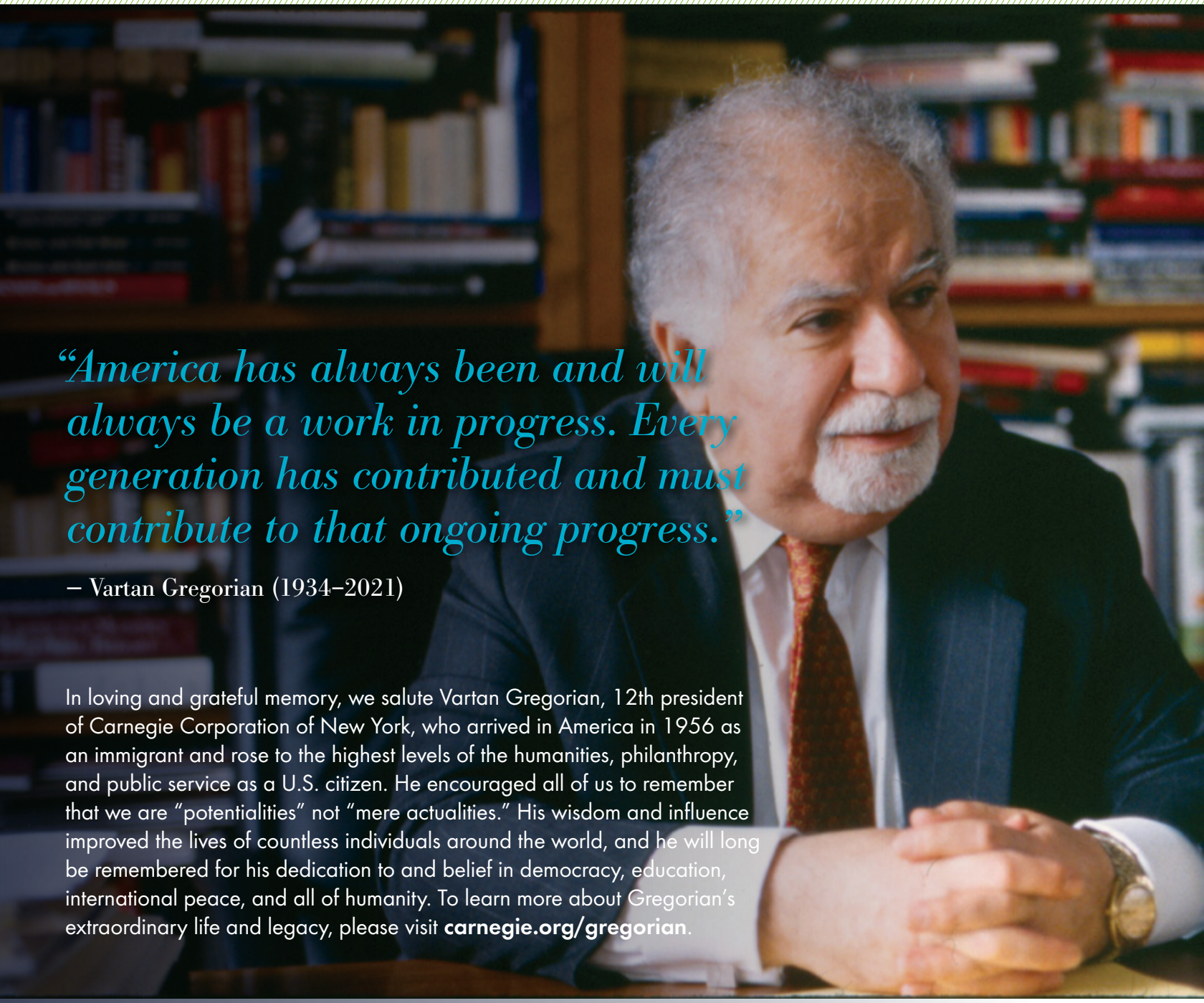
IGNITING POTENTIAL

GEORGIA GROSS — shown here with her daughter, Alisa Rushing, and her son, Alex Rushing — is a curriculum specialist at Dalton Elementary — a Redesign School in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. She is also a parent participant with Family Engagement Lab, a Carnegie Corporation of New York grantee that developed the FASTalk (Families and Students Talk) app that builds partnerships between teachers and families by sharing engaging at-home learning activities via text message. Here's what Georgia has to say about how FASTalk has impacted her relationships with her children:

“As a parent I've definitely changed as the result of my work with FASTalk. I get the text messages, and I'm like, 'OK, tell me about what you read today. You read about a character today? What did you learn about this particular character? Tell me about it.' That conversation is powerful. It's changing the way we look at literacy. We are all way more engaged in reading, way more engaged in the curriculum.”



Meet more parents, practitioners, and Corporation grantees that are working to build family-school partnerships in **ALL IN THE FAMILY**, a specially commissioned portfolio of Zoom portraits beginning on p. 26. Their stories are fascinating — and inspirational.



“America has always been and will always be a work in progress. Every generation has contributed and must contribute to that ongoing progress.”

– Vartan Gregorian (1934–2021)

In loving and grateful memory, we salute Vartan Gregorian, 12th president of Carnegie Corporation of New York, who arrived in America in 1956 as an immigrant and rose to the highest levels of the humanities, philanthropy, and public service as a U.S. citizen. He encouraged all of us to remember that we are “potentialities” not “mere actualities.” His wisdom and influence improved the lives of countless individuals around the world, and he will long be remembered for his dedication to and belief in democracy, education, international peace, and all of humanity. To learn more about Gregorian’s extraordinary life and legacy, please visit carnegie.org/gregorian.