

FALL 2010 | VOL. 12, NO. 3

# Trust

The Pew Charitable Trusts



## Finding Common Ground

Environmentalists and  
loggers come together to save  
Canada's BOREAL FOREST

ALSO

### MILLENNIALS

A Portrait of  
Generation Next

### IN THE STATES

Fiscal Challenges  
Continue



# Stewardship

**T**he one sure thing about the future is that it will always be there. The important question is, what kind of future will it be? Every generation is called to be mindful of their responsibility to leave the world better than they found it. This duty encompasses a host of obligations, not the least of which is to be civically engaged, fiscally prudent and environmentally aware. In short, it means we are called to be good stewards, recognizing that our times do not belong only to us.

Each generation has confronted unique circumstances in answering this responsibility. The new group of 18- to 29-year-olds, called the Millennials because they are the first cohort to come of age in the new century, has its share of challenges. They face serious obstacles, not of their own making, in entering the workforce in these difficult economic times. Yet the Pew Research Center has found that these young people are optimistic about their future and about the nation's as well. They place greater emphasis on being good parents and helping others than they do on accumulating personal wealth. They are eager to make their presence felt in how our nation is governed and, indeed, had significant impact in the last presidential election. The Pew researchers also found that the Millennials, more than previous generations, have great respect for their elders. Those attributes bode well for the future because they signal that these young people are thinking beyond themselves, for the greater good both now and in the times to come.

In our 50 state capitals, it is more important than ever to think beyond the present. To be sure, the current reality for many states is grim. Unlike in Washington, leaders in nearly every state must balance their budgets and in recent years they have had to contend with deep declines in revenues. But for many states, the most difficult times may actually lie ahead as federal stimulus funds are exhausted and with economists predicting it will take years for revenues to return to pre-recession levels. The challenges states face also are partly the result of years when government leaders expanded programs, promised retirement benefits to public employees that could not be sustained and borrowed to pay bills. As they made those long-term commitments, those officials did not always understand or fully consider the impact of their actions on future generations. Policy makers can no longer engage in short-term decision-making and still fulfill their responsibility of stewarding and protecting vital state services for all citizens in the future.

Through its work on pension reform, government contracting, corrections spending and other policy initiatives, the Pew Center on the States has found that tough times can offer opportunities to make sound, albeit hard, decisions to ensure fiscal integrity. Many recently elected governors and legislators are about to take office, and they face an array of budget problems for which there are no quick fixes. Solutions will require good data and rigorous cost-benefit analysis about what works and what does not and which investments and policy choices will deliver the greatest return on taxpayer dollars. Pew researchers, working with partner organizations, will provide state leaders with the high-quality, nonpartisan information they need to chart a path toward fiscal recovery today and sustainability tomorrow.

Stewardship of our natural resources is as equally important as proper management of our public finances. Last summer saw a victory for the environment that will benefit not only the Millennials but all generations. Nine leading conservation organizations and 21 logging companies came together to protect 178 million acres of Canada's boreal forest. The agreement, facilitated by the Pew Environment Group's International Boreal Campaign, recognizes the scientific and environmental importance of the vast forest, which is home to caribou and dozens of other species and serves as an essential storehouse for carbon emissions in a time of global warming. The accord is the world's largest forest conservation agreement, but just as importantly, it is an emblem of the power of working together to preserve the world for those who will come after us.

The stories about the Millennials, state fiscal policy and the boreal in this latest issue of *Trust* magazine are all illustrations of hope at a time when many of us need encouragement. The Great Recession has created high unemployment, diminished our savings and shaken many people's sense of confidence. But it must be remembered that Americans have faced hard times before, from world wars to economic depressions to societal upheaval. Through ingenuity, industriousness and a sense of stewardship we have not only survived but thrived. This is because America's greatest strength is a desire, not for an easy life, but for a better life. We need only to look at all the assets our country and its people can bring to bear on today's problems to know that the Millennials are right in their inherent optimism. With a history as rich as this nation's, there is every reason for us to have hope and to believe our future will be strong.

REBECCA W. RIMEL  
*President and CEO*



The Pew Charitable Trusts

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

- ROBERT H. CAMPBELL
SUSAN W. CATHERWOOD
GLORIA TWINE CHISUM
ARISTIDES W. GEORGANTAS
J. HOWARD PEW II
J.N. PEW IV, M.D.
MARY CATHARINE PEW, M.D.
R. ANDERSON PEW
SANDY FORD PEW
REBECCA W. RIMEL
ROBERT G. WILLIAMS
ETHEL BENSON WISTER

PRESIDENT AND CEO
REBECCA W. RIMEL

MANAGING DIRECTOR
OF COMMUNICATIONS
DEBORAH L. HAYES

EDITOR
DANIEL LEDUC

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS
ANAHI BACA
LAUREN LUCCHESI

CONTRIBUTING WRITERS
PETE JANHUNEN
CINDY JOBBINS
KIP PATRICK

DESIGN/ART DIRECTION
DAVID HERBICK DESIGN

One Commerce Square
2005 Market Street, Ste. 1700
Philadelphia, PA 19103-7077
Phone 215.575.9050

901 E Street NW, 10th Floor
Washington, DC 20004-2037
Phone 202.552.2000

On the Internet:
www.pewtrusts.org

Trust

FALL 2010 | VOL. 12, NO. 3

Published twice a year by
The Pew Charitable Trusts
© 2010 The Pew Charitable Trusts
ISSN: 1540-4587



6. Finding Common Ground

The Pew Environment Group brokers an agreement between loggers and conservationists to protect Canada's boreal forest. By Doug Struck



14. Millennials: A Portrait of Generation Next

The Pew Research Center's in-depth survey of a new generation of 18- to 29-year-olds finds them confident, self-expressive, upbeat and open to change. By Tom Ferrick Jr.



22. In the States: Fiscal Challenges Continue

The Pew Center on the States' researchers and journalists are working to help states facing difficult economic conditions find the way to short- and long-term fiscal stability. By Rita Beamish

2. Briefly Noted

Former Pew arts fellow Jennifer Higdon wins the Pulitzer Prize and more news

34. On the Record

The Philadelphia Inquirer on Pew's efforts to make credit cards safer for consumers

28. Lessons Learned

An evaluation of Pew's work to reform foster care

36. Letter to the Editor

36. End Note

30. Return on Investment

Some of Pew's recent accomplishments

INSIDE
BACK
COVER

New from Pew

WHO WE ARE: The Pew Charitable Trusts is a public charity driven by the power of knowledge to solve today's most challenging problems. Working with partners and donors, Pew conducts fact-based research and rigorous analysis to improve policy, inform the public and stimulate civic life.

Pew is the sole beneficiary of seven individual charitable funds established between 1948 and 1979 by two sons and two daughters of Sun Oil Company founder Joseph N. Pew and his wife, Mary Anderson Pew.

## Pew Arts Fellow Wins Pulitzer Prize

Philadelphia composer Jennifer Higdon turned on her cell phone after a routine doctor's appointment in April to a barrage of incoming voice mails. The messages were popping up so fast that she immediately thought something had gone wrong.

"I thought, 'Oh, no! Something's burned down in Center City,'" she says.

But it was far from a calamity. The first message, from a music magazine reporter, broke the news: Higdon had just been awarded the 2010 Pulitzer Prize in Music for her *Violin Concerto*, a piece she wrote for soloist Hilary Hahn.

A 1999 Pew Arts fellow, Higdon is no stranger to accolades: she received a 2010 Grammy for best contemporary classical composition. Still, winning the Pulitzer left her stunned.

When she went back in the doctor's office to ask for a piece of paper to write down the phone number of an Associated Press reporter who had called, the staff asked her what was wrong.

"I think I looked really, really white," recalls Higdon. "It didn't really hit me for a couple of weeks."

Before the Pulitzer was announced, Higdon, who holds the Milton L. Rock Chair in Compositional Studies at the Curtis Institute, was already a prolific composer with a full schedule of concerts.

The decade that has followed from Higdon's 1999 Pew Fellowship in the Arts has been productive for the artist—something that she directly attributes to the fellowship itself.

"The truth is my career kind of launched around the Pew [grant],

because it gave me enough time to write some large works that got a lot of press when they were premiered," Higdon says. "You can ... trace a line from those projects to the Pulitzer."

The Pew Fellowships in the Arts, which annually distributes awards to up to 12 artists in the five-county Philadelphia area, was established by The Pew Charitable Trusts in 1991. Since that time, fellowships totaling more than \$12 million have been presented to 249 artists. The \$60,000 in financial support can be dispensed over one or two years.



This year's awards were given to artists working across a wide range of artistic disciplines, including tap dance, theatre, architecture, fiction writing, jazz and ceramics. (For a list of fellows, visit [www.pcah.us/fellowships](http://www.pcah.us/fellowships).) The 2010 fellows are the first to receive grants under the program's new guidelines, which allow consideration of applications from originating artists in any

artistic discipline or across multiple disciplines in any given year. Also new this year is an effort to further the impact of the grants by including a set of customized professional development resources for the fellows. Fellows are nominated by 30 outside experts who have a deep knowledge of artists working in the region.

For Higdon, the extra time and focus that the fellowship afforded her resulted in two works: the *Concerto for Orchestra* and *blue cathedral*, the latter of which has become the most performed work by a living American composer in the United States. Both of the works spawned numerous requests for commissions.

Higdon leads a hectic schedule of commissions and performances that shows no signs of abating. Though she travels frequently for her work, she has no plans to leave Philadelphia, where she feels the combination of affordable living, a large and supportive arts community and the Pew Fellowships in the Arts has made it the ideal atmosphere for artists.

Higdon tells the story of recently

attending an artists' retreat in Italy, and sitting around with a group of artists from all over the world, discussing their respective hometowns. When it came to her, there was visible envy from the other participants.

Someone remarked, "Oh, you're in Philadelphia. You are where those Pew fellowships are." —*Anahi Baca*

---

---

## Pew and Financial Reform

**W**hen financial reform became law last summer, it marked a victory for the Pew Economic Policy Group, which had worked on behalf of improvements to the nation's financial regulatory system for more than a year.

The group's Financial Reform Project commissioned research studies, facilitated debate on key aspects of reform through briefings on Capitol Hill and public programs, polled likely voters on their desire for reform and advocated in key states to encourage lawmakers support for the legislation.

The project's work earned bipartisan praise from key members of the Senate Banking Committee for its efforts at seeking compromise solutions to advance the legislation.

"What Pew did do was helpful. They put together a pretty broad swath of philosophical backgrounds and smart people to try to hash out many of these issues. They went about it in a very serious way. We sort of stayed in touch with them all the way through," said Senator Bob Corker (R-TN).

Senator Mark Warner (D-VA) agreed, saying that the project helped "because it has brought

people from different ends of the ideological spectrum."

Only months into the global financial crisis, in May 2009, Pew launched the project with the goal of injecting objective, fact-based economic analysis into the debates about financial markets regulatory reform. It had four main objectives for the legislation:

- Create an early warning system that detects problems before they can hurt American households.
- End the idea that some financial companies are "too big to fail" and bailouts that put taxpayers at risk.
- Increase transparency in markets to safeguard American families and ensure financial firms act responsibly.
- Protect consumers from harmful business practices.

In March 2010, the project released the results of a poll that confirmed many Americans desired real reform. The poll revealed that 74 percent of likely voters believed that there was a 50-50 chance or better that the United States would experience another financial crisis within three years. It also said that half of voters would view their member of Congress more favorably if reform was enacted.

The poll received widespread media coverage with mentions in Reuters, Kiplinger, Politico and many other outlets.

The project also received news coverage for its spring 2010 release of a research paper by Georgetown University's Phillip Swagel, *The Cost of the Financial Crisis*, which quantified the impact to U.S. households and the government over a period of five quarters. According to the

study, the financial crisis and recession cost U.S. households an average of about \$100,000 in lost wealth; from June 2008 through March 2009, households' stock holdings fell \$66,000 and real estate dropped \$30,000, on average.

In addition to media attention, the report was cited by at least three senators and in the *Congressional Record*.

As momentum began to build for passage of reform legislation and House and Senate conferees labored on a final bill in early June, the project continued its work. Along with the University of Maryland and the Committee for the Establishment of the National Institute of Finance, the project sponsored a workshop on the importance of reliable data in financial reform. It also held a full-day meeting with several prominent advisors to discuss how to implement the law. Guests included Treasury Deputy Secretary Neal Wolin and Assistant Secretary Michael Barr. That meeting was followed by a reception in the Senate Mansfield Room to thank those who had worked on the legislation.

The House approved final legislation in June and the Senate's final vote came in July, followed by a White House signing ceremony, where the attendees included director of the Financial Reform Project, Charles Taylor.

While praising the new law, John Morton, then managing director of the Economic Policy Group, noted the work was not over. "Now," he said, "Congress and the regulators must turn their attention to oversight and implementation to ensure that the next phase of reform





1990 was named a Pew scholar and in 2009 received the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine.

Through the generosity of Kathryn W. Davis, Pew has expanded the Biomedical Scholars program this year to include another 20 outstanding assistant-professor-level researchers to be named Pew scholars over the next four years. Aligned with Davis' interest in identifying the causes of and discovering a cure for glaucoma, the additional scholars supported by the \$5.6 million initiative will have the potential for uncovering vital clues to many debilitating ocular diseases.

"This immensely talented and diverse new class of Pew scholars will undoubtedly have a major impact on biomedical research through their contributions as part of the Pew community and on science as a whole. Their discoveries over time will lead to new medical breakthroughs and improve human health," said Dr. Craig C. Mello, a 1995 Pew scholar and 2006 Nobel laureate, who is chairman of the programs' national advisory committee. —**Kip Patrick**

---

## Health Care Law Yields Triumphs

**W**hile Pew did not engage in the larger health care debate, several campaigns nevertheless secured important reforms in the final law passed by Congress and signed by President Obama earlier in the year.

These reforms include the Physicians Payments Sunshine Act, a provision championed by the Pew Prescription Project that will require drug and medical device manufac-

turers to publicly report gifts and payments to doctors and teaching hospitals—an unprecedented level of transparency.

The new law also establishes a \$1.5 billion, five-year federal grant program for states' evidence-based home visiting initiatives serving new and expectant families, a victory for the Pew Home Visiting Campaign.

The Pew Children's Dental Campaign advocated successfully for legislative language that expands dental coverage to more children through insurance marketplaces set up by each state, provides grants for school-based sealant programs and permits Native American tribes to employ new types of dental professionals authorized under state law to reach remote and underserved populations. —**Daniel LeDuc**

---

## Philadelphia Schools and What Parents Want

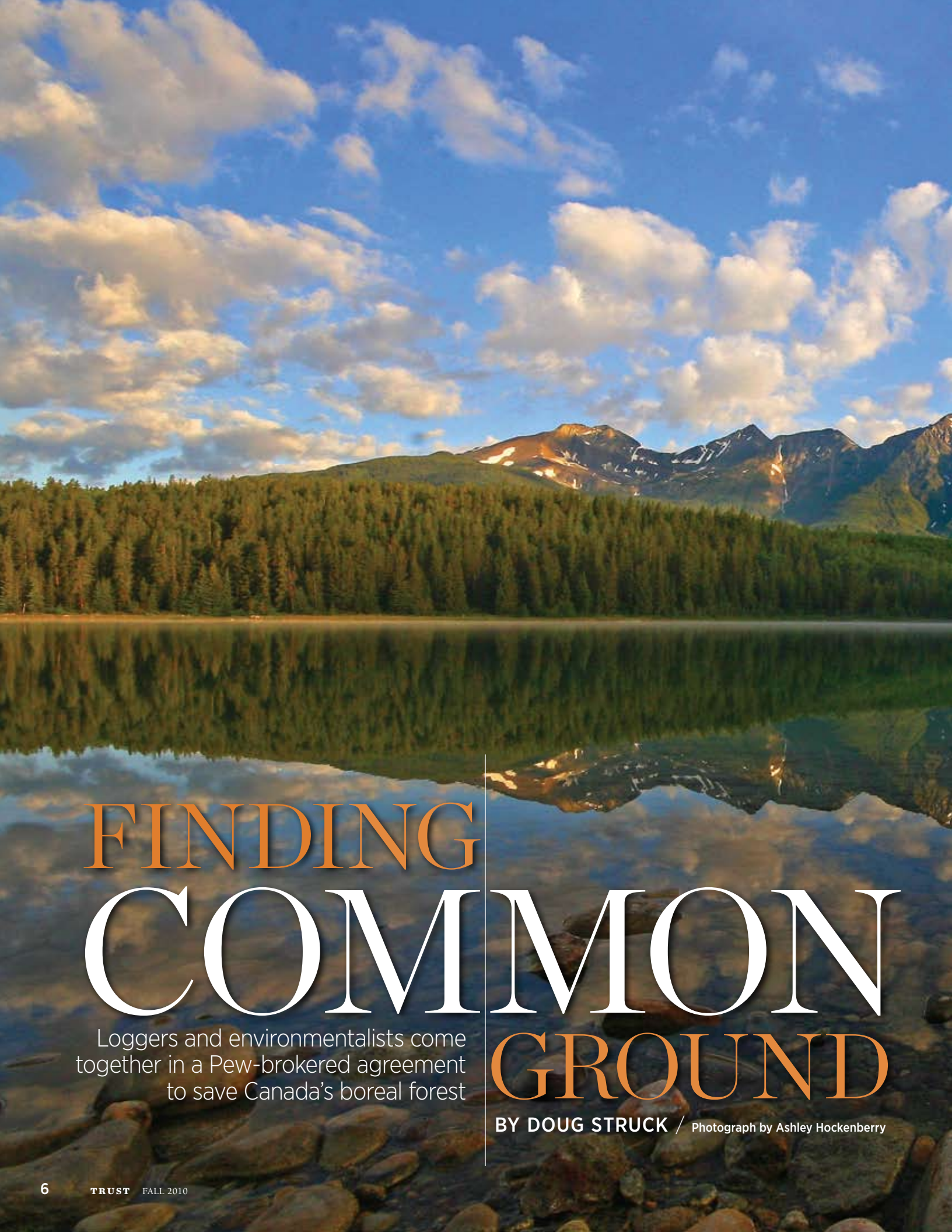
**"T**his thing is a whole new monster now." Those words were spoken by a North Philadelphia father during a focus group organized by Pew's Philadelphia Research Initiative. And the "monster" he referred to was the dramatically different landscape of choices facing him and other parents as they guide their children to the right school.

The conversation was part of the initiative's comprehensive study on education in Philadelphia, which also included a first-of-its kind poll of parents of school-age children attending the city's charter, Catholic and district-run schools. The study, *Philadelphia's Changing Schools and*

*What Parents Want from Them*, found that K-12 education in the city is undergoing a sweeping transformation that has given parents a new array of choices about where to send their children to school. Forty-two percent of those polled said they found it "very hard" or "somewhat hard" to get enough information about education options. Even so, the new landscape has left 72 percent of parents thinking they still do not have enough quality choices.

The past decade has marked dramatic changes in Philadelphia's schools. Traditional public schools lost 19 percent of their enrollment. At the same time, the district added more options than ever before, particularly at the high-school level. Today, there are 63 public high schools, many of them specialized schools open to students citywide. Enrollment in the charter schools grew by 170 percent, from 12,284 in 2000 to 33,107 in 2009, surpassing the Catholic schools—which experienced a 37 percent drop in enrollment—to become the city's largest alternative system.

The report was the latest effort from the initiative to shine a spotlight on a major issue in Philadelphia. Launched by Pew in November 2008, the project regularly produces authoritative, impartial reports on issues facing the city, often comparing Philadelphia to other cities. It also tracks, through public opinion surveys, the attitudes of Philadelphians on important matters in the city and their assessment of the city as a place to live. All of the work is undertaken for the benefit of decision makers, the news media and the public at large and can be found at [www.pewtrusts.org/philaresearch](http://www.pewtrusts.org/philaresearch). —**Cindy Jobbins**



# FINDING COMMON GROUND

Loggers and environmentalists come together in a Pew-brokered agreement to save Canada's boreal forest

BY DOUG STRUCK / Photograph by Ashley Hockenberry





The accord protects 178 million acres of the boreal, spanning seven Canadian provinces, and is the largest forest conservation agreement in the world.

# For most of his professional career—except for a couple of lost years trying to write a novel—Steve Kallick had done battle with loggers.

In Alaska, where he earned his environmental spurs, he had taken on the state's most powerful alliances to preserve the Tongass National Forest. On the wall in his office in Seattle is a picture of an Alaskan pulp mill being demolished, the sweetest victory of his battle.

Now, running the Pew Environment Group's International Boreal Conservation Campaign, he was dining with the very symbol of the logging industry. Avrim Lazar, head of a powerful association of logging companies working in the Canadian forests, had asked him to lunch, a meeting of foes.

Kallick ordered a steak. Lazar blanched.

"Don't you know raising meat to eat is one of the biggest contributors of greenhouse gases?" Lazar asked. A lifelong vegetarian, he asked for a plate of vegetables.

The two men eyed each other. Lazar, the industry man, a wiry athlete with a shaved head, the physique of a long-distance runner, a serious Zen Buddhist. Kallick, the environmentalist, softer and rounder, with full red hair and beard, a convivial hunter who stocks his freezer with caribou when he can.

"You're not exactly what I expected," Lazar said.

"The feeling's mutual," Kallick replied.

Their lunch in May 2008 at The Bridges restaurant near Vancouver's famed Stanley Park began an unlikely relationship. It brought together powerful forces over the fate of one of the most valuable natural assets on the globe: Canada's boreal forest.

Since the great glaciers raked the earth in retreat 10,000 years ago, the boreal forest has girded the northern tier of the globe, a green shawl stretching across three continents, from Alaska through northern Canada, Europe and Russian Siberia.

Less exalted than the forests of the wild Amazon or Africa, the subtle boreal is the largest pristine stretch of forest in the world. It covers 6.5 million square miles in rolling seas of spruce, fir and pine in the great, cold North, closer to the Arctic than to man's cities.

Even in Canada, the boreal had long been uncelebrated, its soft-needled paths trod lightly by wolves and bears and the aboriginal Canadians—usually called First Nations—who still live there. But in the last decade, the specter of climate

change helped awaken the public to this sweeping forest and its crucial role in the ecological health of the planet.

So vast is the boreal that it has been called "the lungs of the world." It inhales carbon and exhales oxygen in such quantities that scientists believe it is the largest vault of carbon on land. In the tropics, fallen vegetation is quickly consumed by teeming life; in the slow and cold North, the needles of the boreal's conifers have collected for centuries, trapping carbon in thick mats of peat, nearly 3,000 tons of carbon per acre.

If that carbon were released—by destruction of the trees or melting of the permafrost, for example—the boreal could become a carbon bomb. Adding massive carbon to the atmosphere would accelerate global warming with such speed that even cautious scientists freely use words like "catastrophe" and "disaster."

But the hoarded carbon is not its only value. The boreal is home to some 85 species of mammals, among them bear, moose, hare, fox, beaver, lynx and the woodland caribou.

In the summer, its skies are thick with migrating birds—ducks, geese, loons and songbirds. It is the world's greatest avian nursery: most of the birds that visit backyard feeders in North America were hatched in the boreal, which issues an estimated three to five billion new chicks each spring.

The boreal also captures and filters water in ways that make the hydrology of the seas work. Canada contains 25 percent of the world's wetlands, most of it in the boreal. From the western Canadian boreal, rivers flow north into the Arctic Ocean, stirring the great ocean currents and feeding the ice cap of the Arctic. In the eastern boreal, watersheds contribute half the volume to Lake Superior and the Saint Lawrence Gulf.

The most visible treasure of the boreal, however, is its trees. Logging began in its southern reaches of Quebec in the early 1800s, with timber camps of woodsmen sawing trees through the winter and floating logs to mills with the thaw. The timber industry was one of the first, and it grew to one of the largest industries in Canada. At its height, early last decade, the industry felled two million trees a year in the boreal, plucking them whole from the ground with giant machines that could sever a large tree at its trunk, lift it, shear its limbs, measure and cut it into precise logs,



and stack the logs for the mills in just 25 seconds.

For efficiency, the mills were located nearby, and towns grew up around them, wholly dependent on the forest and its bounty. From the mills came the lumber that fed the huge housing booms in North America, the newsprint for America's papers, and cardboard for its industries. The forest industry was Canada's single largest net exporter, and the United States its biggest customer.

And the boreal holds other treasures: oil, natural gas, diamonds, uranium. As glimpses of the booty became clearer in the last three decades, miners and drillers cut roads into the forest to draw the wealth from under the ground.

The forest is grand but vulnerable. Whole blocks of trees were swept away, leaving only stumps. The logging roads cut the natural pathways of wildlife. Woodland caribou, seeing the newly opened spaces as attack zones for wolves, retreated. Birds that had returned to certain fens for generations found them confusingly altered, drained by logging roads that cut through streams.

It became clear the robust health of this ecological treasure was at odds with the industries formed to harvest its bounty. The awakening public attention to the boreal forest, as the 1990s turned to a new century, created a movement to save it. The Pew Environment Group was at

the forefront of this newfound concern about the world's boreal forests.

By the time Kallick and Lazar sat down to steak and vegetables in Vancouver, the lines had been clearly drawn and battle begun. Both sides were formidable.

In the 1980s, provincial officials offered up large tracts to guarantee future logging. The timber companies were awarded "tenures" giving them logging rights covering nearly one-third of the boreal.

Lazar's timber industry had grown to one of Canada's foremost, responsible for nearly 3 percent of the nation's gross domestic product. Some 274,000 Canadians worked in the mills and forests, and the number of spin-off jobs supporting those loggers was nearly triple that.

More than 600 communities, many of which are First Nations, are scattered through the Canadian boreal and they hold heavy political sway with local, provincial and national officials. Many are timber-dependent. Lazar's association, the Forest Products Association of Canada, represented the

majority of big timber companies, giant employers and taxpayers like AbitibiBowater, Tembec, Canfor and Weyerhaeuser.

But their opposition, the envi-

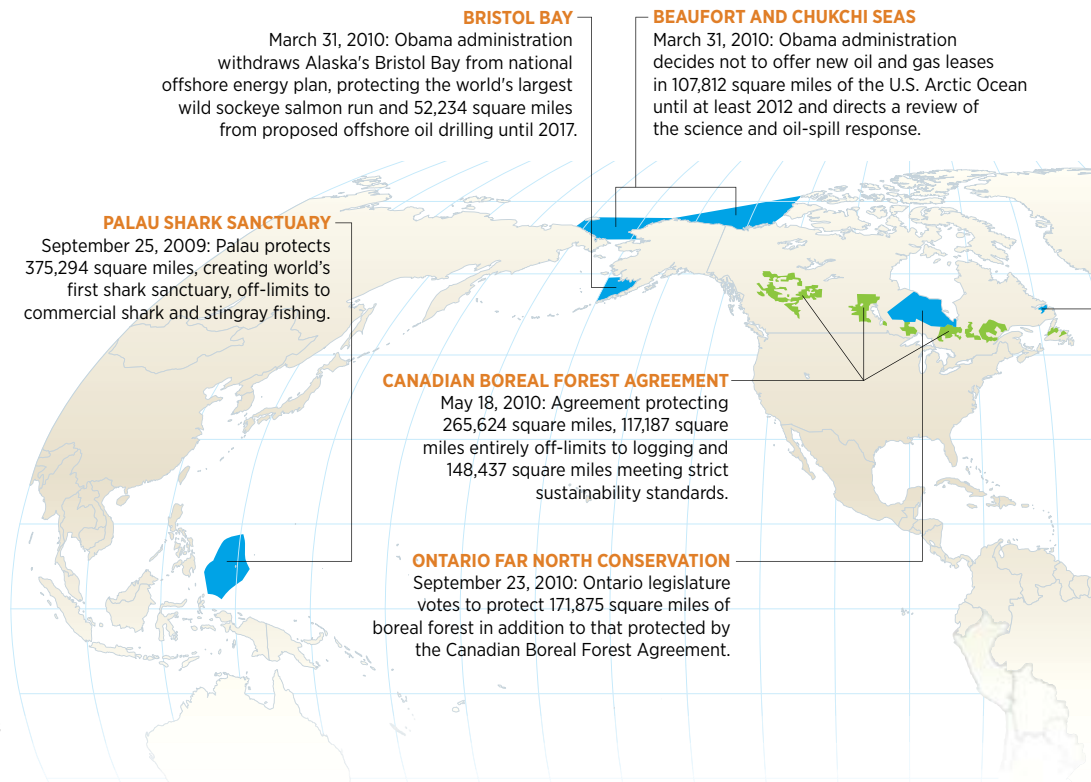
**Survival of the woodland caribou, among the most vulnerable mammals of the boreal, is a chief goal of the agreement.**



# SAVING THE LAND AND SEA

Since September 2009, the Pew Environment Group, working with partner organizations, has protected **1,760,811 square miles** of land and ocean around the globe, a combined area equal to more than half the size of the continental United States.

■ Boreal Forest    ■ Other Pew Initiatives



ronmental movement, was no longer made up of the ragtag tree-huggers of the first Earth Day in 1970. Environmental groups now had clout, organization and belts notched with successes. As the millennial passed, they had divided up their targets and taken on the companies.

The eco-group ForestEthics aimed at the catalog industry, which used so much of the paper produced in the boreal. It bought eye-catching ads in *The New York Times* entitled “Victoria’s Dirty Secret” to shame the lingerie company, which mailed out nearly one million catalogs a day, made largely of glossy Canadian paper. The ads showed models wearing little more than angel wings and toting chainsaws. By 2006, Limited Brands, the parent of Victoria Secret, had capitulated, saying it would no longer use paper produced from the forest.

Greenpeace used demonstrations and advertising to target Rona, a big-box retailer, and Kimberly-Clark, the largest tissue manufacturer. One cartoon by Greenpeace showed the forest ravaged to stumps for tissues, with the lyrics, “Another box of Kleenex, another forest gone.”

Canopy, which had started as a one-woman organization in Vancouver, took on publishers. It enlisted J.K. Rowling, who dictated that the last of her Harry Potter books in 2007 should be printed on recycled and sustainable paper, a decision that sent reverberations through the publishing industry.

As public interest in the environment grew, politicians took up the cause. Canada’s Conservative government of Stephen Harper took office in 2006 and initially fulfilled environmentalists’ fears by cutting government environmental programs. But public opinion was soaring in the other direction: for a time, Canadians listed concern over

climate change as their top worry. In December 2006, the opposing Liberal Party of Canada picked a strong environmentalist, Stéphane Dion, to challenge Harper.

Politicians got the message. In 2007, Harper surprised environmentalists by announcing the preservation of 25 million acres of wilderness—11 times the size of Yellowstone National Park—in the Northwest Territories. Provincial leaders scrambled for the title of “most green.” The premiers of Ontario and Quebec pledged to preserve huge swaths of boreal forest in their provinces.

In all, the provincial and national governments pledged to lock up nearly 600 million acres of Canada’s wild northland, a protected area a third larger than Alaska and California combined. Environmentalists rejoiced.

But they were sobered by scientific studies that warned of fragmented forests. Tracts—even big tracts—interrupted by roads and clear cuts would not save some species. They needed uninterrupted forest.

Almost a decade earlier, the Pew Environment Group had worked with scientists, First Nations and interested corporations to formulate a plan that would protect at least 50 percent of the Canadian boreal forest as new parks and refuges and apply strict standards to any industrial development in the remainder. There was growing recognition that such vast tracts had to be preserved to save species like the caribou. And that meant lands already held in the tenures of logging companies.

By 2008, Canada’s federal government was being pushed to save the threatened caribou. Numbers of the skittish creature were conjecture, but they had disappeared from



#### MEALY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

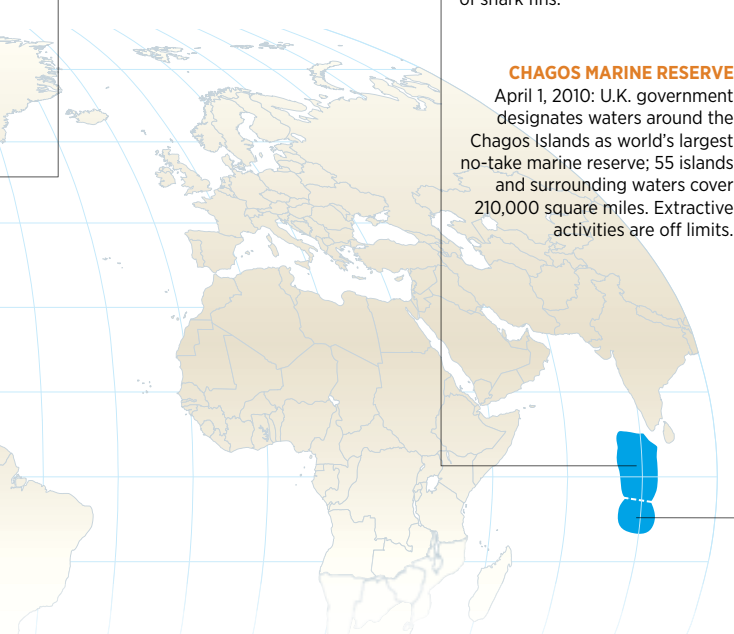
February 5, 2010: Encompassing 4,247 square miles, the park becomes the largest federal conservation zone in eastern Canada.

#### MALDIVES SHARK SANCTUARY

March 9, 2010: Republic of Maldives declares 573,725 square miles a sanctuary off-limits to shark fishing and the importing and exporting of shark fins.

#### CHAGOS MARINE RESERVE

April 1, 2010: U.K. government designates waters around the Chagos Islands as world's largest no-take marine reserve; 55 islands and surrounding waters cover 210,000 square miles. Extractive activities are off limits.



nearly half their traditional range since the loggers' intrusion, according to a report by the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society. A fight over classifying the caribou as endangered would push the industry in a tough public relations corner. Lazar's industry did not want that battle and was under other pressures. The recession had hit, newspapers were folding, and the Canadian currency had appreciated 25 percent against the dollar, eroding profits. The industry was reeling: by 2008, nearly 50,000 jobs had been lost and 227 mills had closed.

The industry leaders did not want environmental criticism to add to their economic woes. Some wanted an aggressive pushback, striking out at the boycott campaigns. When he sat down to lunch with Lazar, Kallick had already seen an internal lumber industry memo that urged the association to open up a new attack in the war of the woods, to take on the environmentalists. Lazar acknowledged as much.

"He said, 'My boys are itching for a fight, and we know you are behind a lot of this,'" Kallick recalled.

Kallick had been through these battles before. "At the end of the day, it never works. But it takes up a lot of time and effort," he said. Lazar, too, thought the fight would not be worth it.

"There were years of bad relations and culture," Lazar said later. "There was a huge frustration on our side. Some of our CEOs felt insulted, outraged, because the attacks from environmentalists almost inevitably involved half-truths. There was definitely among the CEOs a lack of respect for the environmentalists."

But instead of slugging it out, Kallick and Lazar agreed, why not work together to try to solve the dispute?

"Avrim could see down the road and where we would be in five years," Kallick said. "And he said, 'Let's just skip to that.'"

"If we keep approaching our hard problems with a win-lose attitude, everybody loses. We have learned that over and over again," Lazar said. "We have to find a solution together."

It would not be easy. They began to bring others into a series of quiet negotiations between the lumber industry and the environmentalists. They asked Dan Johnson, an experienced mediator, to help guide the process.

With the locked-up tenures, the political trump card of jobs, and the money of a big industry at his disposal, Lazar had a strong hand. But Kallick assembled an array of environmental cards. He brought in Tzeborah Berman, a charismatic and media-savvy activist who had helped organize Canada's

largest civil disobedience to protect rainforest in British Columbia. Greenpeace was at the table, ready to take to

**Unsustainable logging techniques, left, will no longer be permitted in the areas protected in the agreement. The bay-breasted warbler, right, is one of hundreds of bird species that will benefit from the accord.**



LOGGING PHOTOGRAPH BY GARTH LENZ.  
WARBLER PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFF NADLER

the streets in protest. Tim Gray from Toronto's philanthropic Ivey Foundation, a veteran campaigner with encyclopedic knowledge of the forest industry, joined in.

Greenpeace, Canopy and ForestEthics, with their campaign successes, were flanked by groups with respected records: the David Suzuki Foundation, Nature Conservancy, the Canadian Boreal Initiative and the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society.

For two years, they met every few weeks in Vancouver, Toronto or Ottawa. Sometimes they met in the boardrooms of logging companies, sometimes in the offices of the environmental groups.

"I kept pushing to meet at ForestEthics. They had better food than our companies," said Lazar, the vegetarian.

The crux of the negotiation was how to marry two seemingly contradictory goals: to keep loggers working and to save the forest.

They quickly agreed that to succeed, they must do both. And they set out to try to figure out how.

"We had a clash of systems," Lazar said. "The first thing we had to do was embrace each other's imperatives. I needed the environmental community to say to my board that 50,000 job losses are enough, and we are not going to try to shut any mills down. And they needed my members to say that we understand saving the wilderness is an imperative."

"We needed to see that one side was not made of evil trolls destroying the planet, and the other side was not out to put everybody in the forest industry out of a job," said Gray, of the Ivey Foundation.

The environmentalists adopted survival of the woodland caribou, among the most vulnerable of the mammals of the boreal, as a chief goal. The iconic caribou—its image is on the Canadian quarter—was a good indicator species, "like the eagle for Americans," Kallick said. To save enough territory for the caribou would save the boreal, the environmentalists believed.

Progress in the talks came gradually, and more by the dint of grueling meetings than from any single breakthrough. There were squabbles, as often within ranks as between them.

"We had tons of fights over this stuff. There was a fair amount of strife and tension within our caucus, and I presume Avrim had the same thing within his," Kallick said.

The contrast of the two men seemed to work. "Avrim was the Energizer Bunny, with more



**Richard Brooks of Greenpeace, left; Steve Kallick of the Pew Environment Group, center; and Avrim Lazar of FPAC shake hands as the agreement is announced May 18, 2010 in Toronto. Opposite: The Clearwater River in northern Alberta is 126 miles long and is another natural resource affected by the boreal agreement.**

energy than anyone else in the room," Gray said. "Steve talks more slowly, and wasn't jumping up and down like Avrim. But he had great strategic sense

and was very much focused on the outcomes."

Lazar said the meetings became a common endurance test that brought the participants together.

"While we were in the room together, our job was to find a joint solution," Lazar said. "When you do that over a period of time, you become a community. Slowly, trust builds, trust in each other, honesty with each other."

"It was the time we spent in the meetings," agreed Greenpeace's Brooks. "With time, it becomes easier to see this as not just a faceless corporation, but as people."

Eventually, it occurred to each of the members that they had gone too far to turn back. "There was a sense that there was no walking away from this," Lazar said.

By early 2010, they had achieved enough to take to their constituencies. The environmentalists had won a promise from the industry that the caribou must be protected. Lazar's group agreed to not log 71 million acres—virtually all of the caribou habitat in the tenure-rights areas. And the industry agreed to follow tough standards for sustainable logging on the other areas, in all, setting protection for a huge area of 178 million acres.

The environmentalists, in turn, agreed to suspend their boycott campaigns against the industry. And—although a tough pill for some of them to swallow—agreed to defend the industry if it followed through on its promises, offering an environmentalists' seal of approval to the Canadian loggers.

"Absolutely, it's uncomfortable," said Brooks,



For a gallery of additional photos of the boreal, go to [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org)





of Greenpeace. “There are people not happy with it, who see any deal with the companies as a sell-out.”

But enlisting that endorsement was essential to the gamble being taken by Lazar’s side. The forest industry is hoping it can create an environmentally correct brand for Canadian products, with higher prices to make up for surrendering almost half their remaining logging rights. It is a leap of faith, in effect admitting that Canada cannot compete with the unrestrained clear-cutting from the Amazon and Asia.

“We are betting that the world is going to be craving, demanding, looking for products that don’t do damage to the environmental system,” Lazar said. “That’s part of the calculus. And it’s part of our long-term business plan to have our brand confirmed by environmental groups as responsible products.”

On May 18, 2010, the negotiators unveiled their agreement between 21 companies of Lazar’s forest industry and nine environmental organizations. They stood side by side at a press conference in Toronto; Greenpeace and the industry praising each other, and Pew’s Kallick, broker of the deal, grinning between them.

The agreement, each said, broke historic ground. Counting the land already promised or preserved by the federal and provincial governments, the agreement would raise the number of areas already protected or on their way to protection to nearly 800 million acres, more than two-thirds of the undisturbed land of the boreal forest.

It would be the largest forest protection pact in history for one of the world’s last great wild and undeveloped frontiers. It would make the Canadian boreal, Kallick noted, “the largest protected primary forest in the world,” bigger than the Amazon or Indonesian protected areas. “There’s no precedent for it.”

That claim made headlines around the world, a splash of good news among dismal accounts of slash-and-burn defor-

estation in the tropics. Editorials and public officials praised the agreement as brave cooperation between long-time foes, a model to solve other seemingly intractable problems.

There were critics. “Who ever elected or appointed the environmentalists?” demanded columnist Peter Foster in the conservative *Financial Post*. Others insisted the forest industry would never have logged the caribou region anyway. Still others noted that logging companies not part of the agreement still could invade the boreal.

“There are a million ways to say this doesn’t do everything,” acknowledged Gray.

Most worrisome, perhaps, was the chilly reception by the First Nations groups, unhappy they were not included in the negotiations. More than 600 aboriginal communities have varying claims on land in Canada; Kallick estimates 125 to 150 of them claim a stake in lands covered by the logging tenures.

The negotiators had not been able to bring all those First Nations into the meetings; it would have been far too unwieldy to work, Kallick said. But he was quick to stress that the agreement did not attempt to give away the First Nations’ rights to any lands. Instead, it sets up an elaborate, three-year process for negotiating those rights among the aboriginal groups, the industries and the local governments.

That process will be long and exhausting, Kallick said, and ultimately will determine if the agreement is a success or not.

“It’s going to be a slog. I think we are going to have a ton of hard work to do,” he said.

But he, Lazar, and the others predict the cooperation shown in reaching the agreement will set the course for the next round of negotiations.

“This is a roadmap to get things done,” said Brooks. “This is our best and last chance to save woodland caribou and the boreal forest over a vast area that is twice the size of Germany.”

Two months later, some of the organizers of the negotiations met at a retreat, an old mill house outside Ottawa, to decompress, review and plan the next steps. It was an easy, relaxed mood as they shared wine and a meal, Kallick said. Lazar, as usual, ordered a salad.

“There was some grisly piece of beef on the menu,” Kallick said. He eyed it longingly. And ordered pasta.

The two men laughed. ■

---

DOUG STRUCK, the former Toronto bureau chief of *The Washington Post*, is a Boston-based science and environmental writer.





# MILLENNIALS: A PORTRAIT OF GENERATION

# NEXT

The Pew Research Center's in-depth survey of a new generation of 18- to 29-year-olds finds them confident, self-expressive, upbeat and open to change. [BY TOM FERRICK JR.](#)

# It is a sign of their thoroughness

—or perhaps of their innate intensity—that when the folks at the Pew Research Center decided to study Americans who are aged 18 to 29, they devised surveys that not only asked whether members of this new generation had a cell phone (94 percent do). They also asked if they kept the cell with them or next to the bed while they slept (yes, said 83 percent).

They asked them if they used their cells to send and receive text messages (88 percent do), and they also asked if they texted while driving (64 percent admitted to that bad habit).

In the same way—and perhaps in an even greater sign of the researchers' intensity—they also asked these young Americans not just “Do you have a tattoo?” but how many and where the tattoos were located. (For the record, nearly 4 in 10 do, more than half of them have more than two, but the majority keeps them hidden under clothes.)

These were just a few of the questions on the surveys, but they give a sense of how the center's researchers went about their mission. They clearly did not want to skim the surface. They wanted to dig down so they could capture the psyche, habits and beliefs of this new generation and explain it to the rest of us. They succeeded.

When the report, *Millennials: A Portrait of Generation Next*, was released early this year, it caused a stir in the media. The adjective most often applied to the study was *exhaustive*. But what caused the public to sit up and pay attention was the way the report rendered a portrait of a distinctive generation, different in many ways from those who came before it and one which has already had real

political impact. It was a theme signaled in the opening paragraph of the report:

“Generations, like people, have personalities and Millennials—American teens and twenty-somethings who are making the passage into adulthood at the start of a new millennium—have begun to forge theirs: confident, self-expressive, liberal, upbeat and open to change.”

The author of that passage was Paul Taylor, the center's executive vice president. His principal co-author was Scott Keeter, the center's director of survey research.

They represent the two sides of the center's brain. Taylor, 61, is a former reporter who spent 25 years as a journalist, principally with *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The Washington Post*. Keeter, 59, is an expert on survey research and the author of four books on politics and demographic change.

The Millennial report—as with most of the center's many reports—is infused with what Taylor described as a “mix of journalistic story-telling sensibility with authoritative research and scientific method.”

In an interview at the center's L Street headquarters in Washington, DC, Taylor and Keeter explained that the report was truly a collaborative effort, involving most of the seven entities that comprise the center and make it—in the words of its president, Andrew Kohut—a “fact tank.” More about that later.

The more immediate point is that Taylor and Keeter are bona fide Baby Boomers, the generation that has gotten most of the ink over the years. As Kohut put it in his remarks on the day the Millennial report was issued, “For a long time, it's been my view that young people were out of fashion.”

When asked about Kohut's remarks, Keeter agreed, saying, “The shadow of the Baby Boomers was a very long one, both because of the size of the generation and the cultural changes that accompanied its coming of age. Subsequent generations have gotten less attention, simply because of



THE GREATEST GENERATION

1920



THE SILENT GENERATION

1930



BABY BOOMERS

1950



the size of the Baby Boomer cohort, but some of it is that as the Boomers got older, they took over the narrative of the country—and may have wanted to keep the spotlight on themselves.”

The spotlight shifted in 2008, as Millennials made their presence felt in a significant way in the presidential election. Not only did they vote at a much higher level than ever before, they embraced the candidacy of Barack Obama. Voters under 30 gave Obama 66 percent of their vote, compared to the 50 percent share he got from voters older than 30.

Young people were back in fashion. But the question arose: who exactly were these Millennials? Taylor, Keeter and their colleagues at the center decided to look for answers.

#### WHAT'S IN A NAME?

We love to apply labels, and there are popular names given to each of the five generations co-existing in America today. The oldest are called the Greatest Generation because they were the ones who fought and won World War II. They are followed by the Silent Generation. Next came the Baby Boomers and then Generation X. Millennials are the generation born after 1980 who reached adulthood after the turn of the century—the beginning of a new millennium.

There is arbitrariness to these labels: who is to say that someone who is 29 is a Millennial and someone

who is 30 is automatically a Gen Xer? There are Millennials who neither own nor use cell phones, albeit very few. But, as the center's studies illustrate, generational analysis can be useful and insightful, even though it requires that boundaries be drawn around certain age groups.

There are 50 million Americans between the ages of 18 and 29 today. We know from census data that this group is

## GENERATIONS HAVE LABELS

Generational names are the handiwork of popular culture. Some are drawn from a historic event, others from rapid social or demographic change, others from a big turn in the calendar. Generational names are works in progress. The zeitgeist changes, and labels that once seemed spot on fall out of fashion. It's not clear if the Millennial tag will endure, although a calendar change that comes along only once in a thousand years seems like a pretty secure anchor.

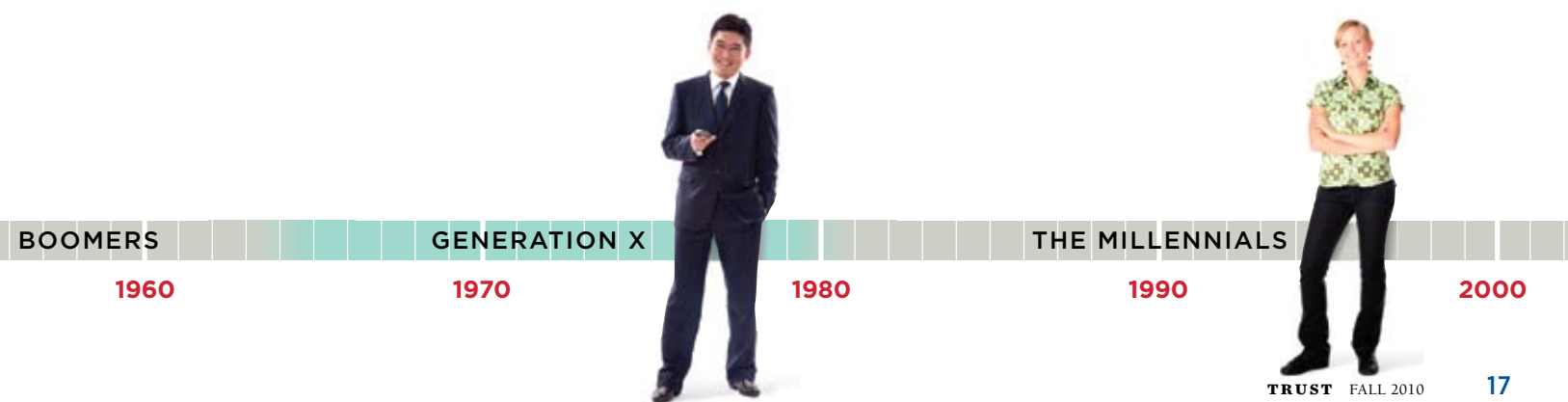
The **Millennial Generation** falls into the third category. The label refers to those born after 1980—the first generation to come of age in the new millennium.

**Generation X** covers people born from 1965 through 1980. The label long ago overtook the first name affixed to this generation: the Baby Bust. Xers are often depicted as savvy, entrepreneurial loners.

The **Baby Boomer** label is drawn from the great spike in fertility that began in 1946, right after the end of World War II, and ended almost as abruptly in 1964, around the time the birth control pill went on the market. It's a classic example of a demography-driven name.

The **Silent Generation** describes adults born from 1928 through 1945. Children of the Great Depression and World War II, their “Silent” label refers to their conformist and civic instincts. It also makes for a nice contrast with the noisy ways of the anti-establishment Boomers.

The **Greatest Generation**, those born before 1928, “saved the world” when it was young, in the memorable phrase of Ronald Reagan. It's the generation that fought and won World War II.



more diverse than older Americans, with a higher proportion of blacks and Hispanics. Sixty-one percent of Millennials are white, compared to 70 percent for adults 30 and older.

For the rest, we look to the Millennial report and parse its opening paragraph, adding detail.

### ***Millennials are confident...***

They have reason to be. They are headed towards being the most educated generation in American history, and 61 percent think of their own age group as distinct and unique. What makes them so?

Asked an open-ended question, Millennials cited five factors most frequently: 24 percent said it was their use of technology, 11 percent their music and pop culture, 7 percent said it was because they were liberal and tolerant, 6 percent said they were smarter than other generations and 5 percent cited their clothes. (Don't be put off by their claims of being smarter. Every generation mentioned it in the survey.)

The Millennials seem to have a love of technology—and technological competence—embedded in their DNA. As the report puts it, “They are history’s first ‘always connected’ generation, steeped in digital technology and social media,

use is ‘all about me.’ The online behavior is ‘Hey, look at me. Look at what I’m doing.’ The off-line behavior—with the tattoos—is also ‘Hey, look at me.’”

This can also be read as indicating Millennials are self-absorbed, but that may be more of a function of youth and not this particular generation.

On other levels, they are generous in their judgments of older generations. For instance, in previous surveys done by the center, older people have expressed the belief that they have better values, work ethic and more respect for others. Millennials agree.

They may be saying “We’re different,” but they are not saying “We’re better.”

Unlike the Baby Boomers, there is very little conflict among the generations. As Taylor put it: “Millennials say, ‘We are different from Mom and Dad, but we are all cool.’”

### ***Millennials are liberal...***

Not only when it comes to politics, but also on most social issues.

In 2008, 62 percent of Millennials identified themselves as Democrat or as leaning Democratic, the highest support for the party among all age groups. In the same year, 66 percent of the Millennial vote went for Barack Obama and only 32 percent for Republican John McCain in the presidential race.

These are staggeringly high numbers, but they are not set in stone. More recent data collected by the center shows a drop in support for

President Obama and the Democrats among Millennials. Although the president remains personally popular among 18- to 29-year-olds (with a 65 percent approval rating), his job-rating declined among younger and older voters as 2009 progressed.

Why are Millennials liberal?

“A combination of things,” said Keeter. “First, this is a diverse generation and its liberalism is tied up in its racial and ethnic identity. You have a significant percentage being nonwhite, and being nonwhite in America is associated with being less conservative and more liberal. Second, they have come of age in a time when rapid changes in social mores had occurred and is still occurring and they internalized these as tolerant, progressive and liberal.”

**More than one-third of Millennials  
said they depended on their  
parents for some financial support.**

they treat their multi-tasking hand-held gadgets almost as a body part—for better or worse.”

Three-quarters of them have a profile posted on a social networking site, such as Facebook. One-fifth of them have posted videos of themselves online.

### ***Millennials are self-expressive...***

The Facebook profiles. The personal videos posted online. The tattoos. The body-piercing (23 percent have piercing at some place on their body other than their earlobes). Taylor believes the self-expressiveness is a manifestation of their confidence. “Part of the reason [for their confidence] is that they do feel empowered by their moment in history and their technology use,” he said. “And some of the technology



# HOW MILLENNIAL ARE YOU?

As it turns out, this Baby Boomer doesn't have much in common with today's Millennial generation of 18- to 29-year-olds.

I can say that with certainty because I scored in the 23rd percentile on the Millennial quiz, which can be found at the Pew Research Center's Web site.

Go to [www.pewresearch.org/millennials](http://www.pewresearch.org/millennials) to take the quiz.

Don't worry: it is not Trivial Pursuit with questions about pop idols or obscure video games. Instead, the interactive, 14-question quiz is based on life habits, such as time spent in front of a TV (more than your average Millennial, according to my results) or time spent texting (zero, in my case). Millennials send and receive an average of 20 text messages a day.

My overall score was better than many Boomers, who average in the 11th percentile on the quiz, but stratospherically below the average Millen-

nial, who scores in the 73rd percentile.

The Web site [www.pewresearch.org](http://www.pewresearch.org) also features regular interactive news quizzes. I got 10 out of 11 on a recent quiz, probably because I read a newspaper nearly every day, as do 58 percent of Boomers. For Millennials the figure is 43 percent.

According to Scott Keeter, the center's director of survey research, 249,000 people have taken the Millennial quiz since it went up earlier this year.

Paul Taylor, the center's executive vice president, said the Web site



averages nearly half a million unique visitors a month, a healthy audience that has built over time as the center has worked to make the site more accessible. Overall, the Pew Research Center's family of eight Web sites attracts nearly a million unique visitors each month. The quizzes are one example of why people are drawn to the sites

The Web site contains a veritable plethora of information, to quote Boomer icon Howard Cosell (a man unknown to most Millennials), that comes from the seven entities and projects that comprise the center. Dig a little and you can find the full text of every report done by the Pew Research Center in recent years. There is also timely poll data.

The logo of the Pew Research Center site promises "Numbers, Facts and Trends Shaping Your World." It delivers on that. **—TOM FERRICK JR.**

For instance, Millennials are the only generation that favors gay marriage (50 to 36 percent, with the remainder undecided). Whether the issue is interracial dating, affirmative action, same-sex adoptions, immigration or favoring an activist government, Millennials land consistently on the liberal side. They grew up with the culture wars in America and they are taking sides with the progressives.

As Keeter pointed out, another factor in the Millennials' liberalism may be related to their relationship to organized religion. Fully one-quarter of 18- to 29-year-olds say they are not affiliated with any church, and those who are affiliated tend to go less frequently than their elders. Participation in religion is often a marker for conservatism.

## **Millennials are upbeat and open to change...**

No one would criticize Millennials if they were angry or depressed. The recession has hit them with full force, stopping many of them from even getting the first foot on the career ladder. Yet they remain optimistic about the future and have a higher satisfaction level (41 percent) when it comes to the

state of the nation than do those over 30 (26 percent).

They do not blame the government for their problems, nor are they cynical about big business.

While there is evidence that a long stretch of low wages and unemployment can harm a person's earning potential in the long run, the Millennials think they will be okay. As Taylor noted, young people are not marching on City Hall or taking over the dean's office to protest the state of the world.

"As we well know, there is an angry populace out there, but it is basically not these kids," Taylor said. "It is the older folks who feel dislocated. But these kids are out there putting one foot in front of another and doing the best they can. I find that to be—maybe *surprising* is not the right word—but distinguishing."

We've talked so much about how Millennials differ from other generations that it would be wise to mention some similarities. What Millennials say they want out of life is very similar to what older generations want: being a good parent, having a successful marriage, helping others in need are their



life priorities. Fame and wealth are low on the list.

Significantly, as a sign of their respect for their elders, 63 percent of Millennials state that adult children should allow an elderly parent to live in their homes, if that is what the parent wants to do. This is in line with the attitude of Gen Xers (67 percent say parents should be allowed) but higher than Baby Boomers (55 percent) and the Silent Generation (38 percent).

Some of the data in the report is based on a telephone survey of 2,020 people—via landline and cell phones—that was taken in January, 2010. All generations were surveyed, but Millennials were over sampled.

But that is only part of the story.

### A CULMINATION

In a way, the Millennial report represents a culmination of years of polling by the Pew Research Center. The center's continuing work on the new generation marks the first collaboration by all of its seven entities and projects: the Center for the People and the Press, the Project for Excellence in Journalism, the Internet & American Life Project, the Forum on Religion and Public Life, the Hispanic Center, the Global Attitudes Project and the most recent addition, the Social and Demographic Trends Project.

The oldest is the Pew Center for the People and the Press, which was created 15 years ago with Kohut, a veteran of the Gallup Organization, who headed the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press. (Pew took the center

## MILLENNIALS: A DISCUSSION

In conjunction with the release of *Millennials: A Portrait of Generation Next* on February 24, 2010, the Pew Research Center held a conference at the Newseum in Washington, DC. More than 150 academics and other observers attended the conference, including, from left to right, danah boyd (who does not use capital letters in her name), social media researcher, Microsoft Research New England and fellow, Harvard University's Berkman Center for Internet and Society; Dylan Casey, product manager, Google; Amanda Lenhart, senior research specialist, Pew Internet & American Life Project; Tom Rosenstiel, director, Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism; and the conference moderator, Judy Woodruff, PBS *NewsHour* senior correspondent. An additional 2,000 people listened to a live Web cast. During the conference, Pew and the *NewsHour* staff gave regular updates on Twitter.

under its wing when the Times Mirror Company decided to stop funding it.)

In 2004, the entities consolidated under the umbrella of the Pew Research Center, a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, with Kohut as president and Taylor as executive vice president. The way Taylor describes it: "This was a collection of colonies before it was the United States."

Each entity had its own identity and mission so, Taylor said, "Our notion was 'First, do no harm.' We basically said that we may get some collaborations, but let us not force it."



The Millennial project offered an opportunity at true collaboration across the various entities at the center. It was born out of an understanding after the 2008 election that the 18- to 29-year-old generation was coming into its own, certainly politically.

“We were only going to do this if we had something that thematically made sense and was the kind of topic that could march its way across the centers,” Taylor said. “And the Millennial project was sort of the first one that rose to that challenge. The original hope that this could be greater than the sum of its parts has been proven true.”

All of the Pew Research Center’s studies are rich with information, but they are not simply a collection of numbers.

“The sweet spot is to be very aggressive in presenting not just a whole bunch of numbers, but also an analysis of over how those numbers relate—and over time,” Taylor said. “It’s everything that goes into good journalism—except that we stop short of making inferences from the numbers.”

The Millennial report, for example, does not speculate on the future. It will let the future arrive and then survey and probe on how the 18- to 29-year-old generation has—or has not—changed. One of the purposes of this study was to set a baseline for information on the Millennials, in the same way Kohut and the center’s researchers have gathered information on other generations over a number of decades.

But it is tempting to speculate on what impact Millennials will have on politics and on society in the future. The potential is for the Millennials, who are expected to rival the Baby Boomers in number, to have a significant impact, especially if they keep up their level of voter participation (by no means a sure thing) and their liberal/Democratic tilt.

We know they did have a large role in electing President Obama, and pundits and political observers were quick to declare 2008 a “redefining election”—one that changes the contours of politics.

Keeter and Taylor are not so sure.

“I would say let’s keep our powder dry,” Taylor said. “Does this mean that they will carry those judgments through the rest of their lives? We have to see more of this movie.”

On the societal level, both Taylor and Keeter said they were surprised by two findings outlined in the report: the Millennials’ respect for their elders and their stated willingness to have elderly parents move in with them.

(By the way, the reverse is certainly true. This is the “boomerang generation” that has often returned home to live, especially in these tough economic times. More than one-third of Millennials said they depended on their parents for some financial support.)

As Boomers age and put stress on everything from the health care system to Social Security, it may be a godsend for those elders who need help to have children willing to give it.

“While they are a distinctive generation, they are not a conflictual one,” Taylor said. “They are not wagging their

“These kids are out there putting one foot in front of another and doing the best they can.”

fingers at older folks, saying ‘We know better.’ I think that bodes well for our society. The Boomers are about to cross the threshold of 65, and that will put pressure on our public safety nets. It will be very complicated for our economic and political system. It is potentially a source of generational conflict. I don’t know how it will play out in public policy, but the fact that this [Millennial] generation is the one that will live with this through its life cycle is surely a good thing. And speaking as a Boomer, it is probably a better break than we deserve.”

In the meantime, the center’s researchers are looking forward to this year’s elections to measure how the Millennials act: Will they turn out to vote or revert to their earlier habit of low participation? Will they continue to trend Democratic or nudge closer to Republican candidates? Answers to come, courtesy of Pew, at a later date. For as thorough as it was, this year’s Pew Research Center Millennials report is just the first chapter on this generation. ■



The full Millennials report can be read at [www.pewresearch.org/millennials](http://www.pewresearch.org/millennials)

TOM FERRICK JR. is a Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist based in Philadelphia. He last wrote for *Trust* about the Pew Research Center’s Project for Excellence in Journalism.

**IN THE STATES:**

# Fiscal Challenges Continue

THE PEW CENTER ON THE STATES' RESEARCHERS AND JOURNALISTS ARE WORKING TO HELP STATES FACING DIFFICULT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS FIND THE WAY TO SHORT- AND LONG-TERM FISCAL STABILITY **BY RITA BEAMISH**

**T**he weekly holidays for Hawaii's school children are no more. The kids are back in the classroom this school year five days a week. That's calmed the uproar that erupted last year when the state ran so short of money that it eliminated Fridays from the school calendar for 17 weeks.

Getting back the full school week did not come cheap, however. It meant raiding the state's hurricane relief fund to the tune of \$57 million, something Governor Linda Lingle had said she would never do, and a move the state insurance commissioner cautioned against. It's not a matter of whether another massive hurricane will hit the islands, but when, they had said. Now Hawaii will brave that unknown with a much smaller insurance cushion.

Painful tradeoffs and deep cuts, often touching what was once untouchable, such as K-12 education funding. That's the story these days for many states still facing a long, steep, uphill climb out of the recession. Even though the Great Recession is now deemed officially over, states will face some of their toughest fiscal choices in the coming years, according to research and reporting by the Pew Center on the States.

Federal stimulus money from Washington played a critical role in easing the burden in recent years but now is running out. Costs continue to rise at unsustainable levels in such critical areas as Medicaid, public employee retirement obligations and corrections. Many states were spending more than they were taking in before the recession

and that fundamental imbalance continues. And many states continue to borrow money to pay their bills.

"The challenge for states as they come out of this recession is to look hard at where they spend their dollars so they can be more efficient and deliver better results for citizens both in the short term and the long term," said Susan Urahn, managing director of the Pew Center on the States. "Fiscal health comes from budget discipline and smart investments in programs that offer strong returns. It takes courage for policy makers to do both of those things, and now is the time."

Coping with these fiscal challenges has become the defining issue facing the states and so it has become a defining issue for the Washington, DC-based Pew Center on the States. The center is developing a growing portfolio of research, analysis and journalistic reporting that seeks to help policy makers understand how their states got into the current financial crisis and what steps they can take for both immediate and more permanent stability. The center's researchers and policy



PHOTOGRAPH BY SEAN WALLENTINE/ISTOCKPHOTO





**California lawmakers approved a 2011 budget 100 days late, struggling with a \$19.1 billion dollar deficit.**



approaches. The center also collaborates with experienced partners, including the National Conference of State Legislatures, National Governors Association and the Nelson A. Rockefeller Institute of Government.

In addition to its own policy researchers, the center also includes Stateline, a unique team of experienced journalists who track issues and report daily on key budget news and other developments in state capitols. A resource for reporters who cover state houses, the center has developed a following among a bipartisan array of government officials.

Journalist Tom Brokaw cited Pew Center on the States polling when moderating a televised debate in the California governor's race this fall. And New York lieutenant

analysts undertake original, 50-state assessments that explain how states are faring on particular issues and identify promising policy

governor Richard Ravitch, who helped lead his state's fiscal recovery efforts, has participated in Pew conferences. "The Pew Charitable Trusts, by creating this center on the states, has shown foresight and sensitivity to a public issue of great significance that is now attracting the attention of many other scholars and public policy wonks," he said.

Over the next couple of years, the center's staff will be working with a range of partners to examine key issues affecting states' fiscal health and economic competitiveness. The center's original research and analysis will focus on states' revenue systems, public debt, retirement obligations for public employees, transportation costs and other expenditures and the states' fiscal relationship with the federal government. In addition to the state by state assessments the center has become known for, Pew and its partners will bring leaders from the different states together to discuss common challenges, best practices and the lessons they have learned. Given the fiscal realities facing most states, there is much to do.

## HARD TIMES STILL AHEAD

In the earliest days of the Great Recession, Washington poured money into state coffers. Federal stimulus funding amounted to \$140 billion and provided enough money to help states fill as much as 40 percent of their projected budget gaps the past two years, according to the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington.

This past August, Congress provided another \$26 billion to the states for education and Medicaid. But that funding is not permanent, and the Government Accountability Office estimates it will run out by July 2011 with little sign, at least for now, that any more aid is coming.

The challenge for state leaders is how to make up for those stimulus dollars—and it is not easy.

In addition to the decline of stimulus funds, states are facing rising costs in a host of areas. The majority of states—44 of them, according to a recent report by the National Governors Association and National Association of State Budget Officers—are operating with smaller general fund budgets than they had two years ago. But most states are expecting to have to spend more on Medicaid, education, infrastructure and other key areas.

The center's report, *The Trillion Dollar Gap*, released earlier this year, provided analysis of what it called “perhaps the most daunting” bills coming due for the states—the costs of pensions, health care and other retirement benefits promised their employees. At the end of the 2008 fiscal year, Pew researchers found, there was a \$1 trillion gap between the \$2.35 trillion states and participating localities had set aside for retiree benefits and the \$3.35 trillion price tag of those promises.

The report pulled no punches in its conclusions: “To a significant degree, the \$1 trillion gap reflects states’ own policy choices and lack of discipline—failing to make annual payments for pension systems at the levels recommended by their own actuaries; expanding benefits and offering cost-of-living increases without fully considering their long-term price tag or determining how to pay for them and providing retiree health care without adequately funding it.”

In 2000, slightly more than half the states had fully funded pension systems. By 2008, Pew found that number had plunged to just four states: Florida, New York, Washington and Wisconsin.

The center is developing a new report, for release in

spring 2011, calculating the long-term liabilities major cities across the country face in this area and looking at what degree states might be on the financial hook if the cities cannot deliver on their promises.

Meanwhile, Stateline continues to report on states’ efforts to curb the costs of their public sector retiree benefit obligations. A “dozen states have enacted reforms more substantial than those in the past; Illinois raised its retirement age to 67 from 62 for new hires, the highest retirement age in the country. Wyoming started asking current state workers to contribute to their retirement; up to now, the state paid the cost,” reported Stateline’s Stephen Fehr in May.

Corrections is another area where costs are escalating dramatically. States’ general fund dollars for corrections jumped from about \$12 billion in the late 1980s to more than \$47 billion by 2008. Corrections has been the second-fastest-growing portion of state budgets behind Medicaid; in fact, between 1987 and 2008, its budget totals increased by 303 percent, while state spending for higher education grew by 125 percent, according to Pew research.

But a growing number of states are moving to reduce corrections spending because the increased investment in prisons has not necessarily ensured greater public safety.

“State leaders have begun to realize there are research-based ways they can cut their prison costs while continuing to protect public safety,” said Adam Gelb, director of the center’s Public Safety Performance Project. “In the past few years, a number of states have enacted reforms designed to get taxpayers a better return on their public safety dollars.”

Compounding the challenge of these rising costs have been the severe revenue shortfalls many states have experienced since the recession began in December 2007. State policy makers expect to have closed multiyear budget gaps totaling more than \$530 billion “by the time the effects of the recession dissipate,” according to a September report by the National Conference of State Legislatures.

Revenues for most states actually improved in the first two quarters of 2010; gains were widespread, with 34 states showing a small increase in second quarter revenues compared to a year earlier, the Rockefeller Institute reported in October. But the total was still down significantly from peak levels reached in 2008, the institute said. Most experts predict that many states are not likely to see revenues return to their prerecession levels for two or more years.

The fact is, the mismatch between growing expenditures and declining revenues is not new. In a number of states,

## A FIVE-STATE SURVEY

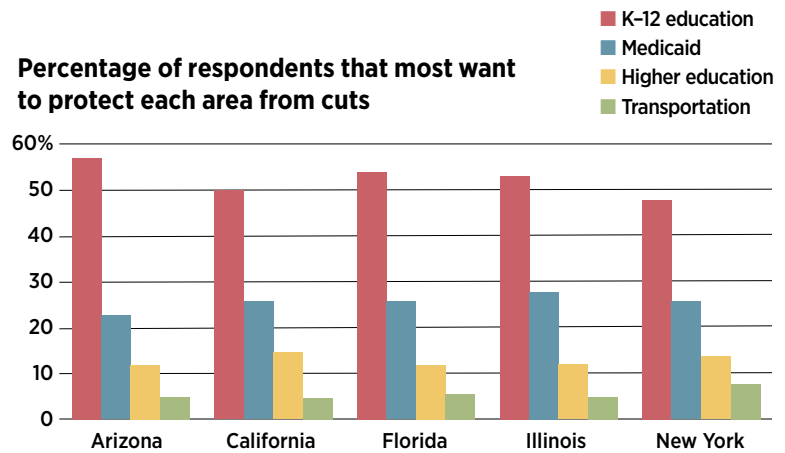
The Pew Center on the States collaborated with the Public Policy Institute of California, an independent, nonpartisan research organization, to develop the first in-depth, multi-state read of how residents view their states' budget problems during the nationwide economic downturn.

Their report, *Facing Facts: Public Attitudes and Fiscal Realities in Five Stressed States*, was released in October. At least 1,000 respondents were interviewed in five of the most fiscally chal-

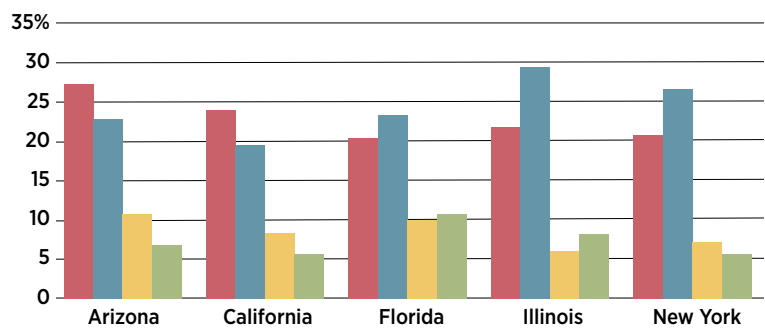
lenged states, and the report offered rare state-by-state comparisons of public attitudes.

The surveys found that residents are more likely to say state leaders waste money and could deliver services more efficiently than to complain that state government is too big. And the results found the public is tired of passing costs to future generations and would rather see more cuts and taxes than borrowing to fill budget holes. Here is a snapshot of some of the reports other findings:

Percentage of respondents that most want to protect each area from cuts



Major spending areas by share of overall state budget in fiscal year 2008



lawmakers have faced chronic structural deficits—that is, projected expenditures consistently outstripping projected revenues—for years, predating the Great Recession.

Part of the problem, long noted by many budget experts, is that tax systems are out of date and do not adequately reflect states' current economic activities. This means that even as the national economy recovers and tax revenues increase, many states will continue to see significant gaps between the cost of their services and the amount of money to pay for them.

The center anticipates releasing at least two research reports in 2011 on states' revenue challenges. One will look at the chronic misalignment between states' tax systems and their economic activities; another will examine states' record of success in estimating revenues and the increasingly important stakes involved in getting it right.

One way states have made up for the loss of revenue is to borrow money. Annual borrowing has been growing at an average annual rate of 85 percent from 2000 to 2007. According to federal data, outstanding debt for state and local governments as of 2009 amounted to more than \$2.3 trillion—doubling (in real dollars) since 2000. Debt at the state and local level grew 5 percent between 2008 and

2009. Together, Arizona, California, Florida, Illinois and New York held \$919.5 billion in outstanding debt in 2008, with California responsible for 37 percent of that total, according to an October 2010 report from Pew and the Public Policy Institute of California, *Facing Facts: Public Attitudes and Fiscal Realities in Five Stressed States*.

While some taking on debt has always been a part of government spending to finance major capital projects, voters seemed to be concerned about states' borrowing practices.

The *Facing Facts* report polled residents of those five states and found them weary of lawmakers passing today's costs of government on to future generations. Given three choices to balance state budgets, more than two-thirds of residents selected spending cuts first; tax increases were a distant second and borrowing came in dead last.

Over the next year, the Pew Center on the States plans several reports on borrowing practices, from an analysis of trends in state and local municipal debt over time, to a critical look at what debt is being used for, who is issuing the debt and if debt as a financing mechanism is being used to replace other ways of paying for public expenditures.

While some states are beginning to see improvements



in their economies and budgets, most are facing a long journey back to fiscal health.

The most prominent national example has been California. In early October, lawmakers in Sacramento approved the fiscal year 2011 budget 100 days after deadline, grappling to close an estimated \$19.1 billion deficit. Experts project that the spending plan will produce a shortfall of at least \$10 billion in the next fiscal year.

But California is far from alone. In November 2009, the Pew Center on the States published *Beyond California: States in Fiscal Peril*, a report that pointed out that many other states that faced budget woes with similar problems, including high foreclosure rates, increasing joblessness, loss of state revenues, legal obstacles to balanced budgets and poor money management. The report profiled nine of these: Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Nevada, New Jersey, Oregon, Rhode Island and Wisconsin.

The report looked at these state's fiscal condition as of July 2009. This snapshot captured an important juncture: the first and second quarters of 2009, the pressure point for governors and legislatures in the throes of crafting their budgets for the fiscal year 2010 (which began on July 1, 2009 for all but four states). But a year later, these states and others, such as New York, continue to struggle. For example:

- Illinois has labored under a legacy of poor fiscal discipline that started well before the recession. Prior to enacting its fiscal year 2010 budget, it was forced to confront a \$13.2 billion shortfall. This was nearly half the size of its general fund revenues. Fiscal year 2011 presented additional challenges as lawmakers grappled with a \$13.5 billion gap.
- Nevada faced an unprecedented \$3 billion shortfall leading up to its biennial budget for fiscal year 2010 and 2011 after patching together its previous two-year \$6.9 billion budget with federal stimulus funds, spending cuts and a sales tax increase. After years of mushrooming growth, Nevada has been walloped by a huge foreclosure rate and downturn in pillars of its economy—tourism and gambling. These factors continue to plague the state: Nevada faced a \$1.8 billion budget gap in fiscal year 2011 that was 54 percent of its general fund.
- New Jersey raised both sales and personal income taxes in recent years but still ended up with one of the nation's biggest shortfalls

in fiscal year 2010, at 30 percent of its general fund revenues. Moody's Investor Service, citing the state's budget gaps and chronically underfunded pensions, downgraded the state's credit outlook from stable to negative in September 2010. Such an action could portend a reduction in the state's ratings and make borrowing more expensive.

## CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Typically, lawmakers consider three choices when balancing their budgets, none of them easy: more cuts, new or higher taxes or deeper borrowing.

Cuts have been seen nearly everywhere. Arizona, with one of the country's highest foreclosure rates and a 21 percent drop in income and sales tax revenues in fiscal year 2009, slashed dental care, mental health, and other medical services for thousands of people.

Across the continent, Maine slashed education and health services to meet a shortfall of more than \$940 million in the fiscal year 2010-2011 biennium budget.

Those reductions translate into real changes for many people's day to day lives. In Illinois, for example, funding cuts made in the capital in downstate Springfield meant School District U-46 in Elgin, near Chicago, had 330 fewer teachers, fewer elective classes and water in the swimming pool for only one semester. Middle school football and "B" teams in basketball are out. "We can't keep things that are nice just because they're nice," said superintendent Jesse Torres.

There have been tax increases as well. In fiscal year 2010, states raised at least \$24 billion in taxes and fees—the largest amount on record. This year, they raised taxes and fees by a more modest \$3.3 billion, perhaps influenced in part by the November elections.

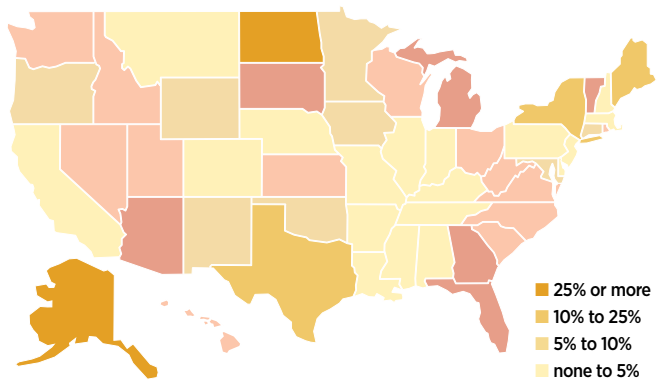
While taxes are rarely popular, voters in some states have expressed a willingness to pay more for what they see as important priorities, such as education.

In Oregon earlier this year, voters approved a state income tax increase—the first since the 1930s—that was expected to support education funding and balance the state's budget. But by May, a new shortfall had materialized. The state instituted across-the-board budget cuts of 9 percent that included a \$240 million reduction in K-12 education.

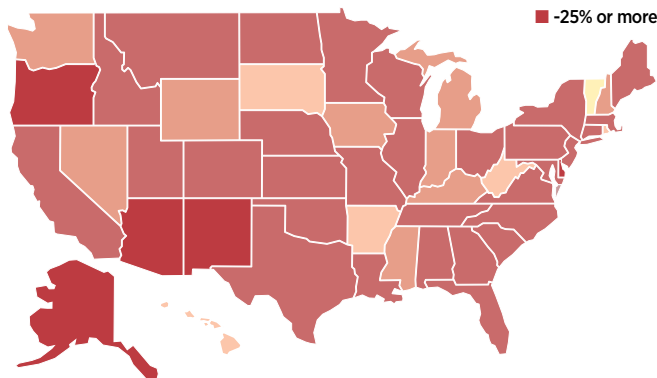


To read the reports *The Trillion Dollar Gap*, *Facing Facts: Public Attitudes and Fiscal Realities in Five Stressed States* and *Beyond California: States in Fiscal Peril*, go to [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org) and click on "Pew Center on the States"

## 2ND QUARTER 2008



## 2ND QUARTER 2009



## REVENUE CHANGES BY STATE

The recession came earlier to states hit hard by the collapse of the housing boom, such as Arizona and Florida, whose revenue plunged and unemployment skyrocketed. By the second quarter of 2009, however, every state was facing declines in revenue from the previous year. Every major source of state tax revenue—sales, corporate- and personal-income taxes—tumbled, compared with the previous year.

In Arizona, lawmakers prepared two budgets, one with and one without a 1 percent sales tax increase. In May, voters overwhelmingly approved the temporary tax hike. But even with that, the state will be nearly \$1 billion short after years of spending more than it took in, said Dennis Hoffman, an economics professor at Arizona State University and revenue forecasting consultant to the state.

Borrowing also continues. Some fiscal experts note that the current low interest rates as well as pressing needs may make it necessary in the short term. But public sentiment appears to be growing against it as a more permanent solution.

Some policy leaders are thinking about more fundamental changes, such as structural reforms that address outdated tax systems that do not match their modern economies.

These efforts can face formidable roadblocks.

“If you look at the tax study commissions and efforts legislatures have taken to modernize tax structures, they run into brick walls. These brick walls are made of organized groups that are opposed to any kind of change in the taxes,” said Corina Eckl, director of fiscal affairs for the National Conference of State Legislatures. “Generally speaking the electorate doesn’t like change. They like the devil they know.”

Other state leaders are considering new ways of doing business, in some cases encouraging better uses of technology, that produce a better double bottom line—providing better services at less cost.

“The real pain comes when you don’t do it and a state goes belly up,” said Indiana governor Mitch Daniels. He has steadily reduced the state workforce, ordered most state agencies to trim spending by 25 percent and pared K-12 and higher education budgets.

In an interview, Daniels cited a Fort Wayne school district that recently outsourced its custodial services to a private company, saving more than \$4 million a year. “You can use this moment,” he said. “When you turn the spigot off, people do what they should have done decades ago.”

The November elections have more than 6,100 of the nation’s 7,500 legislative seats up for grabs. It is a near certainty that about half of the governors will be new to the office, too. Those officials and their more veteran colleagues face expectations by voters who want more efficient government, reformed budget processes and more prioritized spending.

But *Facing Facts* highlights a disconnect between what the public wants and what is needed to resolve the states’ fiscal problems.

The report’s poll of five states is an example of that bridge state leaders need to gap. It shows the areas that residents most want to protect from cuts—such as K-12 education and Medicaid. But the report also shows that in those five states many of those same areas account for the biggest spending.

“There are no quick fixes and policy makers will have to make very tough budget decisions to help their states fully recover. They will have to stop funding ineffective programs and channel those investments into approaches that deliver strong returns for the public and drive long term growth,” Urahn said. “In many ways, their hardest decisions are ahead of them.” ■

RITA BEAMISH is a California-based journalist and author.

# Home at Last

Evaluating Pew's effort to reform foster care

BY GLEE HOLTON

*"I entered Florida's foster care system at age 13. Over the next five years, I lived in 12 group homes. I had no opportunity to build a relationship with a mom or dad and no one to offer the guidance I sorely needed to transition from being a teenager to an adult. At 18, I was told that I was an adult and had to leave the group home. With nowhere else to go, I entered a homeless shelter on my 18th birthday. I was still in high school and afraid to ask for help."*

**T**hat is the story of Tyler Bacon, whose experience epitomized many of the problems in the nation's foster care system.

Foster care is designed to serve as a temporary safe haven for abused and neglected children—a short-term refuge where children may take shelter until a permanent home can be found. In practice, however, like Tyler Bacon, too many children wait for years to be returned to their birth families or be sent to new permanent homes and too often spend their childhood in the system. In 2002, nearly 600,000 children were in foster care where, on average, they would spend three years and live with three different families. Moreover, approximately 20,000 of the oldest foster children were "aging out" of the foster care system each year, beginning their adult lives without the benefit of a safe and stable home environment.

Recognizing the urgency of the problem, in 2002 Pew's Health and Human Services program (now called the Pew Health Group), developed a new initiative to improve the system. The effort aimed to address two root causes of the problem in foster care. One was the undesirable incentive created by federal financing policy, in which the federal government provided states

with matching funds for foster care expenses but not for adoption expenses. The other was the lack of accountability among state and local court systems for moving children quickly and effectively to permanent families.

Pew staff designed a three-part strategy that included a commission to convene key stakeholders to analyze the problems and develop policy solutions regarding federal financing and court accountability measures; communications and outreach to educate key policy makers, diverse public stakeholders and the media about the issues and advocacy activities to create support for the policies recommended by the commission.

The first phase of the strategy, the Pew Commission on Children in Foster Care, was launched in 2003. A year later, the commission released 10 recommendations on reforms for the court system and federal financing, and Pew provided financial and strategic support to grantee organizations to conduct communications, outreach and advocacy activities in support of these recommendations.

In 2004, Pew's transition from a foundation to a public charity had a significant

impact on the foster care strategy. The move meant that Pew was able to move beyond funding to directly operating its own campaigns. So, starting in 2006, Pew established internal projects to directly manage the initiative. Pew did, however, continue to fund and partner with field organizations to maintain a coalition focused on the same goals of reform. After the conversion from foundation to charity, Pew's board approved direct lobbying activities. This proved to be a critical element of the strategy. It allowed the campaign to play a strong "inside game" in which staff leveraged their considerable legislative experience and expertise to cultivate congressional champions and working relationships with congressional staff. Ultimately, as the evaluation found, staff's fluency with the processes involved in working on Capitol Hill turned out to be a key factor in the campaign's success.

In 2008, Pew's Planning and Evaluation unit launched an evaluation of the organization's efforts in foster care. The evaluation sought to identify progress the strategy had made toward its objectives, understand the contributions of Pew and its partners, and identify lessons that could be broadly applicable to Pew's work. Planning and Evaluation recruited two senior professionals who together had expertise in foster care as well as experience in public policy, advocacy and evaluation. The lead evaluator, Tom Novick, of M+R Strategic Services, had more than 30 years of experience in public policy issues at the state and national level and led notable

campaigns throughout his career. The second evaluator, Mark Nadel, was an academic director at the Georgetown Public Policy Institute, and held senior positions at the



For information about Pew's Planning and Evaluation unit, go to [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org) and click on "About Us"



U.S. Social Security Administration and U.S. General Accounting Office.

The evaluation identified several aspects of the campaign that were fundamental to its ultimate success:

- The nonpartisan and interdisciplinary membership of the commission, as well as the quality of its work product, ensured that the commission and their findings carried credibility for stakeholders. The significant effort that went into publicizing the commission's work proved critical to ensuring that it was disseminated to appropriate audiences, including advocates and policy makers at the state and federal level.
- The foster care strategy demonstrated the importance of a campaign's ability to identify individuals or constituencies who care about the campaign's issues, conduct effective outreach to reach those groups, and activate and expand the base to advocate for reform. For its work in the courts, the campaign cultivated important champions among key judicial leaders, creating a catalyst for change in the courts throughout a number of states. In the federal financing arena, the strategy targeted and gained the support of specific policy makers whose influence would prove crucial to the passage of the final bill.
- The campaign attracted media coverage designed to gain the attention of both the public as well as particular legislators. The campaign also organized and executed engaging, high-profile public events that involved the direct participation of children in foster care. Their presence put a human face on the issues.

- The campaign brought together groups of adoption, foster care and relative guardianship advocates who did not frequently work together and rarely coordinated with each other, and helped forge consensus on a single set of goals. Pew also worked as an effective coordinator, providing expertise, funding, communications support and policy analysis that sustained an effective public presence with a unified message.



In sum, the evaluation found that Pew played a decisive role in advancing significant reforms in foster care at the federal and state levels:

- Pew encouraged reforms to help local and state courts move children more quickly through the foster care system and into safe, permanent families. These changes include
  - increased collaboration between child welfare systems and the courts;
  - strengthened judicial leadership on improving court performance in foster care cases;
  - greater opportunities for children to have a direct voice in their own court proceedings; and
  - policy changes requiring courts to track foster care cases and stay ac-

countable to measures that ensure responsible management of cases.

- Pew's efforts were crucial to the approval of federal funding—\$100 million over five years—granted to states for making improvements in handling foster care cases.
- The 2008 enactment of the Fostering Connections to Success and Increasing Adoptions Act incorporated several reforms that were recommended by the commission, including federal funding to support placing foster care children with relatives; eliminating income requirements for parents to receive federal assistance when adopting children in foster care with special needs; bypassing states and providing federal funding directly to tribal governments that operate child welfare programs; and permitting states to use federal funds to continue services for older youth in foster care, guardianships and adoptions until the age of 21.

In 2008, the country was in the second year of a divided government—a retiring president of one party and a Congress with majorities in both chambers from the other party. With the federal government dominated by extreme partisanship and a virtual gridlock between the executive and legislative branches, the conventional wisdom among veteran political observers was that little of significance would pass. The passage of reform in that moment of history was a major success and a critical step toward improving the prospects of hundreds of thousands of children in foster care. ■

GLEE HOLTON is a senior officer in Planning and Evaluation at Pew.

The Pew Charitable Trusts' program investments seek to improve policy, inform the public and stimulate civic life through operating projects, which are managed by Pew staff; donor partnerships, which allow us to work closely with individuals or organizations to achieve shared goals; and targeted grantmaking. The following highlights some recent Pew work. Additional information is available at [www.pewtrusts.org](http://www.pewtrusts.org).

---

### THE ENVIRONMENT

#### Pentagon Defends Against Global Warming

For the first time, the U.S. Department of Defense declares that global warming will play a “significant role in shaping the future security environment.” The statement—which appears in the Pentagon’s Quadrennial Defense Review, the primary planning document that assesses the threats and challenges of current and future conflicts—asserts that climate change affects the Department of Defense in two broad ways. First, global warming “will shape the operating environment, roles and missions” that the agency undertakes, and second, the department “will need to adjust to the impacts of climate change on our facilities and military capabilities.” This review of defense strategy demonstrates the Pentagon’s recognition that global climate change will exacerbate existing threats, worsen conflict in already unstable regions of the world, negatively influence military operations and result in significant costs for the nation. It also represents an important achievement for the **Pew Project on National Security, Energy and Climate**, which is working to highlight the climate-security nexus in order to advance discussions and solutions that will make the United States safer, more prosperous and secure.

#### Arctic Campaign Heats Up

Reversing plans put forth by the

previous administration, President Obama formally bans offshore oil and gas drilling in the 33 million-acre North Aleutian Basin—including the ecologically rich Bristol Bay—until 2017. The president also cancels the oil and gas lease sales of 69 million acres in the U.S. Arctic Ocean, pending review of the impact of such development. These decisions represent a major victory for the **Pew Environment Group’s** U.S. Arctic campaign, **Ocean’s North: Protecting Life in the Arctic**, which works to rally the scientific community, fishermen and Alaska natives—as well as senior administration officials and members of Congress—in support of a science-based approach to development.

#### Sea Change for New England Groundfishery

New fishing rules go into effect for New England’s historic groundfish fleet, representing a victory for **Pew Environment Group’s** campaign **Ending Overfishing in New England**. It marks the first time that this centuries-old fleet will operate with science-based catch limits, which mean that fishing will stop when the limits are reached. This will allow the 13 of 19 overfished stocks, such as dinnertime favorites cod and flounder, to rebuild. The new system, called sector allocation, also increases catch monitoring and reporting.

#### Red Snapper Recovery Plan

Ending Overfishing in the Southeastern

**United States** wins a major victory when federal fishery managers approve, in a 9–4 vote, a long-term red snapper recovery plan that halts fishing for the imperiled species from North Carolina to Florida’s east coast. Despite resistance from fishermen, campaign staff effectively persuade council members, demonstrate significant citizen support through community outreach efforts, as well as secure widespread media coverage and the backing of numerous major newspaper editorial boards. The plan, which also closes nearly 5,000 square miles of ocean to fishing for additional species, marks one of the most dramatic actions ever taken by any regional fishery council to end overfishing and restore a species.

#### Oceans of Protection

President Obama issues an executive order establishing a conservation-oriented policy to safeguard the nation’s oceans, coastlines and Great Lakes—a key recommendation of the **Pew Oceans Commission**. The new strategy, which unifies more than 140 federal laws and dozens of federal agencies with jurisdiction over U.S. waters, for the first time mandates protecting, maintaining and restoring the health of marine ecosystems. It fulfills a major objective of the Pew Environment Group’s **Campaign for Healthy Oceans**. The executive order creates an interagency National Ocean Council to coordinate the initiative and put into place a coastal and marine planning system that will identify areas where industrial uses are appropriate and locales that should be protected from such development. The system is expected to lead to better decisions on where, when and how industrial

activities occur, minimizing risks to fish, wildlife and their habitats.

## **Safeguarding Australian Rivers**

The **Pew Environment Group**, through its **Wild Australia** program's Channel Country campaign, secures a commitment from the country's Queensland state government to protect the three major rivers of the state's Lake Eyre Basin by mid-2011. The rivers—Coopers Creek, Georgina and Diamantina—cover one-fifth of Australia, an area larger than Texas. The Wild Australia program is a joint initiative of the Pew Environment Group and the Nature Conservancy. As part of the Western Rivers Alliance, Wild Australia has been a key driver in an unprecedented community process that for the first time achieved consensus on such controversial issues as deforestation, irrigation, mining and water provision. The Wild Australia program also releases a report, *Outback Carbon—An Assessment of Carbon Storage, Sequestration and Greenhouse Gas Emissions in Remote Australia*. The research finds that if the country's iconic outback were better protected and managed, its natural environment could absorb up to an additional 1.3 billion tons of carbon by 2050—the equivalent of taking 7.5 million cars off the road every year for the next four decades.

## **United Nations Designates Hawaiian Marine Preserve**

The Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument in the northwestern Hawaiian islands is selected as a World Heritage Site by the United Nations Educational, Scientific

and Cultural Organization. The **Pew Environment Group** was instrumental in the site's designation as a monument by President George W. Bush in June 2006. It worked with and supported the organization that prepared and submitted the application for recognition by the United Nations. World Heritage status, which encourages protection and preservation for "outstanding universal value," is considered a major milestone in the effort to safeguard one of the most historically and culturally significant areas of Hawaii. This is the first marine World Heritage site in U.S. waters. Papahānaumokuākea consists of 140,000 square miles of ocean surrounding 10 islands and atolls and numerous reefs, banks and shoals that support 7,000 marine species—one-quarter of which are unique to that area.

---

---

## **IN THE STATES**

### **Prison Count 2010**

The **Pew Center on the States** releases *Prison Count 2010*, a survey that reveals the first drop in the state prison population in nearly 40 years. As the report notes, as of January 2010, 1,404,053 persons were under the jurisdiction of state prison authorities—4,777 fewer than on December 31, 2008. While the study showed an overall decline, it also revealed great variation among jurisdictions: the prison population declined in 26 states but increased in 24 states and in the federal system. Using the **Public Safety Performance Project's** policy framework, several states have enacted reforms in the last few years designed to get taxpayers a better return on their public safety dollars.

These strategies include strengthening community supervision and re-entry programs and accelerating the release of low-risk inmates who complete risk-reduction programs.

### **Pre-K Data on the Web**

The **Pew Center on the States'** campaign for early education, **Pre-K Now**, publishes its annual review of governors' early education budget proposals as an online, interactive Web site. As the report notes, in spite of widespread fiscal distress in states, budget proposals from the nation's governors and the mayor of the District of Columbia keep overall state funding for prekindergarten near FY 2010 levels. Pre-K Now continues to advocate for inclusion of prekindergarten program incentives in the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act in order to strengthen states' school reform efforts through high-quality prekindergarten programs.

### **Pew Home Visiting Campaign Hits a Triple**

The **Pew Home Visiting Campaign** and its state partners celebrate three victories. Ohio's General Assembly takes a significant step toward ensuring stronger returns on public investment in home visiting by promulgating the first-ever set of quality and accountability standards for home visitation throughout the state. In Washington, the legislature invests an additional \$200,000 in evidence-based home visiting programs. And despite an \$828 million FY 2010 state revenue shortfall, a series of devastating hurricanes and this summer's costly BP Deepwater Horizon oil spill response, Pew's Louisiana partners manage to keep intact the \$12 million in state



funding for the Nurse-Family Partnership home visiting program.

## **Broadband Report Gains Traction**

The **Pew Center on the States** releases *Bringing America Up to Speed: States' Role in Expanding Broadband*, a report on the responsibility of states in ensuring high-quality, high-speed broadband access for all Americans. Pew Center on the States hosts a two-day convening about the states' role in broadband expansion and adoption at Pew's Washington, DC, conference center. The event brings together more than 50 state broadband leaders, federal officials and private and nonprofit sector partners to share best practices and strategize about how to work together to achieve common goals.

## **Model Law to Help Military and Overseas Voters**

The Uniform Law Commission approves the Uniform Military and Overseas Voters Act. The model act is both a key accomplishment and a resource for the **Pew Center on the States'** campaign efforts to enact state legislation that improves the voting process for military personnel and civilians overseas. Pew has worked closely with the commission's drafting committee to inform the model act since January 2009 when the report *No Time to Vote* was issued. The Uniform Law Commission, made up of state legislators, practicing lawyers, judges and law professors, promotes enactment of uniform state laws. The act provides a blueprint for states to adopt key provisions in the federal Military and Overseas Voter Empowerment Act and extend them

to state and local elections (along with other improvements), further enfranchising American service members and civilians abroad. Pew Center on the States will coordinate with the commission to educate state policy makers on the model act.

---

---

## **HEALTH**

### **Human Health on the Hill**

The **Pew Campaign on Human Health and Industrial Farming** hosts a briefing on Capitol Hill. The event, titled *Alternatives to Routine Antibiotic Use in Food Animals*, focuses on successful and profitable production and business models, where food animals are raised without the routine use of antibiotics. It is moderated by professor Stephen Jay of the Indiana University School of Medicine, and speakers included prominent farmers and ranchers as well as Steve Ells, chairman and co-CEO of Chipotle Mexican Grill. Representatives of more than 50 congressional offices and 35 external organizations attend, reflecting increasing awareness and interest in legislation to address routine antibiotic use in food animals. In conjunction with the briefing, the campaign also holds meetings with three key members of Congress, senior committee staff and five additional congressional offices during its visit to Capitol Hill.

### **Food Safety Action Day**

The **Pew Health Group's** food safety campaign kicks off a successful Food Safety Action Day in the Senate with the release of a report commissioned by the campaign's partner, the Produce Safety Project, estimating the annual health-related costs of foodborne

illnesses at \$152 billion. Pew hosts a dinner for 46 foodborne illness victims and family members who have become advocates for improving the food safety system, where the audience hears from Dr. Stephen Sundlof, of the Food and Drug Administration, and Mariano-Florentino Cuelar, President Obama's point person on food safety. The activists hold 55 meetings to encourage senators to bring the food safety bill to the floor for a vote as soon as possible.

### **Banks and Credit Cards**

The **Pew Health Group** issues two reports: the **Safe Banking Opportunities Project's** *Unbanked by Choice: A Look at How Low-Income Los Angeles Households Manage the Money They Earn*; and the **Safe Credit Card Project's** *Two Steps Forward: After the Credit CARD Act, Credit Cards Are Safer and More Transparent—But Challenges Remain*. *Unbanked by Choice* finds that one-half of low-income families in Los Angeles regularly use costly nonbank financial services, such as check cashers and payday lenders, putting them at greater risk of fraud, predatory products or violent crime. The report is shared with key California state and national policy makers as well as federal banking regulators. *Two Steps Forward* shows that the new Credit Card Accountability Responsibility and Disclosure Act causes credit-card issuers to eliminate such practices as imposing "hair trigger" penalty-rate increases (disproportionate charges for minor account violations) and raising interest rates on existing balances. However, it also highlights a sharp rise in cash advance fees, a continued widespread practice of raising interest rates as a penalty for

late payments or other violations, and an emerging trend of failing to disclose penalty interest rates in their online terms and conditions. The project provides policy suggestions to the Federal Reserve to clarify and strengthen credit-card pricing disclosure rules.

---

---

## THE ECONOMY

### Too Important to Fail

The **Financial Reform Project** of the Pew Economic Policy Group hosts an event at the National Press Club attended by more than 100 members of the press, congressional staffers and other interested stakeholders. The keynote speaker is the chair of the White House's National Economic Council, Larry Summers. Clive Crook of *The Atlantic Monthly* moderates a session featuring Senators Bob Corker (R-TN) and Mark Warner (D-VA), two influential members of the Senate Banking Committee. Professor Phillip Swagel from Georgetown University presents a paper about the economic and budgetary costs of the financial crisis. Later, the project releases the results of a nationally representative public opinion poll showing that nearly 60 percent of likely voters want financial reform now.

### A Year or More

The **Pew Fiscal Analysis Initiative** releases its first report, *A Year or More: The High Cost of Long-Term Unemployment*. Through analysis of the Bureau of Labor Statistics data, the initiative finds that the number of people who have been without a job for a year or longer equals 3.4 million, or 23 percent of all those who are unem-

ployed—the highest percentage since World War II. The implications of this figure on the federal budget are substantial. Since FY 2007, spending on unemployment insurance has increased fivefold, from \$33 billion to \$168 billion in FY 2010. The report notes that the effects of joblessness are felt across all industries, occupations and age groups; however, once out of work, people 55 or over are the most likely to stay unemployed for a year or more. Education levels were shown to provide limited protection against a long period of unemployment: 21 percent of unemployed workers with a bachelor's degree have been jobless for a year or more, compared to 23 percent of those who have less than a high school degree.

---

---

## PHILADELPHIA

### Philadelphia's 311 System

In a new study, the **Philadelphia Research Initiative** finds that Philadelphia's 311 contact system succeeded during its first year of operation in giving residents improved and easier access to information about city government—but it also mishandled thousands of service requests. The study, *A Work in Progress: Philadelphia's 311 System After One Year*, reviewed Philadelphia's 311's operations in 2009 in relation to 14 other communities that operate 311 systems. In response to a finding that the public had low awareness of 311, the city begins a campaign to increase the system's visibility.

### Pew Fund-Supported Assisted Living Campaign

With support from the **Pew Fund/Local Health and Human Services**, the Penn-

sylvania Assisted Living Consumer Alliance mounts a multifaceted campaign to increase public understanding of the critical need for assisted living provisions assuring resident rights, physical safety, and standards for staff training and qualifications. Over a two-year period, the alliance worked intensively at every stage of the new regulations' development to ensure consumer interests were appropriately reflected. Pennsylvania has developed the new rules that incorporate important consumer health and safety protections thanks to the advocacy efforts of the 32-member alliance, spearheaded by the Pennsylvania Health Law Project. Assisted living provides food, shelter, personal care assistance and some health coverage to older adults and people with disabilities who may have serious medical problems but who are not so sick as to require around-the-clock skilled nursing care.

### Jail Report

The **Philadelphia Research Initiative** releases an in-depth report, *Philadelphia's Crowded, Costly Jails: The Search for Safe Solutions*. On a per-capita basis, the city has one of the largest jail populations in the country, and city spending on jails has doubled in the past 10 years. The study examines the entire criminal justice system to determine why the number of inmates has risen so dramatically in the past decade and why it has fallen in the past year. The report looks at what is being done in Philadelphia to control the size of the population—without jeopardizing public safety—and at measures being taken in other jurisdictions to address the same issue. ■

# How the Pew Trusts Aided Credit Card Reform

BY JEFF GELLES / *Inquirer Business Columnist*

## The Philadelphia Inquirer

The following column, which appeared in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on August 22, 2010, is reprinted here with permission. Copyright© 2010, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. All rights reserved.

It was early 2007, and Michael Roster and Dwane Krumme each viewed the credit card industry with growing dismay.

Each had played a role in its development—Krumme as a banker, and Roster as a prominent industry lawyer. Now, each saw that the business had turned into a trap for unwary consumers dragged down by billions of dollars in tricky fees and sky-high penalty interest rates. Each worried, as Krumme recalls, that lenders' practices "could get a lot of people in trouble and hurt the economy as well."

Yes, they surely did, and most of the damage came well before passage two years later of the Credit Card Act of 2009, whose last provisions take effect Sunday. The recent financial reform promises even bigger change for consumers: the launch of a new Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection, whose goal will be to ensure that new traps are nipped in the bud, not allowed to grow for years unchecked.

This is a good moment to consider a little-known chapter in the overhaul of the U.S. credit card industry: the role played by a Philadelphia institution, The Pew Charitable Trusts, which brought Roster, Krumme, and others together on the side of long-belated change.

Pew's part in the change is partly a story about the value of data and

research in the making of public policy, a testament to the words of one of the trusts' founders emblazoned on a wall at Pew's Washington office: "Tell the truth and trust the people."

But it's also a story that yields unexpected lessons about the perils of blindly trusting the market—even the market as leavened by the intervention of wise old heads who want to do the right thing. As Roster, Krumme, and Pew officials all came to realize, sometimes regulators have to set limits and just say no, so competition can take place on a level playing field without harm to innocent bystanders.

To be sure, many had argued strenuously for a credit card overhaul long before Pew, Roster, or Krumme stepped to the plate.

Elizabeth Warren, the Harvard bankruptcy scholar, had been warning for two decades of the perils of easy credit and risky lending. Groups such as the Consumer Federation of America took up the charge in the 1990s, as banks lobbied to make bankruptcy harder and less of a safety valve.

But Pew played a different role—actually, two different roles, in sequence—as it tried to address credit cards as a hidden threat to the health and well-being of ordinary Americans, much as it has more recently focused efforts on pathogens in the nation's food supply.

Pew's part in the story starts in 2007. Seeking to implement Warren's idea of a "clean card"—a credit card with something like the Good Housekeeping Seal of Approval—Pew forged an alliance with the California foundation started by Herb and Marion Sandler, mortgage entrepreneurs who made a fortune as founders of Golden West Financial Corp.

Together, the two foundations funded the Credit Cards Standards Project. And the Sandlers turned to Roster, a longtime friend and adviser with firsthand knowledge of the credit card industry, to help get it rolling.

Roster had once been cochairman of the financial-services practice group at Morrison Foerster, the leading bank-regulatory law firm. He had advised a large number of card issuers, and had helped charter specialized credit card banks.

After a stint as general counsel at Stanford University, Roster took the same position at Golden West in 2000, where he served until its 2006 sale to Wachovia Bank.

Roster joined Warren on the new project's steering committee, though she bowed out of the project a few months later. The committee tapped Krumme, a former client of Roster's, to lead the effort.

Krumme had been in banking since the 1960s and handling cards



since the mid-1970s—a time when lending decisions were still made by people, not computers. In the mid-1980s, he was a pioneer in adapting what's now known as FICO credit scoring to general-purpose credit cards.

Now 67 and semiretired in Sun River, Ore., Krumme had watched with mixed feelings, and then a growing distaste, as the industry evolved.

Credit scoring and so-called risk-based-pricing models added fairness and objectivity to lending, he says. But they also eventually became tools to predict just how much money could be squeezed from financially stressed or errant consumers.

Krumme says over-limit fees are a good example of how banks set fees to generate cash while claiming they were controlling risk. “If there's that much risk, why don't you just decline the transaction rather than charge a fee?”

Long credit card contracts served a similar function. Some customers never got in trouble. But others found they faced a penalty rate, perhaps 25 percent or higher, “if you were an hour late with a payment,” he says.

“To me, that was simply managing revenues, not managing risk,” Krumme says. “Particularly since the late '90s, my view was that the industry just became greedy—that's the bottom line.”

Warren's Big Idea at the start, which Pew and Sandler adopted, was voluntary change: First get some major issuers to offer a simpler, more transparent credit card, without the tricks and traps—the “clean card,” as Warren called it. Then get some co-branders who profit from pitching cards to customers or members, such as university alumni associations,

to endorse it and help market it.

“The theory was that if we could get two or three credit card companies to do this voluntarily, they would be called out and become known as the clean card,” says Pew CEO Rebecca Rimel. “To be honest, we failed miserably. We weren't able to get any credit card company to go along.”

It wasn't for lack of trying. For more than a year, Krumme and others held the meetings, in person or via conference calls, making use of old contacts and promising confidentiality.

The project also took a step un-



affordable to low-budget advocacy groups: Pew hired a bank consulting firm to analyze the effect of safe-card standards, and its report illustrated how costs could be spread around affordably. It showed, for instance, that over-limit fees could be eliminated with a modest across-the-board rate increase.

Still, the bankers and co-branders weren't moved—or at least weren't willing to move first. If change was going to come, some said, it would have to be imposed via new rules on all card issuers.

Nick Bourke, a lawyer who eventually took the project's helm from Krumme, recalls how one banker

put it—even after agreeing that the industry had gone astray: “We're not going to go out that far, and make those kinds of changes, unless we know that everybody else in the industry is going to do the same.”

Pew officials see themselves as guided by the facts—Rimel likes to quote Thomas Jefferson's exhortation to “follow truth wherever it may lead.” In this case, the facts led them to ditch the insiders' game. Relocated to Washington and eventually renamed as the Pew Safe Credit Cards Project, it began sharing its findings and viewpoint with the Federal Reserve and Congress, alongside more traditional advocacy groups.

In December 2008, the Fed declared key credit card practices to be unfair and deceptive, and Congress followed suit with the Credit Card Act the following May.

A great result? Hardly, when you consider that many consumers who suffered from these tricks and traps are still in a financial hole, have diminished nest eggs, or have been pushed into bankruptcy. If those practices were unfair and deceptive in December 2008, they were even worse when they were invented—financial innovation, anyone?—and the media weren't full of warnings about them.

That's why the new consumer-protection bureau is so essential. As Warren has said, “We can't keep legislating in the consumer area by outlawing 10 bad practices, because then they'll move to something else.”

Still, Pew helped shine a light on a genuine hazard in everyday life, and the marketplace is a little bit safer for its efforts. ■

---

## Letter to the Editor

---

The spring 2010 issue of *Trust* marked the retirement of the magazine's founding editor, Marshall Ledger. The occasion prompted this letter to Pew president and CEO Rebecca W. Rimel, which appears here with permission of the writer.

Dear Ms. Rimel,

I have been reading Pew's *Trust* magazine since 2003, shortly after returning to my career as a development professional after a six-year hiatus. How times had changed during my absence! I no longer recognized the industry. *Benchmarks, evaluation, impact and measurement* were the new buzz words in this post-Enron era of responsibility, accountability and transparency, and no one does a better job of "showing and telling us" how to accomplish those ideals than The Pew Charitable Trusts.

My transition back into the philan-

thropic community has been inspired by the remarkable, timely and proactive work of Pew and the magic of *Trust*'s founding editor, Marshall Ledger, in the telling of the Trusts' stories. Over the years, I have found the magazine to be the quintessential report on what matters in the Philadelphia community, in the country and around the world. Ledger and his team of top-notch professionals put out a first-class magazine that combines scrupulous reporting with a simple creative design, stunning photography and darn good storytelling—all the elements that make for riveting, relevant and rewarding reading.

A few years ago, I was compelled to write to Mr. Ledger after reading a thoroughly satisfying issue of *Trust* to congratulate him on an exceptionally fine edition. I was most surprised when I received a call from Mr. Ledger thanking me for taking the

time to write such a thoughtful letter. I knew then that he was a "reader's editor." He asked if he could publish the letter (verbatim) in the next issue of the *Trust*. I was touched. Of course I agreed. After all, who doesn't like seeing her name in print?

And so, as the season turns, I bid farewell to one terrific and talented editor and to a man who brought integrity and quiet dignity to his job and to every issue of *Trust* during his tenure. I wish Mr. Ledger a happy and contented retirement and thank him for contributing to the vast pool of worthy publications vying for my attention—he has, as you suggested, given me good reason to read every issue of *Trust* cover to cover. I see no reason to stop going forward.

Sincerely,

PATRICIA A. MECCA

Riverton, New Jersey

---

## End Note

---

### God in America

For three nights in October, PBS broadcast *God in America*, a six-hour documentary on the beginnings of the nation's religious evolution and how the intersection of religion and public life has played out over the past 400 years, forging America's ideals, molding its identity and shaping its sense of mission.

The Pew Charitable Trusts was the primary funder of the program, which *The Washington Post* called "commendably even-handed."

In conjunction with the documentary, the Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion and Public Life released the results of a survey on religious knowledge that had polled 3,412 adult Americans. While previous surveys by the Pew Forum have shown that America is among the most religious of the world's developed nations, the new poll showed that "large numbers of Americans are not well informed about the core teach-



ing, history and leading figures of major faith traditions—including their own."

On average, Americans correctly answered 16 of the 32 questions in the poll. The study found that atheists and agnostics, who answered 20.9 correctly; Jews, who answered 20.5; and Mormons, who answered 20.3, outperformed evangelical Protestants, 17.6; Catholics, 16; and mainline Protestants, 15.8. Atheists, agnostics and Jews did particularly well on questions about the role of religion in public life.

More on *God in America*, including details on purchasing the documentary on DVD, is at [www.pbs.org/godinamerica](http://www.pbs.org/godinamerica). The Pew Forum's religious knowledge report and an online quiz with 15 of the survey questions are at [www.pewforum.org](http://www.pewforum.org). ■

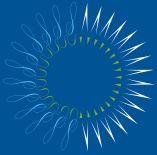


## Now on the Web

The Pew Charitable Trusts has launched a channel on YouTube featuring videos about the organization's research and public policy goals. YouTube is the most popular video-sharing tool on the Web, and the new channel allows Internet users easy access to content showcasing Pew's campaign priorities, leadership and expertise. See the channel at:

[www.youtube.com/pew](http://www.youtube.com/pew)





THE  
**PEW**  
CHARITABLE TRUSTS

One Commerce Square  
2005 Market Street, Suite 1700  
Philadelphia, PA 19103-7077

NONPROFIT ORG  
US POSTAGE PAID  
BELLMAWR NJ  
PERMIT NO. 48



*“Generations, like people, have personalities and Millennials—American teens and twenty-somethings who are making the passage into adulthood at the start of a new millennium—have begun to forge theirs: confident, self-expressive, liberal, upbeat and open to change.”*

—from “Millennials: A Portrait of Generation Next,” page 14

PHOTOGRAPHS BY (CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT) JEN NELSON/CORBIS, REG CHARITY/CORBIS, RUBBERBALL/CORBIS, ANDREAS POLLOK/CULTURA/CORBIS, ZHUOMING LIANG/CORBIS, STEFANIE GREWEL/CORBIS, ZAVE SMITH/CORBIS, AND MOOBBOARD/CORBIS

